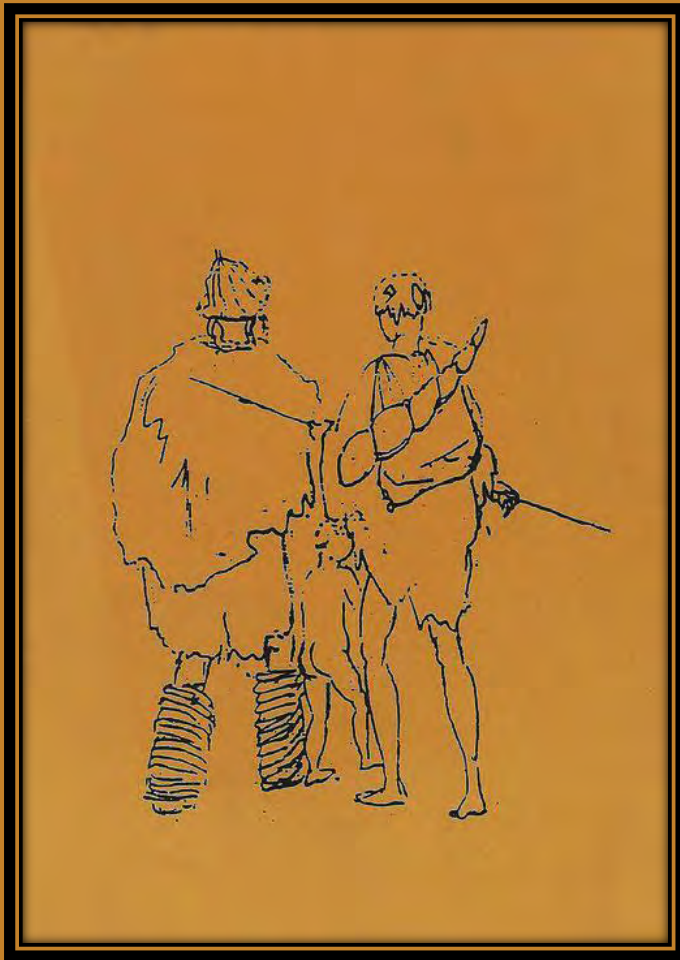


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**God's Slave &
Afrikaner
'Hearts of Darkness'**

-

*Abdullah
alias
Adolf Jonker
(c. 1707-1779)*

Uprooted Lives

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

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Uprooted Lives

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



*For min Far, min Mor
og min søstre*

Tak for altid væsen ...



Preface

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

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



colourful contemporaries has now been reassessed in terms of unravelling and understanding more fully the impact of Dutch colonization at the tip of Africa. There is now a heightened awareness in South Africa of indigenusness 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-eurafrican' and then some ...:

the Goringhiacona:

Eva Meerhoff (born **Krotoa**)

the 'Bastaard Hottentot':

Frans Jacobs van de Caep

the African slaves:

Catharina Alexander van de Caep

Maria van Guinea [Benin]

Cecilia van Angola

Dorothea van Angola

Manuel van Angola

Diana van Madagascar

the Asian slaves:

Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta

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

Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale

Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar

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

Jacob van Macassar

Maria Jacobs: van Batavia

and the pardoned Chinese convict:

Lim / Lin Inko alias Abraham de Veij.



Although much of South Africa's slave and indigenous heritage is being rediscovered, little about the people dating back to the 16th century has hitherto been unearthed. The 18th and 19th centuries have been more accessible to researchers and historians especially in view of the more legible and easier-to-read records. The 17th century has proved to be a lot more inaccessible due to the more difficult Gothic Dutch script. Invariably researchers (especially academics) have been reluctant to share their transcriptions of archival documents consulted when publishing. I have opted, instead, to rather share my transcriptions in order to arrive at greater accuracy, insight and understanding of these difficult records. It is hoped that more fleshed-out biographies of many more slaves, indigenes and others will follow.

My heartfelt gratitude to:

- my mother **Maria (Ria) Catherine Upham, née Priem (1933-1996)** and my sisters, **Beryl Catherine Brighton, née Upham (1955-2002)** & **Anne Caroline Upham (1957-1988)**, for undying inspiration;
- my father **William (Bill) Mansell Upham (1933-2006)** for being a free thinking devil-of-an-advocate
- **Margaret Cairns (1912-2009)** for her ever-willing assistance and being my micro-historical muse;
- **Anna J. Böesecken (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*¹, factory, residency, fortified settlement and colony, a creole multi-ethnic Dutch-Indies culture had emerged at the tip of Africa (*het uijterste hoeck van Africa*). Significantly, the Cape of Good Hope was the only Dutch colony where the Dutch language, albeit creolized and indigenized, effectively took root and evolved into a formalized and institutionalized language - *Afrikaans*.

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

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



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

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

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

Naming people

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

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



Currency, weight & measurements

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

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

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

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



God`s Slave & Afrikaner `Hearts of Darkness` -

Abdullah / ل عبد ل *alias* Adolf Jonker (c. 1707-1779)

Mansell Upham





INTRODUCTION

This article investigates the contested ancestry of the sexton (*koster*) at Drakenstein (Paarl) and progenitor (*stamvader*) of the **Jonker** family in South Africa: **Abdullah** لال عبد (‘God’s slave’) later adopting the name and becoming known as **Adolf Jonker** (c. 1707-1779). The eventual relegation and monopolization of the subaltern clerical positions such as *koster* in the colonial community at the Cape of Good Hope by mixed race people of slave origin is also contextualized. Against the background of banished Indonesian political and royal exiles, an upwardly mobile free-black (*vrij zwart*) fishing community takes stage centre. Its *raison d’être* stems from servile, intimate, privileged and intricate ties - *inter se* and with the gubernatorial **Van der Stel family**. Dr. J. Hoge in his *Bydraes tot die Genealogie van ou Kaapse Families* (1958) was certainly on the right track with his original contention. The written record clearly links him to the slave woman **Rosetta van Java** and the ‘free-black’ man **Jonker van Macassar**. The recorded evidence also points to his father being an exiled prince (*kyai chili* / *kaicil* or *jonkheer* / *jonker*) from Ternate - one of the Maluku islands, Indonesia - banished from Jakarta to the Cape for committing rape: **Dayan Mamoedie** [Mahmud / محمود (‘the praised one’)], **Prince of Kalamata**. Spared execution for his family’s sake, he is exiled to the tip of Africa for life but is later relegated to Robben Island for operating a brothel.¹



I am with those

I am with those
who abuse sex
because the individual doesn't count
with those who get drunk
against the abyss of the brain
against the illusion that life
once was beautiful or good or significant
against the garden parties of pretence
against the silence beating at the temples
with those who poor and old
compete against death the atom bomb of days
with those numbed in institutions
shocked with electric currents
through the cataracts of nerves
with those who have been deprived of their hearts
like colour from the traffic light of safety
with those coloureds africans dispossessed
with those who kill
because every death confirms anew
the lie of life
and please forget
about justice it doesn't exist
about brotherhood it's a fraud
about love it has no right

January 1965

(Based on the original English version by the poet, March 1964)



Addressing South Africa's 1st non-racially democratically elected parliament (24 May 1994), **Nelson Mandela** recited a poem *The Child is not dead* (translated from Afrikaans) by poet **Ingrid Jonker (1933-1965)** – bohemian, renegade and suicide.² Invoking *Die Kind* and acknowledging the author as both “Afrikaner and African”, his presidential imprimatur and reconciliatory gesture not only resurrected Ingrid herself, but cut to the quick many ‘white’ (and other) South Africans – if not the world at large. His tribute also reconfigures, enlightens and prizes open, willy-nilly, a janusian Afrikanerdom. Currently, Ingrid Jonker is being revisited on a number of levels – also genealogically.³



Ingrid Jonker (1933-1965)

THE CHILD IS NOT DEAD

*The child is not dead
The child lifts his fists against his mother
Who shouts Afrika! shouts the breath
Of freedom and the veld
In the locations of the cordoned heart*

*The child lifts his fists against his father
in the march of the generations
who shouts Afrika! shout the breath
of righteousness and blood
in the streets of his embattled pride*

*The child is not dead not at Langa nor at Nyanga
not at Orlando nor at Sharpeville
nor at the police station at Philippi
where he lies with a bullet through his brain*

*The child is the dark shadow of the soldiers
on guard with rifles Saracens and batons
the child is present at all assemblies and law-givings
the child peers through the windows of houses and
into the hearts of mothers*

*this child who just wanted to play in the sun at Nyanga is everywhere
the child grown to a man treks through all Africa
the child grown into a giant journeys through the whole world
Without a pass.*

Genealogical publications⁴ claim Ingrid's ancestor **Adolf Jonker (c. 1707-1779)** – progenitor (*stamvader*) of the South African **Jonker** family – to be the ‘Cape-born’ son of the ‘free-black’ **Jonker van Macassar** by the slave woman **Rosetta van Java**⁵. However, Ingrid's academic-writer-journalist-politician-Afrikaner nationalist-wannabe European father, **Dr. Abraham Hendrik Jonker (1905-1966)**⁶ refuted, discredited and dismissed Dr J. Hoge – the source of this claim. This he did in an article published (1965/1966) in *Familia* affirming that he, the Jonker family, and their very ‘respectable’ (also bibliophilous) *stamvader* had to be of European descent and likely German extraction.⁷ Under the pretext that sources *ipso facto* prove veracity, Jonker derides Hoge for being unscientific. Why Hoge, in an extraordinary departure from his usual research methodology (relevant, accurate and verifiable source material usually provided), omitted his sources when writing about Adolph Jonker, remains an open



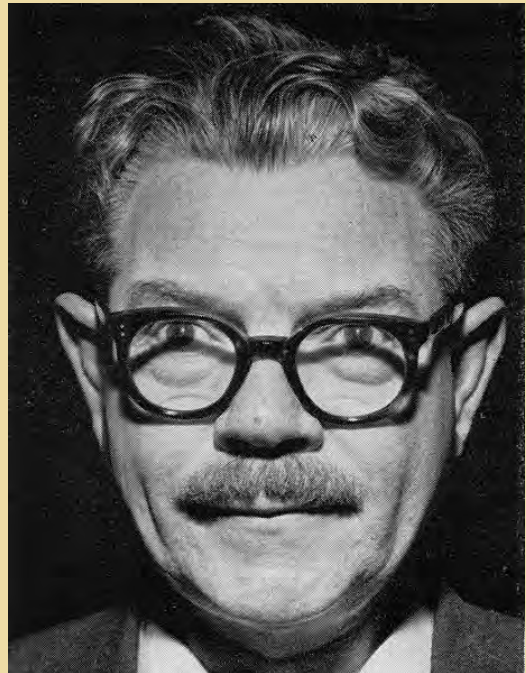
question. Was this reticence perhaps induced expediently by an increasingly 'racially' defined landscape?⁸

The reality of black *stammoeders* spawning the 'Afrikaner' *volk* / people / nation (at least in the initial stages of genesis) is taking root in terms of acceptance. The notion of a black *stamvader*⁹ – especially in the case of the Jonker family - still meets, however, with resistance by some researchers. Members of the Afrikaans-only genealogy social network SA-Genealogie¹⁰ continue to actively inquire into the origins of the Jonker family. Some even advocate DNA testing, hoping perhaps to dispel the 'worst' case scenario. In a genealogical article published recently, it is claimed that at least in one (lesser known) female line of her paternal ancestry, Ingrid and her politician father Abraham (both genealogical researchers) descend from "coloured folk":¹¹

"It is therefore clear that Ingrid Jonker's position in the Jonker genealogy can indeed be determined and that she certainly was descended from 'coloured folk.'" ¹²

Jonker's 'scientific' refutation of Hoge and his apparent unassailable, daunting and 'source-rich' affirmation of a 'white' *stamvader* in his *Familia* article, however, is left unquestioned.¹³

"There has been heavy criticism of Hoge's allegations in Jonker's article and he makes a strong case that Adolph Jonker was of pure German origin. Clearly the article has been thoroughly researched using a wide variety of archival and other sources and he also relied heavily on material in Daniël-Napoleon Jonker's archive."



Dr. Abraham Hendrik Jonker (1905-1966)

Also ignored is the 'coloured' ancestry of the Jonker *stammoeder* - Adolf Jonker's Cape-born wife **Maria Petronella Langeveld**,¹⁴ Even so, the very mention by Swedish traveller **Anders Sparrman** when visiting Drakenstein [Paarl] (October 1772) about Jonker's maternal black extraction, should alert researchers to what must have been the very visible slave ancestry on, at least, the *stamvader's* maternal side:¹⁵

"A little farther on lived a *Koster* [**Adolph Jonker**], that is a Sexton, a set of people that are more respected with the Calvinists than with us. He was of black extraction by the mother's side ...The Koster's wife, who was rather advanced in years, was then sick in bed."



European origins (also paternal), in terms of at least the written record, are highly unlikely. From the very outset, the ostensibly limited initial appearance of an **Adolf Jonker (c. 1707-1779)** - allegedly armigerous¹⁶ - at the Cape in archival records begs the question as to non-European origins - as do his 'Coloured' spouse, his associates and even his occupation of *koster* (sexton / beadle) at the Drakenstein (Paarl) church.

The *koster* and his supplementary role as *teacher* at the Cape

The chief purpose of the VOC's Cape colony is to facilitate Dutch trade with the East Indies. In the first 50 years of colonization, education and religion at the tip of Africa are never priorities for a transcontinental trading company. Education is the chief medium to instil and establish religion and the dominant culture / language so that invariably these concepts elide.¹⁷ Reformed Christian religious services are restricted to the small resident colonial population and temporarily transferred officials and free-burghers have to look to *Patria* or Batavia for the further education of their children. Initially the profit-driven Company provides minimal education in the form of low-ranking officials to the colony's children. The emergence of a burgeoning population of 'half-caste' (*halfslag*) slave children in the Slave Lodge results in the Company and Reformed Church making minimal provision for institutionalized schooling of baptized Company slave children.¹⁸ These children qualify for earlier emancipation than enslaved 'full-blood' (*heelslag*) Cape-born children on attaining legal majority in terms of Batavian statutes.

Not surprisingly, the positions of sickcomforter (*sieckentrooster* or *krankbesoeker*) - and later *koster* (sexton / beadle) - and teacher at the Cape often converge. Initially the position of sickcomforter - who also acts as lay preacher - is mostly filled by itinerant or less permanently resident Europeans more intent on furthering their careers in the East Indies:

1652-1656	W.B. Wylant
1656-1663	Pieter van der Stael (from Rotterdam) ¹⁹
1663 – 1665	Ernestus Beck ²⁰
1665	Daniel Engelgraef ²¹
1666 – 1668	Gerrit Victor (from Amsterdam) ²²
1668-1671	Johannes Christiaan à Bolten (from Zutphen) ²³
1671-1673	A. Carpius
1674-1676	J. Heere
1676-1677	Gerrit Victor (from Amsterdam)
1678-1684	Johannes Smits (from Gulst) ²⁴
1684-1693	Sibrandus / Sijbrand Mancadan / Mankadan (from Franiker [Friesland]) ²⁵
1685-1706	Albertus Coopman / Koopman (from Hilversum but born in Naerden) ²⁶

As the colony grows many of their duties come to be taken over by *kosters* often European subalterns taking wives (either *halfslag* ex-slaves or descendants thereof) or ultimately being slave descendants themselves. Effectively, the Slave Lodge and the *Groote Kerk* become the colony's chief combined centre of learning and instruction. It is the sick-comforter or deacons / church elders and Company Slave schoolmaster / schoolmistress who oversee the semi-institutionalized schooling as part of their general responsibilities for the colonial inhabitants' social welfare. Liberation from slavery induces and cements post-emanicipatory ties of dependency between ex-slaves, their offspring and the colonial administration. Consequently, the best chances of economic



survival and upward social mobility (including land and slave acquisition) for former slaves and their descendants in a White-dominated civil (free-burgher) society derive from their provision of essential yet less engaging services. Such a *modus vivendi* allows Company officials and licensed (*pacht*) profit-driven colonists the privileges and luxury of getting on with the more pressing and lucrative business of trade. This, in turn, provides the more aspirant free-blacks loyal to the Christian faith important access to literacy.²⁷

The colony's first formally appointed and more permanent teacher **Joan Wittebol**²⁸ (from Amsterdam) is appointed (1676) by visiting VOC Commissioner **Nicolaes Verburg**²⁹ Thereafter a separate school for the Company slave children is ratified by VOC Commissioner **Hendrik A. van Reede tot Drakenstein** (1685).³⁰ In the Slave Lodge provision is made for a teacher for the boys and for the girls a schoolmistress or matron (*matres*).

1685	exiled <i>bandiet</i> Jan Pasquael(s) van Batavia ³¹
1687-1691	Claes Cornelisz: van de Caep ³²
1691- post 1707	exiled <i>bandiet</i> Daniel Rodriguez van Batavia ³³
c. 1717-1732	Jan Smeeding / Smiesing(h) van de Caep (1697-1734) ³⁴
1685	<i>halfslag</i> Margaretha Jans: Visser van de Caep ³⁵
	<i>halfslag</i> Armozijn de Groote van de Caep ³⁶
1685	Beatrice van Cochin ³⁷
1689	<i>halfslag</i> Sara Jansz: / Leendertsz: / van Gijselen van de Caep ³⁸
1693-1701	<i>heelslag</i> Armozijn Claesz: van de Caep ³⁹
1701-1715	<i>heelslag</i> Manda Gracias: van de Caep ⁴⁰
1728	Christijn van Magdalena Smid van de Caep ⁴¹

Poor church attendance – except for the requisite baptisms, marriages and funerals – further creates a vacuum allowing liberated slaves and the poor to assume more responsibilities in the daily running and maintenance of the church. Concerning marriage, it is also worth noting that, legally, people can alternatively unite in civil unions and not necessarily wed in church. As for ordinary burials, Thunberg notes that often priests are not even present.

“The dead are buried without either clergymen, prayers, or the ceremony of throwing earth on the body.”⁴²

Scrutiny of the names of the early Cape's communicants reveals a small Church membership and limited participation by the majority of the colony's Christian inhabitants. Actual confessed membership (or communicants) of the Reformed Church is especially small when compared to the population figures in the Cape census records (*Opgaaf Rollen*). Visiting Minister **François Valentijn (1666-1727)** specifically comments on poor church attendance:⁴³

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



Valentijn's observation that Cape citizenry generally shy away from church is corroborated by the short list of *communicanten*. Recorded are only active church membership, *beleijdenis* (affirmation of faith or baptism on confession involving only the very devout and manumitted slaves) and attestations concerning incoming and outgoing parishioners intent on keeping in the church's 'good books'. Not surprisingly, we later find the positions of *koster* in Cape Town being filled by people such as **Noach Backer** (from Amsterdam), husband to slave-descended **Duijfje Pietersz: Uijttema**⁴⁴ and prominent teachers at the Cape being members of the extended family of **Anna van Bengale**⁴⁵; **Jacob Mauritsz**⁴⁶, Sickcomforter **Adolph Hoffman** (from Batavia)⁴⁷ – after whom **Adolf(f) / Adolph Jonker** (being his pupil and *protégé*) seems to have been named – and the *voorleser* and *koster* at *Land van Waveren* [Tulbagh] **Johannes Verbeek**⁴⁸ – not surprisingly also prominent members of Cape Town's nascent free-fishing community. Even until the late 19th century, Cape Town families of more recent slave descent, succeeding in being taken up into the 'white' community, were still filling less desirous church positions at Cape Town's *Groote Kerk* such as bell-ringer, undertaker and grave-digger as in the case of descendants (sons and grandsons) of the freed private *halfslag* slave **Maria Catharina Bosch (1783-1848)**.⁴⁹

Abdullah [ال عبد] / Abdul [ال عبد] Jonker alias Adolf(f) / Adolph Jonker (c. 1707-1779)

His 'first' appearance in the written record claimed by Dr. Jonker is his confirmation or affirmation of faith (10 July 1734) at the Cape church. No infant baptism for him can be traced at the Cape. Had he been baptized elsewhere at the time of confirmation, one expects the record to show previous baptism elsewhere. Indeed, on occasion there is mention of newcomers becoming confirmed or members of the Cape parish *met attestatie* (by way of attestation: on producing a sworn declaration or verifiable certificate as to baptism, confirmation or membership from his previous parish). Taking all the other evidence available to us into consideration and as set out throughout this article, then the adult baptism at the Cape Church for one named **Adolf** (25 January 1733) has to be that of **Adolf Jonker**:⁵⁰

*Den 25 dito [januarie 1733] Een bejaard persoon nae voorgaande belijdenis, genaamt **Adolf**.*

This baptism – significantly at his coming of legal age (25 for men) and also co-inciding with his formal manumission from slavery in the very same year – as we shall see later, is in keeping with the other adult baptisms for his two half-brothers and two sisters. Adolf next takes the oath as a burgher of the colony. In this record, there is no specific mention of him being a former Company employee (usually authorized by resolution of the Council of Policy) or an immigrant from either Europe or Asia. Being likely Cape-born and local, would recording this obvious fact perhaps have been deemed unnecessary? He marries (26 June 1740) **Maria Petronella Langeveld** a Cape-born woman of colour.

Maria Petronella Langeveld (1719-1773)

Her ancestry – equally mysterious and genealogically challenging – remains an ongoing yet tantalizing investigation. What we do know already is that she qualifies as being



most likely the free-born (*vrijgeboren*) daughter of Cape-born *halfslag* liberated Company slave **Cornelia Jacobs: / Cobus alias Cornelia (Keetje) Pieters: / Keetje(s)**⁵¹ by the *knecht* **Pieter Jacobsz:** (from Langevelt) *alias* **Pieter Vrolijk** but found previously recorded as **Pieter Willemse Langevelt** (from Dirkerdam [Durgerdam, North Holland]).⁵² Significantly, **Adolf Jonker** and his mother-in-law **Cornelia Jacobsz:** jointly witness the baptism (29 June 1749) of the infant **Willemina Barendina Langeveld**, daughter of his wife's brother **Jacobus Langeveld** and his slave-descended wife **Barendina van Graan**⁵³. Fleshing out the pedigree of the wife of **Adolf Jonker**, **Cornelia Jacobs:** appears to be daughter to the very influential slave woman **Dorothea van Angola** formerly owned by disgraced Cape *secunde* **Heinrich Lacus** (from Wesel) and **Lijdia de Pape** but appropriated by the Company.⁵⁴

On marriage, **Adolf Jonker** would be legally required to prove baptism beforehand. He is able to do so. Thereafter his continuous appearance in the written record accords well enough with that of the colony's general free population. Invariably we find him – before his move to Drakenstein – associated with people of colour.⁵⁵

1745-1779:	<i>koster</i> [sexton] (Drakenstein)
1745-1762:	teacher ⁵⁶
1750:	as burgher <i>koster</i> at Drakenstein requests freehold of piece of ground at Paarl (2 morgen) ⁵⁷
15 August 1752:	granted 2 morgen of land for house & garden at Paarl ⁵⁸
1779:	succeeded by Hartwich Johannes Luttig as <i>koster</i> at Drakesnstein ⁵⁹

His associates, neighbours and vocation also point to slave ancestry. So do his choice of spouse and the witnesses to the baptism of their first child.⁶⁰ A preliminary inquiry into the written record confirms Hoge's original contention. Not only does the record clearly link him to the slave woman **Rosetta van Java** and the 'free-black' man **Jonker van Macassar**, but we shall see that the record points to his father being a banished prince (*jonkheer* or *jonker*) from Ternate [Indonesia] exiled from Batavia [Jakarta] to the Cape.

Searching through the extant tax rolls (*opgaafrollen*) for the Cape Distrit, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, we can trace Adolph's adult presence in the colony. Confirmation of his parentage enables us to keep track of his mother **Rosetta van Java** – now also recorded as **Rosetta van Bengale**, step-father **Aaron van Balij** and half-sibling **Jacobus Jansz:** and full sibling **Johanna Jonker**.⁶¹ Although consistently recorded as **Adolf Jonker**, the peculiar and confirmatory recording of him as **Abdul Jonker** (1738) is telling. The name *Abdul* is clearly Arabic and Muslim.⁶² The later use of *Adolf* then appears to be a phonetic approximation of his original Muslim name.

1735:	(no. 312) Adolf Jonker (Cape) (no. 313) Jacobus Jansz: (Cape) (no. 443) Rosetta van Bengale & 1 daughter & 1 slave (Cape) (no. 462) Jan Jansz: van Ceylon vrijswart (Cape)
1738:	(no. 486) Abdul Jonker (Cape) (no. 504) Jacob Jansz: (Cape) (no. 515) Rosetta van Bengale & 1 slave (Cape) (no. 528) Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon & Roselina van Bengale ⁶³ : 2 sons & 2 daughters (Cape)



- 1741: (no. 213) **Adolf Jonker**, wife [unnamed] & 1 son: 1 flintlock & 1 rapier (Cape)
 (no. 299) **Jacobus Jansz**: 1 flintlock & 1 rapier (Cape):
 (no. 541) **Rosetta van Bengale** & 1 slave (Cape)
 (no. 502) **Aaron van Balij** & 1 slave (Cape)
 (no. 552) **Jacob Jansz: van de Caep** & 1 adult female slave (Cape)
 (no. 564) **Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon & Rosetta van Bengale**⁶⁴: 4 sons & 1 daughter (Cape)
- 1745: (no. 133) **Jacob Janse & Emerentia Schot** & 2 daughters (flintlock & rapier)
 (no. 134) **Adolf Jonker & Maria Petronella Langveld** & 1 son (flintlock & rapier) (Cape)
 (no. 533) **Aron van Balie** (Cape)
 (no. 535) **Rosetta van Bengale** (Cape)
 (no. 567) **Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon** & no wife: 4 sons & 3 daughters (Cape)
- 1757: (no. 12) **Johannes B. Olkers & Johanna Jonker** & 1 female adult slave & 1 male child slave (Cape)
 (no. 430) **Wed. Jacobus Jansz: [Emerentia Schot]** & 2 daughters (Cape)
 (no. 632) **Aaron van Balie & Rosetta van Bengale** & 1 slave (Cape)
 (no. 692) **Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon & Roselyn van Bengale**; 1 daughter & 1 slave child (Cape)
 (no. 1503) **Adolf Jonker** & wife [unnamed]: 5 sons & 1 daughter & 2 slaves (Drakenstein)
- 1761: (no. 745) **Adolf Jonker** & wife: 7 sons & 1 daughter & 2 slaves (Drakenstein)
- 1762: (no. 741) **Wed.[duwe] Jan van Ceylon** & 1 slave woman (Cape)

When familiarizing ourselves with the people - presumably neighbours - enumerated before and after this article's *dramatis personæ*, we have a clearer picture as to the social milieu wherein they find themselves.⁶⁵ They are invariably surrounded by fishing folk, emancipated slaves and people of colour at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder.

Rosetta / Rosette van de Kust / van Java / Bengale / Batavia / Ceijlon / Macassar⁶⁶

Further investigation into the later life of the mother of **Adolf Jonker** reveals that, as a free-black, she petitions the authorities to emancipate her slave **Aron van Bali** whom she subsequently marries (21 October 1742).⁶⁷ She also appears to draw up a will (1739) and again a second will (1747).⁶⁸ But, more significantly, **Aron van Bali**, now a free-black subsequently petitions for the manumission of his slave **Corydon van Bengale** offering as part of the surety none other than his step-son **Adolf Jonker**.⁶⁹ **Aron van Bali** also witnesses (with **Rachel van de Cust**) the baptism of **Jacobus**, infant son of **Abraham Ventura [Wanteria]** and **Clara van de Cust**.⁷⁰ **Arend van Bali** and his wife **Rosetta van Bengalen** later draw up a joint will (1757).⁷¹ She remarries (1758) **Johannes Jansz: / Janze van Ceijlon / Batavia**, widower of **Rosetta alias Rosaleijn / Roselijn van Bengale**⁷²

Johannes Jansz: van Ceijlon

Rosetta's husband himself appears to be a former slave of the free-black **Anna Rebecca van Bengale**⁷³ baptized as **Johannes van Ceijlon** her adult slave (4 November 1725).⁷⁴ His previous wife – also recorded as **Rosetta / Roselina / Roselijn (Roosje) van**



Bengalen - had been baptized at the Cape (15 August 1734) and as his⁷⁵ private adult slave (**Roosje van Bengalen**) petitioned (1738) to formalize her manumission. They married (24 November 1737)⁷⁶. Her children that inherit testately from her deceased estate in terms of her joint will (1750) and codicil (1764), are:⁷⁷

- (1) **Johanna Rebecca / Rebekka Jansz:**⁷⁸
marries (1) Cape 1750
Daniel Danielsz:
marries (2) Cape 13 June 1757
Hermann von Ohlen⁷⁹ (from Bremen); arrives 1757; keeps boarding house for sailors; marries (2) 10 October 1762 **Maria Pera van de Caep**, widow of **Govert Frank**; sentenced for theft to 3 years' hard labour & subsequent banishment
 - (1) **Franz Christoffel van Ohlen** baptized Cape 16 April 1758, dies in infancy
 - (2) **Valentijn van Ohlen** baptized Cape 1 April 1759
 - (3) **Jan Hendrik van Ohlen** baptized Cape 6 January 1765, dies in infancy
- (2) **Appolonia Jansz:** baptized Cape *Appelonia* [sic] **van de Caap** 1 Sept. 1737 adult marries
Adolph Danielsz:
- (3) **Johannes** baptized Cape 12 February 1736
[A:[nn]o 1736 Naemen der gedoopte kinderen [12 februarij]] ... **Johannes**. (onecht) De moeder **Rosetta van Bengalen**. De soogesgde vader **Johannes van Ceijlon**. De getuigen **Jan van Ceijlon** en **Rachel de Vijf**; dies in infancy
- (4) **Frans** baptized Cape 14 July 1737
[A:[nn]o 1737 Naemen der gedoopten Den 14 Julij ... **Frans** (onecht). De moeder **Rosetta** <en getuige> **van Bengalen**. De soogenaemde vader **Jan Jansz**]
- (5) **Johannes Willem Jansen** baptized [?] **Johannes Valentijn** Cape 23 April 1741
[A:[nn]o 1741 Naemen der gedoopten ... Den 23 dito [April] **Johannes Valentijn** [Jansen], de ouders **Johannes Janzen van Cijlon**, en **Rosetta van Bengalen**, de getuijge **Valentijn van de Cust**, en **Eva van de Caep**]
marries Cape 1755
Louisa Smit (d/o **Christina Susanna van de Caep**)⁸⁰
- (6) **Maria Sultania** aka **Maria Juliana Jansen van de Caep** baptised Cape (29 March 1744)⁸¹
marries Cape 14 September 1760
Johann / Jan Heinrich / Hendrik Christoffel Schmidt / Smit⁸² (from Burg [near Magdeburg])
arrives (1754) as young sailor; house carpenter (1755-1760); burgher (1760); dies (1789); 5 children
- (7) **Hendrik Jan** baptized Cape (12 June 1746)⁸³, dies in infancy

Johannes Jansz: and his 2nd wife **Rosetta van Bengaalen**, draw up a joint will (1750)⁸⁴ and again a 2nd joint will or codicil (1764).⁸⁵ After the death of both Rosetta and her 2nd husband, there is a memorial (12 December 1769) from the Orphan Masters⁸⁶ in their capacity as executors to the deceased estate of **Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon** and his wife **Rosetta van Bengale**. They submit that the latter, in her will, desires the manumission of her slave, **Augusto van Ceylon** offering as sureties, the burghers **Jan Mostert** (from Wieringen) and **Daniel Winst**. An extract from the will is annexed to the memorial.⁸⁷ Rosetta dies in 1769.



Rosetta's inventory is drawn up (16 October 1769). A full transcription follows hereunder:⁸⁸

Rosetta van Bengalen

16 October 1769

Cloppenburg

Inventaris van alle sodanige goederen als 'er naar voor afgaande op den 6:e Julij 1750 gepasseerde testamentaire dispositie met haar en haar voor overleedene man, mitsgaders op den 10:e Maart 1764 door haar nader gemaakte codicillaire dispositie metter dood zijn ontruijmt en de naargelaaten door **Rosetta van Bengalen wed: Jan Jansz: van Ceijlon**, ten voordeele van haare nagelatene kind en kindskinderen, met naamen:

1) **Valentijn van Oolen** bij representatie van wijlen desselfs moeder **Johanna Rebecca Jansz:** gehuwt geweest met **Harmen van Oolen**

2) **Sara Christina Danielsz:** en

Hendrik Danielsz: bij plaatsvulling van wijlen hunlieder moeder Appolinia Jansz: getr: geweest met **Adolph Danielsz:**

3) **Johannes Adriaan Jansz:** bij representatie van wijlen desselfs vader **Johannes Willem Jansz:**

4) **Maria Juliana Jansz:** getrouwt met den burger **Hendrik Smit**

Sodanig ende in diervoegen als deselve door ons ondergeteekende zijn opgenoomen en g'inventariseert, mitsgaders bevonden te bestaan in 't volgende, namentlijk:

Een huijs en erff staande en de geleegeen in deese Taffelvalleij blijkens transport van den 27:e December 1746

In eevengem: huijs

In de caamer ter regterhand

1 ophaal gordijn

8 schilderijen

4 cop:e armblaakers

1 ledicant met roode behangsel daar op

3 buldsacken

2 peulen

9 cussens

1 combaars

1 cabinet daar op

1 stel porc:e potten

9 porc:e beeldjes

en daar in

eenige kleederen van de overleedene

1 silvere tasbeugel

1 silvere haak

1 silvere sleutelhaak

1 p:s bedde tijk

4 spiegels

1 opslag tafel



1 vierk:e tafel
2 doosen
1 pijperak daar op wat beeldjes en glaswerk
1 kist met cop:e beslag, daar in
4 stoelkussens
1 blaauwe ledicants behangsel
1 knaap
2 guerridons
11 stoelen
2 stoelkussens
1 porc:e scheerbecken

In 't voorhuijs
5 racken, daar op
20 porc:e schootels
16 porc:e borden
13 porc:e commen
2 porc:e boterpotten
1 parthij porcelijn
5 schilderijtjes in sort
2 houte bakjes
1 spiegel
2 armblaakers
2 vogelkoijen
1 houte kroon
1 eetens kasje daar in
1 parthij porcelijn en aardewerk
1 kist daar in
1 blicke trammel
3 tinne schootels
4 porc:e schootels
3 porc:e commen
7 porc:e borden
13 messen
11 vorken
9 tinne leepels
1 keldertje, daar in
1 Japans cop:e keetel
1 porc:e bak
1 porc:e com en wat porcelijn
1 tinne soupleepel
2 tafels



10 stoelen
2 aarde potten
1 cop:e confoor en 1 tinne schenckkeetel
1 porc:e trekpote en wat porc:e theegoed

In de combuijs
1 kist
1 houten bak
2 cop:e castrollen
1 cop:e staartpan
1 cop:e lampet met zijn beken
1 cop:e vijsel met zijn stamper
1 cop:e confoor
3 cop:e strijkijzers
5 cop:e quispedoortjes
2 cop:e candelars
2 cop:e blaakers
1 cop:e schenckkeetel
1 cop:e kookkeetel
1 cop:e taartepan met zijn deksel
6 ysere potten
1 cop:e coffijkan
2 blicke lantaarns
2 ijsere koekepannen
2 ijsere roosters
1 ijsere asschop
2 ijsere vuurtangen
1 ijsere leepel
1 ijsere schuijmspan
2 waterhalfaamen
1 cop:e beeker
1 wasch balij
1 water emmer
1 rijstblok met zijn stamper
2 schoorsteenkettings
1 rolstok
1 boterbak
1 moker

Op de agterplaats
1 kadel
2 oude vaaten



2 theerputsen
2 huijsleeren
2 balijs
2 tinne waterpotten

Leijfeijgen
1 slave jonge genaamt August van Ceijlon

Zijnde geene contanten in den boedel gevonden

Inne schulden		
		Rd:s
vold:n	van den heere vendumeester over vendupenningen weegens een op de naam van Hendrik Smit verkogte dog deesen boedel gehoorende schuijt	42:12

Lasten	
	Rd:s
aan de Weescaamer deeser steede aan capitaal volgens Weesmeesteren kennisse de dato 10:e April 1762 f300	100:--
beneevens 2 1/2 jaaren daar op verloopene intr: 't sed:t primo Jann: 1767 tot ult:o Junij 1769 â 6 p:r c:o	15:--
aan Jan Daniel	6:--
aan Hendrik Smit	13:30
Somma	Rd:s134:30

Aldus g'inventariseert ten huijse voorm:t aan Cabo de Goede Hoop den 16:e October 1769.

J:s H:s Blanckenberg

J:H: Redelinghuijs

Jonker van Macassar

Looking to the earlier life of the mother of **Adolf Jonker** and again resorting to the *Opgaafrollen*, we can track **Rosetta** and her sons as part of the family of the free-fisherman **Jonker van Macassar**.

- 1721: (no. 336) **Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Java**: 2 sons & 2 slaves
- 1724: (no. 342): **Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Macassar**: 2 sons, 2 daughters & 2 slaves
- 1725: (no. 396): **Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Macassar**: 2 sons, 2 daughters & 4 slaves
- 1731: (no. 333): **Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Macassar**: 2 sons & 2 slaves

Further investigation into the following transcribed slave transactions lodged with the *Transporten en Schepenkenissen* will throw more light on this family's slave dealings.⁸⁹

24 May 1718: **November van** [no toponym] sold by **Matthijs Perreira** to **Jonkers van Macassar** for 100.00



30 January 1725:	Mercurius van Bengale (25) sold by Jacob Muller to Jonker van Macassar for 120.00
5 September 1726:	Mercurius van Bengale sold by Jonker van Macassar to Carel Pietersz: [van Bombay] for 150.00
11 August 1730:	September van Manda sold by Rosetta van Java to Martin Heem for 120.00

The two sons enumerated appear to be none other than **Adolf Jonker** and **Jacobus Jansz: [van Amsterdam]**⁹⁰ with the two daughters being **Catharina Jonkers** and **Johanna Jonkers**. **Jonker van Macassar** draws up a will (29 January 1727) wherein provision is made for the four children of **Rosetta van Java** to inherit. In the will the children are named:⁹¹

Jacob, Jamela, Adol Jolle and Raja [Raija]⁹².

The first two names **Jacob** (عقوب or `Ya'qub`)⁹³ and **Jamela** (جميله or `Jamila`⁹⁴) make sense as established Arabic names as does Ra(i)ja (راية or `Raya`). **Adol Jolle** appears to be a very likely corruption or transcription error for **Abdullah / Abdallah** (عبد .)⁹⁵. Nevertheless there is already sufficient evidence available to us indicating that these four children are the same four children of Rosetta later found as **Jacob Jansz:, Johanna Jonker, Adolf Jonker** and **Catharina Jonker**, respectively.

The presence (1722) of **Jonker van Macassar** as an important member of the free-fisherman community and boat owner is further corroborated by an unsuccessful petition⁹⁶ (and subsequent resolution of the Council of Policy⁹⁷) by the colony's fishermen owning boats. They request permission to again fish at, and near, the Salt River. Fishing had been forbidden following a serious gale. **Jonker van Macassar** is one of the signatories to the memorial:

Paulus Hartog⁹⁸, the **Widow Jan Verbeek**⁹⁹, **Harmen Grutter**¹⁰⁰, **Johannes Mulder**¹⁰¹, **Titus Jacobse**¹⁰², **Jan Pretorius**¹⁰³, **Jacob of Bougis**¹⁰⁴, **Jonker of Macassar**, **Sobinko the Chinaman**¹⁰⁵, **Hercules Valentijn**¹⁰⁶ and **Daniel Deuren**¹⁰⁷.

Jonker van Macassar does not sign the earlier better known sworn declaration (1706) signed by the free-fishermen (*vrij vissers*) community in support of **Willem Adriaan van der Stel**:¹⁰⁸

"Appeared before the Commissioners of the Council of Justice, **Willem Basson**¹⁰⁹, **Reynier van de Zande**¹¹⁰, **Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen**¹¹¹, **Willem Duyser**¹¹², **Corn.[elis] Claasz: [Kuip]**¹¹³, **Pieter Pietersz: de Groot**¹¹⁴, **Lammert Simonsz: [Stam]**¹¹⁵, **Roelof Carstensz: Osenbergh**¹¹⁶, **Lourens Pluvier**¹¹⁷, **Claas Koningshoven**¹¹⁸, **Domingo of Bengal**¹¹⁹, **Abraham de Vyf**¹²⁰, **Moses and [sic] Aaron**¹²¹, **Joost Ventura**¹²², **Sampoerny of Macassar**¹²³, **Coridon of Nagapatam**¹²⁴, **Claas Claasz: of Bengal**¹²⁵, **Gerrit Claasz:**¹²⁶ **Emanuel of Macassar**¹²⁷, **Mira Moor**¹²⁸, **Reba of Macassar**¹²⁹, **Abraham of Macassar**¹³⁰, and **Sriyay Moeda**¹³¹, all free burghers and domiciled here, who at the requisition of the Hon.[orable] Governor **W.A. van der Stel** declare that they all, since the Governor's presence here, and when the weather was favourable, by day and by night whenever they had no other work, had gone out fishing, in order to earn their food properly and honestly, not only along the shores of this bay, but also elsewhere in the neighbourhood, and wherever they thought that they could do so freely and without let or hindrance, but also their children, partners and slaves. Not one of them has ever been hindered by the Hon.[orable] Governor or anyone sent by his orders, much less reproached in any way for so doing. To confirm the above the 12 first named, being Europeans, each uttered the solemn words, "So truly," &c., whilst the remaining 11 do so by means of their signatures, - In the Castle, 16th March,

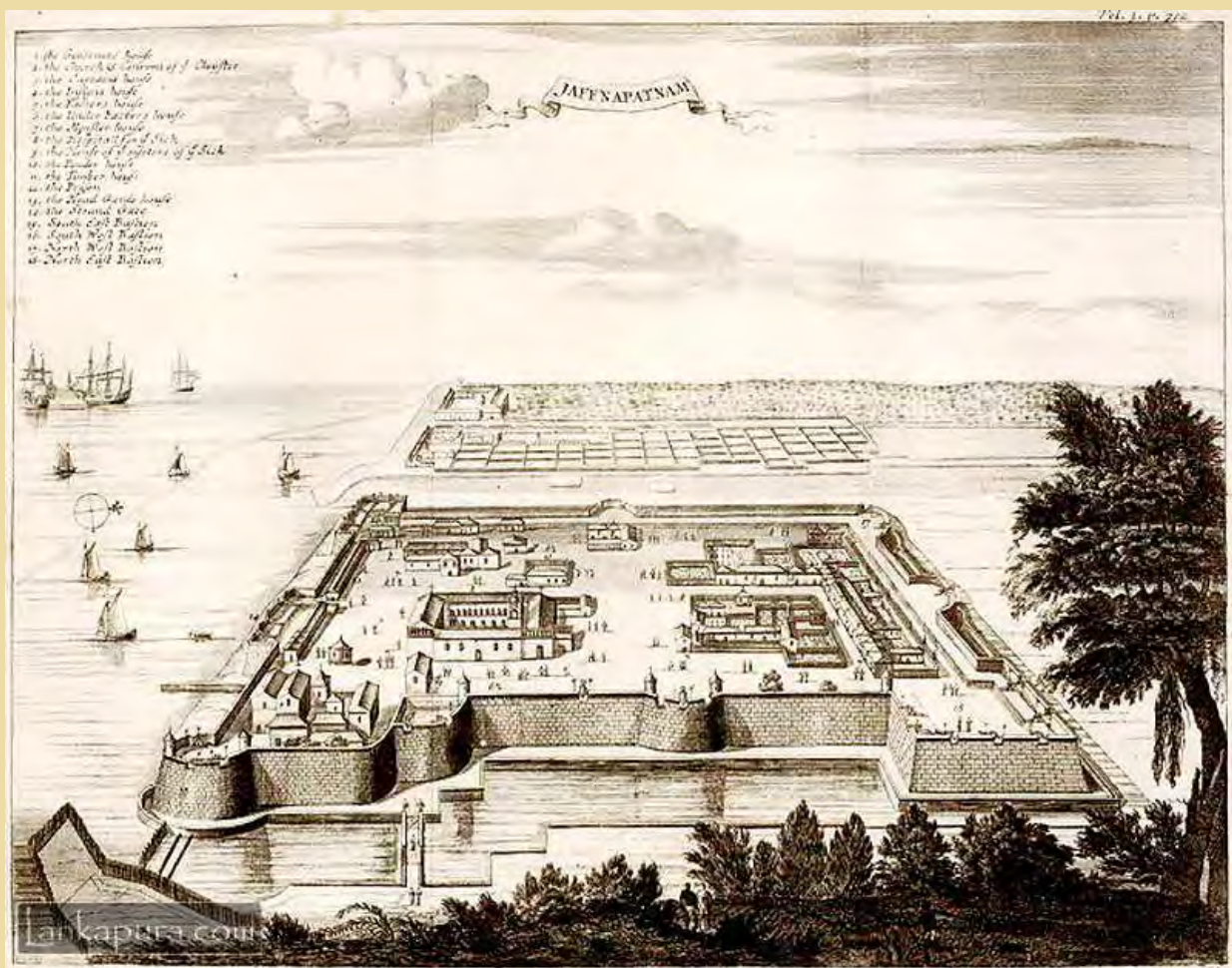


1706, before the Commissioners **A.[driaen] van Reede, K.J. Slotsboo, and H.[endrik] Bouman**, members of the Court of Justice, who have with deponents subscribed to the above.”
Quod Attestor, A. POULLE, Secretary

23 people are mentioned of whom 16 sign declarations. Franken states that, according to the declaration, the first 12 signatories are European *and* Christians (*als zijnde Europeaanen, en christenen*) deducing that signatories who were *halfslagh* are included in concept.¹³² This, however, is a misreading of the very passage that he quotes. The comma after Europeans indicates that these 12 signatories were either both Europeans and Christians simultaneously, or Christians only (but not necessarily also Europeans). More significantly for purposes of this inquiry, however, Franken mentions Leibbrandt's omission of the following signatories:

Jacob van de Cust Coromandel¹³³, **Augustyn van Madagascar**¹³⁴, **Moses van Macassar**¹³⁵ and **Daniel Rodrigo / Rodrigues**¹³⁶.

This begs the question: What about **Jonker van Macassar**? To answer, we need to delve deeper into the actual identity of **Jonker van Macassar**. This we can do by seeking earlier available records for Rosetta.



Rosetta van Java / van Ceijllon/ Jaffnapatnam

We first possibly find **Rosetta van Java** - at times also recorded as **Rosetta van Ceijllon** - mentioned as **Rosetta van Jaffnapatnam** when sold (12 May 1702) by **Gerrit Koek** to Cape Governor **Willem Adriaan van der Stel** for Rds. 95. She then witnesses the baptism (8 March 1705) of the infant **Jacob Cornelisse**, son of **Maria van de Caab** by **Seyser [Caesar] van Batavia**.¹³⁷ To qualify as a witness, she needs to be previously baptized herself. **Rosetta van Macassar** becomes a member of the Reformed Church at the Cape (1729) being in possession of a certificate of membership from Batavia.¹³⁸ If this is indeed our Rosetta, then the legality of the sale (1702) of **Rosetta van Jaffnapatnam** is in question as baptized slaves are forbidden by the Statutes of Batavia to be sold - unless Rosetta has gone to Batavia (*post* 1702) returning baptized thereafter to the Cape.



Rosetta van Ceijlon [Rosetta van Jaffnapatnam?] is next on record baptizing (6 February 1707) an enslaved daughter **Catharina**.¹³⁹ Witnessed by **Maria van Macassar**, the infant's father is recorded as **Adam van Batavia**.¹⁴⁰ The next time **Rosetta van Java** is on record however, is much later (17 February 1717) when as **Rosetta van Batavia** she baptizes her daughter **Johanna** - a slave child belonging to **Katsili Daijan Mamoedij, Prins van Ternate**. The baptism is witnessed by free-black and free-fisherman **Titus Jacobsz: van Macassar** and his wife **Johanna van Macassar**.



The baptism explicitly states that the infant has been granted her freedom (*het kind is vrij gegeven*):¹⁴¹

17 Februarii [1717]. Gedoopt een slaaven-kind van **Katsili Daijan Mamoe dij, Prins van Ternate**: de moeder was **Rosetta van Batavia**: de getuigen **Titus Jacobsz. van Macassar**, en **Johanna, van Macassar**, zijn huisvrouw.
NB. Het kind is vrij gegeven
Johanna¹⁴²

But it is this baptism that helps us to identify **Jonker van Macassar** more positively which begs the question whether her two sons **Jacobus Jansz**: and **Adolf Jonker** were not perhaps born elsewhere. Rosetta's association with the Prince of Ternate or Prince (*Jonker / Jonkheer*) of Makassar opens up a whole new field of inquiry. Important to note is that her change of ownership to the Prince of Ternate co-incides with the **Willem Adriaan van der Stel**'s recall (23 April 1707) to *Patria* following accusations of gubernatorial misgovernment by disgruntled Cape free-burghers. It also co-incides with the return to Batavia from the Cape of certain exiled Makassarese royals and their retinues.

Exiled Prince of Ternate

He first makes his politically sensitive appearance in Cape records in a letter (4 May 1704) sent from Batavia informing the Cape authorities of his banishment to the Cape:¹⁴³

"A prisoner convicted of rape is sent to the Cape, and not executed, as he is a relative of the King of Ternate, and his execution would have been an affront to that family..."

Annexed to the letter informing the Cape authorities of his imminent arrival is an extract of the minutes of the Batavia Council (3 January 1704) justifying his expedient exile to the Cape of Good Hope following his conviction for committing rape.¹⁴⁴ The crime of rape points to Dutch jurisdictional enforcement and likely involves a Dutch subject as victim. Further investigation is likely to confirm that this crime was probably committed either at Batavia or somewhere on Sulawesi where the Macassarese hold sway and where a senior branch of the royal family of Ternate relocate after fleeing the royal court at Ternate (1656).¹⁴⁵ It is from this branch from which the prince in question likely descends. He appears to be the 3rd son of **Kyai Chili Kalamata** (son of a Kalamata lady) by his 3rd wife **Daeng Nija Karaeng Panaikang (15 January 1631-13 January 1686)**, former wife of **Mas Pamayang [Mas Jini]**, sultan of Sumbawa and younger daughter of **I-Manginyarang Daeng Makiya Karaeng Kanjilo 'Abdu'l Jafar Muzaffar**, the *karaeng* of Tallo and **Tuma'bicarabutta** of Gowa.¹⁴⁶

His father, who flees to Makassar (1656) and dies there (23 February 1676), is son to the reigning sultan of Ternate (1607-1627) **Paduka Sri Sultan Muzaffar Shah I ibni al-Marhum Sultan Said ud-din Barakat Shah**, born at Ternate (1595) as **Kyai Chili Muzaffar**, 3rd son of reigning sultan **Paduka Sri Sultan Ni'matullah Sa'id Sa'adat Shah Zillu'llah fi'l-'alamin ibni al-Marhum Sultan Babu'llah Datu Shah [Sahid**



Barakat by 6th wife from Kalamata who ascends the throne of Ternate by VOC intercession (c. 13 May 1607).

1607 - 1627

Paduka Sri Sultan Muzaffar Shah I ibni al-Marhum Sultan Said ud-din Barakat Shah (1595-1627), Sultan of Ternate; born at Ternate (1595), as **Kyai Chili Muzaffar**, 3rd son of **Paduka Sri Sultan Ni'matullah Sa'id Sa'adat Shah Zillu'llah fi'l-'alamin ibni al-Marhum Sultan Babu'llah Datu Shah [Sahid Barakat]**, Sultan of Ternate, by 1st wife, **Jou Ma Boki Ainal Malamo**, educated privately; ascends throne with Dutch help (c. 13 May 1607); dies at Ternate (16 June 1627)

marries (1) 1612

NW daughter of Sangaji of Sahu;

marries (2) 1616

NW daughter of Datu of Sarangani in Mindanao;

marries (3) 1623

NW daughter of Sangaji of Gam Konora.

marries (4) 1624

daughter of heir Apparent of Tidore, & granddaughter of **Paduka Sri Maha Tuan Sultan Jamal ud-din**, Sultan of Tidore

marries (5) 1626

NW daughter of Sangaji of Ngofakiah

marries (6)

NW lady from Soa Kalamata

marries (7)

Bina, lady from Soa Tobolu

marries (8)

NW lady from Kulaba.

5 sons:

(1) **Kyai Chili Kalamata** (s/o **NW** Kalamata lady); flees to Makassar 1656; dies at Makassar (23 February 1676);

marries (1) **Boki Toboleo**, daughter of **Kyai Chili 'Ali, Kapita Laut**; flees to Makassar (1656)

marries (2) **Miri [Siti Miriam]**.

marries (3) 5 September 1656 (divorced 9 June 1664)

Daeng Nija Karaeng Panaikang (born 15 January 1631; dies 13 January 1686), former wife of **H.H. Sultan Mas Pamayang [Mas Jini]**, Sultan of Sumbawa, & younger daughter of **H.H. I-Manginyarang Daeng Makiya Karaeng Kanjilo 'Abdu'l Jafar Muzaffar**, Karaeng of Tallo & **Tuma'bicarabutta** of Gowa.

3 sons & 2 daughters:

(a) **Kapita Laut** (s/o **Toboleo**); exiled to Cape of Good Hope [?]¹⁴⁷

(b) **Kyai Chili Pankula** (s/o **Miri**).

marries

Boki Mauludu (born 1660), eldest daughter of **Paduka Sri Sultan Mandar Shah [Manlarsaha] ibni al-Marhum Sultan Muzaffar Shah**, Sultan of Ternate.

(c) **Kyai Chili ... (s/o Daeng Nija)** exiled to Cape of Good Hope [?]¹⁴⁸

(d) **Boki Saya**

(e) **Jou Ma Boki Ruze**

marries at Makassar, 1675 (divorced 1676)

Paduka Sri Sultan Sibori ibni al-Marhum Sultan Mandar Shah, Sultan of Ternate (dies at Jailolo, 27 April 1689), eldest son of **H.H. Paduka Sri Sultan Mandar Shah [Manlarsaha] ibni al-Marhum Sultan Muzaffar Shah**, Sultan of Ternate by wife **Ainun**, daughter of **Miru**



- (2) **Kyai Chili Tahubo**, who succeeds as **Paduka Sri Sultan Mandar Shah [Manlarsaha] ibni al-Marhum Sultan Muzaffar Shah**, Sultan of Ternate (s/o Bina)
- (3) **Paduka Sri Sultan Manilha ibni al-Marhum Sultan Muzaffar Shah**, Sultan of Ternate (s/o the Kulaba lady)
- (4) **Kyai Chili Majira** (half-brother of **Kalamata & Saidi**); flees to Makassar (1656); exiled to Cape of Good Hope [?]¹⁴⁹
- (5) **Kyai Chili Saidi** (half-brother of **Majira & Kalimata**); Laksamana; killed at Seram (July 1655)



Earlier Exiled Asian Royalty

The Prince of Ternate is by no means alone as exiled Indonesian royalty at the Cape. Already in 1681 the VOC had rounded up troublesome Makassarese and Ternatan royalty and in divide-and-rule tactics shipped them into exile at the Cape. The ships *Macassar* and *Huis te Zilwerstein*¹⁵⁰ (21 March 1681) brings the royal princes and their retinues. In the same Return Fleet we find **Rijckloff van Goens Jr.**. Their banishment is justified by VOC Commissioner **Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein**.¹⁵¹

Verbannen Oosterlingen aan de Kaap

Aenmerkende de hooge regeringh van India in gebruik hebben moetwillige en boosdoenders bij de Justitie over crimen alhier te barmen, daerbij geschied de E.[dele] Compagnie dienst op dese plaetse, wanneer deselve bequaem zijn om te arbeijden, maer dewijle daer ook wider komen aensienelijke Indianen, die uijt politique consideration van staet als in bewaringh werden gesonden, zulx is dese plaetse een last niet soo veel ten aensien der onkosten, als wel om deselve te moeten bewaren. Want het Casteel klijn, het volk van 't guarnisoen weijnigh, die luijden voornamentlijk Javanen, Maleijers



en Macassaren, seer gevaerlijck ende boosaerdigh, wanneer deselve tot wanhoop gebragt zijnde, konden deselve niet al met de grootste zorgen werden aengehouden. Over dese luijden is den Commandeur geordonneerd belangende alle de Oosterlingen hierboven genoemt, soo veel van den anderen in het land en bij den swaerste arbeijdt te senden in steede van sooveel andere als doenlijk sal zijn, teneijnde deselve verdeelt, te minder mogten werden gevreest.

Een broeder van den koning van Makassar

Onder de aensienlijkste van alien was mede den prince **Daijn Mangale**, broeder van den tegenwoordigen **koning van Makassar**. Desen prince beklagden zijn ongeluk en den haet van zijn broeder, om wiens wille hij na zijn voorgeven in desen staet gebragt was, en versocht soo het onmogelijk sijnde, vaststondt noijt in vrijheijt te zullen kunnen raeken, dan doch hem die gunste mogt geschieden van deselve plaetsete werden versonden, 't zij na Europa ofte eenigh ander gedeelten van de werelt. Inderdaed considererende in desen man de wispelturige veranderinge van bet geva ontrent den staet van des mensche geluk, was voor mij onmogelijk denselven aen te sien sonder bewegingh en medelijden. Derhalven niet wetende hoedanigh zijn persoon na 't intrest van d'E. Compagnie in India bij de hooge regeringh wierd aengemerkt, mitsgaders of denselven noijt eenige hoop konde hebben of van perdon of versoeningh, soo dagt mij egter de meeningh van d'E.[dele] Compagnie niet te kunnen zijn soodanigen persoon, schoon uijt insigten van zijn saeken een vijand van d'E.[dele] Compagnie zijnde, en uijt dien hoofden een gevangen, veel min soo hij zulk was ten behaegen van zijn broeder dan wel en behoorlijk te laten tracteren, om Compagnie van haere vijanden en afgunstige soude kunnen nagaan, dat zijnde door het geluck van den oorlogh meester gewarden van koningen en princen, deselve laet mishandelen. geworden van koningen en princen, deselve laet mishandelen. Hetwelck den Commandeur hebbende doen begrijpen hoe denselven verpligt was op alle eerelijke wijze sigh van zijn.

The exiles are found listed (1686) as follows:¹⁵²

Daim Mengale van Macasser¹⁵³
Assang van Macasser¹⁵⁴
Boung van Macasser¹⁵⁵
Samprima van Macasser¹⁵⁶
Kierssi [?] van Macasser¹⁵⁷
Daim Manjampa van Macasser¹⁵⁸
Rervat van Macasser¹⁵⁹
Bunni Dada van Macasser van Calomkoij¹⁶⁰
Rammasoda van Macasser¹⁶¹
Ramantompi van Macasser¹⁶²
Catchill Mida Gerontale¹⁶³
Catchill Isgne Goedgogoe van Limbotte [Limbotto, Gorontalo]¹⁶⁴

Of note are the two last-mentioned princes whose identities not only become blurred and confused but who appear to also be members of the Ternatan royal family.¹⁶⁵

Also prior to the prince's arrival we find arriving on the *Voetboog* (27 June 1693) ex Ceylon also as exiles to the Cape **Abadin Tadia Tjoessoep (1626–1699)** aka **Sheikh Yusuf / Shaikh Yusup / Sheik(h) Joseph - den Macassarisse Priester, Schjegh Joseph – Muhammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111 / 1627-99) alias Abd Allāh Abū al-Mahāsin al-Tāj al-Khalwātī al-Maqassārī** (known in Sulawesi as **Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa**) and his retinue.¹⁶⁶

Again (17 February 1698) we see the arrival at Cape of exiled Raja of Tambora¹⁶⁷ **Nissa Nudum Abdul(a) Radja / Raja / Rassa** aka **Djamaluddin / Jamaluddin** aka **Abdul Azziz / Djalil** or **Alubasi / Abdul Basi Sultan / Sultania** aka **Damala Daeng Mamongon** on the *Lands Welvaren* ex Batavia. The raja is allowed to take up residence at the Company's guesthouse and stables in the garden at *Rustenburg* with the other



Makassarese exiles. Later we see him taking up residence at *Vergelegen*, controversial country retreat (*lusthof*) of Cape governor **Willem Adriaen van der Stel** at the Hottentots-Holland [Somerset West].¹⁶⁸ **François Valentijn (1666-1727)**, when visiting the Cape and *Vergelegen* was surprised to encounter none other than the Tambora royals in residence. The raja was busy transcribing (translating?) the Koran for His Excellency (*om den Coraan of Alcoraan voor zijn Edele zeer net uit te schrijven*) and the ranee **Sitina Sara Marouff** – daughter to **Sheikh Yusuf / Shaikh Yusup / Sheik(h) Joseph** – was supervising the governor's household (*zoo wat opzigt op dit huishouden*).¹⁶⁹

Ternate

Ternate, the most prominent of the four Moluccan sultanates, dates its foundation to 1257 AD. The ruling house traces its origins to the arrival of the Muslim sage, **Sayyid Ja'afar Sadik**, but the exact line of descent is subject to contradictory genealogies. The genealogies are only certain from the late 16th century Sultan, **Zainal Abidin**. The island shares a unique history with the neighbouring states of Jailolo, Tidore and Bacan. All four share the same legendary past in which they form a cosmic whole, almost a separate universe or realm. In this universe, each state has its appointed place. Ternate forms the most important unit and its ruler is termed the *Kolano ma-Luku* ('ruler of the Moluccas'). Modern history, however, suggests that Ternate's position owes its place to military triumphs, successfully concluded when it vanquished Tidore and Jailolo (1380).

As the world's major producer of cloves the sultans of Ternate (and neighbouring rival [Tidore](#)) become among the wealthiest, most powerful traditional rulers in the Indonesian archipelago. The sultans of Ternate rule nominally over [Ambon](#), eastern [Sulawesi](#), [Seram](#) and parts of [Papua](#) until complete [Dutch](#) colonization of Maluku in the 19th century. At its peak under **Baabullah**, Tidore's trade-dependent culture makes Ternate one of the earliest places in the region for [Islam](#) to take root – likely via [Java](#) (late 15th century) starting with the ruling family itself. The first Europeans on Ternate are part of the [Portuguese](#) expedition of **Francisco Serrão** from [Malacca](#) shipwrecked near [Seram](#) but rescued by local residents. Sultan **Abu Lais** brings them to Ternate (1512). The Portuguese build (1522) **Fort Tolukko** deposing (1535) **Tabariji** sending him to Goa where he converts to Christianity changing his name to **Dom Manuel**. He resumes his throne, however, but dies (1545) en route in Malacca bequeathing [Ambon](#) to his Portuguese godfather **Jordão de Freitas**. When Sultan **Hairun** is executed and his head exhibited on a pike (1570), Ternateans rebel against the Portuguese who relinquish their fort (1575) to the new Sultan. Ambon becomes the new centre for Portuguese activities in Maluku. European power in the region weakens and Ternate becomes an expanding, fiercely Islamic and anti-Portuguese state under **Baab Ullah** (r. 1570–1583) and his son **Said**. In 1580, the sultan entertains Sir **Francis Drake** (1580), who much to the surprise of the Ternateans, has no interest in buying cloves as the *Golden Hind* is too full of Spanish-American gold to carry cloves. As [Portuguese](#) battles in the [Indian Ocean](#) against Muslim Powers rage on, Ternate attracts interest via the [Sultanate of Aceh](#). **Kurtoğlu Hızır Reis** the Ottoman admiral plans to reach [Java](#), [Borneo](#) and Ternate but is prevented by a Portuguese fleet in [Sumatra](#). Spanish and Dutch traders competing for control over the lucrative clove trade play Ternate off against Tidore. The Dutch eventually become the dominant European power although the sultanates remain in place almost continually until today. [Spanish](#) forces capture (1606)



the former Portuguese fort from Ternate, deporting the sultan and his entourage to Manila. The Dutch are back in Ternate (1607) where with the help of locals build a fort in Malayo. The Spaniards occupy the southern part of the island at Ciudad del Rosario. The island is divided between the two powers: Spaniards allied with Tidore and the Dutch with their Ternaten allies. For the Ternaten rulers, the Dutch presence gives them military advantages against Tidore and the Spanish. Under [Hamzah](#) (1627-1648), Ternate expands its territory and strengthens its control over the region. Dutch influence over the kingdom is limited while **Hamzah** and his successor son, [Mandar Syah](#) (1648-1675) concede some regions to the VOC in exchange for helping to control rebellions there. The Spaniards abandon Ternate and Tidore (1663). By the 18th century Ternate becomes the site of a VOC governorship controlling trade in the northern Moluccas.



Dutch Fort Oranye at Ternate (This file was provided to Wikimedia Commons by the Tropenmuseum as part of a cooperation project.)

The arrival of Dutch (1599) proves fortuitous to **Kaicili Muzaffar**, youngest son of Sultan **Said**. He forges an alliance with the VOC, which secures him the throne (1607). The sultan grants the VOC a lucrative contract with an exclusive spice concession (1609). However, the embrace of the VOC proves too constricting, especially after they intervene in a succession dispute (1650). Although a serious conflict erupts (1683), the Dutch are now firmly established at Amboina and defeat inevitable. Thereafter, Ternate effectively becomes a Dutch protectorate. Although relations with the Dutch remain peaceful, continuing rivalry with the Tidore results in sporadic outbreaks of conflict into the 19th century. Although there is an attempt to end the sultanate (1876) and again



(1916), the Dutch colonial powers change their minds and relent in the face of popular feeling. They restore the sultanate (1927) and make no further attempts to destroy the institution. The position of the sultan remains one influential, both politically and in the religious and cultural fields.



Royal Palace at Ternate (This file was provided to Wikimedia Commons by the Tropenmuseum as part of a cooperation project.)

Exile at the Cape of Good Hope

After arrival at the Cape the banished prince petitions the authorities in Batavia for more financial support and this petition is duly forwarded by the Cape governor (7 December 1706):¹⁷⁰

“Annexed is a petition of the Ternatan Prince **Kitsjel Dain Mamoe die** to this Council for more liberal provision for his support, as he cannot come round with the Rixdollars 6 given him monthly. For such people it is much more expensive and costly to live here as regards food and clothes. Since his presence here he has behaved himself quietly and well”.

Doulat van Balij, the freed slave of **Dain Mamoodi, Prince of Ternate**, and receiving (1717) a monthly allowance (*maandgeld*) in order to assist him to earn his living as a free man is found guilty (1718) of housebreak and theft in the Stellenbosch District.¹⁷¹



Thereafter the freed slave **Leander van Malabar** petitions (1721) the governor to force the Prince of Ternate - named **Dayan Mamodie, Prince of Kalomato**¹⁷² - to comply with his undertaking to free him. Bought by the “so-called Prince of Ternate” at a sale on the farm of **Samuel Elsevier** for Rds 201, the prince had promised Leander that if refunded with the same amount, he would give him his liberty. Leander saves the money and duly pays the prince who takes his money but refuses free him. As evidence, Leander tenders the receipt with the prince’s mark witnessed by **Rijk Tulbagh**.¹⁷³

On 24 November 1722 the Council resolves to banish him to Robben Island.¹⁷⁴ Here we learn that he has been the subject of longstanding complaints regarding his unlawful and indecent behavior which include making use of both Europeans and slaves (male and female) in his house day and night for purposes of gambling, prostitution and other indecencies. Things come to a head one midnight when the fiscal intercepts a gambling party involving a European and numerous slaves belonging to both Company officials and free-burghers. The Council of Policy decides to prevent this “stubborn prince” and the male slave that he uses to pimp for him from further debauching the slaves. They are to be whipped in public by the *caffers* and sent to Robben Island to do hard labour until such time the Company decides otherwise. No evidence has come to light that he ever comes back from Robben Island. Is his appearance as **Jonker van Macassar** in the *Opgaaf Rollen* merely nominal and indicative of his continuing household on the mainland? Never formally arraigned, his banishment to Robben Island, however, is an extrajudicial or politically motivated decision.

Much later (11 February 1733) the prince – now recorded as **Ketees Malocco** - is again the subject of resolutions of the Council of Policy.¹⁷⁵ This time it is in connection with his concerns about the legal status of his children and their right to inherit from him once he becomes old and sick or after his demise. There is no concern for the mother of his children who technically is still enslaved. He delegates **Abraham Decker**¹⁷⁶ to appear on his behalf before the Council of Policy requesting to be allowed to free his three children by his slave **Rosetta van Ceijlon: Amel, Talie** and **Adel**.¹⁷⁷ These names appear to be Dutch transliterations of Arabic names:

Amel:	أمل	(Amal)		
Talie:	perhaps transcription error for		جالية (Jalila)	or even راية (Raya)?
Adel:	ال عبد	(Abdul) or	الله عبد (Abdullah)	

We learn that at this stage the children in question have been taken up into the households of **Decker** and **Daniel Thibault**.¹⁷⁸ The three children in question are taken up into colonial society as Christians now renamed **Johanna, Catharina** and **Adolf**. **Johanna** had already been given her freedom at the time of her baptism (1717). The prince subsequently draws up a will (17 February 1733) while still on Robben Island appointing **Decker** as his executor. His appointment is ratified by the Council of Policy at its next meeting.¹⁷⁹ The children are formally manumitted (24 April 1733).¹⁸⁰ Did the prince’s deteriorating health precipitate these events? Unfortunately, his deceased estate papers do not appear to have survived so that we have no idea as to the extent of his property and how it was alienated *post mortem*.

During the prince’s absence, the colonial authorities clearly remodel – culturally and religiously - his disrupted household. It appears that not only provision is made for his slave (and concubine) and her children to become wards of the Orphan Chamber, but



also for **Rosetta** to become a member of the Reformed Church at the Cape (1729) and for all the appropriated children to be baptized. The contested paternity of her eldest son **Jacob / Jacobus Jansz: / Janze** appears to now be `settled` and he is baptized (24 September 1730):

*Den 24 dito [september 1730] **Johannis**, (on echt) de moeder is **Rosetta van Java**, de zoogezegde vaeder **Bastiaen van Cijlon**, de getuijge is 't kints moeder];*

His later marriage with the name **Jacobus Jansz, van Amsterdam** possibly indicates a later somatic and ascribed European biological paternity. Worth noting, however, is the possibility that `Jansz` may well have been a contraction of the end part of the name `Bastiaen`; and that his freedom at majority was also facilitated and possibly justified on the basis that his biological father appears to be free-born and never enslaved. In the marriage register we find **Bastiaen van Ceijlon** as *vrijgebore Cingalees* (30 March 1732) making a further appearance:

*A:[nn]o 1732 ('Naemen der geene die zich in den echt' from page 24) begeeven hebben. Den 20 Jann:[uarie] ... Den 30 Maert [1732] **Bastiaen van Cijlon** vrijgebore Chingalees, met met [sic] **Piternaella, van de West Cust**, vrijswartin.*

Next follows the double baptism of the prince`s two daughters:

*Den 2 X:ber [1731] **Johanna**, (on echt) de oudste} **Catharina**, (on echt) de jongste} de moeder is **Rosetta van Java**, de getuijge **Titus Jacobze**, en **Diana van Makasser**.*

The double baptism is curious and likely indicative of what appears to be a dispute concerning the right of the prince`s biological offspring to manumission and inheritance. Essentially, the prince`s concern - not only for the manumission of his children - but also that they should qualify legally to inherit from him *post mortem*, is only practically realizable in terms of foregoing Islam: Christian baptism, followed by formalized manumission and consequent appropriate legal assimilation into colonial society as free people. This explains perhaps, in part, why the daughter **Johanna** is baptized for a *second* time (and with **Titus Jacobsz: van Macassar** witnessing once again) and seemingly at the time her sister **Catharina** attains legal majority (22 years of age for women).

The baptism of the prince`s only son follows next co-inciding with his attainment of legal majority at the age of 25:

*Den 25 dito [januarie 1733] Een bejaard persoon nae voorgaande belijdenis, genaamt **Adolf**.*

And finally, the baptism of a further son **Adriaan** with no mention of any paternity whatsoever:

*Den 14 Jan. [1731] **Adriaan**, (onecht) de moeder is **Rosetta van Java**, de getuijge zijn **Johannes Prætorius** en **Maria Jourdaan**.*

Was he perhaps the result of the prince having pimped his concubine when running his brothel and gambling house? The witnesses are again free-fisher folk. Significantly, the white **Maria Jourdaan** – Cape-born of European parentage – later remarries (3 July 1740) into another exiled and de-Islamized royal family – her 2nd husband being the



baptized **David Sultania** (formerly **Mochamat Dayan**), son of the exiled **Albubasi** Raja / Sultan of Tambora and Ranee / Sultana **Sitina Sara Marouff** of Tambora and maternal grandson of none other than the politically and religiously emasculated colonial rebel **Abadin Tadia Tjoessoep (1626–1699)** aka **Sheikh Yusuf / Shaikh Yusup / Sheik(h) Joseph - den Macassarisse Priester, Schjegh Joseph – Muhammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111 / 1627-99)** *alias Abd Allāh Abū al-Mahāsin al-Tāj al-Khalwātī al-Maqassārī* (known in Sulawesi as *Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa*).

Rosetta's manumission

We have yet to trace any record of **Rosetta's** legal alienation.¹⁸¹ What has come to light, however, is her manumission. She is finally liberated (12 October 1734) by resolution of the Council of Policy.¹⁸² Significantly, her manumission as a female slave of the Orphan Chamber (*een meijd van de weescamer*) follows more than one year after the manumission of her three children.

Amnesia, selective memory or suppression of truth ...

“For the brown people, the yellow people, might be abandoned of hope as the inhabitants of Hell,
but there were men and women all over South Africa, apparently white,
but with an attenuated dark strain in them, and they were by no means hopeless.
They were, on the contrary, not seldom among the best the land could show.
However romantically South Africans might shudder at hidden drops of black blood;
however ... school friends might traditionally assert that their flesh would crawl
if they had to touch a person of colour, there were, nevertheless,
people of whom literally dark things were said, and pure white folk were delighted
to have the chance of shaking their hands.
Nor did their flesh crawl, nor were they afraid to associate with them, or even marry them,
forgetting the past and risking the future for the sake of the present.
In spite of talk and talk and talk, if a man looked white, and had success enough,
he was, in the fullest sense, accepted.
That was the truth, and much of the shuddering and crawling was conventional hypocrisy.
Heaven knows through what generations of sorrow;
through what oceans of ostracism, the man with that fading, but never dying,
darkness in him arrived at havens of social grace;
but once arrived, his life was distinguished in no noticeable sense
from the lives of those around him, and, as far as all outward appearances might indicate,
the world held him to be as white as he looked” ...

Sarah Gertrude Millin (1889-1968), *God's Stepchildren*

When reading about the in/famous Cape indigene **Krotoa (c. 1643-1674)**, one is informed that public figures in Apartheid South Africa “seldom revealed their Khoi ancestry, either as a result of ignorance or out of legal necessity” and that “many of the South African children born to European fathers, who had settled at the Cape in the 1650-1670's, had slave mothers:

‘... three-quarters of children born to slave mothers had white fathers, during the first 20 years of European settlement’¹⁸³

Cape-Dutch, ‘*Cape-Coloured*’, ‘*Boer*’ and *Afrikaner* origins remain hotly contested and invariably misconstrued. How Afrikaners in particular - despite ‘mixed race’ beginnings - evolved and survived somatically to be predominantly white-looking and of mostly European heritage can be attributed especially to European colonization and an ongoing



and increasing influx of European settlers to Southern Africa (until recent times). This results in an exponentially widening, socio-economically ('respectability') induced 'racial' or 'colour' divide. In colour-visible groupings and consequent 'racial' categories, this divide ultimately can be crudely reduced and divided into 'haves' and 'have nots'.

The devastating smallpox epidemic (1713) virtually wipes out the non-enslaved local nomadic indigenous Khoi population rendering the negligible remnants into indentured servitude. It also extinguishes all hope for the nascent but increasingly upwardly mobile free-black community (manumitted black African / Asian slaves) to ever sustain newly acquired equal civil rights. Ironically, the epidemic reverses the initial Pyrrhic victory of **Adam Tas** and his *wannabe* patrician cohorts over the VOC-backed *mestizo* or Eurasian **Van der Stel** dynasty. Instead it paves the way for a prolonged or extended sell-by-date period of whiter colonial supremacy. Ever since, the colonially expanding Cape of Good Hope – out of which the current unitary nation-state of South Africa evolves – mixed race colonial inhabitants colour the landscape. 'Racially' and socio-economically determined Afrikaans-speaking or Afrikaner-descended population(s) / communities become bifurcated in terms of 'colour' (white/non-white) while at the same time 'whiter' sub-groupings regroup politically / ideologically separated by conservative exclusivity and liberal inclusivity.¹⁸⁴ In genealogical circles these same phenomena persist. Interminable, if not futile, there is an ongoing quest to determine or rationalize that haunting, overriding and 'unsettling' question:

To what extent can this colonially induced clustering of *Boeren* justifiably be, or partially be, or not be "actually bastards ... descendants of slave mothers and 'Hottentot' women" (... *dat de Boeren eigenlijk baastaards zijn, afkomelingen van slaven-moeders en Hottentotsche vrouwen* ...) ¹⁸⁵.

This very question concerning what **Hans F. Heese** has aptly termed *groep sonder grense*¹⁸⁶, what the writer equates with *family without frontiers*, and what **Sarah Gertrude Millin** calls *God's Stepchildren*; has undergone numerous investigative inquiries, *inter alia*: **C. C. de Villiers, J.J. Kloeke, H.C. Coelenbrander, J. Hoge, Cor Pama, J.A. Heese** and **Hans F. Heese**. This begs the questions: Are not the terms 'White' and 'non-White' redundant in at least South Africa's historical context? Are we any closer to adding more forgotten flesh to the bones and finally jettisoning such nonsensical terms by pin-pointing more precisely the continentally African and Asian (from Arabian to Japanese to Timorese) origins of many of the Cape's founding 'Mothers - also Fathers - of the Nation'?

The Jonker 'conundrum' attests yet again to the nagging, inevitable need to properly address and answer this otherwise ever-recurring question. This preliminary inquiry into the ancestral origins of **Adolf Jonker** is by no means *finis*. Exhausting the written record will doubtless further validate the non-European origins and even the royal ancestry of this most intriguing colonial 'founding father' at the Cape of Good Hope.

Black and Blue – Royalty and Afrikanerdom

*the child grown to a man treks through all Africa
the child grown into a giant journeys
through the whole world
Without a pass*



Royalty within Afrikanerdom, however, need not be any longer too surprising. **Krotoa** later **Eva Meerhoff** (c. 1643-1674), South Africa's own home-grown **Pocahontas** (born **Matoaka** but later known as **Rebecca Rolfe** (c. 1595 -1617) or **Doña Marina** (*La Malinche* / *Malinalli* / *Malintzin*) (1505-c. 1529), had royal ties connecting her to Goringhaiqua, the Cochoqua and Hessequa royalty. Then we have the arrival from Madagascar (1657) of two 'Arabian' or 'Ethiopian' princesses, **Lijsbeth and Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna**.¹⁸⁷ And now we have further evidence of the incorporation of Indonesian royalty via Tamboran, Makassarese and Ternatan royalty in the genealogical make-up of the Afrikaner.¹⁸⁸ The opposite is also true: Afrikaner blood within Indonesian royalty. **Achmet**¹⁸⁹, a royal blood relative of **Adolf Jonker** – also banished to the Cape of Good Hope – is fortunate enough to be able to repatriate (1788) taking with him to Ternate his wife and mother-in-law (both Cape-born), his Batavia-born grandmother-in-law, his Cape-born children, his slave and an emancipated friend:¹⁹⁰

“**Achmet**, Prince of Tematen, having been released from banishment by the High Government of India, and being about to proceed to Batavia in the ship *Voorburg*, begs permission to take with him his family, viz., his wife, **Constantia of the Cape**, her mother, and grandmother, named **Dina of the Cape** and **Filida of Batavia**, as well as their children, named **Selasa, Fatima, Camies**, and **Abdulla**, all of the Cape; also the freewoman **Cita of Bougies**, and his slave **Jounga of Tematen**.”



Entrance to the Royal Palace, Ternate



Rosetta / Rosette van de Kust / Java / Jafnapatnam / Ceijlon / Benga(e)le(n) / Batavia / Macassar

- 12 May 1702: sold as **Rosetta van Jafnapatnam** by **Gerrit Koek** to **Willem Adriaan van der Stel** for Rds 95;
- 8 March 1705: **Rosetta van Ceijlon** slave of **W.A. van der Stel** witnesses baptism of **Jacob Cornelis** s/o **Maria van de Caab & Seyser [Caesar] van Batavia** baptized infant Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 8 March 1705 (witness: **Rosetta van Ceilon**) [Note: presumably already baptized [?] as she appears here as witness – earlier baptism, however, not found at the Cape]
- 1729: **Rosetta van Macassar** becomes member of Cape church with certificate of membership from Batavia) [VC 604, List of members]
- 12 October 1734: **Rosetta van Bengale** manumitted by resolution of the Council of Policy [CA: C 3084, *Obligatiën, Transporten van Slaven &c.*, (1734), pp. 133-134]
- 1 February 1739: witnesses baptism of illegitimate infant of **Cicilia van Jaffnapatnam**
*A:[nn]o 1739 Naemen der gedoopten Den 1 Februarij ... **Cicilia Elisabeth** (onecht). De moeder **Cicilia van Jaffena Patnam**. De soogenaemde vader **Moses van Peliakatte**. De getuigen **Christiaan Thomasz en Rosetta van Bengalen**.*

1769: dies

16 October 1769: Inventory drawn up

marries (1) [?] *de facto*
Adam van Batavia
 Slave of **W.A. van der Stel**

marries (2) *de facto*
Bastiaen van Ceijlon

marries (3) *de facto*
Catchiri Daijman Mamoeti
Dain Mamoodi
Katsili Dayan Mamoedy
Kitsjel Dain Mamoedie
Ketees Malocco
 [Kyai Chili Mahmud / محمود - 'the praised one']
Jonker van Macassar
Prince of Ternate
Prince of Calomato [Kalamata]





- 1704: banished to Cape ex Batavia after death sentence suspended for committing rape
- 1706; petitions Batavia for maintenance
- 1717/1718: **Doulat van Balij** freed slave of Dain **Mamoodi**, Prince of Ternate, given *maandgeld* so as to be free to earn his own living, found guilty at Stellenbosch of housebreaking & theft
- 1721: **Leander van Malabar** petitions Council of Policy to ensure Prince of Ternate named **Dayan (Prince) Mamodie, Prince of Calomato** liberates him as promised
- 1722: petitions as free-fisherman & boat owner
- 24 November 1722: resolution of Council of Policy banishing Prince of Ternate & slave to Robben Island for operating a brothel after being flogged
- marries (4) Cape Town 21 October 1742 [**Aron van Balij, en Rosetta van de Kust** bijde vrijswarten]
- Arend / A(a)ron van Bali**
[Den 21 October [1742] ... **Aron van Balij, en Rosetta van de Kust** bijde vrijswarten]
- marries (5) Cape 1758 as widow of **Arend van Bali**
- Johannes Jansz: / Jansen van Ceijlon / Batavia**, widower of **Roselijn van Bengale**

- b1 Jacob Jansz: / Janze** born c. 1705; baptized Cape 24 September 1730:
[Den 24 dito [September 1730] **Johannis**, (on echt) de moeder is **Rosetta van Java**, de zoogezegde vader **Bastiaen van Cijlon**, de getuijge is 't kints moeder];
manumitted on attaining legal majority at 25 - possibly on presumption of white or European biological fatherhood as, curiously and for reasons still unknown, he marries as **Jacobus Jansen, van Amsterdam**
marries Cape 15 October 1741
[Den 15 dito [October 1741] ... **Jacobus Jansen**, van Amsterdam burger alhier jongman, met **Emerentia Schot** van Cabo de Goede Hoop jonge dochter]
Emerentia Schot (daughter of **Robbert Schot van Bengale** & **Lea van de Caep**)
baptized Cape 20 September 1722
[20 d:[itt]o [7b:r 1722]Amerentie **Robbert Schot, en Lea van de Caap Hendrik Constant, en Catharina van de Caap**]
- c1 Maria Pieterella Jansz:** baptized Cape 14 October 1742
[A:[nn]o 1742 (Naemen der gedoopte) kinderen Den 14 October **Maria Pieterella**, de ouders **Jacob Janze**, en **Emerentia Schot**, de getuijgen **Adolph Jonker**, en **Maria Langevelt**]
- c2 Johannes Jacobus Jansz:** baptized Cape 8 December 1743:



- [*Johannes Jacobus, de Ouders Jacob Jansz., en Emerentia Schot, de Getuijgen Isaac Sultania en Johanna Jonkers*] dies young
- c3 **Lea Helena Jansz:** baptized 28 February 1745:
[*Lea Helena, de Ouders Jacob Janze, en Emerentia Schot, de Getuijge Robbert Hendrik Schot*]
- c4 **Johanna Catharina Jansz:** baptized 19 February 1747 (witnesses: **Arent Schot & Catharina Jonker**)
- c5 **Jacoba Jansz:** baptized 13 April 1749 (witnesses: *de ouders*)
- b2 **Catharina** baptized Cape 6 February 1707 (father: **Adam van Batavia**) (mother: **Rosetta van Jaffnapatnam**) (witness: **Maria van Macasser**); dies young [?]
- b3 **Adol Jolle** [الله عبد (Abdullah) / (Abdul¹⁹² ال عبد / Adel / Adol)] aka **Adolf(f) / Adolph Jonker (c. 1707-1779)** born Cape c. 1707: baptized (adult) Cape 25 January 1733:
[*Den 25 dito [januarie 1733] Een bejaard persoon nae voorgaande belijdenis, genaamt Adolf*];
manumitted 24 April 1733; dies 1779
marries Cape 26 June 1740
[*Den 26 dito [junij 1740] Adolf Jonker, van Cabo de Goede Hoop burger alhier jongman, met Maria Pieterella Langveld van Cabo voorn:[oemde] jonge dochter*]
Maria Petronella Langeveld (1719-1773)
daughter of *halfslag* **Cornelia Jacobs: van de Caep alias Cornelia (Keetje) Pieters: van de Caep** by *knecht* **Pieter Jacobsz:** (from Langevelt) *alias* **Pieter Vrolijk** also recorded as **Pieter Willemse Langevelt** (from Dirkerdam);
granddaughter of **Dorothea van Angola** formerly slave owned by disgraced Cape *secunde* **Heinrich Lacus** (from Wesel) & **Lijdia de Pape** but appropriated by the Company.
10 July 1734: *beleijdenis* [simultaneous baptism?]
16 October 1734: oath as burgher [no record as Company employee or as immigrant ex Europe or Asia – most likely indicator that he is Cape-born]
5 July 1739: witnesses baptism of **Jacobus** one of twin sons of **Elias Thomasz: & Anthonia Coopman**
[A:[nn]o 1739 Naemen der gedoopten Den 5 Julij **Alardus Bartholomeus, } Jacobus, }** tweelingen. De ouders **Elias Thomasz en Anthonia Coopman**. De getuigen van het eerste **Charl le Long en Francina van [Ec]**, en van het tweede **Adolf Jonker en Elizabeth Bastro**]
26 June 1740: marries
1745-1779: *koster* [sexton] (Drakenstein)
1745-1762: teacher [DRC/A: Paarl: Notule 1731-1784]
1750: **Jonker (Adolff):** burgher, and koster at Drakenstein; asks for the freehold of a piece of ground at the Paarl 2 morgen in extent on which settle (number 75).
15 August 1752: *Dingsdag den 15: Aug:[ustu]s 1752*
'S voormiddags alle præscent.
*Is op het hierom in Schripts gedaane versoek bij den Burger en Koster aan Drakensteijn **Adolf Jonker**, aan denzelve in Eijgendom gegeven, een Stukje Huijs Erfs en Thuijn Land geleegeen aan de Paarel ter groote van Twee Morgen Netto [CA: C 130, pp. 284-286]*
October 1772: **Sparrman** visits Paarl: "A little farther on lived a Koster, that is a Sexton, a set of people that are more respected with the Calvinists than with us. He was of black extraction by the mother's side ...The Koster's wife, who was rather in years, was



then sick in bed. [**Anders Sparrman** - *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* 1772 – 1776, vol.1 (Van Riebeeck Society 1975, reprint 2007), p. 96]

1779: **Jonker (Adolph)**; Koster of Drakenstein (deceased); is succeeded by the burgher **Hartwich Johannes Luttig** [Resolution of the Council of Policy, 30 March 1779] (no. 41, 22 February)[CA: C 157, pp. 132-164]

Dingsdag den 30 Maart 1779.

*Sijnde voorts naar resumptie eener Missive van't Eerw:[aerde] Collegie van Kerkenraade aan Drakensteijn, de dato 22:ste Febr:[uar]ij Jongstl:[eden] goedgevonden, de gedaane aanstelling van den Burger **Hartwich Johannes Luttich**, tot Coster der Kerk aldaar in Steede van den overleedenen **Adolph Jonker** t' approbeeren.*

c1 **Adriaan** baptised Cape 30 April 1741(witnesses: **Arij Bastiaan & Pieterella van de Cust**), dies young

c2 **Adolph** baptised Drakenstein 15 December 1743

marries 30 November 1766

Maria Sauerman

c3 **Pieter** baptized Drakenstein 28 November 1745

30 August 1777:

Saterdag den 30: Aug:s 1777.

*... is voorts aan den Burger **Pieter Jonker**, op zijn hierom almeede in Scriptis gedaan verzoek, insgelijx in Eijgendom gegeven, een Stuk Huijs Erfs, ter groote van Twee Morgen, geleegeen aan de Païrl onder 't District van Drakensteijn, ten eijnde zig daarop, tot het voortsetten van desselfs Schoenmakers-Ambagt, ten dienste der daaromtrent woonende Ingezeetenen, te mogen ter neder setten.* [CA: C 155, pp. 287-294]

marries 2 November 1773 his 1st cousin

Martha Petronella Langeveld

c4 **Johanna** baptized 29 September 1747

marries 29 May 1768

Willem Landman (from Amsterdam)

c5 **Johannes** baptised Drakenstein 29 June 1749

c6 **Jacobus** baptised Drakenstein 22 November 1750

c7 **Adriaan** baptised Drakenstein 18 November 1753

marries 15 November 1778

Aletta Margaretha van Deventer

c8 **Daniel Johannes** baptized Drakenstain 12 October 1755

marries Cape 21 February 1800

Magdalena Catharina Delport

c9 **Michiel** baptized Drakenstain 15 April 1758

marries Paarl 26 May 1793

Cornelia Elizabeth Horn

c10 **Johannes** baptised Drakenstain 21 September 1760

marries 31 October 1784

Magdalena van Zyl





- b4** **Jamela** [جميلة (Jamila)?] / **Amel** [أمل (Amal¹⁹³)] aka **Johanna Jonker halfslag** [?] born Cape c. 1709; baptized Cape 14 February 1717 (father not stated in baptismal entry) 17 Februarii [1717]. *Gedoopt een slaaven-kind van **Katsili Daijan Mamoedij, Prins van Ternate**: de moeder was **Rosetta van Batavia**: de getuigen **Titus Jacobsz: van Macassar**, en **Johanna, van Macassar**, zijn huisvrouw.* NB. Het kind is vrij gegeven
Johanna
baptized [a 2nd time!] with younger sister **Catharina** Cape 2 December 1731
[Den 2 X:ber [1731] **Johanna**, (on echt) de oudste} **Catharina**, (on echt) de jongste} de moeder is **Rosetta van Java**, de getuijge **Titus Jacobze**, en **Diana van Makasser**]
manumitted 24 April 1733
24 November 1767:
*Dingsdag den 24 Nov[e]b:[er] 1767:
Terwijl wijders, naar Lectuure der diesweegens ingediende Requesten, aan de Burgers **Gerrit Reijnders** en **Johannes Braun Olkers**, is gepermitteerd, omme nevens derselver Huijsvrouwen **Dorothea Raats** en **Johanna Jonker**, item des laatstgem:[elde] Soontje genaamt **Johannes Adolphus**, oud vijf Jaaren, onder betaalinge der gewoone Transport en Costpenn.; voor Logies en Tractament in de Cajuijt, met de verwacht werdende Retourscheepen naar Neederland te moogen overvaaren* [CA: C 145, pp. 306-328]
marries Cape 12 October 1755
Johannes Braun Olkers (from Rendsburg), widower of manumitted slave **Martha Catharina Jacobue**; son of **Juergen Olckers** & **Barbara Schon**; burgher; physician; repatriates (1767) but returns to Cape [CA: MOOC 14/27, no. 25; *Requesten* 1767-1768, no. 47; CA: CJ 1180 Will, no. 34
c1 **Johannes Adolphus Olkers** baptized 16 May 1762
marries 2 November 1785
Francina Elisabeth Roode (daughter of **Daniel Roode** (from de Hooge Zwaluwe))
d1 **Daniel Johannes Olkers** born 1786; baptized Lutheran Church
d2 **Anna Christina Olkers** baptized 7 March 1790
d3 **Marthinus Jacobus Olkers** born 1793; baptized Lutheran Church
marries Swellendam 14 March 1824
Johanna Isabella van den Berg
d4 **Sara Hendrika Olkers** baptized 19 January 1800
marries *de facto*



Philip Andreas Roode

e1 Francina Christina Johanna [Olkers / Roode] born 19 April 1820

d5 Sara Johanna Olkers baptized Swellendam 2 July 1800

b5 Talie / Ra(i)ja aka **Catharina (Catrina) Jonker heelslag** born c. 1711 [Note: not to be confused with **Catharina** baptized Cape 6 February 1707 (father: **Adam van Batavia**)(mother: **Rosetta van Jaffnapatnam**) (witness: **Maria van Macasser**); baptized with older sister **Johanna** Cape 2 December 1731

[*Den 2 X:ber [1731] Johanna, (on echt) de oudste} Catharina, (on echt) de jongste} de moeder is Rosetta van Java, de getuijge Titus Jacobze, en Diana van Makasser*]

manumitted 24 April 1733

b6 Adriaan born c. 1713 onwards [?]; baptized Cape 14 January 1731

[*Den 14 Jan. [1731] Adriaan, (onecht) de moeder is Rosetta van Java, de getuijge zijn Johannes Prætorius en Maria Jourdaan*].



ENDNOTES

¹ Grateful thanks to Sharon Marshall, Delia Robertson & *The First Fifty Years Project* (FFY Project) for moral support & assisting in the writing & research undertaken for this article. FFY Project amasses & collates primary recorded sources so as to identify more fully & accurately individual recorded persons at the VOC-occupied Cape of Good Hope during, as starting point, the 1st 50 years of colonial existence. Both poems by Ingrid Jonker are translations by Jack Cope & William Plomer: 'The Child' is from *Rook en Oker*, (Afrikaanse-PersBoekwinkel, Johannesburg 1963/4 & dedicated to Uys Krige & Jack Cope) & 'I am with those' is from *Kantelson* (Afrikaanse-PersBoekwinkel, Johannesburg 1966 & dedicated to her daughter Simone).

² Gerhard Geldenhuys, 'Genealogiese opmerkings oor Abraham en Ingrid Jonker', *Capensis* (2013/1), p. 4.

³ A subsequent flurry of media coverage, documentaries, poetry performances, songs, etc – too many to enumerate – continues unabated.

⁴ These all derive from Dr. J. Hoge, *Bydraes tot die Genealogie van ou Kaapse Families* (A.A. Balkema, Amsterdam 1958).

⁵ 'Java' may be a recording error for Jaffnapatnam ('Jaffna') as **Rosetta** is found variously recorded as being from Jaffnapatnam, Ceylon, Bengal (even Batavia, Macassar and the Coast). Jaffna fell under the VOC jurisdiction of Coromandel or Bengal which explains possibly why she is also at times recorded as being from Bengal. When recorded with **Jonker van Macassar**, Rosetta's provenance is often also given as being Macassar. Recorded toponyms in archival records for slaves at the Cape and other VOC stations are seldom consistent.

⁶ For biographical information, see: Dr. C.F. Albertyn, (red.), *Die Afrikaanse Kinderensiklopedie*. Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg 1962); P.J. Nienaber, *Hier Is Ons Skrywers! Biografiese Sketse van Afrikaanse Skrywers* (Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel, Johannesburg 1949); D.J. Potgieter, (red.), *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa Standard Encyclopaedia* (Nasionale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery (Nasou) Cape Town 1972); B.M. Schoeman, *Parlementêre verkiesings in Suid-Afrika 1910-1976* (Aktuele Publikasies Pretoria 1977).

⁷ A.H. Jonker, 'Die stamvader - Adolph Jonker', *Familia* 2/2 (1965/66), pp. 41-48. Jonker indicates in this article that a follow-up article would follow. He died, however, before any follow up article could appear.

⁸ For insightful biographical information about **Johann Max Heinrich Hoge (1887-1960)** & his remarkable research output, see G.P.J. Trümpelmann, *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. IV, p. 240.

⁹ A few black *stamvaders* of latter-day 'white' Afrikaners have already come to light: **Hoon** - descendants of **Sambouw van Madagascar** [Hans Heese]; **Jonas** – descendants of **Jonas van der Cust [Malabar]** [Margaret Cairns] & **Claasen** – descendants of **Claes Gerrits: van Bengale & Claes van Malabar** [Mansell Upham].

¹⁰ <http://www.sagenealogie.com/>.

¹¹ Gerhard Geldenhuys, 'Genealogiese opmerkings oor Abraham en Ingrid Jonker', *Capensis* (2013/1), pp. 4-11).

¹² Writer's translation from original Afrikaans: "Dit is dus duidelik dat Ingrid Jonker se posisie in die Jonker geslagregister wel bepaal kan word en dat sy inderdaad van "coloured folk" afkomstig is"

¹³ Writer's translation from original Afrikaans: "In Jonker se artikel is daar heftige kritiek op Hoge se bewerings en maak hy 'n sterk saak uit vir die suiwer Duitse afkoms van **Adolph Jonker**. Dit is duidelik dat die artikel deeglik nagevors is uit 'n wye verskeidenheid argivale en ander bronne en dat hy ook ruim gebruik gemaak het van materiaal in **Daniël-Napoleon Jonker** se argief. Die presiese bepaling van Adolph Jonker se afkoms is 'n ingewikkelde probleem; sien in dié verband ook die mening van Elmien Wood in 'n onlangse artikel" [Gerhard Geldenhuys, 'Genealogiese opmerkings oor Abraham en Ingrid Jonker', *Capensis* (2013/1), pp. 8-9].

http://www.stamouers.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=231:jonker-adolph provides a summary of the contested issues by Martina Louw.

¹⁴ See *infra*.

¹⁵ Anders Sparrman - *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope 1772 – 1776*, vol.1 (Van Riebeeck Society 1975, reprint 2007), p. 96.

¹⁶ Although entries exist for the name **Juncker**, there is a nil return for **Jonker** in Rietstap's *Armorial Général* – see http://www.euraldic.com/blas_jo.html: **Juncker** D'azur, à un mortier d'apothicaire d'argent.

Juncker Écartelé: aux 1 et 4, fascé d'argent et de gueules, de huit pièces; aux 2 et 3, de sable, au lion d'or, celui du 3 contourné. Sur le tout d'azur à une arbalète d'argent. Casque couronné.

Juncker Écartelé: aux 1 et 4, d'azur, à une étoile (8) d'or; aux 2 et 3, de gueules, à deux roses d'argent, rangées en bande. Au chef de l'écu d'argent, brochant sur l'écartelé et ch. d'un lion léopardé de gueules, couronné d'or. A la champagne en pointe de l'écu, d'argent à un tertre de sinople. Sur le tout d'argent à une couronne d'or. Deux casques couronnés. **Juncker de Blumenberg** Écartelé: aux 1 et 4, d'azur, à une étoile d'or; aux 2 et 3, de gueules, à deux roses d'argent, rangées en bande. Sur le tout d'argent à une couronne d'or. Casque couronné. Adolph Jonker's use of a coat of arms cannot serve as conclusive proof that the family originate from Europe. Adolph may merely have adopted / appropriated a coat of arms in accordance with European conventions at the



time. In any case, a convincing case has yet to be made for any existence of any coat of arms for Jonker-surnamed people in Europe. Being conscious of his royal ancestry & assimilation into Christian / European-dominated colonial society, emulating fellow white colonialists by assuming a European-type coat of arms for his seal is not implausible.

¹⁷ "It had been a matter of dispute whether the children of unbelieving parents should be admitted to baptism, and that, after reference to the *Classis* in Holland, the question was decided in the affirmative; provided the person with whom they live, whether the owner or not, obliges himself to educate them in the Christian religion; this being chiefly being founded upon the example of the patriarch **Abraham**, in whose faith all who were in his house were circumcised; and the observance has accordingly been long followed here; even with those belonging to the Company, **which has established schools for the purpose, where, as soon as they come to the proper age, they are instructed in the Christian Religion** [emphasis is mine]. You may therefore take this regulation for your guidance, and if you proceed in that holy work, there, as is done here, you will do well and act the part of a Christian." [Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 273, n. 1 (Despatch, 25 January 1664)]

¹⁸ Later (1686) all Cape-born Company slaves were baptized in accordance with Company directives.

¹⁹ Resolution of the Council of Policy (12 March 1661) raises the wages of a *sieckentrooster* from 36 to 45 guilders, monthly, upon the ground, among others, that he has been advantageously engaged in instructing slaves & Hottentoots, in the Dutch language and the Christian religion [Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 272] ... **Pieter van der Stael** van Rotterdam hier te lande gecomen den 4en Meert ao. 1656, met het jacht Weesp voor sieckentrooster a 36 gl.'s maants, wort by desen op syn versoek ende bequaemheijt vermits syn 5 jarige tijtsexpiratie voor noch drie jaeren in voorsz qualiteyt gecontinueert ende vermite oock het sieckenhuijs als mede regent van dien is waernemende, mitsgaders des Comps. slaeven ende de Hottentoots in de Nederlantse tale en de Christelycke leere is onderwysende, waerinne al voordelen is doende, op approbatie van d'heeren Majores in't Patria toevoet een maendelijckx tracement van 45 gl., beijde innegaande 4 Meert passo. dat voorsz syn tijt is comen t'expireren [Van Riebeeck's Journal, vol. III, p. 358].

²⁰ Regulation (Journal, 30 November 1663) provides for schoolmaster, **Ernestus Back** "industrious in teaching and catechising children, both Dutch and black ... shall receive at the rate of 1/2 Rd. *per mensem*, for each of ten Dutch children who are named; 2 children by a Hottentoo woman [sic] to be taught *pro deo*, as also all the children of baptized slaves" [Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 272]. "**Ernestus Back** shows great diligence in teaching both Dutch and black children to read and learn their catechism - monthly fee required: In the same way the baptized slave children of the Company and the burghers, especially those descended from European or Christian fathers, should be educated and in time brought to the true knowledge of God, as the sick comforter has already done in the case of **Armazie, Crisen, Zon and Basoe** - a laudable commencement on which may God Almighty grant His grace and blessing. Signed **Z.[acharias] Wagenaer**." **Ernestus Back** (from Amsterdam) succeeded **Pieter van der Stael** as *sieketrooster*. He was given the challenging task of teaching the colony's children. He married **Aeltje Molanus** (from Amsterdam). A drunk, his failure to conform led to his replacement. Arriving (September (?) 1663) with his wife & family and leaving (January 1665) following the continuous sighting of a comet and seen as a bad omen, the whole family were removed from the Cape.

²¹ "This day (13 August 1666) died **D.[aniel] Engelgraef** ... a soldier, who, being a quiet and qualified person, has been employed as schoolmaster to the Cape children, white and black" [Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 290]. Will: **Daniel Engelgraef** (11 September 1666) [*Schepenkennis*]. He is incorrectly listed as "**J.J. Graa**" in J.P. Claasen, *Die Sieketroosters in Suid-Afrika 1652-1866*, (NG Kerk Boekhandel 1977).

²² This family has curious ties with the **Junius** family at Colombo on Ceylon [Sri Lanka], intermarries at the Cape with the **Jourdan** family having ties with the exiled royal family of Tambora & also has interesting slave offspring: **Kranckbesoeker Gerrit Victor** (from Amsterdam) born c. 1645; c. ante 1666 arrives ex Ceylon; marries Cape 15 January 1667 as **Trijntje (sic) van den Bergh** at Cape 16 January 1667 *kranckbesoeker Sieur Gerrit Victor* (from Amsterdam) **Christina (Stintje) Berkhuijs / van den Bos / Berck / van den Bergh**; they go to Ceylon after 1667; 1676 return to Cape ex Ceylon on *Voorhout*; 30 December 1676: wife & **Barbara Geems** (from Amsterdam) obtain licence to bake bread; 1677: free-burgher & Orphan Master (1678 & 30 December 1690); purchases *Den Uitwijk*; 2 March 1678: receives rice rations; 1678-1679: deacon; obtains beer licence; 1679: licence to sell all types of liquor; 8 January 1680: complains about quality of wheat appearing before Council of Policy; 14 March 1680: baker's licence renewed for 3 years; 16 December 1680: member of Marriage Court & re-appointed deacon; rejoins Company as sick-comforter; 15 March 1681: leaves for Batavia; she appears alone in muster roll (1682) while husband is sent to Ceylon; 15 April 1682 he returns to Cape; 1682 baker's licence; 1683: licence to sell liquor; sells farm to **Lambert Adriaansz**: (from Weij); 1714: death; 2 sons: **(I) Cornelis Victor** born Cape; baptized Cape 16 October 1667; as 'lunatic' taken from son (**Gerrit** baptized Cape 25 November 1696) who ill-treats father & put into care of **Johannes (Jan) Hendrik van Helsdingen** (from Amsterdam); marries Cape 8 August 1688 **Cornelia Jacoba Junius** (from Amersfoort [Utrecht]); 4 children: (i) **Johanna** baptized Cape 26 June 1689; dies young; (ii) **Johanna** baptized Cape 15 April 1691; marries Cape 4 September 1707 **Michiel Ruys** (from Delft); (iii) **Agatha** baptized Cape 25



December 1693; (iv) **Gerrit** baptized Cape 25 November 1696 [ill-treats father [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Memorials (Requesten)*, vol. IV (memorial no. 65) (1727-1728), p. 1264]; (2) **Jacobus Victor** born Negombo (Ceylon); *baasschutter*; dies *ante* 1709 [widow enumerated with 3 sons]; marries (1) *de facto* **Candares / Candas van Surat / Patana** sold at Cape (4 May 1697) aged 15 years by fiscal **Pieter [van] Helsdingen** to **Albert Koopman** for 40.00 & again (29 October 1697) aged 16 years by **Albert Koopman** to **Gerrit Victor** for 100.00 [*Transport en Schpenkennissen*]; marries (2) Cape 20 September 1699 **Magdalena Wendels** (from Zutphen / Amsterdam); she remarries as widow Cape 17 May 1711 **Jan Gerrits** (from Itzehoe) illegitimate son by slave woman **Candares / Candas van Patana / Suratte**; issue; (i) **Christiaan Victor** (son of **Jacobus Victor** by slave woman) [Hans F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense*, pp. 22 & 29] baptized slave infant Cape (*Slaven Kinderen des Vrijborgers en Comp[agnies] Dienaeren*) 7 June 1699 (mother: **Candares van Suratte slavin van Gerrit Victor**) (witnesses: **Joost Ventura van de Caep & Maria van Bengale [Maria Domingo]**); 1 August 1723 aged 25 petitions for freedom & free-burgher statu; marries (1) Cape **Margaretha van Wielligh** (daughter of freed Company *halfslag* **Lijsbeth van Wijk van de Caep**) marries (2) Cape 4 June 1730 **Catharina Kervel** (daughter of **Jurgen / Jurrien Kervel** (from Haarlem) & **Trintje Harmensz.**, wid. **Willem van Wijk** (from Ingen)); legitimate children by wife: (ii) **Gerhardus (Gerrit) Victor** baptized Cape 25 September 1701; goes into interior with 3 sons - 1724: "VICTOR, JOH.[ANNA] MAGDALENA; daughter of **Gerrit Victor**, and niece of **Anna Elizabeth Bockelenberg, Widow Hegers** [born Mauritius 1702; daughter of **Magdalena Zaayman**, granddaughter of **Petronella Meerhoff** & great-granddaughter of **Krotoa** (baptized Eva), wife of **Pieter Meerhoff** (from Copenhagen)]; shows that her father has gone far inland, and wishes to compel her to join him there, where she will see nothing but slaves and Hottentots, and be cut off from all Christians and the blessings of the Gospel; she had seen the improper conduct of her father, when he was here, and this makes her dread going so far away in the "Veld"; she therefore prays that, as she is able to support herself, that she may be permitted to remain here in order to be taught the Christian tenets so that she may, with God and with honour, pass through the world; for similar reasons **Anna E. Bockelenberg** begs that **Johanna's** little sister, named **Maria**, only 7 years old, may also be left here, as she will undertake her maintenance and education; as, to her sorrow, she has found that the father is permitting not only these two girls, but their three brothers also, the eldest of whom is already 18 years old, to grow up as blind heathen" [H.C.V. Leibbrandt: *Requesten* (no. 50), vol. IV (1715-1806), p. 1279)]; marries Cape 1721 **Susanna Bockelenberg** (great-granddaughter of Cape indigene **Krotoa**); (iii) **Johannes Victor** baptized Cape 25 September 1701; (iv) **Wynandus Victor** baptized Cape 13 August 1703. The family's likely relationship to **Joanna Victors** (from Amsterdam) marries Cape 28 February 1677 **Johannes Pretorius** from *Goerer* [Goeree], wid/o **Geertruijd Mentings** (from Hasselt), formerly widow of **Bosch, Wiederhold & Romeelo** has yet to be established.

²³ 15 March 1669 **Joannes Christiani a Bolten Zutphaniens** [RPR I 386] *schoolmeester*: 22 March 1669: "The education and instruction of our slave youth in the true religion and the fear of God, is also so prosperous that we cannot doubt their souls are to be gained" [Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 305: Extract of Despatch from Commander **Jacob Borghorst** & Council, to Chamber XVII]. Sickcomforter (1668-1671).

²⁴ **Johannes Smit van Gulst, jongman kranckebesoecker**; marries Cape (26 November 1679) **Abigael van Baelbergen, Eerbare Wed.[duwe] van Hermannus Wybrants**. Sickcomforter (1678-1684).

²⁵ He marries as *kranckebesoecker* (Cape 11 January 1687) **Maria (Maritie) Cat(h)arina van Swaenswyk / Swanswyck**, widow of **Gerard Crabeth**; she marries 3rdly (Cape 9 August 1693): **Jan Geel** (from Amsterdam); she dies Cape 1698.

²⁶ As widower of **Agn(i)eta van der Graght / Graft** (from Gorcum [Gorinchem]) he marries (Cape 1 January 1702) **Maria Bergh** baptised Cape 1 March 1682, daughter of **Olof Bergh** (from Gothenburg [Sweden]) & his wife the freed private *halfslag* slave **Anna de Coning(h) / Coninck van der Caep** & illegitimate granddaughter of freed private slave **Maaij Ansela van Bengale** by **François de Coningh** (from Ghent [Flanders]); she marries 2ndly (Cape 3 July 1707) **Johannes Visser / Vischer** (from Amsterdam) *ondercoopman*.

²⁷ This brings into question the generalized assumption by Pamela Scully & Clifton Crais that "Free Blacks had virtually no access to education" (p. 314, n. 69), in their article 'Race and Erasure: Sara Baartman and Hendrik Cesars in Cape Town and London', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 47, no. 2 (April 2008), pp.301-323. Worth noting is the exceptional library of a slave descendant evidenced in extant Cape testate deceased estate inventories of Cape-born **Christiaan Africanus** who owns a bookshelf, a reading desk & 42 books [CA: MOOC 8/10, Inventory no. 43]. The *Opgaafrollen* (tax rolls) show

[Johannes] Christiaan Africanus resident in the Cape District (1757 & 1762). In both entries he is surrounded by free-blacks as neighbours confirming his likely status as 'free-black'. He does not appear, however, under that name (1752 & 1761) & not any earlier than 1757- some free-burghers of a duskier shade were fringe folk sometimes escaping being recorded given their poverty ('non-taxable wealth'), nomadic life-styles & 'going native'. His earlier non-mention possibly suggests adult manumission (sometime *ante* 1757). Manumission entails certain legal requisites: if having a white father & baptized he is entitled to freedom at 25 (legal majority



for males); otherwise he has to slave away for 40 years before any right to freedom; otherwise he is at the mercy of his owners who can free him at any stage (often by way of testamentary manumission). Concerning his intriguing name 'Africanus': (1) family names such as 'America' & 'Europa' exist in the so-called 'Cape Coloured' community – the writer has encountered some in the records (but note in 19th century). So why not 'Africa' or 'Africanus'? If so, he has multifarious possibilities of black-African or African (in a broader sense) slave origins; (2) one expects a freed slave, if Africa- or Cape-born, to assume a name like 'Africanus' but an unlikely popular choice if aiming for respectability where even 'van de Caep' is a better choice of identification; (3) the name Africanus would be more socially acceptable during the **Van der Stel** governorships - but thereafter & because of the 1713 smallpox epidemic, unlikely; (4) the writer's research experience shows people clinging to family names or surnames, or being made to ...; (5) which points to: (a) being 'too educated' (too 'White' / 'Christian' / Westernised ...) to be of recent black African origin as 'van Madagascar' [read East Africans in general]; (b) given time-frame of estimated life-span, he may be a descendant of the well-connected free-burgher [not free-black as manumitted at legal majority aged 25 & *halfslag* - one of the earliest at the Cape] **Pieter Willemsz: Tamboer**. He identifies himself as *Africano* & is on record burying a child at Stellenbosch but no record of any *de jure* marriages. This possibly points to a slave mother & that his children (or some of them), were born in slavery, their freedom delayed, & whose descendants still evade the writer ... (c) the afore-mentioned is somewhat confirmed by comparison with the writer's own descent from a *Bastaard Hottentot* **Frans Jacobs** (maternal 4th great-grandfather) whose paternal mixed slave & European blood (& mother's 'Hottentot-ness', notwithstanding) was able - because of European ancestry (although very little & to which he must have clung for dear life) to negotiate his way back into the 'white' ('off-white') community). **Christiaan Africanus**, likewise, was likely conscious of his 'white ancestry' (albeit adumbrated). There is no reason to think that such ancestry would not equip him to attain his peculiar / unusual lifestyle & education; (d) if so, he would be well-connected with numerous Cape relatives already incorporated into the 'white' community for a lot longer. By looking micro-historically at the identities of individuals in the written record, his case illustrates the colonial processes of 'whiteness', privilege & separation that developed at the Cape.

²⁸ **Henrietta Wittebols: van de Caep** - illegitimate *halfslag* child of private slave **Sara van Solor** belonging to prominent VOC official & later free-burgher **Willem van Dieden** (from Amsterdam) - may be his biological daughter.

²⁹ Anna J. Boeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie*, p. 372, n. 1009; Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 340.

³⁰ This likely coincides with the adult baptisms & confirmations of **Beatrice van Cochin, Armozijn de Grootte van de Caep** & the exiled convict **Jan Pasquael (van Batavia)**: 23 April [a:[nn]o 1684] met belydenisse *Matrice*, een vrie slavin, Malle-barin [**Beatrice van Cochin**]: *Grote Armosy: en Jan Pasquael*.

³¹ DRC/A (Cape Town: *Ledematen*): 23 April [a:[nn]o 1684] met belydenisse *Matrice*, een vrie slavin, Malle-barin: *Grote Armosy: en Jan Pasquael*; 15 September 1687 (Resolution: Council of Policy): banished to Mauritius after molesting children in the Slave Lodge [CA: CJ 1597]: *Vrijdag 11 Julii 1687: Melchior Kemels vs Jan Pasquaal Schoolmeester S'Comp=[agnie]s Slavenkinderen ter sake van enige vuiligheden omtrent deselve gepleegt ... swarte bandiet, die op Batavia gegeesselt, gebrandmerkt, en met den strop aan den hals onder de galg gestaan heeft en vandaar voor eeuwig verbannen is*. [CA: CJ 2 (Crim.[finele] en Civiele regtsrolle, 1674-1688), p. 356].

³² **Claes [Cornelis:] van de Caep** Company *mesties* born c. 1663; *halfslag* son of **Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna** [?] & half-brother to **Armozijn Claesz: van de Caep**; baptized Cape 16 September 1663 [?]; Church member & communicant (21 December 1689): *Den 21 December [1689] zijn tot de ghemeente overgekoomen met belijdenisser 'S[ieur] Joannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek Secr[etaris]: tot deeser Plaetsen ende Claes Cornelisz: Schoolmeester in Comp[agnie]s Logie*; appointed teacher of Company slave children (15 September 1687): *D' E[dele]. Heer Commendeur door verscheide berigten versetendigd zijnde als soude Jan Pasqual, schoolmeester der E[dele]Comps. slaven kinderen, betigt werden met verscheide meisjes of dogterjes sijner onderwijnsinge anvertrouwd, te meermalen vuile onkuijsheden en vleeslijke lusten gepleegd te hebben; So is eenpariger stemme verstaan en goedgevonden den voors. Pasqual anstonds door den geweldiger in versekering te laten nemen, en hem hier ten Castele in hegtenis te stellen en de waare beschapenheid dier sake door d' E.E. Andries de Man en Domincus de Chavonnes als gecommiteerdens ten overstaan van den secretaris van Justitien Rade te doen ondersoeken, sullende de plaats van de gedetineerde an Claas Cornelisz. van de Caab, 's Comp[agnie]s. halvslag lijfeigen, een persoon van goeden wandel en vereijste bekwaamheid opgedragen werden, onder een maandelijx tractement van drie realen mitg[ader]s. vrije kost en klederen [Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, (15 September 1687), vol. III, pp. 170-171]; manumitted at majority (25) in terms of white paternity (1688); 12 August 1701 granted property; deceased (by 1709); marries Cape (9 July 1690) **Be(a)trice / Bertries / Betrise van Co(u)chin alias Matries & Matriessi** born c. 1650; manumitted; matron of Company Slave children; Church member & communicant 23 April 1684; 1692 (*Opgaaf*): No. 115: **Claas van de Caap** (vryswart); 1 man; 1 wife: *Matries* (vryswart); Cape; 1693 (*Opgaaf*): recorded as *Matriessi*; 19 January 1696: buys slave **Maurits van Poelsere** (aged 16) from **Christiaan van Alst**, captain of *Christiaan Quintus* for Rds*



95; 10 November 1697: *10 Novb: 1697: gedoopt het Kint van Marta Emanuel slavin van Johannes Holsmiit, waar van Christian als vader ondergetijge van Louis van Bengale en Berties Cornelisse van Coetzien gent: Johannes*; 22 January 1699: stands security (with Jacques de Savoye) as for Christoffel Snijman; 1700 (*Opgaaf*): No. 380: **Claas Cornelis van de Caap**: 1 man; **Bertrise van Couchien**: 1 wife; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 1709: widow **Bertrise van Coch** with no children; 1709: will: **Beatrise van Coutchin**; 1710: Joint Will: **Claas Cornelisz** *geboortigh alhier aan de Caab ende Beretrice van Coutchin* (23 January 1710); 1 October 1719; emancipates in will slave girl **Maria van de Caab**, 2-years old, leaving legacy of f 3000 that child might not be burden to Diaconate; executors, **H.[einrich]O.[stwald] Eksteen & B.[althasar] Pot**, request issuance of letters of emancipation – put into care of **Jacob Cruger [Kruger]**; 1720: will: **Beatrice van Couchin** - leaves money to husband's sister **Armosijn Claasse / Claasz**; dies childless 1720.

³³ **Daniel Valentyn Rodrigo / Rodrigues / Rodrigues van Batavia**; 1702 & 1705: enumerated alone; marries 12 June 1707 **Dina Valentyn van Ayras [Agra]**; 4 September 1708: *Remonstrantie* of schoolmaster **Daniel Rodrigues** [Annexure F in H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 391] CA: CJ 2599, no. 14 (Will: **Daniel Rodrigo**, 1715); History of Cape Town – stabs European on De Kat, [Karel Schoeman, *Armosyn Part II*].

³⁴ **Johannes (Jan) Sm(i)esing / Smeedige van de Caep halfslag** son of Company *heelslag* **Manda Gracias / Gratia van de Caep** by **Jan Smiesingh** (from Amsterdam); baptized Cape 6 March 1697; listed 1714 as school teacher (**Jan van Manda schoolmeester**) at Company Slave Lodge; manumitted c. 1731; dies (1734) teacher at Slave Lodge; marries Cape 30 December 1731 **Anna [van] Dapoer van de Caab**, Company slave born Cape; daughter of Company slave **Dapoer van Malabar**; *matres* in Slave Lodge; 1739/1740: **Anna van Dapoer** required to work another 12 years as free woman until 1739 before she has enough cash to free children **Jan & Frans** [Robert Shell, *Children of Bondage*, p. 199] [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Requesten*, no. 3 of 1739/1740, 4][CA: C 77 (Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 23 September 1727), pp. 103-106] *Op het gedane instantelijk versoeck van Anna van Dapoer van de Caab, dewelke omtrent den tijd van tien agter een volgende jaaren den dienst als onder meesteres in 's Comp[agnie]s. slave logie tot genoegen heft waargenomen, en op hare presentatie van een kloeke en gesonde mansslaaf, genaamt Julij van de Kust, die bereijts door den opperchirurgijn deeses Casteels, Jan van Schoor, gevisiteert en van de vereijtschte hoedanigheid bevonden is, weeder aan de E.[dele] Comp. in eigendom te sullen geeven, is deselve, als sijnde wel in de Neederduitsche tale ervaaren, en daar en boven den H[eilige] doop ontfangen hebbende, uijt slaverneije ontslagen en in vrijdom gestelt; gelijk meede om die selfde reedenen dat het Neederduijts seerwel spreekt, en het sacraments des doops ontfangen heeft, op sijne ernstige supplicatie uijt slavernije is ontheft geworden Jan van Christijn Pietersz van de Caab, hebbende alvorens in desselfs plaats weederom aan d' E.[dele] Comp[agnies]. in eigendom overgegeven een kloeke mansslaaf, genaamt Titus van Bengalen, dewelke door geciteerden opperchirurgijn insgelijx behoorlijk gevisiteert sal werden* [CA: C 344, *Attestatiën*, 1727, p. 589]; Resolutions of the Council of Policy [CA: C 110, pp. 33-42, 28 April 1739; *Ten laatsten is op het gedaane schriftelijk versoeck door de vrijswartinne Anna van Dapoer goedgegadt en beslooten dat haar twee soons, gen[aem]t. Jan en Frans van Anna van Dapoer, die sig als nog in 's E.[dele] Comps. slavenlogie bevinden, uijt aanmerkinge dat deselve het sacrament des H[eilige] doops hebben ontfangen en ook in de Duijtsche spraak seer wel ervaaren zijn, uijt slaverneij sullen werden ontslaagen en in vrijdom gestelt waaren, teegen in haare plaatse aan d' E.[dele] Comp. in eigendom sal werden overgegeven twee kloeke mansslaaven, genaamt Fortuijn van Bengaalen en Alexander van Banda, dewelke door den eersten opperchirurgijn deeses Gouvernements, Jan van Schoor, gevisiteert zijnde, van de vereijtschte bequaamheeden zijn bevonden te weesen* [see CA: C 239 *Requesten en Nominatiën*, 1739–1740 (undated), pp. 6–7]; she marries (2) (later divorces) **Carl Matthias Meuring**; children (1) Jan van Anna van Dapoer *alias* **Jan Smesing** (2) **Frans van Anna van Dapoer alias** **Frans Smesing**; (3) **Anna Smesing**; (4) **Jacobus Smesing** & (5) **Theodorus Smesing**.

³⁵ **Margaretha (Margarita) Jans(z): Visser(s): van de Caep (1659-c. 1710/11)** born Cape c. 1659; *halfslag* daughter of **Lijsbeth van Bengale** by **Johannes Coenraedsz: Visser** (from Ommen [Overijssel]); baptized Cape as **Reintje [Grietje?]** 18 July 1660 [?]; 7 June 1685: member of Cape Church; Company Slave Lodge *Matres*; marries (1) *de facto* slave **Ventura van Ceylon / Bengale**; marries (2) Cape 2 September 1685 **Lambert (Lammert) Laurensz: Barzenius van Hoff** (from Bergen [Norway]) [**Lammert Lourens: van Hoff, van Noorwegen en Margarita van de Caap**]; 1670: **Lambrecht Laurent(z): / Lourensz:** (from Bergen); 1670: on *Voerman*; 1671: on *Bruijdegom*; 22 December 1676: stationed on Robben Island; she witnesses following baptisms: (22 May 1678; 18 November 1685; 30 December 1685; Stellenbosch 10 August 1692 - with Norwegian **Cornelis Pieters:[en] Linnes**); 29 November 1693; 12 January 1696; 16 September 1696; 11 October 1699; 21 October 1702; 1 May 1707); 1695: (*Opgaaf*) appears as **Margaretha Vissers:**; deceased estate papers for both **Margarita** & husband have not survived; both listed in tax rolls (1709) but not (1712); children: (1) **Jacob [van Hoff]** baptized Cape 30 April 1679 (parents: **Venture [Ventura van Ceylon/Bengale] en Margarita Companies slaeven** (witnesses: **Maria [Maria Hendriks?] mistijs van de E.[dele] H.[eer] Cruidop [Crudop]**) - his biological father is **Simon van der Stel's** chef, **Ventura van Ceylon** & his half-brother is the



free-fisherman **Joost Ventura van de Caep** (see *infra*); (2) **Elsabe (Elsje / Elsie) Barzenius van Hoff** baptized Stellenbosch 29 [month illegible [?] May] 1689 marries (1) Cape 17 February 1704 **Johann Jürgen(s): Kotze / Coetze** (from *Benniveld* [Binnenveld?]) [*Jan Jurgens Coetze, jongman van Bennivelt met Elsie Barzenius jongedochter van de Caep*]; [son of **Johann (Jan) Kotze** (from Koenigstein [Saxony]) & **Catharina Henneke**] farmer *De Hoop op Constantia* [originally *Klein Constantia* or *Petit Constance* purchased from **Pieter de Meijer** (husband to **Aletta de Savoye**) who sells (1712); dies Cape 1717; marries (2) Cape 1 May 1718 **Johannes Colijn** (illegitimate son of **Bastiaen Jansz: Colijn** (from The Hague) & **Maria Everts: van de Caep**) (grandson of **Evert van Guinea** & **Anna [Hoen(a)] van Guinea**); he marries (2) Cape 23 September 1724 **Johanna Appel** (d/o **Ferdinandus Appel** & **Lavina / Louwina Cloete**; his widow marries (2) Cape 21 February 1745 **Lambert Mijburgh**, widow of **Anna Clara Kouting** (son of **Albert Mijburg** & **Elsie van der Merwe**).

³⁶ **Armozijn [de Groote] van de Caep** (c. 1657-1713) *halfslag* daughter of **Elisabeth (Lisjbeth) Arabus van Abisinna**; joint will (1713) states aged about 55 years; illegitimate *halfslag* Company private slave; born Cape c. 1657; baptized as adult (17 September 1679) [*Armosy een beiaerde Companijs meit*]; listed as Cape Church member / communicant (23 April 1684) – with **Beatrice van Cochin** (future wife to **Armozijn Claesz:**’s half-brother, **Claes Cornelisz:**) manumitted by Council of Policy resolution (8 May 1686); marries Drakenstein c. (1691/2) free-burgher **Guilliam Frisnet** (from Bergen-op-Zoom); witnesses following baptisms: 6 May 1678; 22 May 1678; 6 October 1680; 6 May 1685, 14 October 1685 & 12 April 1711; in baptismal entry for nephew **Willem**, infant’s mother [**Lijsbeth Sanders:**?] unnamed & referred only as “**Armozijn**’s sister”; dies childless in smallpox epidemic (1713); husband remarries (27 October 1715) **Manda Gratia**, former Company Slave Lodge matron (*matres*) & eldest daughter of **Armozijn de Cleijne**; [?] 1 child who probably dies in infancy: **Margarita** baptized Cape 29 July 1685; dies in infancy.

³⁷ Wife to **Claes Cornelisz: van de Caep** (*supra*).

³⁸ **Sara Leendertsz: / Jansz: / van Gijsselen van de Caep** (c. 1669-1713) *halfslag* daughter of **Maaij Claesje van Angola**, midwife (*vroetvrou*) at Company’s Slave Lodge; born illegitimate at the Cape 1665; Company slave; putative father: **Leendert Jansz: van Gyselen** (from Den Haag); baptized Cape *den 5 Juli [1671] een Comp.[agnie] slaafinne kint hoet van een christen vader de moeder genaamt Claasje kint Sara tot getuyge stont in plaatze van den E.[dele] Command[eur] onder raat Alexander Carpius*; school mistress (*Sara van de Caep als school matres in s’ Comp.[agnie]s Slaven Quartier*) at Company’s Slave Lodge [CA: CJ 291 (1689)]; 31 December 1689: prematurely released from Company Slave Lodge to marry: “**Sara from the Cape**, a half-caste female belonging to the Company, promised that upon her death (and after her marriage to **Andries Oelsen**), she would leave half her possessions to the Company in return for the education she received as a child” [A.J. Boeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 155]; 14 April 1690: as **Sara van Gieselin** marries Cape **Andries [Anders] Oelse: / Olofssen / Olafze: [Andries de Noorman]** (from Christiania [Oslo, Norway]) (dies 1709); 1685: purchases farm *Weltevreden* from deceased estate of free-black **Evert van Guinea**; 18 April 1700: witnesses baptism of **Margrieta** (daughter of **Jannetie van Wijk van de Caep**) 18 April [1700] *Een kint van Jannetie van Wyk, onder getuijgen van Claas Cornelis: en Sara Leendertz:, genaamt Margrieta*; 1709: **Andries de Noorman** dies [CA: MOOC 8/2, no. 19 (Inventory: **Sara Jansz:, wid. Andries Olofsz**, 31 May 1709)]; illegitimate child after husband’s death by Landdrost **Meurs** - censured by the Church [M.G. Upham, “... *In ’t suspens gecontinueerd* ... Alcoholics (Non) Anonymous of Stellenbosch”, *Capensis*, no. 4 (1999), pp. 34-36; ‘Keeping the gate of Hell ... ‘subliminal racism’ & early Cape carnal conversations between black men & white women, *Capensis*, no. 1 (2001), p. 27]; 1713: **Sara** dies (smallpox epidemic) [At Biewenga & Ockert G. Malan, *Capensis*; CA: MOOC 10/1, no. 79 (*Vendu Rol: Sara Jansz:, wid. Andries Olofsz*); CA: MOOC 13/1/1, no. 105 (Liquidation & Distribution Account: **Sara Jansz:, wed. Andries Olofsz**, 1713); 1715: heirs of **Andries Oelofs: de Noorman** granted *Weltevreden* [DO: OSF 1,239; 24 October 1718: free-burgher **Jacob Vrey** purchases *Weltevreden* from deceased estate of **Oelofs:**. DO: T 1258]; marries *de facto* **Samuel Martini de Meurs** (from Dodrecht) *landdrost* Stellenbosch; he marries Cape Town 29 December 1729 **Aletta Beck** (sister to Ds. **Beck**); she marries (2) **Jesse Slotsbo** (from Hadersleben) [*South African Genealogies*, vol. 5, p. 597]. **Slotsbo** (from Hadersleben) [SAG, vol. 5, p. 597]; children: [1] **Johanna Oelofse** marries (*de facto*) **Harmen Barentsz: [van der Schyff]**; he marries **Sibilla Pretorius** (d/o Cape-born mesties **Maria Hans: van de Caep** & possibly granddaughter of **Maaij Isabella van Angola**); (2) **Leendert Oelofs:** baptized at Stellenbosch 20 August 1690 (witnesses: **Lammert van Hoff** & **Lijsbeth Jans:**); marries 16 August 1711 **Margaretha Beyers** (d/o **Andreas Beyer** (from Saxony) & **Catharina Vrijmans van de Caep**; likely granddaughter **Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta**); she marries (2) 11 February 1725 **Esaias Nel** (son of **Guillaume Nel** (from Rouen) & **Jeanne de la Batte** (from Saumur)); (3) **Ture [Thyre? Claesje?] Oelofs:** baptized 19 October 1692; dies young [not mentioned in estate account of mother] (witnesses: **Roelof Pasman** & **Fijtje Schalk [van der Merwe]**); (4) **Dorothea Oelofs:** baptized c. 1695; marries 7 January 1709 **Cornelis Campher** (son of **Lorenz Campher** (from Mohrow [Pomerania]) & **Ansela van de Caep**; grandson of **Paaij Timoor** & **Ansela van Timor**); (5) **Roelof Oelofs:** baptized c. 1708 burgher Drakenstein; marries 15 August



1728 **Sara Cordier** (daughter of **Jean Cordier & Jeanne Terrier**); (6) **Margaretha Oelofsz**: baptized Cape 16 September 1696 (witnesses: **Harmen Barentsz**: [van der Schyff] & **Margreta van Hof**); marries (1) 24 March 1726 **David Pfannenstiel** (from Schmalkalden); marries (2) 27 August 1741 **Hinrich Fehrzen** (from St. Margarethen [Holste(i)n]); (7) **Cornelis Oelofsz**: baptized [?]; 1714: ward of the Orphan Chamber [CA: MOOC 5/1]; soldier (Kamer Amsterdam); 15 May 1717 goes to Ceylon on *Vaderland Getrouw* (Kamer Zeeland) arriving there 13 March 1717; (8) **Anna (Antje) Oelofsz**: baptized Stellenbosch 13 May 1703 (witnesses: **Arent Gildenhuysen & Judith Smit**); 1721: ward of the Orphan Chamber [MOOC 5/1]; marries 2 March 1721 **Johann Adam Clank / Klank** (from Naumburg); 1725; German *knecht* **Willem Meijer** ... *word toen hij op een kwade avond thuis kwam, door zijn baas en twee mede-knechts gegrepen en met een stuk hout werd Meijer geslagen. Anna Oelofsz, blijkbaar degene wie Meijer iets misdaan had, tilde de rokken op en urineerde Meijer op het geslacht en in die mond. Daarna sloegen die drie verder. Die baas gaf vervolgens zijn slaaf Louis van Angola een riem in handen: 'Raak wat caffer, 't is maar een moff!'. En die slaaf sloeg. De daders waren er in het geheel niet op bedacht dat Willem Meijer hen de volgende dag bij de fiscaal zou aangeven* [At Biewenga, pp. 68-69]; commits adultery (*vleselijke conversatie hadden*) with **Wilhelm Meyer** (from Bremen) & (2) the soldier **Jan Splinter**, [Biewenga, p. 220]; (9) **Johannes Oelofsz**: baptized Stellenbosch 9 May 1706 (witnesses: **Jan van Saxen & Margareta Voogt**); 1719: ward of the Orphan Chamber [MOOC 5/1]; (10) **Sara Magdalena Meurs** illegitimate daughter of Stellenbosch *Landdrost* **Samuel Martini de Meurs** (from Dodrecht) baptized Stellenbosch 5 May 1709 **Sara Magdalena** (*de vader onbekent*) *d'moeder Sara Janse*; marries **Jan Michiel Kromhout**.

³⁹ **Armozijn de Cleijne van de Caep** (c. 1661-1733) *heelslag* born Cape c. 1661; *heelslag* daughter of **Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna** [?]. Company slave possibly biologically fathered by either **Paaij Claes van Guinea**, **Claes Kelder van Angola** or **Claes van Angola**; baptized as adult (23 February 1687) becoming Company Slave Lodge matron (*matres*); being *heelslag*, manumitted (1701) in terms of Company regulations after 40 years enslavement; 3rd free-black woman granted property in Table Valley (June 1708); likely biological fathers of some of her 7 recorded children include: free-black **Jacqje Joi** [later **Gracias Maialas**] **van Angola**, Company slave **Jonas van de Cust** & free-burgher **Michiel Ley** (from Basle [Switzerland]); dies Cape 1733; children: (1) **Frans halfslag** baptized Cape 15 August 1677; dies young [?]; (2) **Ma(a)nda / Maende [Gracia:] van de Caep** *heelslag* [?] baptized Cape 19 November 1679; witnesses baptism of **Johannes van Dyk** baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 14 June 1705; 1714: matron (*matres / matries*) in the Slave Lodge; freed 1715; 19 April 1720: listed as wife of **Frisnet** in *Opgaaf*; marries Cape 27 October 1715 **Guilliam Frisnet**, widower of **Armozijn de Groote** (dies 1713); (3) **Johannes** baptized twice 8 September / 16 September 1686 [clerical error?]; dies young; (4) **Claes Jonasz**: baptized *heelslag* [?] 1 August 1688; marries Cape 11 March 1725 **Dina van Bima** former slave of **Willem Adriaen van der Stel** baptized Cape [Slaven Kinders des Vrijborgers of Comp.:agnies] *Dienaeren* 20 June 1706 *na voorgaande beleijdenis*; (5) **Anna Lijsbeth** baptized *halfslag* 7 September 1692; [?] missing baptism for **Maria Stuart van de Caep** [nickname?] baptized *halfslagh* [?] (baptism not found) born c. 1692 [age calculated in accordance with manumission conditions]; Company slave, at mother's request freed conditionally (3 & 7 April 1711) & allowed to accompany wife of VOC official & skipper **Steeven Scheijderuijt**, to Netherlands on *Raadhuis van Middelburgh* (part of Return Fleet: departing 15 April 1711 & arriving (7 August 1711) at Remmekens, Netherlands); mentioned in mother's will (1713); dies *ante* 1721; not mentioned in mother's will for that year; (6) **Machteld / Magdalena Ley halfslag** baptized Cape 26 August 1697 marries Cape 14 April 1720 **Hermann Combrink** (from Bielefeld).

⁴⁰ **Ma(a)nda / Maende van de Caep / Manda Gracia van de Caep** *heelslag* daughter of Company *heelslag* **Armozijn Claesz van de Caep** baptized Cape 19 November 1679; matron (*matres/matrics*) of Company Slave Lodge; freed 1715; witnesses baptism of **Johannes van Dyk** baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 14 June 1705 (witnesses: **Hendrik Brant & Maanda Gratia**); 1714: **Manda Gratia** matron in the Slave Lodge [CA: C 336 (31 August 1714), p. 471, nos. 388, 245 & 267; Robert Shell, *Children of Bondage*, p. 288]; 19 April 1720: **Manda Gratia** listed as wife of **Guilliam Frisnet** in *Opgaaf* [Robert Shell, *Children of Bondage*, p. 288]; marries Cape 27 October 1715 **Guilliam Frisnet**, widower of **Armozijn the elder** (dies 1713) [he fathers illegitimate child **Willem** by **Isabella van de Caep** (daughter of **Abraham van Guinea & Catharina van Batavia**)]; children: (1) **Johannes (Jan) Sm(i)esing / Smeedige halfslagh** baptised 6 March 1697; listed (1714) as school teacher (*Jan van Manda schoolmeester*) at Company Slave Lodge; manumitted (c. 1731); dies (1734) teacher at Slave Lodge: marries Cape 30 December 1731 **Anna [van] Dapoer van de Caab**, Company slave born Cape; daughter of **Dapoer van Malabar**; *matres* in Slave Lodge; (2) **Frans van Leeuwen alias Frans van Leeuwen Frisnet halfslagh** baptised Cape 27 March 1701; freed; CA: MOOC 5/1 *blad 12: Pupillen te mogen trouwen, item die haar buijten kennis verlooft hebben, also ok mondig of getrouwt zijn uijt de weesboeken genoomen t warden, en wat verders nog omtrent pupillen is. 1721. 21 junij. Frans van Leeuwen Frisnet verlof komende vragen om, bij d' Ed.[ele] H:[eer]r Goufn:[eu]r te mogen gaan versoeken, om in 's Comp:[agnie]s dienst na India te gaan is hem gerpliceert dat den Sectr:s hem een briefje oude geeven, dat*



Heeren weesm:ren in zijn versoek consenteerde; joins VOC as sailor; dies unmarried (no issue) on ship *Koning Carel May* 1721 en route to Batavia [Resolutions of the Council of Policy [CA: C 75, pp. 41-48, 6 March 1726]: Aan den E.[dele] Agtb.[are] Heer **Jan de la Fontaine**, oppercoopman en Gesaghebber, benevens den E.[dele] Agtb.[are] Politicque Raad deses Gouvernements. Wel E.[dele] Heer en Agtb.[are] Heeren, Verthonen met schuldig respect weesmeesteren deser steede hoe in den jaare 1721 van hierna Batavia op 't schip *Coning Carel* isoverleeden eenen **Frans van Leeuwen**, [born Cape (1702) & joins VOC (1721) as soldier [CA: C 228, Requesten, 1720–1721, no. 53.]] van desen plaats geboortig, soldaat in dienst der E.[dele] Comp.[agnies], dat denselven over zijn nalatenschap weesmeesteren tot executeurs heeft aangesteld, mitsgrs. tot erfgenamen zijnvolle broeder, **Pieter Cornelisz van Leeuwen**, **Johannes Smiesing** en **Willem Frisnet**, halve broeders, en zijn halve suster, **Margareta Geertruij Frisnet**, [Geertuij & Willem Frisnet are children by **Guilliam Frisnet** born at Cape 1714 & 1717 - [CA: MOOC 8/3, (Inventarissen, 1714–1719), no. 93] [CA: C 233, Requesten, 1726, pp. 82–84] ieder in egualeportie, uijtwijsens copia testament desen annex.] Welkers nalatenschap (die in 't geheel omtrent bedraagt een somma van f1070 Caabs geld) weesmeesterengaarne na inhoude van 't voorsz testament soude willen verdeelen ende een iedersijn erfportie doen genieten; maar aangesien de twee eerstgen. erfgenamen, **Pieter Cornelisz van Leeuwen** en **Johannes Smiesing**, 's Comp[agnie]s. slaven zijn, ende supplten. bedugt sijnde of deselve niet soude mistasten wanneer sij diegelderden buiten consent van Uw Wel E.[dele] en E.[dele] Agtb.[are] afgaven en aan haar ter handstelden, soo nemen sij de vrijmoedigheid haar eerbiedig te wenden tot Uw Wel E.[dele] en E.[dele] Agtb.[are], met nedrig versoek van met derselver hoogwijs advijs gesterkte mogen werden hoedanig de supplten. sig nopens de erfporties van voorszslaven sullen hebben te gedragen. (Onderstont) 't Welk doende &a. (Lager) Uijt naam en last van weesmeesteren voorn[oe]mt. (Was getekent) **JJaco[b]. Lever**, secretaris. (In margine) Ter Weescamer aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, den 26e Maart 1726. Over welkers inhoude geraadpleegt sijnde, heeft mengeen swarigheid gemaakt wegens het afgeven der competeerende erfportie aan 's Comp[agnie]s. lijfeijgenen **Pieter Cornelisz van Leeuwen** en **Johannes Smiesing**, weshalven weesmeesteren daar toe sullen werden gequalificeert; (3) **Pieter Cornelis van Leeuwen** halfslag born Cape 16 August 1706; baptised Cape 26 September 1706; listed as **Pieter Claasen** 1714; dies as **Pieter Claase van Manda** in slavery Tuesday 10 August 1728/Wednesday 1728 [CA: C 2455 12]; (4) **Margaretha Geertruij Frisnet** halfslag baptized Cape 18 February 1714; een kind van **Manda van de Caap**, genaamt **Margrieta Geertruij** still alive (1728); listed (1714) as infant: **Magrieta Cornelia** [sic] van **Manda Gratia**; (5) **Willem Frisnet** baptised Cape 2 July 1716; died in infancy & (6) **Willem Frisnet** baptised Cape 12 August 1717.

⁴¹ **Christina (Christijn) van Magdalena Smid** daughter of Company halfslag **Magdalena Smids / Smith van de Caep** & granddaughter of **Maij Claesje van Angola**; baptized Cape 23 September 1696; listed 1714 as **Christijn van Magdalena Smith** matres at Company Slave Lodge (1728) succeeding **Manda Gratia** [?]; **Christijn van de Caep**; matres 1728 [CA: C 80, pp. 118-123, 31 August 1728] *Vervolgens is op het instantelijk versoek van de matres van 's Comp[agnie]s. slave logie, Christijn van de Caab, insgelijx beslooten en goedgegadt dat haar dogtertje, met name Johanna Barbara vande Caab, oud omtrent dertien jaren, als hebbende het sacrament des H.[eilige] doops ontfangen, en bovendien wel in de Nederduitse taal ervaaren zijnde, uijt slavernij sal werden ontslagen en in vrijdom gestelt, mits dat daar voor wederom door haar aan d' E.[dele] Comp[agnie] in eigendom sal moeten werden overgegeeven een kloeke mansslaaf, genaamt **Darius van Mallabaar**, en dat denselven alvorens door de opperchirurgijns deeses Gouvernements gevisiteert en van de vereijdschte gestellenisse en gezondheid sal bevonden weesen: children inter alia: (1) **David van Christina van Magdalena Smith** absconds 2 March 1735; (2) **Johanna Barbara van Magdalena Smith**.*

⁴² Carl Peter Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope 1772-1775* (2nd Series no. 17, Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town 1986) p. 52 (see also n. 164 for references to other observations by visitors to the Cape).

⁴³ François Valentijn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it*, vol. II, pp. 258-259.

⁴⁴ Daughter of freed Cape-born halfslag **Martha Martens**: by **Pieter Hillekes Huijtema / Uijt(t)ema** (from the Netherlands) & likely granddaughter of private slave **Catharina van Batavia**.

⁴⁵ Biography in preparation.

⁴⁶ Illegitimate son of Cape-born halfslag **Catharina Opklim van Bengale** by **Maurits Jacobsz van Eijck** (from Utrecht) & adopted son of **Jan Willemsz Vermeulen** (from Utrecht); likely illegitimate grandson of **Catharina van Angola**.

⁴⁷ **Adolf Hof(f)man van Batavia**; sick-visitor; marries Cape 31 December 1724 **Catharina Jacobs(z): Lubeek**, widow of **Jan Verbeek** (from Rotterdam); "1719; daughter of halfslag **Martha Em(m)anuels: / Manuels: van de Caep** & likely granddaughter of **Catharina van Angola**; **Hofman (Adolph): of Batavia**; has for some time earned his living here by teaching the children to read, write, and cypher; as the usher [Lambert Slicher (from Middelburg)] of the Company's School has died, he asks for the appointment. (No. 32; date, ?.[1723])" [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten*, vol. II, p. 516].



⁴⁸ Son of **Johannes Verbeek** (from Rotterdam) & *halfslag* **Catharina Jacobsz: / Lubeek; van de Caep**; step-son of **Adolf Hof(f) man van Batavia** grandson of *heelslag* **Martha Em(m)anuels: / Manuels: van de Caep** & likely great-grandson of **Catharina van Angola**; baptised Cape 18 September [De Villiers/Pama have November [sic]] 1708 (father: **Johannes Verbeek**; mother: **Catharina Lubeek**; witnesses: **Jan Pietersz van 's Heereveen en Martha Emanuelsz:**); *voorleser & koster* at Tulbagh marries (1) 27 March 1729 **Johanna Hasselaar** daughter of **Jacob Hasselaar** (from Middelburg) & **Maria Elisabeth van Coningshovern** born in wedlock; baptised 12 October 1687 (witnesses: **Christiaan Freeser ende Anna Hoeks**); paternal granddaughter of **Gaspard / Caspar Hasselaar & Anna Hoecks / Haecks** & maternal granddaughter of *halfslag* **Jannetje Bo(o)rt / Bord van de Caep & Dirck van Coningshoven** (from Utrecht) & maternal great-granddaughter of **Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg van Angola [aka Christina (Christijn) van Angola?]** by **Niclaes del Bort** (from Arien [Overissel]); marries (2) 6 June 1734 **Geetruyd Loos**, wid. **Adam Albertyn** (from Delft) & wid. **Hendrik Lodewyk Wiederhold**; daughter of **Hinrich / Hendrik Loos** (from Olfen) & **Lijsbeth Jansz: van de Caep**, wid. **Jan Andriessen de Jonker van Arendsdorp** (from Koenigsberg [Krolawiec, Poland] & Rissen [Altona, Hamburg]); **Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg [aka Chritina (Christijn) van Angola?]**.

⁴⁹ Mansell Upham, 'The miller at Platteklip painted by Otto Landsberg: Johann Bernhard Engelbrecht (1781-1838)', *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, vol. 61, no. 4 (October-December 2007), pp. 19-32. She is the writer's maternal great-great-great-grandmother & daughter of freed slave woman **Maria Magdalena Jacobse** formerly **Mariana van Ceylon**.

⁵⁰ http://www.eggsa.org/sarecords/South_African_Records_Transcribed - A Selection of Historical Record transcribed by Corney Keller.

⁵¹ Baptised Cape (7 May 1719) **Maria Elizabeth**, daughter of **Jacob Pietersz:** [error for **Pieter Jacobsz:** (from Langevelt aka **Pieter Vrolijk Willemse Langevelt?**] & **Cornelia Jacobs:** & witnessed by free-blacks **Jan Holsmith van de Caep & Catharina Anthonisz: van de Caep**.

⁵² CA: CJ 2877 (*Contracten* (1714-1715): **Benjamin Wiese** (from Amsterdam) & **Pieter Willemse Langevelt** (from Dirkerdam), 15 October 1715), pp. 159-160; CA: C 43 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 31 August 1717), pp. 19-36; CA: C 43 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 19 October 1717), pp. 93-116. He is incorrectly named **Pieter Pietersz: Langeveld** in genealogical publications – no such person found in records. **Hendrik Langevelt & Christina Langevelt** who witness the following baptism at the Cape church have yet to be further identified: *Den 3 Meij [1739] Cristina, de ouders Jan de Wael, en Elizabeth van Nek, de getuijge Hendrik Langevelt en Cristina Langevelt* [Transcription: Corney Keller].

⁵³ Daughter of **Otto Ernst van Graan** by manumitted wife **Rebecca Moses: van de Caep** & granddaughter of free-black & fisherman **Moses Aaron van Macassar**.

⁵⁴ An article by the writer on **Dorothea van Angola** & her genealogical legacy will follow shortly.

⁵⁵ Even after his move to Drakenstein, he remains closely associated to his wife's relatives (also his mother's relatives by marriage) who also relocate to Paarl [CA: MOOC 8/10 (Inventory: **Michiel Duuren**), no.31].

⁵⁶ DRC/A: Paarl: *Notule* 1731-1784.

⁵⁷ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Requesten*: "**Jonker (Adolff)**: burgher, and *koster* at Drakenstein; asks for the freehold of a piece of ground at the Paarl 2 morgen in extent on which to settle (number 75)".

⁵⁸ CA: C 130, pp. 284-286: *Dingsdag den 15: Aug:[ustu]s 1752 'S voormiddags alle præsant. Is op het hierom in Schripts gedaane versoek bij den Burger en Koster aan Drakensteijn Adolf Jonker, aan denzelven in Eijgendom gegeven, een Stukje Huijs Erfs en Thuijn Land geleegeen aan de Paarel ter groote van Twee Morgen Netto*.

⁵⁹ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Requesten* (no. 41; 22 February 1779); CA: C 157 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 30 March 1779), pp. 132-164: *Dingsdag den 30 Maart 1779. Sijnde voorts naar resumptie eener Missive van't Eerw:[aerde] Collegie van Kerkenraade aan Drakensteijn, de dato 22:ste Febr:[uar]ij Jongstl[eden]: goedgevonden, de gedaane aanstelling van den Burger Hartwich Johannes Luttich, tot Coster der Kerk aldaar in Steede van den overleedenen Adolph Jonker t' approbeeren*.

⁶⁰ **Arij Bastiaan & Pieternella van de Cust**.

⁶¹ Transcribed with gratitude from originals in Rijksarchief, The Hague by Hans F. Heese (1979).

⁶² **Abdul** (also transliterated as *Abdal, Abdel, Abdil, Abdol, Abdool, or Abdoul*, Arabic: عبد الله, 'Abd al-) is the primary transliteration of the Arabic compound words: **Abd** (عبد: meaning 'slave') and **al** (ال meaning 'the'). The meaning of Abdul literally and usually means "Slave of the ...", but in English translations some prefer to translate it to: 'Servant of the ...'.

⁶³ The mother of his children **Roselij van Bengale** is only formally manumitted (1747).

⁶⁴ The mother of his children **Roselij van Bengale** is only formally manumitted (1747). Is this our **Rosetta van Bengale** (also appearing as no. 541) enumerated *in loco parentis*?

⁶⁵ For purposes of economy their names are not set out in this articles.

⁶⁶ Not to be confused with **Rosetta van Bengalen**, slave belonging to **Pieter van Breda** who baptizes (28 September 1727) an infant daughter **Regina** (witnesses: **Pieter van Breda & Catharina Smuts**).



⁶⁷ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten: 1739/1740*: “**Rosetta of Bengal**, free black, wishes to emancipate her slave, **Aron of Bali**. (No. 4)”; DRC, Cape Town: *Den 21 October [1742] ... Aron van Balij, en Rosetta van de Kust bijde vrijswarten*.

⁶⁸ CA: CA: CJ 2609, no. 6 (Will: **Rosetta van Bengaalen** (1739); CJ 26 58, no. 48 (Will: **Rosetta van Bengaalen** (1747). Both wills still need to be accessed for confirmation, information and additional insights.

⁶⁹ LP: *Requesten: Aron of Baly*, free black, wishes to emancipate his slave 1742. **Corydon of Bengal**; offers as surety Itself and the Burgher **Adolf Jonker** (number 32). **Jonker (Adolph)**; a burgher (see **Aron of Balij**) (number 1742. 32).

⁷⁰ **Abraham Ventura** & his wife **Clara van Bengale** married on the same day as **Aron van Bali** and **Rosetta van Java**:

[*Den 21 October [1742]*

Abraham van Vintura van de Caab, en Clara van Bengale bijde vrij swarten.

Aron van Batij [Balij], en Rosetta van de Kust bijde vrijswarten].

⁷¹ CA: MOOC 7/1/10, no. 37 (Will: **Rosetta van Bengalen**, wife of **Arend van Balij** (1757).

⁷² Baptized Cape 15 August 1734 [*Den 15 dito [1734] Een bejaerd persoon na voorgaende belijdenis, genaemt Roselijn, lijfeijgen van den vrijswart Jacobus Hendriks*] who witnesses: (1) (with **Jacob Izaakse** [her son?]) baptism (5 March 1747) of freed (*vrijgedoopt*) infant **Jacoba**, daughter of **Johanna van de Caap**; (2) (with **Daniel Kaakse [Izaakse?]**) again baptism (25 February 1748) of **Johanna Catharina**, the illegitimate infant of **Apolonia Kaakse [Izaakse – her daughter?]** allegedly fathered by **Jan van Beelen**; (3) (with **Izak Sultania**) baptism (19 August 1749) **Helena Roselina** - infant daughter **Daniel Izaakse** [her son?] & **Elisabeth van Batavia**. [Note: there is another **Rosalijn / Roselijn van Bengalen**, formerly belonging to free-black **Christiaan Wijnands: van de Cust**, - possibly her daughter? - baptized as adult (21 May 1744). There is also a **Roselijn van Batavia** baptized (13 October 1737) with **Joseph van Balij**].

⁷³ She marries (27 September 1731) **Anoldus Coevoet van de Caep**.

⁷⁴ <https://familysearch.org/search>.

⁷⁵ Legally, she was the property of free-black & former slave of **Simon van der Stel**, **Christina van Canarij**.

⁷⁶ *Den 24 9ber [1737] Johannes Janz van Cijlon, met Rossetta van Bengalen vrijgegeven lijf eigenen*. While still a slave **Roselijn van Bengale** possibly baptized the following children with the blessing of her owners **Jacobus Hendricksz: van de Coromandel Cust** and **Christina van Canarij**:

(1) **Daniel** baptized Cape 28 November 1723

(2) **Isaek** baptized Cape 2 December 1731

(3) **Jacob / Jacobus Johannes / Jans: / Jansz: van de Caep** baptized Cape 12 July 1733 as slave of *vrijswart Jacob Hendriksz: van de Kust* - mother is recorded as **Rosalijn van Bengale** & baptism witnessed by *kinds Baas en Vrouw [Jacobus Hendricksz: van de Kust Coromandel & Christina van Canarij]* marries Cape 1746

Helena Duuring / Duuren van de Caep (d/o **Daniel Duuring / Duuren van de Caep** & **Francina Anthonio van de Caep**) (granddaughter of **Michael Duering** (from Leipzig) & **Cornelia (Keetje) Jacobsz: / Keetje(s): van de Caep**) (niece to **Maria Petronella Langeveld**)

(1) **Francina Janetia Jansz:** baptized Cape 3 September 1747 (witness: **Michiel Duuren**); dies young

(2) **Daniel Jansz:** baptized Cape

(3) **Johannes Daniel** 24 August 1749 (witnesses: **Abraham van de Cust** & **Rosa van Bengalen**)

(4) **Moses** baptized Cape 29 May 1735

(5) **Abraham van de Caap** baptized Cape 31 January 1740

(6) **Helena van de Caap** baptized Cape 31 January 1740

For information about **Christina van Canarij** & her husband, see Margaret Cairns, 'Free Black Landowners in the Southern Suburbs of the Cape Peninsula during the Eighteenth Century', *Kronos*, vol. 10 (1985), pp. 23-32.

⁷⁷ CA: MOOC 8/13 (Inventory: **Rosetta van Bengalen**, 16 October 1769), no. 23 [<http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/>].

⁷⁸ Possibly baptized (17 June 1728) **Johanna** as *vrijgegevene* by **Anna Rebecca van Bengale** (witness: **Anna Rebecca van Bengale**).

⁷⁹ J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape*. [Hoge gives following archival sources: *Requesten* (1757), no. 102; CA: CJ 1088 (Will), no. 6 & CJ 1181 (Will), no. 8; *Contracten*, vol. 37, pp. 96, ff; CJ 598 (21.8.1764); CA: MOOC 4 (Will); MOOC 13 (Inventory), no. 23].

⁸⁰ *Cape Melting Pot*

⁸¹ **Maria Sultania**, *de Ouders en Getuijge Johannes Janse en Rosalijn van Bengalen*.

⁸² J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape*. Hoge states that she is daughter of **Jan Jansz: van Ceylon** & **Rosetta van Bengale**. [Hoge gives following archival sources: General Muster Rolls (1755-58); *Requesten*



(1760), no. 118 ; CA: CJ 1098, no. 25; CA: MOOC 13, no. 23 (Inventory); MOOC 19, no. 80 (Inventory); MOOC (Estate Accounts) 17, no. 2)].

⁸³ **Hendrik Jan, de Ouders Johannes Janze van Cijlon, en Rosetta van Bengalen, de Getuijge Johanna Catharina en Hendrik Janze.**

⁸⁴ CA: CJ 2611, no.38 (Joint Will: **Johannes Jansz: & Rosetta van Bengaalen** (1750)); CA: MOOC 7/1/11, no. 4 (Will: **Johannes Jansz: & Rosetta van Bengaalen** (1750)).

⁸⁵ CA: MOOC 7/1/19, no. 15 (Will: **Johannes Jansz: & Rosetta van Bengaalen**, wife of **Johannes Jansz:**).

⁸⁶ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten* (1768-1770): **Jansz: (Johannes); of Ceylon**; deceased. Orphan Masters as Executors of his Estate, and that of his wife (deceased) **Rosetta of Bengal** submit that the latter, in her Will, desired the manumission of her slave, **Augusto of Ceylon**. They offer as sureties, the burghers **Jan Mostert** of Wieringen and **Daniel Winst** (Extract from Will annexed (number 68; date, 12th December, 1769))“.

⁸⁷ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope Requesten*, no. 68 (12 December 1769).

⁸⁸ CA: MOOC 8/13 (Inventory: **Rosetta van Bengalen**, 16 Oct. 1769), no. 23.

<http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/>

⁸⁹ These derive originally from transcriptions of the *Transport en Schepenkenntnissen* by Anna J. Boseken & Margaret Cairns first published in *Slaves and Free Blacks*.

⁹⁰ His consistent usage of a different patronym (*Jansz:*) and/or toponym (*van Amsterdam*) than his ‘brother’ (half-brother?) begs the question as to his acknowledged / ascribed biological paternity.

⁹¹ CA: CJ 2604, no. 5 (Will: **Jonker van Maccassar**, 1727) [original will]; MOOC 7/4 (Wills: 1726-1735), no. 33 (Will: **Jonker van Maccassar**, 1727) [copy of will]. These wills (original & copy thereof), however, are in need of re-inspection & verification – transcriptions of names appear to derive from Hoge. Lodging of these wills is also mysterious as no additional estate papers (eg inventories & Liquidation & Distribution Accounts, *Vendurollen*) seem to exist. This aspect also requires more investigation.

⁹² Elmien Wood transcribes this name as *Raija* [email to SAGenealogie (SAGenealogie@yahoogroups.com) & Buitenposten (BUITENPOSTEN@rootsweb.com)] (29 May 2013).

⁹³ Considered to be a Jewish name by Arabs which possibly explains why he is later referred to as Talib in his father’s will.

⁹⁴ Variants of the given or first common Arabic name include: *Gamila, Cemila, Cemile, Djemila, Jamillah, Djémila, Djamila & Jamilya*. The name means ‘beautiful’.

⁹⁵ *Abd + Allah = Abdallah*. Variants of this common Arabic given or first compound name include: *Abd Allah, Abdala, Abdalá, Abdalla, Abdallah, Abdellah, Abdilla, Abdullahi, Abdollah, Abdulah, Abdulai & Abdulla*. The name means ‘slave of God’.

⁹⁶ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten* (1722), vol. II, p. 444: “Fisherman - Memorial of - who own fishing boats, and ask that they may again fish at, and near Salt River, which has been forbidden them since the vessels had been thrown on shore there in the late gale. Memorial signed by **Paulus Hartog**, the **Widow Jan Verbeek**, **Harmen Grutter**, **Johannes Mulder**, **Titus Jacobse**, **Jan Pretorius**, **Jacob of Bougis**, **Jonker of Macassar**, **Sobinko the Chinaman**, **Hercules Valentijn**, and **Daniel Deuren**. The Governor and Council decide as yet to withhold the permission, and not allow the memorialists to fish between the beach and the Salt River. (No. 86; date, 22nd December 1722”.

⁹⁷ CA: C 62 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 22 December 1722), pp. 22-35]: *Dingsdag den 22e December 1722, voormiddags. Alle present, uijtgesondert den Heer independent fiscaal, Cornelis van Beaumont ...Waar na in Raade is gelesen geworden het onderstaande requeste door eenige ingesetenen in volgende bewoordinge overgegeven: Aan de Wel Edele Gestre. Heere Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes - - - benevens den E.[dele] Agtb[ar]e. Raad van Politie. Wel Edele Gestre. Heer en E.[dele] Agtb[ar]e. Heren, Vertoonen met alle onderdanigheid Uwe Wel Edele Gestre. en E.[dele] Agtb[ar]e. seer nederige dienaren en dienaressen **Paulus Hertog**, d' wed[duw]je. **Jan Verbeek**, **Harmen Grutter**, **Johannes Mulder**, **Titus Jacobsz.**, **Jan Pretorius**, **Jacob van Bougies**, **Jonker van Macassar**, **Sobinko de Chinees**, **Hercules Valentijn** en **Daniel Deuren**, dat sij schuijten hebbende met deselve in persoon ofte door haare slaven laten visschen, tragende alsoo daar mede op een eerlijke wijze de kost te winnen, dog dat seedert het jongst verongelukken der scheepen ter deesser rhee de aan haar supplten. is verboden langs de stranden bij en omtrent de Soute Rivier met haare schuijten te komen ofte het net uijt te werpen, dewijl nu dien hoek de vischrijkste der gantsche Tafelbhaj is, en dat in de Rogge Bhaj of daaromstreeks geen visch meer te bekomen is, soo nemen sij supplten. de vrijheit Uwel Edele Gestre. en E[dele]. Agtb[ar]e. op 't oodmoedigst te versoeken dat aan haarlieden wederom als voorheen magh werden gepermitteert tot haar nodige kost winninge ter voormelte plaats te visschen. (Onderstond) 't Welk doende &a. Welken aangaande gedelibereert sijnde, is goedgevonden en verstaan dat het voor als nog dienstig was te verhinderen dat eenige particuliere vaartuijgen naderde omtrent de wracken van 's Comps. geblevene schepen, en dienvolgens de supplten. voor als nogh te refuseeren van te mogen vissen langs de stranden van het zeehoofd af tot aan de Zoute Rivier toe, permitteerende haarlieden nogtans sulx te mogen*



doen beoosten de voorm[eld]e. Zoute Rivier en elders in deese bhaij ... Aldus geresolveerd ende gearresteerd in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten dage en jaare voorsz.

M.[aurits] DE CHAVONNES. K. J. SLOTSBOO. JAN DE LA FONTAINE. J[a]N. ALDERSZ. A. V.[an] KERVEL.

⁹⁸ **Paul / Paulus Hartog(h) van de Caep** castijs son of Company halfslag **Johanna (Jannetje) van Wijck** by Company chief gardener (*baes tuijnier*) & famous botanist **Johann(es) [de] Hartog(h)** (from Aachen); likely grandson of Company slave **Maaij Claesje van Angola**; February 1698: baptized Cape (Company slave baptismal register) February 1698 *Een kint van Jannetje van Wyck gen:[aem]t Paulus cast:[ijs]*; marries (1) 30 April 1719 **Petronella Phil(l)ips: Badon [Bouton?]** (daughter of **Philip van Bouton & Susanna van Boegies [Bugis]**); marries (2) 30 November 1727 **Barbara Oberholster** (illegitimate daughter of [?] Company slave **Jannetje Willems: van de Caep & Johann Oberholster** (from Zürich); granddaughter of **Maria van Bengale & Bastiaen Colijn** (from The Hague)) by 1st union; 1755: "**Hartog (Paul)**; burgher; asks for a house and garden plot in the district of Stellenbosch, at the "Moddergat", between the farms of **Jan Otendaal [sic-Odendaal]** and **Michiel Romond** - the same erf on which the widow **Gerrit Gerritsz.**, nicknamed **Elsje Speldenberg**, used to live. He wished to settle on it as a blacksmith (no. 89)" [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten*, vol. II, p. 538].

⁹⁹ **Catharina Jacobs(z): / Lubeek** - halfslag daughter of private *heelslag* freed slave (belonging to **Hester Jansz: Klim** (from Lier) & her daughter **Grucella Mostaert**, wife to **Tobias Vlasvath**) **Martha Em(m)anuelsz: / Manuels(z): van de Caep**; granddaughter of **Catharina van Bengale [Angola?]** by **Manuel van Angola**; baptized Cape 18 March 1691[baptismal entry illegible]; marries (1) 29 September 1709 **Jan Verbeek** (from Rotterdam); marries (2) 31 December 1724 **Adolf Hof(f)man** (from Batavia); Sick Visitor; 1719. "**Hofman (Adolph); of Batavia** ; has for some time earned his living here by teaching the children to read, write, and cypher; as the usher of the Company's School has died, he asks for the appointment. (No. 32; date, ?.)" [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Requesten*, vol. II, p. 516].

¹⁰⁰ **Hermann Grütter** (from Münster) - marries (1) **Johanna Titus** (daughter of **Titus Jacobsz: van Macassar & Johanna [Titus:] van Macassar**); marries (2) Cape 4 July 1728 **Engela Wed(d)eking [Wedekin]** baptized Cape 29 May 1712 (witnesses: parents) daughter of **Heinrich Wed(d)eking [Wedekin]** (from Paderborn) & his wife the freed Company halfslag **Johanna (Jannetje) van Wijck van de Caep**; illegitimate daughter, **Johanna Sara Grütter**, baptized Cape 18 January 1733 by **Rebekka / Rebecca van de Caap**; his likely relationship to **Francina Grutting** [Anna J. Boeseken, *Simon van der Stel en sy Kinders*, p. 219] has yet to be established; she marries (2) Cape 16 August 1739 **Barend van der Schyff** (son of **Harmen Barendsz: van der Schyff** (from Rotterdam) & **Sibella Pretorius**; grandson of **Maria Hansen / Hansz: van de Caep** by **Dirck Pretorius** (from Linteloo [Gelderland]) & likely great-grandson of **Jajenne / Gegeima van Guinea aka Lobbetje**; [CA: CJ 2654, no. 82 (Joint Will: **Harman / Hermen Grutter & Engela Wed(d)eking**, 20 May 1735); CJ 2655, no. 60 (Will: **Hendrik Wedeking** van Paderborn, 7 April 1739)].

¹⁰¹ **Johannes Jansz: Mulder** son of **Johann Claus Mueller / Mulder** (from Hamburg) & **Henrietta (Jette) Wittebols:** aka **Jette Claesz:** & grandson of **Sara van Solor** by **Joan / Johan Wittebol (c. 1648-1681)** (from Amsterdam) & step-granddaughter of **Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale**; baptised **Johannis** Stellenbosch 5 September 1695 (father: **Jan Klaas**; mother: **Jette**; witnesses: **Klaas van Bengala met zijn vrouw [Sara van Solor]**). Note: baptismal entry incorrectly ascribed in both De Villiers/Pama & Heese/Lombard to **Johannes Claassen** son of **Claas van Malabar**; dies (1729); marries 12 August 1725 **Catharina Erasmus**; baptized Drakenstein 24 January 1706 (no witnesses) daughter of **P(i)eter Rasmussen [Erasmus]** (from Denmark) *alias Pieter den Deen & Maria (Marritje) Elisabeth Jooste(n)*; granddaughter of **Iba aka Antonica / Anthonique van Timor**; 2 daughters **Maria Elisabeth Mulder & Catharina Mulder**; she marries (2) Cape June 1732 **Roelof van den Burg** [CA: MOOC 8/3 *Inventarissen*, 1727-1737, no. 7 <http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/>].

¹⁰² He & wife witness baptism of **Johanna Jonkers**.

¹⁰³ **Johannes Pretorius** - son of halfslag **Maria Hansen / Hansz: van de Caep** by **Dirk Pretorius** (from Linteloo [Gelderland]) & likely grandson of **Jajenne / Gegeima van Guinea aka Lobbetje**; baptised Cape 27 May 1691 witnesses: **Claes Cornelisz: [van de Caep] & Maritie [Pietersz: van de Caep]**; marries (1) 10 June 1714 **Constantia van Bengale**, widow of **Joost Ventura van de Caep**; marries (2) Cape 1 February 1722 **Marie / Maria Jordaen / Jourdan** (baptised 16 November 1704), daughter of **Pierre Jourdan** (from Belle Etoile [Luberon, Provence]) & **Johanna Adriana Junius**; she marries (2) Cape 3 July 1740, **David Sultania alias Mochamat Dayan** (son of exiled **Alubasi Raja / Sultan of Tambora & Ranee / Sultana Sitina Sara Marouff** of Tambora; born **Mochamat Dayan**, baptised (4 January 1733) he adopted the names **David Sultania**; his sister **Sitina Asia**, baptized (22 December 1726) **Maria Dorothea Sultania**, is married (30 January 1729) to **Christiaan Carel van den Bos** (from Den Haag) who is executed for raping the 10-year-old **Johanna Hoog** (baptised 8 July 1725), minor illegitimate child of Widow **Pelzer, Elisabeth van den Berg**, by **Claas (de) Hoog** - rape took place in house belonging to the *deaconij* & inhabited by the impoverished ranee



who is the daughter of Shaikh Yusup [http://www.family.co.za/ffy/remarkablewriting/UL02_AtWarWithSociety_Ismael.pdf].

¹⁰⁴ Aka **Jacob van Bougis [Bugis, South Sulawesi] / Toraje / Toraya / Turaya [Toraja, South Sulawesi]** – marries Cape 19 May 1715 **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth / Litje) van Toncquin / Tonki / Tonkin / Tonquin** - sold (18/19) 17 June 1692 by **Gerhard Drijver** sailing on *Schoondijk* to **Andries de Man** for Rds 100; CA: MOOC 8/1 Inventory: **Andries de Man & Elsje van Suurwarden**, 15 December 1696: 9 male slaves 3 female slaves met 5 kleijne slave kinderen 2 oude en bijna afgeleerde slaaven; baptized Cape 30 October 1695; testamentary manumission 9 May 1713 liberated with **Caatje van de Caab** (her daughter?), **Cupido van de Caab**, **Arie van de Caab**, **Claas van Cochin & Pieter van Cochin** [CA: CJ 2650, no. 85 (Will: **Ellsie van Suurwaarden, wed.[uwe] van Munckerus**, 9 May 1713)] [CA: MOOC 7/1/4, no. 13 (Joint Will: **vrijswart Jacob van Toraya** (aged 50) & **Elisabeth van Toncquin** (aged 50) – 2 voorkinderen: **Catharina [Catharina Hector** baptized Cape 30 October 1695] (22 July 1726) & **Cornelis [Cornelis Hector / Hegter Tonkin]**); daughter **Catharina Hector** marries Cape 12 August 1714 **Martinus Bastroo van Mauritius** (son of **Lourens Gabrielsz: Bastro / Bastroo / Bastre & Magdalena Martinus** & step-son of **Johann (Hans) Ossenburgh** aka **Johannes Ossenbuijl**); son **Cornelis Hector / Hegter Tonkin** marries Cape 1730 **Sophia Wurmer van de Caep** – she marries (2) Cape 1741 **Lambert Ackerman**; marries (3) 27 June 1756 **Isaak Sultania**, widower of **Amelia Carelse van de Caep** & son of **Alubasi Sultan**, Raja of Tambora; **Sophia Wurmer** is likely to be same person as **Sophia** baptized Cape (Namen der Christen Kinderen) 17 June 1696 (witness: **Maria van Bengale** – no father is recorded) halfslag daughter of **Adriana / Ariana / Ar(r)iaentie / Adriaantje van Bengale / de Cust / Jaafpatnam [Jafnapatnam] / Tranquebar [Trankebar]** born c. 1682 slave of **Simon van der Stel** baptized 29 May 1691 as adult save Cape (with **Jan van de Caep**, **Henrik van de Caep**, **Moses van Arakan & Catharina van Bengale**) 30 November 1692 witnesses baptism: *Sijn drie Slavinne kinderen van de H:[ee]r Gouvern:[eu]r gedoopt ten over staen van Christen getuijgen, te weeten, een kint van **Susanna van Seilon**, genaemt **Katie**, onder getuijgenisse van **Lijsbeth van Macasser**, een kint van **Sara van Madegasker**, genaemt **Joannes**, onder getuijgenisse van **Ariantje van Bengale**, een kint van **Jannetie van Madegasker**, genaemt **Alexander**, onder getuijgenisse van **Helena van Macasser**; 1712: manumitted by **Simon van der Stel** aged 30 marries (de facto) **Job van Madagascar** born c. 1682 baptized slave adult 17 November 1686: den 17 dito **Job een beiaerde van Madegasker** 5 June 1695: witnesses baptism of **Jonas**, son of **Sara van Madagascar** dito een kind van **Sara van Madagascar**, genaemt **Jonas**, getuijge **Job van Madagaskar** Lijfeijgenen van de Ed. H:r Gouverneur 1712: manumitted by **Simon van der Stel** aged 30.*

¹⁰⁵ *Opgaaf* (1724) no. 396: **Subinko / Susasinko** – 1 man.

¹⁰⁶ **Hercules Valetijn / Valentyn van Malabar** marries **Cecilia van Bengale**; 1723: “**Valentyn, Hercules**; free black, asks for a passage to Batavia for himself and his wife. (No. 37. ?)” [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape f Good Hope: Requesten*]; daughter **Helena Valentijn / Valentyn**, Widow **Ibrahim Adehan** later **Abraham [a] de Haan** (son of **Alubasi Raja / Sultan of Tambora & Rane / Sultana Sitina Sara Marouff** of Tambora & grandson of **Shaikh Yusup**); marries **Drakenstein [Paarl]** 4 March 1736 **Hendrik Kotze** - son of **Johann (Jan) Kotze** (from **Königstein [Saxony]**) & **Hendrina (Hendrija) van Hoetijng / Hoeting(h)** (from **Amsterdam [North Holland]**); grandson of **Roeloff (Roelf) van Hoeting(h)** (from **Amsterdam**) & **Jannetje / Jannetie Jans: van As**; step-son of **Reijnier van der Sande** (from **Batavia**), widower of **Elsie Basson** (daughter of **Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson** (from **Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]**)) & **Angela / Engela (Maaij Ans(i)ela van Bengale)** & step-son of **Frans van der Nest** (from **Dordrecht**).

¹⁰⁷ **Daniel Duuring / Duuren / Duren / Duringh / Duren / Dure / Duuren van de Caep (1704-1741)** - illegitimate son of Company halfslag **Cornelia (Keetje) Jacobsz: / Cobus / Cobisse van de Caep** aka **Cornelia Keetje(s) / Pieters: van de Caep** by **Michael Duering** (from **Leipzig**); grandson of Company slave **Dorothea van Angola**; half-brother to **Maria Petronella Langeveld** (wife to **Adolf Jonker**) & **Jacob Langeveld** (husband to **Barendina van Graan**); born Cape 1704; baptized Cape 6 July 1704: dies Cape 1741; marries (1) Cape 1 April 1725 [*1 April [1725] Daniel Duringen van Cabo: en Francina Anthonia, van Cabo, vrijgegeeven lif-eijgenen*] **Francina Anthonio van de Caep**: marries (2) Cape 30 August 1733 [*Daniel Duuring van Cabo de Goede Hoop burger alhier wedew: met Susanna Coetser van Cabo voorn: jongedogter*] **Susanna Coeser / Koesen [Coetsee]** baptized Cape 1 April 1714 (illegitimate daughter of **Cornelia Lamans: van de Caep** by **Johannes Jacobus Coetsee** & illegitimate granddaughter of **Maria van Bengale**); 4 children from 1st marriage: (1) **Johanna Adriana** baptized Cape 2 December 1725 [*December 2 [1725] Daniel Duren. Francina [Anthonio] de ouders zelve*]; dies young (2) **Michiel Duuren** baptized Cape 15 February 1728 [*15e Feb:[ebruarij 1728] Michiel, d' vader Daniel Duren, d' moed:[e]r Francina van de Caab, getu:[uigen] Willem Lekkerland, en Cicilia van de Caab*]; (dies unmarried) & (3) **Helena (Lena) Duuren** baptized Cape 23 April 1730 [*23e ditto [April 1730] Helena, d' vader Daniel Duuren, d' moeder Francina vande Caab, getu:[igen] Jan Holsmitt, en Cornelia Cobisse [Cornelia (Keetje) Pieters: / Jacobs:]*] marries **Jacob / Jacobus Johannes / Jans: / Jansz: van de Caep** likely baptized (Cape 12 July 1733) **Jacob** as slave of vrijswart **Jacob Hendriks: van de Kust** - mother recorded as **Rosalijn van Bengale** & baptism witnessed by *kinds Baas en Vrouw*



[**Jacobus Hendricksz: van de Kust Coromandel & Christina van Canarij**] his biological father being **Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon** & stepbrother to **Adolf Jonker** [CA: MOOC 8/10, no. 31 (30 June 1762)] <http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/>; (4) **Cornelia Adriana** baptized Cape 4 May 1732 [*Maij, den 4 [1732] Cornelia Adriana, de vaeder is Daniel Duuren, de moeder Fransina van de Caeb, de getuijge Arij van Veen, en Johanna van Veen*]; dies young; 2 children from 2nd marriage: (1) **Cornelia Josina Duuren** baptized Cape 13 June 1734 [*Den 13 Junij [1734] Cornelia Jesina, van Daniel Dure, en Susanna Koesen, de getuijge Johanes Borszel, en Jesina Koesen*] (wife to **Abraham de Vries**); (2) **Daniel Nicolaas Duuren** baptized Cape 6 May 1736 [*Den 6 Meij[1736] Daniel Nicolaes, de ouders Daniel Duringh en Susanna Coetsee, de getuijge Nicolaes van Wieling de jonge, en Adriana Groenendijk* - Transcription: Corney Keller]. [CA: MOOC 7/4: *Testamenten*, 1726-1735, no. 116; MOOC 8/5: *Inventarissen*, 1727-1737, no. 64 <http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/>; MOOC 8/6: *Inventarissen*, 1738-1748, no. 53.) <http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/>. **Daniel Duren** witnesses baptism with his mother **Cornelia Jacobsz:** Cape 19 April 1739: *A:[nn]o 1739 Naemen der gedoopten Den 19 dito [April] Ernst } Daniel } tweelingen, de ouders Jacobus van Graan, en Adriana Groenendijk, degetuijge van het eerste zijn Jan Joosten, met Margrita Swaep, en van het tweede Daniel Duren met Cornelia Jacobz* [Transcription: Corney Keller].

¹⁰⁸ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope - The Defence of Willem van der Stel* Annexure Y (W.A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers, Cape Town 1897), pp. 180-181.

¹⁰⁹ Eldest son of **Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson** (from Wesel) by manumitted slave wife **Engela / Angela (Maaij Ansela) van Bengale**.

¹¹⁰ **Reijnier van der Sande / Zande** (from Batavia) only surviving child & son of **Nicolaas van den Sande** (from Middelburg) & **Catharina Hoffers** (from Dordt [Dordrecht]) & step-son of **Bernardus Mensingh** (*alias Christian Mensing*) (van Herfordt); signs petition condemning **W.A. van der Stel**; [CA: MOOC 4/1 (20 March 1712) & MOOC 8/3, no. 44]; soldier 1696; burgher 1717; dies 16 January 1717; marries Cape [civil marriage?] **Elsie / Elsje Basson (1681-1713)** daughter of **Maaij Ansela van Bengale & Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson** (from Wesel [Cleves]) baptised Cape 29 June 1681; she dies 1713 (Smallpox epidemic); marries (2) Cape 18 February 1714 **Hendrina van Hoeting** (from Amsterdam), widow of **Jan Kotze** (from Königstein [Saxony]) & daughter of **Roelof van Hoeting & Jannetje van As**; she marries (3) Cape 13 February 1718 **Frans van der Nest** (from Dordrecht).

¹¹¹ **Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen** (from Utrecht) - free-burgher & fisherman; 1682 (*Opgaaf*): not mentioned; 1685 (*Opgaaf*): *An het Fort: Jan Willemsz: Vermeule* [*sic*] mentioned alone; 1688 (*Opgaaf*): no mention; 1691 (*Opgaaf*): **Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen & Catrijn van Bengale** (with **Anna Pieters:**); 1692 (*Opgaaf*): No 136: **Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen**: 1 man; **Catrina van Bengale**: 1 wife; 2 sons; 3 daughters; 2 horses; 1 *snaphhaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 20 January 1692: attestation concerning poverty; 1695 (*Opgaaf*): No. 360: **Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen**: 1 man; **Catharina van Bengale**: 1 wife; 2 sons; 4 daughters; 1 horse; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 19 June 1695: *dito een kind van Marta [Manuels:]*, *gen:[aem]t Christiaen getuijgen Jan Willemse Vermeulen en Catharina van Bengale*; 15 July 1699: **Jacob Krebs(z):** sells **Dorothea van Bengale** (20) to **Jan W.[illemsz:] Vermeulen** for Rds 40 (previously belonging to **Margaretha Swanenburg** & sold by her agent **Jan Dirx: de Beer**); 1700 (*Opgaaf*): No. 388: **Jan Vermeulen**: 1 man; **Catarina van Bengale**: 1 wife; 2 sons; 3 daughters; 1 male slave; 1 female slave; 1 horse; 3 *snaphaen*; 1 pistol; 3 *degen*; Cape; 1705 (*Opgaaf*): No. 81: **Jan Willem[sz:] Vermeulen**; 1 wife; 1 daughter; 1 female slave; 1 slave boy; 3 horses; Cape; No. 82: **Jan Maurits Vermeulen**: 1 man; 1 horse; Cape; No. 83: **Sybrand Vermeulen**: 1 man; 1 horse; Cape; 21 December 1713: joint will of **Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen & Catrina van Bengalen**; note: *Her heirs are listed as follows*: (1) **Jacobus Mauritsz**; (2) **Maria Vermeulen**; (3) children of deceased son, **Sijbrand Vermeulen**: (i) **Johannes Vermeulen** & (ii) **Sijbrand Vermeulen** (4) daughter of deceased daughter, **Willemetje Vermeulen**: (i) **Dorothea Raats**; marries Cape-born **Catharina (Catrijn(a)) van de Caep / Bengale(n)** - also found as **Catharina Opklim: halfslag** (born c. 1669): possibly baptized 20 October 1669 as slave of Rev. **Johannes de Voogd**; 19 February 1679: baptism of daughter **Amazensie** [mother is unnamed but referred to as *een halfslagt van Mons[eigneu]r. [Tobias] Vlasvat* (no witnesses)]; 19 April 1680: baptized daughter **Margarita** (d/o **Jacob van Bengale**): *Margarita de vader Jacob een slave de moeder een slavijn van Mons[eigneu]r [Tobias] Vlasvat, Catarina [Getuijgen] Titus van Bengale en Mary van Couchyn*; 24 May 1680: **Catrina**, former slave of **Tobias Vlasvath**, & her child **Margareta** (aged 2 months & fathered by **Jacob van Bengale**) manumitted & taken to Batavia by **Titus (de) Thomsen / Thomzen van Bengale**, former slave of Commissioner **Sybrant Abbema**, later bookkeeper on *Africa*, who undertakes to bring up child until majority; April 1682: returns from Batavia on *Africa* to Cape (with illegitimate son **Jacob Mauritsz**); 8 February 1693: baptized Cape as adult [or is this her mother?] (with **Isaac van Bengale** & 3 daughters of free-black, **Agatha (Agnetha) / A(n)gnietie / Antonica / Anthonique van Timor** [granddaughters of free-blacks **Paaij Timoor & Ansela van Timor**]; **Willemina van Mauritius [Hermina Carelsz]**, **Catharina van Mauritius [Catharina de Beer]** & **Maria Elizabeth van de Caep [Maria Elisabeth Jooste(n)]**: *Syn deze onder geschrevene persone op hare voorgaende belijdenisse door het sacrament van den H:[eilig]e Doop Christi kerke ingelijfen Isaac van*



Bengalen met Catharina van Bengalen, Willemina van Mauritius met Catharina van Mauritius en de Maria Elizabeth van de Caab alle vrylieden alhier; 7 November 1694: as *jongedogter* [sic] marries Cape **Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen** (from Utrecht) [note: according to marriage entry she is born at Cape - all baptismal entries, however, mention her as being from Bengal – this refers to her more recent arrival from Batavia & her connection to **Titus van Bengale**].

¹¹² **Willem Reijnierssen Duijsert / Duijzers / Duysers**; marries [only civil?] (1688) immigrant orphan **Judith Jansz: Verbeek** arrives (1688) on *Bergh China*: 1700: alone with 1 daughter; 1705: enumerated alone (no wife, no children); purchases farm *Parel Diamant* but sells out to partner **Theunis de Bruyn**: 2 children: (1) **Maria Duyers** marries **Cornelis Claasz: Kuip**; (2) **Cornelis Duysers** baptised Cape 16 August 1693 (witnesses: **Dirk Molende [Moll]** & **Daentie Rijkens**).

¹¹³ **Cornelis Claasz: Kuip / Kuyp** dies 1715: marries **Maria Duysers / Duysert / Duiters**; 1705: 1 man; **Maria Duysers**: 1 wife; children: (1) **Judith Kuyp** baptised Cape 10 October 1706 marries (1) Cape 1 June 1721 **Johannes Smuts**; marries (2) Cape 21 May 1730 **Wilhelm / Willem Meyer** (from Bremen); marries (3) Cape 21 September 1738 **Godfried Heydenreich** (from Mühlhausen): he marries (2) 5 February 1741 **Johanna Rogiers** (daughter of **Johannes Rogiers** (from Amsterdam) & **Maria Vermeulen**): (2) **Claas Kuyp** baptised 14 August 1708 1708: 14 8ber *Van Cornelis Claasz: Kuip en Maria Duiters de getuijgen Isaac Hommes en Maria Lugtenburg – Claas*; (3) **Willemina Kuyp** baptized Cape 13 December 1711 (witnesses: **Willem Duiters** & **Catharina van Maarseven**) marries Cape 28 July 1728 **Nicolaas Smuts**.

¹¹⁴ **Pieter Pieterse / Pietersz: de Groot** (from Amsterdam) - Hattingh incorrectly regards him as being a free-black marries 11 November 1703: *Maria Pieterz van Cabo, jongedochter met Pieter Pieterse de Groot van Amsterdam*; 2 daughters; 1705 (*Opgaaf*): No. 135: **Pieter Pietersz: de Groot**: 1 man; 1 wife [**Maria Pietersz: van Cabo**]; 2 daughters; Cape; 1709 (*Opgaaf*): No. 472: **Pieter Pietersz: de Groot**: 1 man; 1 wife [unnamed] [**Maria Pietersz:**]; [no children enumerated]; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; 1712 (*Opgaaf*): No. 105: **Pieter P[ie]tersz: de Groot**: 1 man; 1 wife [unnamed]; 1 daughter; 1 horse; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape 1719 (*Opgaaf*): No. 368: **Wed[uwe] Pieter de Groot**: 1 woman; Cape [no husband; no daughter]; 1 daughter: **Cecilia de Groot halfslag** Company slave baptised Cape 3 December 1690 (mother: **Maria van de Caep**) marries Cape 3 March 1709 **Heinrich Brüning / Bruinink** (from Lingen).

¹¹⁵ **Lambert(s) Sijmons: / Symons: Stam** (from Amsterdam); marries Mauritius c. June 1690 **Maria Jansz: Visser** (from Ommen) (widow of **Willem Willemsz: de Lierman** (from Deventer [Overijssel]) & former concubine of **Ockert Cornelisz: Olivier**), eldest daughter of **Johannes Coenraedsz: Visser** (from Ommen [Overijssel]); 1694: **Domingo van Bengale** granted *erf* in Table Valley (17 March 1692) [1/187] [Block L] (20 r) (285,5 Ha) occupied for 2 years; sold to **L[ambert] Simonsz: / Symonsz: [Stam** (from Amsterdam)]; 18 October 1699: **Sara van Bengale** (20) sold by **Lambert Simonsz: / Symonsz: [Stam** (from Amsterdam)] to **Jan Lipsensier**, junior merchant on *Ijsselmonde* for Rds. 90; 1705: 1 wife; 1 son & 1 daughter.

¹¹⁶ **Roelof Carstense(n) / Karsten(se) Os(s)enberg / Osenburgh** - 19 November 1707 leaves Mauritius with family on *Jerusalem* [?]; marries Mauritius **Hester Pietersz: / Pietertze** baptised Cape 25 October 1668 daughter of **Pieter Jansz:** (from Nimwegen / Nijmegen [Gelderland]) & **Catharina Theunissen / Theunis(z):** (from Den Bommel [Goeree-Overflakkee, South Holland]) & step-daughter of **Lijsbeth van Paliacatta** & granddaughter of Cape free-burgher **Jacob Theunissen / Theunis(z):** (from Cooltjenplaet [Ooltgensplaat, Goeree-Overflakkee, South Holland]) & **Maijcke Hendricks: van den Berg** (from Diest [Brabant] – exiled to Mauritius) & step-granddaughter of Cape free-burgher **Thielman Hendricksz:** (from Utrecht) & gardener on Mauritius **Robbert Robbertsz: Hendricks**; 1694: accused of poisoning husband while on Mauritius; children: (1) **Cornelia** baptised Cape 9 May 1706 (witnesses: **Paulus Heins** (from Leipzig) & **Maria Loose / Lozee van de Caep**).

¹¹⁷ **Laurens / Lourens Plesier [Pleunes / Pleunis]** - Leibbrandt has *Pluvier* while Hattingh has *Plavier* and states that he is active as fisherman (1704-1706). 1705 (*Opgaaf*): No. 24 **Lourens Pleunis**. Unidentified – his singular appearance in the records likely indicates possible slave origin with *Pleunis* referring to deacon **Jacob Pleunis**. Perhaps **Lourens Jansz: van Arensdorp** who 1st features in *Opgaaf* (1709) at Stellenbosch?

¹¹⁸ **Nicolaas (Claes) van Coningshoven** *casties voorzoon* of Cape-born Company *halfslag* & slave in household of **Simon van der Stel**, **Johanna (Jannetie / Jannetje) Hendricks: Bord / Bo(o)rt van de Caep** by **Dirck van Coningshoven / Koningshoven** (from Utrecht); likely illegitimate maternal grandson of **Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg** [aka **Christina van Angola?**] by **Nicolaes del Bort** (from Arien [Overijssel]); born illegitimate baptised Cape 20 May 1685 *den 20 dito[mai 1685] Claes [moeder] een slavin, een halfslagt, Jannetie [Bord] de vader Dirck [van Coningshoven] corporael getuige Marytie [Marritie Pieters van de Caep]* **Nicolaas**; 7 September 1708 witnesses baptism.

¹¹⁹ **Domingo van Bengale**: arrives (1 April 1658) on *Prinsse Royale* as convict (*bandiet*) - ‘Chinaman’, *mardijcker* & ex-VOC soldier, condemned to death in Batavia but sentence commuted to banishment to Robben Island (28 August 1657); 5 March 1659: listed with **Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta** & **Susanna Een Oor van Bengale** as *Bandijten ende Kettinghasten ... Swartes voor al haar lewen van Batavia*; stows away



(written off Compnay books at Cape), but apprehended & left on St. Helena remaining with skipper **Campen** to guard VOC equipment before returning to Cape; Journal (12 March 1663): one of Dutchmen refusing to accompany **Hubert Hugo** remaining on St Helena; presumably pardoned; 1672: appears in muster roll under *Soldaten in't hoornwerck* as **Dominicus d'Moor** [CA: VC 39, vol. 2: (Muster Roll of Officers & Men at the Cape 1656-1673), pp. 137-155]; 30 June 1686: baptized Cape as adult with future wife, **Maria van Bengale**, former slave of (1) **Jan Jacobsz: de Slooper** skipper of *Sparendam* (2) **Anthonij Jansz: de Later van Bengale & Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta** & (3) **Hans Rugert Trost / Troost (Rutgertroost)** (from Elberfeld); 1688: appear as unmarried couple in *Opgaaf* owning 1 *snaphaen* & 1 *degen*; 18 May 1691: marries Cape Church **Maria van Bengale(n) /de Cust Malabar: Domingo van Bengalen** *vryburger alhier met Maria van Bengalen vryburgeresse alhier*; mother to following illegitimate children: **Elisabeth Marcus** (likely father: **Marcus van Madagascar**); **Cornelia Lamans: / Lammans: / Lammerts**: (likely father: **Jan Jansen Laman**); **Anna Maria [Dominicus] van de Caep & Agnieta / Agnitie / Angenitie Colijn** (father: **Sebastiaen (Bastiaen) Jansz: Colijn** (from The Hague); Another **Domingo van Bengale** – 1st recorded male slave of that name - only buys his freedom (1 August 1689) from **Matthijs Greeff** (from Magdeburg) & previously owned by **Simon van der Stel** who sells him (with **Dominga van Bengale** (aged 25/26) & **Bacacan from Macassar**), on 25 September 1686 to **Matthijs Greeff** - no record of **Simon van der Stel** purchasing **Domingo** found, but a **Domingo van Bengale** is sold (13 March 1681) by widow of **Joan de Koningh** to **Jan Wittebol** (from Amsterdam) for Rds 40 (Cape valuation) – as **Wittebol** dies Cape (1681), presumed that **Van der Stel** purchases **Domingo** from deceased estate].

¹²⁰ **Lim Inko alias Abraham [de] Veij / V(e)ijf(f)** - pardoned Chinese convict banished ex Batavia; *vrij Chinees / de Chinees* [Lim] **Inko / Neniko / Liniquo / Thin Heenko / Thimseengko alias Abraham de Veij(f)** from China; formerly **Lim Inko** [林 = Līm = 'forest'], assumes family name of De VEIJ [at times misrecorded as 'De Vijf'] meaning 'of Africa' [The netherlandized 'Veij' or modern-day romanized 'Fēi' is 1st part of romanized reading of Chinese ideograph 非 for 'Africa' 非洲 Fēizhōu - eg South Africa = 南非 romanized as 'Nán Fēi']; meaning of 'Inko' - previously mistranscribed by researchers as 'Junko [sic] & gone viral - has yet to be semantically verified; 19 February 1702: baptized **Abraham** Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) [Chinese name probably **Lim Inko**]; VOC convict banished to the Cape ex Batavia; 1702: granted land in Table Valley (corner Long & Church Streets, Block OO, lot no. 1); 1706: listed as burgher supporter of Governor **W.A. van der Stel**; 1710: granted permission to return to Batavia with family; dies 1713 (smallpox epidemic); property auctioned for f468; CA: MOOC 8/2, nos. 667 & 67 (Inventory: **Abraham de Vijf vrij Chinees**); marries Cape 16 April 1701 **Maria Jacobs: van Batavia / Macassar** - "Easter Sunday. In the morning the glorious resurrection of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was remembered. In the afternoon the catechism was continued, and after preceding confession a Chinaman named **Abraham** was married to a liberated female slave named **Maria** [Journal, 16 April 1702]; **Abraham Vey van China, jongman met Maria Jacobs van Batavia, jong[e]d.[ogter]**.

¹²¹ **Moses / Mosis Aron / Arensz: van Macassar** manumitted with daughter **Rebecca** (1700); marries (1) *de facto* **Sara van Macassar** (dies c. 1709/1710); 17 October 1700: baptism by Ds. **Petrus Kalden** (*Slaven Kinderen des Vrijborgers of Comp Dienaeren*) of **Moses van Macassar** & his daughter **Rebecca Moses**; 17 Octob: [1700] *Na voorgaande belydenis gedoopt Moses Aaron en Rebecca*; 1700: No. 385: **Moses van Macassar**: 1 man; no wife; 1 daughter; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 1705: No. 56: **Moses Aron van Macassar** 1 man; **Sara van Macassar**: 1 wife; no children; Cape; 6 May 1708: [slave baptism] *Een slaave kind van Teunis Dirksz: Schalkwijk, de getuigen Moses Aarons, en Sara van Macassar – Dirkje*; 10 March 1709: [slave baptism] *Twe Slave-kinderen van Harmen Buijs; de moeder was Diana van Krankebaar [Trankebar]; de Getuigen Moses van Macassar; en Sara van Macassar - 1. Sara 2. Pieter*; 1709 (*Opgaaf*): No. 523: **Moses van Macassar** (1 man); **Sara van Macassar** (1 wife); 1 male slave; 1 female slave; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 28 April 1710: **Mosis van Macassar** purchases [1/328 - T 792] from **T.[heunis] D.[ircksz:] van Schalkwyk** erf in Table Valley [Block N] (24 r. 88') (350, 8 sq. m.); 2 November 1710: marries (2) Cape **Jacomijntje / Jacomi(e)na / Jacomynte van Madagascar**; baptised as adult (23 January 1701) with **Abraham van Macassar**; 1712 (*Opgaaf*): No. 124 **Moses van Macassar** (1 man); **Jacomynte van Madagascar** (1 wife); 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; CA: CJ 2651, no. 124 (Joint Will); 19 June 1712: [slave baptism] *Een Slavinne-kind van Joost Ventura; de Getuigen Jacob Cornelisz van Malabaar; en Jacomijntje Aarons – Abraham*; 1719 (*Opgaaf*): No. 300: **Moses Aaron van Macassar** (1 man); **Jacolina van Madagascar** (1 wife); 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; his daughter **Rebecca Moses: / Rebecca van Cabo** baptised (slave register) 17 October 1700; dies 23 June 1766; marries Cape 31 August 1704 **Otto Ernst van Graan / Grau (1651-1752)** - other of his possible biological offspring by slave woman named **Rachel** (baptized Cape 20 October 1720) belonging to **Armosina / Armosijn** widow of **Christaan Wijnandsz: / Wijnantsz: van de Cust Coromandel** (previously widower of **Susanna Antonia van Batavia & Rachel Jacobz: van Macassar**) (daughter of **Claas Jonas & Dina van Bima**; grandddaughter of Company *heelslag* **Armozijn Claesz: van de Caep** by **Jonas van de Cust**) & thereafter **Helena Jonas / Jonasse** are liberated (1784) by way of a court order enforcing belated (1726)



testamentary manumission: **Moses Aaron / Arend(se) [van Graan] van de Caap** *vygegeven lijfeijgen van de wed. Christiaan Wijnands van de Caap* baptized Cape Town 9 March 1788 marries **Clara van de Caep** resident at *Jan Biesjes Kraal* [Milnerton], **Arenda / Aronda / Arondina [van Graan]** baptized **Aronda Maria van Graan** Cape 26 December 1827 *vrijgegeven lijfeijgene van wijlen de weduwe Christiaan Wenads: [Wijnands:]*, **Arend, Jan** (baptized 4 December 1725), **Rachel van de Caab** (baptized 17 May 1722) & her 2 sons: **Moses** (baptized Cape 8 September 1720) & **Arend** adopting name **Van Graan** & settling in the Cape Dunes & at Blaauw Berg; 1784: “**Jonasse (Helena)**; burgheress; widow of the late **Claas Coert**, and only surviving heir of the late widow **Christiaan Wijnands**; wishes, in accordance with the Will of the latter (annexed), and a certain sentence of the Court of Justice (annexed), to manumit six slaves of the late widow **Wijnands**, viz., **Mozes, little Mozes, Arend, Jan, Arenda**, and **Rebecca**, on the usual conditions. From the annexed Extract of the proceedings of the Court of Justice, it appears that **Helena Jonasse** had been compelled by Civil process, to manumit the slaves, receiving in exchange for them Rixdollars 600 according to the Will, and compelled to pay the costs of the case (number 101)” [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten*].

¹²² **Joost Ventura van de Caep** son of **Ventura van Ceylon & Helena [van Malabar]** baptised Cape 22 May 1678 [baptised with parents]; marries Cape 10 August 1698 **Constantia van Malabar / Bengale / de Cust / van de Cust Cormandel / Cormandel**; 10 October 1678: manumitted aged 1 at request of parents - to learn a trade when he comes of age; 20 June 1696: **Constantia from Malabar** (40) sold by **Gerrit Basson** to **Pieter Robbertsz**: (from Neustadt [Danish Holsten]) for Rds 80; 22 July 1696: **Constantia from Malabar** (40) sold to **Joost Ventura** by **Pieter Robbertsz**: (from Neustadt [Danish Holsten]) for Rds 80; 30 July 1698: **Constantia from Malabar** manumitted by **Joost Ventura**; 16 March 1706: mentioned as fisherman [Anna J. Boeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks*, p. 86]; 10 August 1698: marries Cape **Constantia van Coromandel Joost Ventura, jongman geboortig van de Caap met Constantia van Cormandel**; 25 April 1710: **Reba van Macassar** sells same erf [1/230 - T790] in Table Valley to **Joost Ventura** [Block H]; 19 May 1710: **Joost Ventura** sells same erf to **Mirra Moor** [T 797]; 19 June 1712: [slave baptism] *Een Slavinne-kind van Joost Vintura; de Getuigen Jacob Cornelisz: van Malabaar; en Jacomijntje Aarons: – Abraham; Constantia van Bengale, wid/o Joost Ventura*; marries (2) 10 June 1714 **Johannes Pretorius** illegitimate son of **Dirck Pretorius** (from Linteloo [Gelderland]) & **Maria Hansz: / Hansen van de Caep** & grandson of **Maaij Isabella van Angola**; baptised 27 May 1691; witnesses: **Claes Cornelisz: & Maritie Dobio [Domingo?]** who remarries 1 February 1722 **Maria Jordaan**; 1692 (*Opgaaf*): No 129: **Ventura van Ceylon** (vryswart): 1 man; [no wife enumerated]; 1 son; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 1705 (*Opgaaf*): No 152: **Joost Ventura van Kaap**: 1 man; Cape; 1709 (*Opgaaf*): No. 502: **Joost Ventura**: 1 man: **Constantia van de Kus**: 1 wife; no children enumerated; 3 male slaves; 2 horses; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 1712 (*Opgaaf*): No. 121: **Joost Ventura**: 1 man; **Constantia van de Cust**: 1 wife; no children; 3 male slaves; 1 female slave; 2 horses; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 19 June 1712: baptism (slave register: Cape Town) of *Een Slavinne kind van Joost Vintura; de getuigen Jacob Cornelisz: van Malabaar en Jacomijntje Aarons*; 1713: will: **Constantia van de Cust** – no surviving ascendants or descendants (beneficiary: her husband's sister's son **Paris Ventura** resident at Batavia; residual heir: **Maria Hendriks: van de Caep (Mrs Johannes Phijffer)**; manumitted **Jan van de Cust Coromandel & Scipio van de Cust Coromandel**; 1719 (*Opgaaf*): No Ventura enumerated; CA: CJ 2598, no. 67 (Will: **Constantia van de Cust**, 1713)].

¹²³ **Sampoernay van Macassar / Sampourna van Nagapatnam / Sampoerne van Boegies / Sampornay van Malabar**: arrives on *Huis te Zilverstein* (21 March 1691): *Dienaar van D.M. Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel*; 1693: Company slave [*sic*] in Gardens; 1705: 1 man; CA: MOOC 7/1/1, no. 79 (Will: **Mira Moor**): sole heir: *den vrijswart Sampourna van Macassar*; testamentary manumission of **David van Mallebaar** (witnessed by: **Joost Ventura & Josias van Boven**); 3 April 1711: Resolution of the Council of Policy (3 April 1711): **Sampoerne van Boegies** requests to repatriate with family.

¹²⁴ **Coridon van Nagapattenam** - 1705: 1 man

¹²⁵ **Claas Claasz: van Bengalen** - same person as free-fisherman listed alone in muster rolls for 1700 (no. 351) **Claas Claasz: van Bengale**, 1702 (no. 592) 1705 as **Claas Claasz: van Bengale** (no. 226) as **Claas Claasz: van Bengale** and 1709 (no. 610) as **Claas van Bengale**, in 1712 (no. 304) as **Claas Claasen van Bengale** in 1721 (no.351) as **Claas Claasz: van Bengale**, in 1725 (no. 369) as **Claas Claasz:?**

¹²⁶ **Gerrit Claasz**: 1705: 1 man - son of **Claas Gerritsz: van Bengale** (deceased by 1697) & **Sara van Solor**, baptised 17 September 1684?

¹²⁷ **Em(m)manuel (Manuel) van Macassar / Colombo / Batavia - Manuel van Macasser en Maria van Ceilon** *twee oude en afgeleerde vrijgegewene slaven van d'heer Andries d'Man Saliger* gewesen [CA: MOOC 7/1/1, no. 90 (will witnessed by: **Jan Andriesz: & Anthonij van Raaijen**)] 1695: both manumitted by **Elsje van Suurwaarden** (Mrs **Andries de Man**); 12 December 1696: purchases [1/189 - TT407] erf in Table Valley [Block L] from **Jan de Soeza** (5 r 56') (76,9 sq m); 25 June 1703 buys **Moses van de Cust** aged 20 from **Frederik Bickon** for Rds. 80.00 [*Transport en Schepenkenissen*]; 1705: 1 man; 1 wife [unnamed]; no children:



10 May 1708: buys **Nero van Macassar** from **Elsje Suurwaarden, Wed.[duwe] Hendrik Munkerus** for Rds. 80.00 [*Transport en Schepenkenissen*]; 12 October 1712: sells **Cotchinda van Malabar** 26 to **Mantri Willem Colbert** for Rds. 105.00 [*Transport en Schepenkenissen*]; 22 October 1718: sells **Joseph van Batavia** to **Abraham van Cranendonk** for Rds. 105.00: [CA: MOOC CJ 2650, no. 22 (Will: **Manuel van Macasser**): CA: MOOC 13/1/1 (*Boedel Reekeningen*), no. 111 – no heirs, proceeds revert to former mistresses's daughter's husband **Jan de la Fontaine**].

¹²⁸ **Paay Mira / Miera / Mirra Moor van Ceylon** convicted Company slave from Ceylon c. 1671; banished to Cape from Ceylon [Sri Lanka]; 21 April 1673: "The 39 slaves bought at our request at Batavia and the 3 convicts [**Mira Moor?**] were landed. One of the 39 died during the voyage. The rest were strong, healthy fellows, who will not be amiss here". [*Journal*, p. 130]; 2 January 1687: **Mira Moor** - manumitted by Council of Policy resolution with other slaves; free-black; 1688 (*Opgaaf*): **Mira Moor**; 1692 (*Opgaaf*): No. 64: **Pay Miera Moor**: 1 man; 1 *snaphaen*; 1 *degen*; Cape; 29 June 1697: **Anthony van Bengale** (24) sold by **Johan Lispensier**, sailing on *Cattendijk* to free-black **Mira Moor** for Rds 70 [Anna J. Boeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks*, p. 180]; 13 December 1698: **Intje Poetje van Malacca & Mirra Moor van Ceylon** co-purchase erf [1/230 - T455] in Table Valley from **A.[lbert] Coopman** [Block H] (7 r. 72') (107,1 sq. m.) price: f 1380; 1702 (*Opgaaf*): No. 603: **Mira Moor** 1 man; 1 flintlock & 1 rapier; Cape District; 30 September 1705: Letter to Colombo "Two natives, named **Mira Moor** and **Witty Amanja**, banished hither 36 and 30 years ago, beg for permission to return. No papers have been received about them, and we refer the matter to you"; 1706 : recorded as one of the *Vrij Vissers* supporting **W.A. van der Stel** [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope - The Defence of Willem van der Stel* (W.A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers, Cape Town 1897), pp. 180-181]; 15 December 1707: "We have had all the old papers examined but could find no sentence against the exiles **Mira Moor** and **Witty Amanja**. As you say they are very old, and unable to earn a living at the Cape, the one banished already 36 and the other 30 years, you may send them on to this, if you like ..." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 415]; 19 May 1710: **Joost Ventura** [witnesses will of **Mira Moor**] buys same erf [T 797] from [estate of] **Mirra Moor** [CA: MOOC 7/1/1, no. 79 (will: **Mira Moor**, 17 December 1710)] sole heir: *den vrijswart Sampourna van Macassar*; testamentary manumission of **David van Mallebaar** (witnessed by: **Joost Ventura van de Caep & Josias van Boven** [**Jesaias Michaelse van Booven** (from ter Goes [Zuid-Beveland, Zeeland])]).

¹²⁹ **Reba / Rebax van Macassar** marries **Lys van de Cust**; 1705: 1 man; **Lys van de Cust**: 1 wife; 4 sons; 2 daughters; 9 July 1707: **Intje Poetje** sells [1/230 - T698] erf in Table Valley to **Reba van Macassar** [Block H (3 r 108')] (53,5 sq. m.); 25 April 1710: sells same erf [1/230 - T790] in Table Valley to **Joost Ventura van de Caep** [Block H].

¹³⁰ **Abraham (Abram) van Macassar** - 1705: 1 man **Abraham van Madagascar** [**Macassar?** Note correction in baptismal register] baptised as adult with **Jacomeyntje van Madagascar** (23 January 1701); marries (1) *de facto* **Sara van Macassar** - same person as **Susanna van Boegies** [**Bugis**] who marries **Philip van Boeton?**; No. 16 October 1701: baptism of **Pieterella**, daughter of **Abram van Macassar & Sara van Macassar** baptised Cape 16 October 1701 (no witnesses); marries (2) *de facto* c. 1702 **Calaminka van Madagascar** (deceased by 1705).

¹³¹ **Kitsjel Moeda / Kitsjil Moeda / Kutsjel Moeda / Kiaij Moeda** [G.C. de Wet *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707* has *Kijaija Moeda*] / **Sriyay Moeda / Macassar Katzilimuda ex-Captain Laut, of Gerontale** [**Gorontalo**] **Kitsjel Moeda**; 1681 *Prins Capiteijn Laut van Gerontale overkomen met het schip Macassar Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk still & wel*; arrives at Cape with late Governor-General **Rijkloff van Goens** & leaves Cape for Batavia on *Overryp* (1707) [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, pp. 277, 330 & 334].

¹³² J.L.M. Franken, 'Die Getuigskrif van Willem Adriaan van der Stel', *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap* (Die Staatsdrukker, Pretoria 1978), pp. 119-120.

¹³³ **Jacob van de Cust Coromandel** - 1705: 1 man; marries *de facto* **Margrita van Madagascar**; 6 October 1700: buys **Titus van Bengale** (27/28) from **Octavius van Macassar**, 1 December 1702: granted erf in Table Valley [1/436] [Block LL] (21 r. 26') (302,4 Ha) 30 years occupation sells to **H.[ermann] Grutter** [CJ 2598, no. 14 (Will: **Jacob van de Kust Cormandel**, 4 May 1706)]; 1 step-daughter: **Adriana (Arriaantie) Jacobs(z) van de Caab** baptized [*Slaven Kinderen des Vrijborgers of Comp: Dienaeren*] Cape 26 December 1701 *van Pieter Carel en Margareta* [*van Madagascar*], onder getuygen van *Leonora gen:[aem]t Adriana* Slave van *d'oud Heer* [**Simon van der Stel**] marries (1) **Bernhardus van Hoven** (son of **Hendrik Evertsz: van Hoven**) marries (2) **Floris Brand** (s/o **Robbert Robbertsz: Brand** (from Christiania [Oslo, Norway]) & **Cornelia (Neeltje) Floris: Slabbert**).

¹³⁴ **Augustyn van Madagascar** marries **Clara van Ternaten**; 1705: 1 man; **Calar van Ternaten**: 1 wife; no children.

¹³⁵ Actually not omitted. He is same person as **Moses Aaron van Macassar** (*supra*).

¹³⁶ See *supra*.



¹³⁷ (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 8 March 1705: 8 Mart van **Seyser van Batavia en Maria vande Caab**, onder getuijge van **Rosetta van Ceilon**, gen[ae]m[en]t **Jacob Cornellisse**. Concerning **Roselij[n] van Java** who witnesses the baptism (24 July 1718) of the twins **Baltus & Willem**, sons of **Willem Thomasz: Schot & Flora van Macassar** - the other witnesses being **Scipio Fransz: van Bengalen**, **Roselij[n] van Java // Thomas van Boegis [Bugis, South Sulawesi]** & **Eva van Cor[o]mandel** – yet to be more positively identified but likely that our Rosetta cannot be ruled out.

¹³⁸ Delia Robertson, *Cape Melting Pot; The Role and Status of the Mixed Population at the Cape 1652-1795* being a translation of Hans F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense: Die Rol en Status van die Gemengde Bevolking aan die Kaap 1652-1795*; p. 66 citing [CA: VC 604 (List of members)].

¹³⁹ This child is not to be confused with the **Catharina Jonker** who later witnesses the baptism of her niece **Johanna Catharina Jansz**: (19 February 1747) and who is later baptized with her sister Johanna as an adult (2 December 1731).

¹⁴⁰ Appears to be fellow slave of **Willem Adriaan van der Stel** sold (31 March 1704) by **Jacob Regenboog** to the governor for Rds 70. Was he resold aged 30 (25 June 1705 by **Hendrik Munkerus** to **Widow Jacob van der Heijden** for Rds 150? [*Transport en Schepenkenissen* (transcriptions by Margaret Cairns & Anna J. Boeseken)]?

¹⁴¹ <https://familysearch.org/search>.

¹⁴² <https://familysearch.org/search>. Hattingh gives the date as 14 [?] February 1717: baptism & manumission of **Johanna** a slave girl of **Katsili Dayan Mamoedy**, prince of Ternate (mother: **Rosetta van Batavia**) [J.L. Hattingh, *Kronos*, vol. 4 (1981) p. 35].

¹⁴³ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, (Letter from Batavia, no. 276 (4 May 1704)), p. 437.

¹⁴⁴ Amendment no. 282 (Extract from the minutes of the Batavia Council, banishing the 3rd January, relative of the king of Ternate to the Cape for rape), p. 517.

¹⁴⁵ Website by Christopher Buyers giving detailed genealogy of Royal Family of Ternate: <http://www.royalark.net/Indonesia/ternate.htm>.

¹⁴⁶ His title *Kyai Chili* or *Kaicil* is also indicative that he would be a male person of royal birth, ie 'prince'. Had he been the son of a reigning sultan his title would have been *Kayi Chili Putra* or *Jou ma-ngofa* ('the child lord') followed by his given name.

¹⁴⁷ Same person as Makasarese exile **Kitsjel Moeda / Kitsjil Moeda / Kutsjel Moeda / Kiaij Moeda / Kijaija Moeda / Sriyay Moeda / Macassar Katzilimuda ex-Captain Laut, of Gerontale [Gorontalo] Kitsjel Moeda**; 1681 *Prins Capiteijn Laut van Gerontale overkomen met her schip Macassar* (see *infra*)?

¹⁴⁸ Same person as Makasarese exile **Catchiri Daijman Mamoeti / Katsili Dayan Mamoedy / Kitsjel Dain Mamoedie / Ketees Malocco / [Kyai Chili Mahmud / محمود - 'the praised one'] / Jonker van Macassar / Prince of Ternate / Prince of Calomato [Kalamata]** & father to **Adolf Jonker**?

¹⁴⁹ Same person as Makasarese exile **Catchill Isgne Goedgogoe van Limbotte [Limbotto, Gorontalo]** (see *infra*)?

¹⁵⁰ Of the 12 passengers, 11 are "imprisoned criminals", *Dutch Asiatic Shippin*, 3: 112-113

¹⁵¹ R. Shell (comp.), *From Diaspora to Diorama* (Cape Town: Ancestry24, 2011), vol. 4, Ch. 1, p. 50; A. Hulshof (editor), *H.A. Van Reede tot Drakestein, Journaal van zijn verblijf aan de Kaap*.

¹⁵² CA: C 501 (Letters Despatched: *Lijst de Macasarschen Princen*, 5 September 1686).

¹⁵³ Arrives on *Huis te Zilverstein* (21 March 1681) *Prins draagt sig wel*.

¹⁵⁴ Arrives on *Huis te Zilverstein* (21 March 1681): *Dienaar van D.M. Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel*.

¹⁵⁵ Arrives on *Huis te Zilverstein* (21 March 1681): *Dienaar van D.M. Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel*.

¹⁵⁶ See *supra*.

¹⁵⁷ Arrives on *Huis te Zilverstein* (21 March 1681): *Dienaar van D.M. Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel*.

¹⁵⁸ **Damma Jampa / Dain Majampa / Dain Manjampa Singara / Dain Majampe / Dain Manjempa Singaeroe / Dayan Majampe van Macassar, Prince of Macassar** & "brother to the king there, **Crain Bissee**"; arrives on *Blauwe Hulk* (Pinas), 744t 1 April 1681 [*Dutch Asiatic Shipping*, vol. 3, pp. 112-113: 15 passengers including 11 imprisoned criminals]: *Ostagsich van Capper op Sura Baija overgekomen met adj. zijn knegt* 1681: **Octavius van Macassar** arrives in company of brother-in-law **Prince Dayan Majampe** objects to being called a free-black as never enslaved; 1685: he & sons accompany **Simon van der Stel** on his historic trip to Namaqualand; 8 February 1690: **Sapatou van Macassar** (17/19) sold by **W.[illiam] Deeron** to **Dain Majampa van Macassar** for Rds. 66; 8 June 1692: **Revan van Madagascar** (3) sold by **Simon van der Stel** to **Dain Majampe** for Rds. 60; 23 December 1698: **Adrian van Ternate** (30) sold by **Lubbert Pietersz: de Graaf** to **Damma Jampa van Macassar** for Rds. 90; 5 August 1700: **Sante van Schandin** (24) sold by **Theunis Dirx**:



van Schalkwijk to **Damma Jampa** for Rds 85; 15 February 1707: "... At the request of the King of Macassar, that the **Manjempa Singaeroe**, exiled to the Cape some years ago, might be allowed to return, we have decided to write to you to send him by the first opportunity, as we could not very well refuse." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 440]; 25 May 1707: "... The **Manjampa Singara** ordered back by you at the request of the King of Macassar, has, since the departure of his countrymen, called back before this, and forming the suite of the deceased **Sheik Joseph** of Macassar, been placed on Robben Island, as he appeared to be very dangerous here. For when he heard that the Sheik and his people, among whom he had a wife or concubine, were going to leave, and that he was to remain here, he always carried one or two krisses with him – intending to murder his wife and then run amok. We shall at once inform him of your decision. The ex-Captain Laut of Gerontale, **Kutsjel Moeda**, who, when questioned, said that was his name, and that he was born at Gorontale, arrived here in the fleet with the late Governor-General **van Goens**, and will, at his own request, leave in the company of **Manjampa**." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 330]; 30 June 1707: "... The ex-captain Laut, of Gerontale, **Kitsjel Moeda**, and the **Mangjampa Singara** will leave in the *Overryp*"/ [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 334]; 12 July 1707: "... This vessel, the *Overryp*, takes over to you the ex-Captain Laut (see above, letter dated 30th June) of Gorontale, **Kitsjel Moeda**, **Dain Manjampa Singara**, and the **Malay Intja Poety**, both with their wives; the first has been allowed to take one and the second two slaves..." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 335]; 9 November 1707: "... received in good order the late **Captain Laout of Gorontale; Kitsjil Moeda, Dain Majampa Singara** and the **Malay Intje Poety**, with their wives and slaves, according to our instructions..." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 456]; see Anna J. Boeseken, *Simon van der Stel* where **Octavio van Macassar** sues Van der Stel's estate claiming to be related to Macassarese prince **Daijen Majampa**.

¹⁵⁹ **Reba / Rebax van Macassar** arrives on *Blauwe Hulk* (Pinas 744t) 4 April 1681: *Knecht ... gewese capiteijn op Sura Baija, uitgekomen met sign meester*; 1705: 1 man; **Lys van de Cust**: 1 wife; 4 sons; 2 daughters; 9 July 1707: **Intje Poetje** sells [1/230 - T698] erf in Table Valley to **Reba van Macassar** [Block H (3 r 108')] (53,5 sq m); 25 April 1710: **Reba van Macassar** sells same erf [1/230 - T790] in Table Valley to **Joost Ventura** [Block H]; marries **Lys van de Cust**.

¹⁶⁰ Arrives on *Ourtgeeme*? *Kortgene* 1681 Macassar Prins <een> *der grooten van Calonkoij op Buma overgekomen per Ourtgeeme Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel*

¹⁶¹ *Kortgene* arrives ex Ceylon 5 April 1682: *Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel Knecht van Bunni Dada*.

¹⁶² *Kortgene* arrives ex Ceylon 5 April 1682: *Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel Knecht van Bunni Dada*.

¹⁶³ **Kitsjel Moeda / Kitsjil Moeda / Kutsjel Moeda / Kiaij Moeda** [G. C. de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707* has *Kijaija Moeda*] / **Sriyay Moeda / Macassar Katzilimuda ex-Captain Laut, of Gerontale [Gorontalo] Kitsjel Moeda**; 1681 *Prins Capiteijn Laut van Gerontale overkomen met het schip Macassar – Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel*; arrives at Cape with late Governor-General **Rijckloff van Goens** & left Cape for Batavia on *Overryp* (1707) [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, pp. 277, 330 & 334]; 4 February 1690: **Barkatti van Madagascar** (13/15) sold by **Will Deeron** to **Macassar Katzilimuda** for Rds 40; 16 January 1705: "The papers received in the cases of the *Mardycker Abraham Abrahamsz.*, **Lutje Sait**, a Malay, and **Ticou**, a shaved Chinaman, who have been exiled to the Cape, but not in irons, for the term of their natural life; please let us know whether they are to serve as convicts, or earn their living as freemen. Inquiry has been made for the well-known **Kitzjil Moeda, once Captain Laut of Gerontale**; also for **Caciél Moeda, once Captain Laut of Limbotta**. We found that they were two different persons, but sent hither in the same ship. The last is dead a long time. The other, and also the two Chinamen, **Cine Phayko** and **Quatsayko**, have been informed of your permission that they may return; but they have requested permission to remain a little longer." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*]; 4 May 1705: H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 419: "The *Mardycker Abraham Abrahams*, **Jutje Sait**, a Malay, and **Ticon**, a shaved Chinese, have been exiled to the Cape, because they are considered dangerous here; they are therefore not to be put to hard labour, but are to earn a living like other people there. They are, however, not to return, but are to be left alone as long as their conduct deserves it. For bad conduct there is punishment by means of which the wickedness of man is bridled, and checked. **Kitsje Moeda**, late **Captain Laut of Garentale**, who according to your letter of the 18th March last, is said to be still alive, is to be sent hither, with a further inquiry into his name and birthplace, and the freeman **Lambert Ringesaar** may return when the time of his banishment has expired, if he likes ... The time-expired convicts who do not conduct themselves well, or cannot show how they earn or intend to earn a living may be kept in chains, and all those already released from their chains but behave badly, are again to be put in irons to prevent them



from doing mischief, whilst you are to keep a careful eye on that deep and treacherous **Frederik Jansz: of Batavia**, slave of the late ex-Councillor **Joan Cops**. He has been sent to you on the 25th January this year with the *Diemen* [*Diamant?*] as a convict. From his letters received here, it seems that he is commencing to play the master at the Cape, so that if he receives too much liberty he may commit a second crime ..."; 30 November 1706: "1706 [Number 491, page 405 of Volume 1706. From Batavia.] 30th, Nov. Ship's affairs Regarding the fleet. List of the prisoners sent over, also **Thomas Salgado** or **Christoffel Ferjra**, mentioned in previous letter. Likewise the notorious widow of the Sergeant **Christiaan Timmerman Petronella Feyt**, and her mother **Amelia**, who have both been banished hence for ever. Certain Chinamen to be released from banishment and sent back, also **Kitsje Moeda**, late **Captain Laut of Girontale**, and **Caciél Moeda**, late **Captain Laut of Limbotta**, banished to the Cape about 20 years ago. It may be doubted whether the two names do not refer to the same person, but this must be discovered at the Cape. Both, however, are to be released. Should the slave of the Chinese woman, **Lint Jnio**, not yet be sold he having been sent to the Cape this year he must be sent back at the urgent request of his mistress. *cadjangh* being scarce, you shall supply the fleet at the Cape with peas and beans, and should you have none you shall supply according to the experience and advice of Commander **Jan de Wit** and the present harbourmaster, **Jacob Braeg**, communicated to us the commanders of the fleet with cash to enable them to buy what they require from the farmers and burghers at the Cape, that the ships may be well found and not left destitute an unpardonable proceeding indeed, with the heavy voyage still before them. Moreover, the settlement at the Cape is chiefly intended to provide the ships with refreshments. We therefore trust that for the preservation of the ships, so valuable indeed, you will do you best ... The notorious **Kestjel Moeda**, late Captain Laut of Gorontale, will be informed of his departure thither, and will be further examined regarding his name and birthplace." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched* (1 May 1707)]; 25 May 1707: "The **Manjampa Singara** ordered back by you at the request of the **King of Macassar**, has, since the departure of his countrymen, called back before this, and forming the suite of the deceased **Sheik Joseph of Macassar**, been placed on Robben Island, as he appeared to be very dangerous here. For when he heard that the Sheik and his people, among whom he had a wife or concubine, were going to leave, and that he was to remain here, he always carried one or two krisses with him – intending to murder his wife and then run amok. We shall at once inform him of your decision. The **ex-Captain Laut of Gerontale**, **Kutsjel Moeda**, who, when questioned, said that was his name, and that he was born at Gorontale [Gorontalo], arrived here in the fleet with the late Governor-General **van Goens**, and will, at his own request, leave in the company of **Manjampa**." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 330]; 30 June 1707: The **ex-captain Laut, of Gerontale**, **Kitsjel Moeda**, and the **Mangjampa Singara** will leave in the "*Overryp*" [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 334]; 12 July 1707: "This vessel, the *Overryp*, takes over to you the **ex-Captain Laut** (see above, letter dated 30th June) of Gorontale, **Kitsjel Moeda**, **Dain Manjampa Singara**, and the Malay **Intia Poety**, both with their wives; the first has been allowed to take one and the second two slaves". [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 335]; 9 November 1707: "... received in good order the late Captain Laout [Laut] of Gorontale; **Kitsjil Moeda**, **Dain Majampa Singara** and the Malay **Intje Poety**, with their wives and slaves, according to our instructions." [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 456]: "[To Batavia.] Our last was dated the 16th instant. Received your letters of 10th February by the *Belvliet*. We were very glad that you have approved of the promotions made by us, and will as much as possible carry out your instructions, that in case a vacancy occurs on board, the same shall be filled up by the officer next in rank, that promotions may be regular among the lower officers, especially if they merit it. It is but fair that officers of lower rank, who have assisted to navigate the ship safely so far, should, in case of a vacancy caused by death, be promoted in their own ships, and not set aside for others belonging to other vessels. But it often happens that those who have a right to the promotion do not mention it to us, or request their superior officers to speak on their behalf; and also, that others who insist upon their claims. are not found fit for filling the appointment vacated by death on their own ship. In those cases we have been obliged to select 25th May. 330 men from other ships of whose conduct, trustworthiness, and ability we have good testimony, whenever the necessity arose. The following will serve as an example: The junior mate of the *Barneveld* having been promoted to the office of chief mate on the *Taxisboom*, his place became vacant, but the 3rd officer of the *Barneveld* was very young, inexperienced, and incapable as yet to fill the appointment properly, and therefore we gave the provisional appointment, without increase of his ordinary pay, to a sailor of the *Taxisboom*, named **Cornells Dirks / Keijzer** of Saardam, who had during the voyage likewise taken the watch as mate, and of whose good conduct, ability, and vigilance the necessary evidence has been given us. We leave the confirmation of the same in your hands. "We have taken good care that the Jesuit, **Guillebert Bordes**, sent to Holland from Batavia in the *Belvliet*, did not land here. He rather liked to do so, at least to go on board an English return ship from China, then lying here, on which were three Tartar or Chinese priests imbued with the Roman creed, who were proceeding to London, in order thence to be conveyed to Portugal. These comrades he would no doubt have very much liked to speak to. The



Manjampa Singara ordered back by you at the request of the King of Macassar, has, since the departure of his countrymen, called back before this, and forming the suite of the deceased Sheik **Joseph** of Macassar, been placed on Robben Island, as he appeared to be very dangerous here. For when he heard that that Sheik and his people, among whom he had a wife or concubine, were going to leave, and that he was to remain here, he always carried one or two krisses with him intending to murder his wife and then run amok. We shall at once inform him of your decision. The ex-Captain Laut of Gerontale, **Kutsjel Moeda**, who, when questioned, said that was his name, and that he was born at Gorontale. He arrived here in the fleet with the late Governor-General **Rykloff van Goens**, and will, at his own request, leave in company of **Manjampa**. The *Overnes* and *'tVaderland Gctrouw* will take 460 muids of wheat to Batavia, and 116 lbs. garden seeds. **Robert Ringsaar**, about whom we wrote on the 1st instant, as missing, has come back, having been hiding in the country ... Arrival of English war and merchant ships. List of annexures.”

¹⁶⁴ Arrives on *Macasser* (1681) *Dese Bovenstaande personen draagt haar gesamentlijk stil & wel*; CA: C501 (Letters Despatched: *Lijst de Macasarschen Princen*, 5 September 1686), p. 508 (no. 13).

¹⁶⁵ See royal genealogy *supra*.

¹⁶⁶ www.e-family.co.za/ffy/remarkablewriting/UL02_AtWarWithSociety_Ismael.pdf.

¹⁶⁷ Born 1662; succeeds father **Sultan Nilaauddeen Abdul Basyir** aka **Bumisoro (Kraeng Popo)** – last governor of Sumbawa for Sultan of Gowa on Sulawesi & grandson of **Karaeng Pattingallowang** (dies 1687); detained (1697); deposed (1701) & exiled to the Cape; his brother **Abdul Wahab** succeeds him as rajah (1716-1726). Tambora is part of Indonesian island of Sumbawa whose rulers are reduced to Makassarese vassals & nominally convert to Islam. This explains inter-changeability of Hindu & Muslim titles *sultan* & *raja* respectively. The term *raja* is retained for vassal rulers. Biographical details mentioned on www.stamouers.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=562:van-tambora-raja-&catid=7:v-z&Itemid=37 are, however, confusing.

¹⁶⁸ www.e-family.co.za/ffy/remarkablewriting/UL06_KeepingTheGateOfHell_SubliminalRacism.pdf
www.e-family.co.za/ffy/remarkablewriting/UL02_AtWarWithSociety_Ismael.pdf.

¹⁶⁹ www.e-family.co.za/ffy/remarkablewriting/UL02_AtWarWithSociety_Ismael.pdf.

¹⁷⁰ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 396. The response from Batavia to this petition has yet to be traced. “**Ternate, the Prince of; named Dayan (Prince) Mamodie, Prince of Calomato [Kalamata]**. Receipt given by him to **Leander of Malabar** (see **Leander**). (No. 77a. 8th July). **Ternate, the Prince of**; letter signed by; granting his liberty to **Leander**. This paper is witnessed by **R Tulbagh**. (No. 77b. 15th August). **Tulbagh, R**; witnesses the above-mentioned document (see below). (No. 77b). (15th August)”.

¹⁷¹ Nigel Worden & Gerald Groenwald (eds.), *Trials of Slavery, selected documents concerning slaves from the criminal records of the Court of Justice at the Cap of Good Hope, 1705-1794* (Van Riebeeck Society 2005), pp. 59-65.

¹⁷² It is this entry that provides a vital clue as to his position in the royal genealogy for the sultans of Ternate.

¹⁷³ Leibbrandt states that receipt for the money is attached with the Prince’s mark on it (no. 77).

¹⁷⁴ CA: C 61, pp. 27-34 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 24 November 1722) *Dingsdag 24e November 1722*: *Voormiddags. Laastelijk is door den Heer independent fiscaal, Cornelis van Beaumont, aan den Edelen Heer Gouverneur en Raad kennisse gegeven hoe dat Sijn E.[dele] al voor lange te vooren gekomen sijnde klagten over het quaad en onordentelijk gedrag van den hier gebanne **Prins van Ternaten**, en wel bijzonderlijk dat denselve werkmaakte van soo wel Europeers als slaven en slavinnen ten sijnen huijse bij nacht en dag op en aan te houden, soo tot den dobbel, hoerierij als andere onordentelijkheeden, denselve dierhalven seer dikwils van dat quaad te vergeefs hadde afgemaand, en daaromme genoodsaakt was geworden tot stuijting van dat verderfelijk quaad een nauwer toesigt over deselfs gedrag te doen houden, tot soo verre dat denselve hardneckig blijvende in sijne quade behandelingen, genootsaakt was geweest dat hoeren en roof nest te stoorren, als hebbende nu onlangs in 't midden der nacht uijt zijn huis doen haalen een Europeer en diverse slaven, soo van 's Comps. dienaaren als andere ingesetenen, die actueel met den dobbel bezig waaren, weshalven Sijn E.[dele] sig verpligt vond den Edelen Heer Gouverneur en Raad in serieuze bedenkinge te geven of het niet nodig soude wesen dat soo halsterrigen bandiet tot voorkoming van verdere debausche van slaven, ten exemple van anderen in 't publicq wierde gestraft, en van deese plaats gedemoveert, soo wel als desselfs slaaf die in die quade gangen als brak in 't opdoen van 't wild is gebruikt geworden; Soo is, diesaangaend gedelibereert sijnde, goedgevonden en geresolveerd dat den voorm. gebannen **Prins van Ternaten** soo wel als desselfs slaaf door de caffers sullen worden gelaarst, en vervolgens naar 't Robben Eijland gesonden, omme aldaar voor de cost tot nader ordre aan 's Comps. gemeene werken te arbeijden. Aldus geresolveerd ende gearresteerd in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten dage en jaare voorsz. **M. DE CHAVONNES. C. V. BEAUMONT. K. J. SLOTSBOO. JAN DE LA FONTAINE. JN. ALDERSZ. A. V. KERVEL.***

¹⁷⁵ CA: C 91 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 11 February 1733, pp. 108-117] *Woensdag den 11e Februarij 1733, voormiddags. Alle tegenwoordig ... Waarna ter vergadering verscheen den ondercoopman en negotie*



overdraager, **Abraham Decker**, dewelke uijt naame van den hier gebannen Ternataansen prins, **Ketees Malocco**, versoek quam te doen dat aan hem mogt werden geacordeert om zijne drie kinderen, met naame **Amel**, **Talie** en **Adel**, door hem **Ketees Malocco** bij desselfs slavin, **Rosette van Ceijlon**, ter deeser plaatse geteelt, in vrijdom te mogen stellen, op dat zij na zyn overleijden, alzoo hij oud en siekelijk word, in geen slaverneij mogten blijven of vervallen, over het welke geraadpleegt zijnde, is goedgevonden dat men dit bij deesen ter memorie sal noteeren, en is gem[elde]. ondercoopman **Decker**, bij wien twee deeser kinderen van den Ternataanssen prins, **Ketees Malocco**, en het derde bij **de wed.[uwe] Thibault** zijn woonende, verders aangesegt dat hij hem kan waarschouwen zorge te draagen dat deselve kinderen bij zijne uijterste dispositie vrij worden verclaart en zoo het hem goeddunkt erfgenaamen gemaakt van het geene hij zal coomen na te laten, op dat het dies te klaarder blijkt dat hij haarlieden voor zijne kinderen komt te erkennen, en dat overzulx deselve niet als slaven kunnen gehouden of aangemerkt warden Aldus geresolveert ende gearresteert in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten dage en jaare voorsz. **JAN DE LA FONTAINE. A. V. KERVEL. D. V.[an] D.[er] HENGHEL. J. T. RHENIUS. N[icolaes]. HEIJNING. H[endrik]. SWELLENGREBEL. CL. BRAND. R.[ijk] TULBAGH. Rt. en secret[ari]s.**

¹⁷⁶ **Abraham Decker (1697-1752)** (from Amsterdam); born Amsterdam (1697); arrives at Cape (1717) as assistant ex India; promoted to bookkeeper (1722); marries (1) 27 June 1723 **Regina Möller** (dies 1736), daughter of **Hendrik Christoffel Möller & Margaretha Marquardt**; 2 children; marries (2) 31 March 1736 **Theodora van Taak**, daughter of **Willem van Taak & Martha van der Bijl**; 2 children: (1) **Johanna Emma Barbara** baptized Cape 4 April 1738 *Den 4 April*

Johanna Emma Barbara. *De vader is Abraham Decker. De moeder Theodora van Taak. De getuigen zijn den wel edelen gest:n heer Jan de la Fontaine en me juff:r[ouw] Barbara de la Fontaine;* (2) **Abraham Willem** baptized Cape 3 July 1740 (witnesses: **Pieter van Taak & Elsje Decker**) [*Den 3 Julij Abraham Willem - De vader Abraham Decker. De moeder Theodora van Taak. De getuigen Pieter van Taak en Elsje Decker*]. [CA: MOOC 7/5 (Testamenten, 1735-1737), no. 29; MOOC 7/8 (Testamenten, 1752-1758), no. 39].

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.taaloord.co.za/Oosterse%20bannelinge%20aan%20die%20Kaap.pdf>.

¹⁷⁸ **Daniel Thibault**; secretary of Court of Justice (1715-1718); goes to India (1702), arriving at Cape (1705) on *Ijsselmonde*; appointed secretary of Court of Justice by Governor **Louis van Assenburgh** (1710) at f 16; VOC Comissioner **de Vos** promotes him to bookkeeper (1711) with salary at f 30; begs to promotion to junior merchant; member of Orphan Board; marries **Aletta de Beer** [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten*, no. 136 (1717) & no. 35 (1718): “(no. 48 ?). 1719: **Thibault, Daniel**; made member of the Orphan Board. (No. 140.11th December). 1719”].

¹⁷⁹ CA: C 92 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 7 April 1733), pp. 56-66, n. 6. Yet to be established whether this will is the same will lodged with the Council of Justice - a copy of which is also lodged with the Orphan Chamber: CA: CJ 2604, no. 5 (Original Will: **Jonker van Maccassar**, 1727); CA: MOOC 7/4 (Wills: 1726-1735), no. 33 (Copy of Will: **Jonker van Maccassar**, 1727).

¹⁸⁰ CA: CJ 3083 (*Obligatiën, Transporten van Slaven, Vrijbrieven &c.*, 1733), pp. 85-86.

¹⁸¹ Is her youngest son born in Amsterdam or does Amsterdam qualify the European provenance of his presumed biological father?

¹⁸² CA: C 96 (Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 5 October 1734), pp. 42-48 [CA: CJ 3084, *Obligatiën, Transporten van Slaven &c.*, 1734, pp. 133-134], n. 1: “Volgens die dagregister het die Politieke Raad op 9.9.1734 en 16.9.1734 ook vergader. (Vgl. C.611, Origineel Dagregister, 1733-1735, pp. 252 en 257.) Daar bestaan geen kladnotule van die eerste vergadering nie, maar wel van die tweede, asook van 'n vergadering wat op 23.9.1734 gehou is. (Vgl. C.113, *Klad Notulen*, 1717-1738, p. 366.) Die kladnotule van die vergadering van 23.9.1734 lui soos volg: “Donderdag den 23e September 1734, voormiddags. Alle present. Het erf van den Edelen Heer Gouverneur. Twee persoonen in vrydom gestelt. Twee smits, een thuijnier en een soldaat verbeterd. *Een meijd van de weescamer toegestaan in vrijdom te mogen stellen* ... Die slavin, **Rosetta van Bengale**, is op 12.10.1734 vrygestel”. (Vgl. C.J.3084, *Obligatiën, Transporten van Slaven &c.*, 1734, pp. 133-134)”.

¹⁸³ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Krotoa>; Michael Morris, Michael & John Linnegar with S.A. Ministry of Education, Human Sciences Research Council, Social Cohesion & Integration Research Programme. 2004. *Every Step of the Way: the journey to freedom in South Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press), pp. 184-185.

¹⁸⁴ Contrast eg *Afrikaners / Boers* as ‘whites’ versus ‘Cape Coloureds’ - both speaking Afrikaans; *spoken Afrikaans / ‘Kaaps’* versus a more sanitized, Europeanized and institutionalized written ‘Afrikaans’; & again contrast rebel & ‘delaagerised’ or disowned individual *Afrikan(d)ers* (eg Sir **Andries Stockenstrom**, Sir **John Kotze**, Sir **David Graaff**, **C. Louis Leipoldt**, **Jan Smuts**, **Jannie Hofmeyr**, **Breyten Breytenbach**, **Andre Brink**, **Ingrid Jonker**, **Beyers Naude** to mention only a few ...) versus more loyal majoritarian-backed Afrikaner Nationalists from **D.F. Malan**, **Abraham Jonker** onwards ...

¹⁸⁵ H.C. Colenbrander, *De Afkomst der Boeren* (Amsterdam 1902), p. 18. See also Hans F. Heese, ‘The Dutch-Afrikaner Genealogical and Cultural Heritage’, *Capensis* (1999), no. 1, pp. 3-9.



¹⁸⁶ Hans F. Heese, *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).

¹⁸⁷ See Mansell Upham, 'Made or Marred by Time – the other Armozijn and two Arabian princesses at the Cape of Good Hope (1656)'

www.e-family.co.za/ffy/remarkablewriting/UL03_Made%20or%20Marred_Armosyn&Princesses.pdf

¹⁸⁸ J. Hoge, 'The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape', *Africana Notes and News*, vol. IX, no. 1, (December 1951).

¹⁸⁹ **Kyai Chili Putra Ahmad** born at Ternate (1744) (son of junior wife); appointed Kapita Laut (10 December 1764); exiled to Cape of Good Hope (3 October 1775); son of **Paduka Sri Maha Tuan as-Sultan Shahid ul-Muh Taj ul-Rahman Jalal ud-din Shah**, Sultan of Ternate (1763-1774), born at Ternate (1720) as **Kyai Chili Jalal ud-din [Prince Zwaardekroon]**, 3rd son of **Paduka Sri Sultan Amir Iskandar Zulkarnain Saif ud-din ibni al-Marhum Sultan Said Fathu'llah**, Sultan of Ternate, educ. Privately; succeeds on death of elder brother (1763); marrying several wives, including **Mariam**, lady from Ternate; dies at Ternate (28 July 1774), having 9 sons & 1 daughter <http://www.royalark.net/Indonesia/ternate.htm>.

¹⁹⁰ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Requesten*, no. 157 (25th November 1788). CA: C 180, pp. 197-198. *Dingsdag den 25 Novbr: 1788. alle præsent except den Heer Colonel Gordon is op het dieswegens in geschrifte gedaan verzoek gepermitteerd aan Achmet, Prins van Ternaten, door de hooge Indiasche Regeering uit desselvs bannissement ontslagen, en gereed met het aanweezend Schip Voorberg naar Batavia te vertrekken, omme desselvs Famillie bestaande in zijn Huisvrouw Constantia van de Kaap met haare Moeder en Grootm.[oeder] Dina van de Kaap en Philida van Batavia benevens derselver Kinderen in Naam Salasa Fatima Camies en Abdulla allen van den Caap, mitsg:[ader]s nog een vrije Meijd Cita van Bougies en zijnen Slaav Jounga van Ternaten naar Batavia meede te neemen en hij uit hoofde van zijne behoeftige omstandigheeden, die geenzints in twijffel kunnen worden getrocken van 't daartoe staande Transport en kostgeld geExcuseerd. Aldus Geresolveerd ende Gearresteerd In't Casteel de Goede Hoop ten daage en Jaare voorsz: C: J: van de GraaffJ: I: Rhenius J: J: Le Suëur O: G: de Wet W: F: V: Reede Van Oudtshoorn Mij præsent C. van Aerssen Secr:[retari]s.*

¹⁹¹ <https://familysearch.org/search>.

¹⁹² Abdul (also transliterated as *Abdal*, *Abdel*, *Abdil*, *Abdol*, *Abdool* or *Abdoul*, Arabic: ل عبد, 'Abd al-) is the primary transliteration of the Arabic compound words: Abd (عبد: meaning 'slave') and al / el (ال meaning 'the'). The meaning of Abdul literally and usually means "Slave of the ...", but in English translations some prefer to translate it to: 'Servant of the ...'.

¹⁹³ The name means 'hope'.

