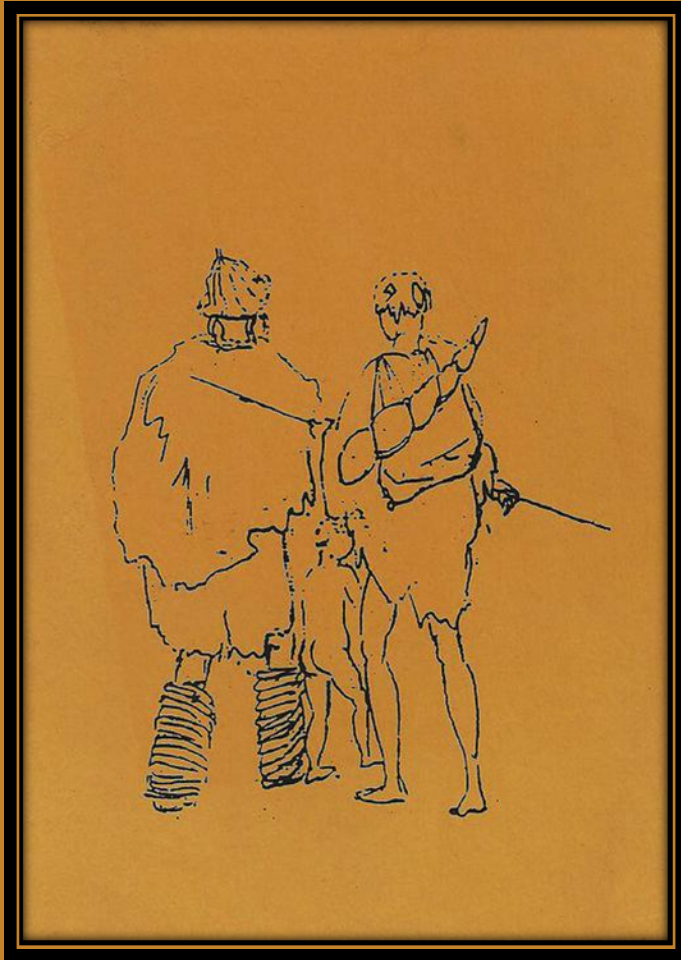


UL No. 04

## Hell and Paradise... Hope on Constantia

*De Hel en Het  
Paradijs ...  
De Hoop op  
Constantia*

*Jan Grof (died ante 1700) and  
his extended family  
at the Cape of Good Hope*



# Uprooted Lives

---

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

Mansell G Upham

# Uprooted Lives

---

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

**Mansell G Upham**

*Uprooted Lives* is an occasional series published by  
*Remarkable Writing on First Fifty Years*

<http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui45.htm>

© *Mansell G Upham*

Editor: Delia Robertson

Design & layout: Delia Robertson

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



*Khoi Image on Cover used with kind permission of the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town Campus*



# Uprooted Lives

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

**Mansell G. Upham**



*For min Far, min Mor  
og min søstre*

Tak for altid væsen ...



## Preface

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

**S**ince 1976 **Eva Meerhoff**, born **Krotoa (c. 1643-1674)** and **Catharina (Grootte Catrijn) van Paliacatta [Pulicat] (c. 1631-1683)** have haunted me. Discovering Krotoa (ancestor to *both* my father and my mother) and *Grootte 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 *Grootte 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 indigenoussness 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 Goringhaicona:

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

the 'Bastaard Hottentot':

**Frans Jacobs van de Caep**

the African slaves:

**Catharina Alexander van de Caep**

**Maria van Guinea [Benin]**

**Cecilia van Angola**

**Dorothea van Angola**

**Manuel van Angola**

**Diana van Madagascar**

the Asian slaves:

**Catharina (*Groote Catrijn*) van Paliacatta**

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

**Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale**

**Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar**

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

**Jacob van Macassar**

**Maria Jacobs: van Batavia**

and the pardoned Chinese convict:

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



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

My heartfelt gratitude to:

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

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



# Guide to the Text

## General Historical Background

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

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

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

---

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





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

### **Nomenclature, terminology, Dutch 17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> century writing conventions & archival sources**

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

### **Naming people**

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



## Currency, weight & measurements

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

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

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

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



# Hell and Paradise ... Hope on Constantia

## *De Hel en Het Paradijs ... De Hoop op Constantia*

**Jan Grof (died *ante* 1700) and his extended family  
at the Cape of Good Hope - a glimpse into family, household, patriarchy,  
matriarchy, bondage, marriage, concubinage, adultery, bastardy, *métissage*,  
manumission, propinquity and consanguinity in 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch South Africa  
before slavery's abolition, the weakening of kinship and emergence of the  
modern nuclear family.**

*Mansell Upham*  
February 2012





*Witteboomen - Silver Tree - Leucadendron argenteum*

On 7 March 1692, while chopping wood at Witteboomen<sup>1</sup> - a farm on the Cape Peninsula at De Hel (on the slopes of Constantia Nek) and Het Paradijs (present-day Newlands Forest behind Table Mountain)<sup>2</sup> adjoining the gubernatorial estate Groot Constantia - the slave **Claes van Malabar** was scolded for being late chopping firewood by his 82 [sic]-year-old mistress (patronesse) **Grietje Grof**. Her slave's excuse that he had to look for straying cattle, his mistress summarily dismissed. The cattle were nearby all together. Incensed, axe in hand, Claes retorted, "You old dog, then you should've fetched them yourself!" (*Jou oud hond. Jij moogste den selvs gaan haalen*). Outraged by his insolence, Grietje grabbed a broken tree branch to beat him. Before she could do so, Claes struck her in her face with the axe. Grietje fell to the ground. Claes thereupon mounted her attempting to sever her head amidst the shrieks of a witnessing fellow slave woman, **Marij**<sup>3</sup>, whose plaintive cries, "Mother is dead! Mother is dead!" [Moeder is dood, Moeder is dood] alerted her indoor gambling master and his friends to go outside and fight Claes off the body of his butchered mistress. The murdered matriach - was wife<sup>4</sup> to veteran free-burgher and hunter **Jan Coenraet Visser** (from Ommen)<sup>5</sup> and known locally (in de wandeling) as '**Jan Grof**'. After his arrest, Claes showed little remorse. When God was mentioned, he responded "... he knew neither God nor Devil ... was a Malabar by descent ... was satisfied if he received enough to eat and drink ... was content to die". Duly broken on the wheel on a day of a raging south-east wind, he was found dead by 1 o'clock that afternoon.<sup>6</sup>

Marij's curious *cri de coeur* - notably a slave woman calling her *patronesse* 'mother' - begs further enquiry; also in terms of propinquity and the extended family at the VOC-occupied Cape during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The slave Marij belonged to Grof. She was also



mother to some of his illegitimate offspring. Together with **Margarita (1659-c. 1710/1)** - another of Grof's Cape-born 'half-caste' (*halfslag*) or Eurasian bastard children born in slavery (this time by someone else's private slave woman) - these offspring were nonetheless, either incorporated into his household, or at least acknowledged in terms of kinship by legitimate members of Grof's extended family. Unfurling the lives of Grof and his extended family exemplifies and qualifies the fluid and *relative* concepts of family, household, patriarchy, matriarchy, bondage, marriage, concubinage, adultery, bastardy, *métissage*, manumission, propinquity and the high degree of consanguinity in 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch South Africa before slavery's abolition, the weakening of kinship and the emergence of the modern nuclear family.<sup>7</sup> It also 'brings home' trans-oceanic/trans-continental ties confirming that individuals and families at the tip of Africa were very much part of a wider social, colonial and global network.

### Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope

Hailing from Ommen in the United Dutch province of Overijssel, Grof sailed (1657) on the VOC ship *Dort* [*Dordrecht*] for the Cape leaving a wife - presumably named **Alida (Aeltje)<sup>8</sup> - Gerrits** from the neighbouring town Hardenburg and three children (**Maria<sup>9</sup>, Gerrit<sup>10</sup>** and **Gesina<sup>11</sup>**). The ship sailed from Goeree (17 December 1657) carrying 364 persons. She put in at the island of St. Vincent (3 February 1658) due to loss of her bowsprit and a mast, leaving again (6 February 1658) and arriving at the Cape (Sunday 28 April 1658). 14 people died on voyage and 6 absconded at St. Vincent.<sup>12</sup> Drafted on arrival into Company service as a hunter (8 May 1658), he opted to become one of the colony's first free-burghers (30 September 1659):<sup>13</sup>

"From our ships' books we found that the two following persons have become free men at the Cape, who, when they left, had incurred considerable debt for their outfit, which, however, they had not communicated to their creditors, viz., **Jan Coenraadt Visscher** of Eemnes (?) [Ommen], soldier from the *Dort* [*Dordrecht*], who left *Patria* in 1657, was on the 8th May, 1658 drafted on shore as hunter, and made freeman on the 30th September, 1659. He still owes **Maria Jansz** [his daughter?] here *f*93.9."

In 1661, accosted as one of the many attempted stowaways on the departing VOC return fleet, Grof attested to the general unhappiness of the colonists, many attempting to abandon the colony.<sup>14</sup> Together with **Pieter Visagie** (from Antwerp), he made a declaration:

"... regarding the great commotion created by the homeward bound crews, who cried out in numbers: *Get into the boats, go with us; what do you do in this cursed land.* Grof stated that "he had been on board the *Zeepaard* where the chief mate asked after Pieter Visagie and said that he was to tell him that he might freely come on board for that he could easily be taken on; whilst the crew exclaimed, *We would rather be hanged than lie in this damned country* adding more curses ...."

The Company financed a passage for his wife and three children to the Cape (30 January 1662) on board the *Wapen van Amsterdam*.<sup>15</sup>

"At your request we have granted a passage to one or two wives [those of **Grof & Willem de Lierman?**] whose husbands are at the Cape, subject to the usual condition to remain their fifteen years. The wife of **Jan Coenraetsz [Visser]** we have given *f*25 for her outfit, which you may recover there".



The ship was the third ship in a flotilla also consisting of the *Malacca* [departed (3 October 1661) and arriving (4 February 1662)] and the *Amersfoort*. Four unnamed passengers are recorded - presumably Visser's wife and three children: **Maria, Gerit** and **Gesina**. No passengers are recorded for the other two ships.

His eldest daughter was already married to Cape free-burgher **Willem Willemsz: de Lierman** (from Deventer) – also in Overijssel - who had preceded her. Emigration of a free-burgher's family to the Cape was exceptional during the early years of the colony. Only two other families of free-burghers emigrated during this time: **Jan Stevensz: Botma** (from Wangeningen) & **Jacob Theunisz:** (from Cooltien(s)plaet).

Several of Grof's hunting exploits into the interior are recorded in the Company Journal: he killed a 'wolf' (16 October 1662); after one hunting expedition brought back a quagga or zebra foal (1 December 1666):<sup>16</sup>

“This afternoon our agriculturist **Jan Coenraed Visser**, returned from the interior. At his and his companion's request, they had been sent out with another Company's servant in November last to catch wild horses. They brought with them alive a young and extraordinarily beautiful striped fowl, having the shape of a horse, but with long ears. It had been caught in snares with its dam near Riebeeck's Kasteel; but the mare, finding herself captured, had kicked and jumped in order to get free, and struggled so long, yea! bitten off her own tongue, that she finally died in the snares, as the skin which they brought showed. Time will show whether the foal which was slightly sprained in the loins, will be reared.”

and with son-in-law **Willem de Lierman** brought back three hippos (10 July 1669).<sup>17</sup> His future son-in-law **Diederich Putter** was also a hunter of note. Grof was also arraigned before the Council of Justice for hunting in the interior without permission but acquitted.<sup>18</sup>

### **Grof's illegitimate daughter by a slave woman**

By this time an adulterous Grof fathered an illegitimate child by a slave woman. The child, **Margarita** - later first recorded matron (*matres*) and teacher at the Company's Slave Lodge - in adulthood went by the name **Margaretha Jans: Visser(s)**.<sup>19</sup> Her mother appears to have been **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth / Lisabeth) van Bengale (born c. 1643)** – in all probability a private slave initially belonging to the Cape's first commander **Jan van Riebeeck**. Margarita was certainly half-sister to the enormously wealthy and influential **Maria Hendriks: (born c. 1655-1720)**<sup>20</sup> and to another sister named **Anna (born c. 1663)**<sup>21</sup> (circumstantial evidence points to her most likely being the equally eminent and influential **Anna Liberta alias Anna Pieters: van Batavia**)<sup>22</sup>. Her likely half-brothers were at least the following other Cape-born *halfslag* slaves:

**Heindrick (born c. 1659)**

**Jacob Hendricksz: Hagen(s) / Hages / Hagis (born c. 1661)**<sup>23</sup>

and the presumably *heelslag* (half-Japanese?) Cape-born slaves:

**Anthonij (born c. 1665)**

**Jan (born c. 1670)**



## Lijsbeth van Bengale

Likely belonging - together with **Maaij Ans(i)ela [Angela / Engela van Bengale]** - to a VOC official, **Lijsbeth van Bengale** left Batavia (4 December 1656) with the Company's return fleet (*Prins Willem, Het Wapen van Amsterdam, West Vriesland, Amersfoort, Wapen van Holland* and *Dordrecht*) under the command of Admiral **Matthys Crab**, Vice-Admiral **Pieter Hackius** [later Cape commander (25 March 1670-1 December 1671)] and Lijsbeth's owner and master, the rear-admiral **Pieter Kemp**.<sup>24</sup> The convict **Groote Catrijn [Catharina van Paliacatta]** banished to the Cape for life, arrived at the Cape (21 February 1657) in the same fleet on board the *Prins Willem*.<sup>25</sup> These three slave women supplemented the few female slaves already servicing the colony (listed in order of arrival):

**Eva van Madagascar** (1654 - but shipped to Batavia *by mistake* in 1658)  
**Maria (Marij) da Costa / van Bengale** (1655 - Van Riebeeck's personal slave sent from Batavia by **Jacob Reijniers**);  
**Maria Zacharias: van Bengale** (1655 slave belonging to **Pieter van der Stael** (from Rotterdam) & previously to **Hendrik Hendricksz: Boom** (from Amsterdam))  
**Catharina Anthonis: van Bangale** 1656 - (**Caspar van den Bogaerde's** slave)  
**Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna** (March 1656)  
**Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna** (March 1656)  
**Cleijn Eva van Madagascar** (March 1657)

Besides these slave women, there were only four other slaves – all male - at the Cape:

**Meijndert van Antongil;**  
**Jan Bruijn van Madagascar;**  
**Jan van Bengale;** and  
**Espagniola.**

The colony's first slave women were personal and household slaves - somewhat spared and removed from the more brutal aspects of collective slave labour starting with the arrival of the *Amersfoort* (March 1658). This ship offloaded a cargo of slaves, Brazil-bound, captured from the Portuguese off the coast of Bahia, Brazil (sometime in January 1658). Of the original cargo of 500 slaves, 250 were taken onto the *Amersfoort* of which many died before the ship arrived at the Cape. Van Riebeeck first counted 170 survivors (but first reported 166 and then 174) of which many were ill. The majority were young boys and girls considered to be of little use to the settlement for the next four or five years. Instructed to ship the best to Batavia, Van Riebeeck complied, sending 92 slaves in different shipments. By April he had been left with 125 slaves from Angola, but their numbers rapidly diminished with some dying daily.

On 6 May 1658 a cargo of 228 of the original 271 slaves obtained from Guinea - at Grand Popo on the coast of Dahomey [Benin] - were offloaded by the *Hasselt*. Of these, no fewer than 80 were sent to Batavia. The remaining Angola and Guinea slaves were employed by the Company, while 55 slaves from Guinea and 25 from Angola were sold to free-burghers and Company officials privately. Significantly and perhaps conveniently for Van Riebeeck, his officials and predominantly wifeless/womenless free-burghers, no individual registrations for the sale/purchase of these slaves appear to have survived. The death rate was horrific and together with the absconding of some, their numbers dwindled considerably. By 1663 we learn that notwithstanding the 402



Angola and Guinea slaves brought to the Cape (1658), there remained (including 6 Malagasy and 2 Bengali slaves) only 82 individuals: men, women and children - both Company owned and privately owned.

### Slave in Van Riebeeck's household

As one of numerous privately owned slaves owned by Van Riebeeck, Lijsbeth was not alone. The commander also owned the following slaves:

Dirk van Guinea  
Dirkie van Guinea  
Evert van Guinea  
Maria van Guinea  
Anna (*Hounij* or *Hoena*) van Angola  
Christina (Christijn) van Angola [*Tavina van Rapenberg* / *Ticonne* / *Licinne* / *Regina?*]  
Matthijs van Angola  
Marselij (*Maaij* Claesje?) van Angola  
Domingo van Angola  
Francina (Françijn) van Angola  
Thomas/*so Keuken* van Angola  
Marij van Angola  
Niclaes (Claes) *Kelder* van Angola  
Jan *Meeuw* van Angola  
Marij *Pekenijn* van Angola  
Jacqje *Joi* van Angola  
*Ouwe* Jan van Angola  
*Maaij* Isabella van Angola  
Meijndert van Antongil [Madagascar]  
Marij *da Costa* / van Bengale  
*Maaij* Anselva [Angela / Engela] van Bengale

Lijsbeth is first recorded with co-slaves and compatriots **Marij da Costa** and **Maaij Anselva** - in a statement (18 September 1659) formalizing ownership by Van Riebeeck in the absence of a formal deed.<sup>26</sup> Only *heelslag* slaves were registered. These three women evidently had no *heelslag* children at the time and any *halfslag* children went unrecorded. In this declaration, however, Lijsbeth appears to have been incorrectly recorded as *Domingo* [*sic*].<sup>27</sup> It was during the time Lijsbeth was slave in the Van Riebeeck household that Grof impregnated her. Perhaps their brief relationship was tolerated in much the same way as the concubinage of her co-slave **Maaij Anselva** - with two officials, **François de Coninck** (from Ghent) and **Joannes van As** (from Brussels) and that of the commander's washer woman, the exiled convict and slave **Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta** - with the head of the garrison - **Pieter Everaerts**: (from Cruijssaert). Unfortunately, their other co-slave Marij's lover, however, was less fortunate.

On Sunday night (22 August 1660) **Maaij Anselva's** lover (**François de Coninck**), with the surveyor **Pieter Potter** and the sergeant **Jan Danckaert**, testified before the Council of Justice trapping the constable **Willem Cornelisz**: (from Rotterdam) and Marij *in flagrante delictu*. They were discovered in each other's arms between 10 and 11 that night in the constable's room adjacent to the magazine where the gunpowder was stored. Van Riebeeck sent Marij back to her room. Cornelisz was put into custody. For his transgression (dereliction of duty?) Cornelisz: had his original sentence (50 years in the public works and fine of 100 reals) commuted (50 reals and dismissal as





constable. Thus, Marij, who found her own way to Cornelisz:’s room, was saved from the clutches of Cornelisz:.<sup>28</sup>

Why were certain officials punished for committing fornication (*vleeschelijke conversatie*) or for cohabiting with the handful of female slave women resident in the colony at the time, while others were not? Cohabitation *per se* was probably not the problem; rather dereliction of duty and the unlawful use of other people’s property. Cornelisz:, however, accused Van Riebeeck, not without foundation, of victimizing him. He had come under the spotlight prior to his ‘entrapment’. **Jurriaen (Joris) Jansz: Appel** (from Amsterdam) and his wife **Jannetje Ferdinandus** (from Coutrai) threatened (10 July 1660) to report Cornelisz: to the authorities about his secret tapping of brandy and did so. He was charged but not sentenced for theft (7 August 1660).<sup>29</sup> Having arrived (15 July 1659) on the *Achilles* Cornelisz: was employed as trumpeter with a wage of *f* 12 per month. He requested to also serve as constable occupying both posts and receiving a salary of *f* 20 per month.<sup>30</sup> Thereafter he was employed as a gunner. Cornelisz: did not take kindly to judicial harassment. More complaints about him and his recalcitrant behaviour ensued (20 May 1661, 25 May 1661 and 22 October 1666)<sup>31</sup>.

20 May 1661: Declaration of **Roeloff Michaelsz.**, sailor, **Andries Thysz., do., P. Hendriksz.**, of Odendaal, carpenter, and **P. Jacobsz.**, soldier, stationed at the Fort, that on Monday last, the 16th inst., about 8 p.m., after the watch had been placed, the gunner of the Fort, **Willem Cornelisz.**, was brought to the main guard, who behaved very disorderly and disobediently towards the fiscal [**Abraham Gabbema**], who wished to imprison him for creating a commotion within the Fort. He would not listen to the Fiscal, but roared out like a madman, using many bad words, saying also that the Commander and Council had taken from him about *f*170 in a thievish way, because as he exclaimed, he had been intimate with the Commander’s female slave [**Marij from Bengal?**]. Besides for having tapped and sold a glass of brandy, he had had to pay *f*70 more, &c. He said also that the officers of the Fort were rascals and dogs, and that he had served other gentlemen than this one of the Cape, who had the power to hang and burn, which, however, this one here did not possess; and other enormities more added against the Council. He went so far that a great commotion was caused among the garrison. The above confirmed by oath, 23 May.

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

Curiously, the presence of **De Coninck** (likely biological father to *Maaij* Ansel’s eldest child) and one **H.[endricken?] Hagens (from Lochum [Rhineland-Palatinate])** (likely biological father to one (if not more) of Lijsbeth’s other *voorkinders* and sexually active with her at that very time) begs the question: why was Cornelisz: singled out? Was Cornelisz: also sexually active with another slave in the household of Sick-comforter **Pieter van der Stael** (from Rotterdam) - Van Riebeeck’s brother-in-law - who was mother to the *halfslag* **Pietertje [Pieter Willemsz: Africano or Tamboer]** baptized (18 July 1660)? The infant’s unnamed slave mother at the time of baptism was Van Riebeeck’s expropriated slave **Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna**.<sup>32</sup>



## Slave to the Ministers

Lijsbeth and Marij were likely sold from Van Riebeeck's estate (28 November 1665) some time after his transfer (1662) to Batavia, joining the household of Minister **Johannes Petrus Wachtendorp** (from Maasbommel). They probably served the Cape's first resident minister **Johannes van Arckel (1640-1666)**, a bachelor accompanied by his sister **Elisabeth van Arckel** arriving at the Cape (17 August 1665) on the *Nieuw Middelburgh*, whose ministry was short-lived. He died (12 January 1666). His sister married (30 January 1667) her brother's intended replacement, the widower Ds. **Jacobus Burenius**, who arrived on the *Diemermeer* (31 December 1666) but the newly wed couple elected to proceed to Batavia (12 February 1668) with Wachtendorp being appointed resident minister.

Lijsbeth and Marij probably also attended to the minister **Johannes de Voocht** (from Amsterdam) who served as temporary minister (February 1666-December 1666) after arriving (26 February 1666) on the *Constantia* and later marrying (3 October 1666) **Elisabeth Pauw** soon after her arrival on the *Dordrecht*. The couple left the Cape (December 1666) for Ceylon where he became minister. At the Cape De Voogd purchased (30 September 1666) the slave **Willem van Bengale** from departing Commander **Zacharias Wagenaer** for Rds 90 or f180.<sup>33</sup> Wachtendorp had arrived (29 October 1666) with his wife **Maria Prignon** and children on the *Beurs*. They had left the Netherlands (1666) for the East but never got there, as he died unexpectedly at the Cape. In terms of a Council of Policy resolution (12 November 1666), he was appointed acting minister until the new resident minister-elect Burenius arrived but died the following year (15 February 1667).

## Slave in Commander Borghorst's household

Thereafter Lijsbeth (and two children)<sup>34</sup> appears to have been sold (11 August 1668) - with **Marij** and **Serry [Abraham (Abram) van Guinea?]** - for f 660 by **Widow Wachtendorp** to Commander **Jacob Borghorst**, joining the slaves **Pollecij [Maaij Claesje van Angola?]** and **Ventura [Venture van Ceylon / Bengale]** - later chef to Governor **Simon van der Stel**. With Borghorst's departure, he mostly sold (31 December 1669) his slaves to the Company - with the exception of **Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar** whom he sold to **Rijkckloff van Goens** although the purchase price was paid by Sergeant **Johannes Coon** (from Sommelsdijk), viz.:

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

These Borghorst sold for the lump sum of f2 8442:10:-. Borghorst appears to have sold **Alina [Lijsbeth?] van Bengale** (9 April 1669) and **Catharina van Malabar** (17 April



1669) to **Joannes Coon** (from Sommelsdijk). A few days prior (9 April 1669) to Catrijn's purchase (17 April 1669), a pregnant slave woman named **Alina** [an error for Elisabeth?] was also purchased by Coon but from Van Goens in a similar transaction but for a lesser price (80.00). Soon thereafter (28 May 1669), a slave named **Anna** [Elisabeth's daughter?] was sold by Coon to the junior merchant on the *Alphen* **Johannes Cauwenburg** for 80:00.<sup>35</sup> The cryptic transcriptions of the *Transporten en Schepenkenissen*, however, are suspect and require further investigation. Was Lijsbeth also purchased by Van Goens and paid for by Coon and perhaps special arrangements made for her daughter Anna to be taken to Batavia? Lijsbeth's daughters nevertheless were subsequently either used as domestic servants in the households of the commander (or acting commander) or members of the Council of Policy or took up responsible positions in the Company's Slave Lodge. Maria worked for Acting Commander **Heinrich Crudop** (from Bremen), Margaretha became *matres* in the Slave Lodge and Anna (after returning from Batavia?) became integrated into the Coon household.

### Slave in *Juffrouw Coon's* household

Sergeant **Johannes Coon** (from Sommelsdijk) and his wife **Alexandrina / Alexandrine Jacobs: Maxvelt / Maxwell / Maxwal** arrived (1664) on the *Walcheren*.<sup>36</sup> Prior to his transfer to the Cape he had already served 8 years in the Indies. At the Cape he succeeded **Pieter Evraerts**: (from Cruijssaert) as head of the garrison. He died (1673) on St Helena.<sup>37</sup> His widow remarried at the Cape (29 September 1679) **Louis / Lodewyck François Bureau / Boureau / Buro / Brureau** alias **Lodewyk Francen** (from Brussels) (born c. 1649) son of a Brussels advocate **Carel Burou**. After military service in Europe, he joined the VOC and served at the Cape as soldier, clerk and finally victualler. Charged with theft he was dismissed from the service for life and deported to the Netherlands. His deportation order, however, was initially not carried out and he became a free-burgher at the Cape. Commissioner Van Rheeде appears to have refused to condone any further the laxity of his former protectors **Rijckloff van Goens the Elder** and **the Younger**.



**Rijckloff van Goens the Elder (1619 – 1682)**



Childless, **Juffrouw Coon** owned the following slaves:

**Maria (Marij) [? van Bali - error for Angola?]** (purchased 1 May 1665 from **Zacharias Wagenaer**) who

was mother to:

**Maria [Lozee] van de Caep** (baptized Cape 12 September 1666)

**Cornelia van de Caep** (baptized Cape May 1669)

**Jan van Bengale** (purchased 16 May 1666 from **Jacob Cauw**)

**Anthonij van de Cust Cormandel** (purchased 4 April 1679 from **Tobias Marquart**)

### **Anthonij van Japan**

Following the death (*ante* 1670) of **Annica van Bengale**, wife to freed slave **Anthonij de Later van Japan**<sup>38</sup>, Lijsbeth appears to have been the widower's concubine for some time already. Lijsbeth baptized two sons, **Anthonij** (6 September 1665) and **Jan** (19 October 1672), before her own likely freedom (presumably 1673 by testamentary manumission following Coon's death) and subsequent joint baptism (29 October 1673) with **Catrijn van Malabar** - in anticipation of her own marriage (5 November 1673) to the father of her children. Anthonij, then resident in Zeestraat (present-day Strand Street) elected to relocate and liquidated his property.<sup>39</sup> The burgher councillors **Wouter Cornelisz: Mostert** (from Utrecht) and **Jan Valckenrijck** were instructed (8 November 1673) to sell the house as well as Anthonij's fishing boat and equipment. From 1674 onwards Anthonij and his family disappear from the muster rolls. Did he and his family (including his 3 children from his 1<sup>st</sup> marriage **Abraham, Lysabeth** and **Theuntje**) return to Batavia or one of the *Nihonmachi* ('Japan-towns') in South-East Asia?<sup>40</sup> Lijsbeth's likely daughter **Anna Pieters**: probably accompanied them - returning to the Cape at a later stage and becoming eminently entrenched in the upper echelons of Cape patrician colonial society.

That Anthonij - the Cape's second Commander **Zacharias Wagenaer** (from Dresden)'s trusted Japanese servant (whom he had brought with him to the Cape via Batavia from Deshima [Nagasaki] - had business interests elsewhere is evidenced by his power of attorney (14 April 1670) to prominent Amsterdam merchant **Salomon Swerus / Sweers (c. 1611-1674)** who had extensive trade dealings with the Japanese community in Batavia. Swerus had to collect f61.15 on Anthonij's behalf from the VOC's Amsterdam Chamber in terms of an account closed on board the ship *Ternaten* (23 April 1669) and underwritten by the junior merchant **Abraham Borgers**.<sup>41</sup> Sweers was one of the executors to the will of Anthonij's former owner the Cape's ex-commander Wagenaer (October 1668). Also, the sister-in-law [**Maria aux Brebis** (from Wesel)] of Sweers was wife to Wagenaer. Sweers was a prominent VOC official in the Dutch East Indies. He was born (15 June 1611) at Nijmegen in the Netherlands, the son of **Aerent Sweers** and **Alida van Bronkhost**. Some of his siblings also joined him in the Dutch East Indies. He married (16 August 1637) **Catharina Jans: van Hoorn**, the widow of **Dirck Jemming**. He died (2 February 1674). His siblings were: **Judith, Jan, Jacob, Abraham, Catharina, Isaac, and Benjamin (died 1642)**. His brother **Jacob** was married to **Maria aux Brebis**, the widow of **Adriaen Anthonijsz**: and widow of **David de Bucquoij** whose 4<sup>th</sup> husband was the Cape's 2<sup>nd</sup> commander Wagenaer. **Catharina Sweers** married (31 July 1642) **Jeremias van Vliet** (died 1633).<sup>42</sup>



## Grof farms in the Liesbeeck Valley

Grof was granted land near the Liesbeeck River at *Bosheuwel* where he farmed with **Philip van Roon / Roeijen** until his partner's death (1 January 1660).<sup>43</sup> Grof purchased (28 September 1659) adjacent property from his neighbour **Pieter Visagie** (from Antwerp). The authorities singled out Grof and Visagie (8 September 1660) for being the new colony's two laziest farmers.<sup>44</sup>

"The farmers **Pieter Visagie** and **Jan Coenraet Visser** have for some time been lax in their work and have in the meantime been running up heavy debts, without showing the necessary diligence for their grain-farming, out of which they could have repaid their debts. This has been tolerated ... of the Company."

Grof was re-granted (18 December 1662) more land situated beyond the *Uitkijk*.<sup>45</sup>

"December 18 [1662]. Early this morning the Commander went out to the country with the Land Surveyor to mark off for the freeman **Jan Coenraet Visscher** some better corn land than he at present possesses at the *Bosheuwel*, and to grant it to him, at his request, in freehold. And as he complains that his old lands are so poor and sandy that last year, instead of 8 bushels of corn and barley which he had sown on it, he had this year not enjoyed more than 6 bushels from it, which is not sufficient to feed him with his wife and 5 [sic] small children, and this having been found to be the case, the Commander gave him 12 morgen of good land behind the *Uytkyck*, on the other side of the Liesbeeck, as will appear from the diagram."

The farm was registered (20 December 1662) and later became the site of the Royal Observatory.

Grof was assisted at times (1667 and 1668 respectively) on his lands in the Liesbeeck Valley by the indentured labourer (*knechts*) **Zacharias Pietersz:** (from Stralsund)<sup>46</sup> and **Zacharias Cornelisz:** (from Emboden) His last-mentioned former *knecht* was convicted (17 April 1668) for theft and punished with flogging and 10 years in chains on Robben Island. His appears not to have been sentenced, however.<sup>47</sup> Previously (1663), he and his wife are listed with the following *knechts*: **Johannes Voort** (from *Uijts* [Oedt, Cologne]); **Arent Teunis: van der Dussen** and **Paules Civis** (from Midwoot).<sup>48</sup> Grof later sold his property in the Liesbeeck Valley.<sup>49</sup>

The family are recorded at the Cape (1662<sup>50</sup>, 1664 and 1665). Grof is listed in the tax rolls (1663) resident in the Cape District with his wife, four children, three male slaves, one female slave and some livestock. His neighbours were **Jacob Cloete** (from Cologne) and **Frans Gerritsz:** (from Uijthoorn). In the muster roll (1664), Grof and his wife - **Geertje [sic] Gerrits** (from Hardenburg) - are listed with three children. Since Grof's daughter, **Maria**, was married to his neighbour and fellow-hunter **Willem de Lierman**<sup>51</sup> appearing with her husband in the same muster<sup>52</sup>, the three children listed were: **Gesina**, **Gerrit** and **Coenraet**. Coenraet's baptism (8 April 1663) only mentions his father.<sup>53</sup>

### Grietje Gerrits:

In the muster rolls (1662-1665) Grof's wife is named **Geertje(n) [sic] Gerrits**, but following the baptism of the daughter **Zacharia** (23 August 1665), his wife appears consistently recorded as **Grietje Gerrits:** until her murder (1692). Presumably she was his second wife. The muster roll (1665) lists the couple with four children - the youngest



being Zacharia although the infant is recorded with the male version of the name [*Sacharias (sic)*] - after incumbent Cape Commander **Zacharias Wagenaer** who stood as sponsor and explains her recorded nick-name *Zacharias Wagenaer*.<sup>54</sup> Worth noting is the omnipresence of Wagenaer in both Grof's and his slave concubine Lijsbeth's lives. Grof's youngest legitimate child **Johannes** was baptized (16 January 1667)<sup>55</sup>.

From the afore-mentioned, a *second* 'wife' emerges consistently named **Margaretha** (or in the diminutive **Grietie or Grietje/n) Gerrits: or Gerritsen** - not only in the muster rolls, but also in two subsequent baptismal entries for Grof's two youngest legitimate children (**Zacharia** and **Johannes**). Did Grof's first wife, Aeltje, die (either *ante* 1664 or sometime in 1666) and during childbirth or soon thereafter and did he promptly remarry?<sup>56</sup> At one point, his second 'wife' Grietje is recorded *Grietie Pieters* in the tax rolls (1685) with a different patronymic. She is otherwise always recorded as **Margaretha Gerrits:** sans provenance. Significantly Visser's first four legitimate children (**Maria, Gesina, Gerrit** and **Coenraet**) named their eldest or second eldest daughters *Alida* or *Aeltje* - presumably after their mother reflecting customary Dutch naming patterns - while his last two legitimate children (**Zacharia** and **Johannes**) named their eldest or second eldest daughter *Margaretha* or *Grietje* - after *their* mother? Did Grof remarry fathering two children by a second wife? Record of the departure and arrival at the Cape of a woman named **Margaretha Pieters: or Gerrits:** has not been found.<sup>57</sup> A record of a second marriage is also wanting.<sup>58</sup> We are left with a conundrum. Both 'wives' are recorded with the same patronymic *Gerrits:*.

If Grietje was indeed Grof's second wife, then her age is problematic. Recorded at the time of her murder (1692) as being 82 years old, she is unlikely to have borne children as late as 1665 and 1667. One expects her age at the time of her murder to be correctly recorded and not exaggerated given the usual legal insistence on veracity and truth (also under oath). Grietje Grof had also been the governor's neighbour. Her age is recorded twice as 82 - an unlikely transcription error? Was Grietje Gerrits:, *mother-in-law* to Grof? If so, did she arrive at a time coinciding or overlapping the death of her daughter (sometime in 1665) when first recorded (in error?) as 'mother' (surrogate mother?) to Grof's daughter Zacharia? Being the household's eldest female member, she would have assumed the role of matriarch (*materfamilias*). Be that as it may, Grietje appears to have indeed been Grof's wife if we accept their unambiguous joint listing (on more than one occasion) as husband and wife when recorded as members or communicants of the Cape Reformed Church.

## Grof and the Law

The Company asserted its judicial authority over Grof in several instances arraigning and convicting him (9 February 1664 and 22 August 1668) for illegal barter and convicting (26 September 1672) him and his eldest legitimate daughter **Maria Liermans** for helping a felon. Grof, his son-in-law **Willem de Lierman** and **Jacob Cornelisz:** (from Danzig) were convicted for illegally trading sheep. The sheep were confiscated and they were fined. **Jacob Cloete** (from Cologne), **Jan Verhagen**, **Willem Schalksz: van der Merwe** (from Broek), Grof and his son-in-law were all fined Rds 50 each for illegal trade in livestock with the Cape indigenes and the booty confiscated.<sup>59</sup>



## Grof is granted custody of his illegitimate Olivier grandchildren

Grof was granted custody (18 August 1676) of his eldest legitimate daughter Maria's two illegitimate children (**Cornelis** and **Dina**) by her husband Willem *de Lierman's knecht*, **Ockert Cornelisz: Olivier** (from Ouwerkerk).<sup>60</sup> The adultery committed by Maria *Liermans* during her husband's absence presented the new colony with its first Biblically derived legal impasse concerning illegitimacy. Roman-Dutch Law, allows illegitimate children or pre-wedlock children (*voorkinders*) to be legitimized *ex post facto* once the biological parents marry legally or even if mamma marries someone other than biological papp. The children, however, in theory do not remain tainted with bastardy. Bastard children born during an existing marriage are deemed to be the biological offspring of the mother's husband even if not the biological father.<sup>61</sup> This necessary legal fiction to erase bastardy makes better sense when considering the Biblical injunction: "No bastard shall enter the assembly of the Lord, even to the tenth generation none of his descendants shall enter the assembly of the Lord".<sup>62</sup>

On returning home (27 April 1672), Willem *de Lierman* found his beer mug broken by his 'Hottentot' servant. Enraged (*moeijelick*), he grabbed his loaded gun to chase his servant away. From his barn and from a distance of 63 paces he fired a second shot fatally wounding the fleeing 'Hottentot' in the presence of his *knecht* [Olivier]. Charged with committing murder, he fled and stowed away (4 May 1672) on the Danish ship *Malgas* failing to appear before the Council of Justice (14 May 1672). Unable to apprehend him after a warrant for his arrest was executed, he was banished in perpetuity from the colony. A third of his possessions were confiscated *pro fisco* (July 1672). Back in Europe, the Prince of Orange pardoned Willem *de Lierman* in response to the fugitive's petition to the VOC's *Heeren XVII*. He was permitted to return to the Cape. On arrival, he was detained on Robben Island pending further investigation since the manslaughter (*manslag*) of his servant was premeditated and done with evil intent (*voorgedachtelijck en met boos opset gedaan*). Returning to the mainland for medical treatment (September 1675), he discovered that during his absence his wife had given birth to two children fathered by his *knecht*.

Arraigned before the Council of Justice for her seriously licentious (*seer lichtvaardigh*) adultery, the couple soon came to blows. The Council of Policy decided (18 August 1676) to send (*largeer*) both husband and wife to Batavia - separately while detaining her lover (*pol*) on Robben Island until their departure. The couple, however, soon reconciled (*malcander en onder handtasting beloftengedaan van voortaan vreedsameltje met den anderen te sullen leven*). The Council of Policy consequently decided (3 September 1676) to send them on *De Vrije Zee* to Batavia. Maria again fell pregnant and the couple returned to the Cape (May 1677) baptizing (20 June 1677) their daughter (**Aeltje**). Rather than have his presence aggravate tenuous relations between the colony and local Cape indigenes, the Council of Policy decided (14 July 1677) to send him and his family away - this time to Mauritius - to "keep him out of sight from the nagging 'Hottentots' and to avoid further unrest" (*om uijt het oog van dese schimpige Hottentots te zijn als om verdere onlusten te vermijden*). Their marriage was jinxed from the start: the couple's first four children all died in infancy but living long enough to be baptized.<sup>63</sup>

The two bastard children remained behind, however, in the custody of their maternal grandfather (Grof) with their biological father (Olivier) paying maintenance.<sup>64</sup> In terms



of the couple's reconciliation (*de man zijn vrouw alles vergeven heeft*), the children were deemed to be legitimate (*echte kinderen*) although the stigma of bastardy continued. Willem *de Lierman* died (ante October 1686) on Mauritius and his widow remarried (c. 1690) **Leendert Simonsz: Stam** (from Amsterdam), a former burger of Drakenstein. The family later relocated to the Cape again once the colony on Mauritius was disbanded. Meanwhile, during Maria's absence from the Cape, Olivier had married (5 February 1679) **Aletta Gijsberts: Verweij** (from Woerden). Olivier and his wife had 13 children. Deceased estate papers (1705 & 1720) for him and his wife and mother-in-law, the **Widow Verweij, Catharina Theunissen (Trijntje Gansevanger)**, make no provision for Olivier's pre-wedlock children. The families remained nonetheless communally integrated: Olivier's wife Aletta Gijsberts: Verweij was sister to the husband of Grof's daughter, Gesina - **Dirk Gijsbertsz: Verweij** (from Polanen).

### Grof relocates to Constantia Valley

Grof finally purchased (c. 1678) a farm *Wittebomen* relocating (after 1688) to the valley near Constantia Kloof with its two forests *De Hel* and *Het Paradijs*<sup>65</sup>. *Groot Constantia* – the huge estate and country retreat (*lusthuijs*) of the Cape's first Eurasian governor, **Simon van der Stel** (granted 1685), adjoined Grof's new farm. Speculation about the name *Constantia* continues. Kolbe and Valentijn maintain that Van der Stel named the estate and valley after his wife - although Johanna by name - who never accompanied (1679) him to the Cape.<sup>66</sup> If indeed so, he more likely named the place after her character. The name *Constantia* was all the rage then due to the enormous popularity of the writings of the Neo-Stoicist author Justus Lipsius [**Joose or Josse Lips**] (1547-1606) - in particular his work *De Constantia* ('On Constancy') making the word *Constantia* (meaning 'steadfastness' or 'perseverance') a fashionable catchword. Bodart-Bailey summarizes the contemporary pre-occupation with Constancy as follows:

*De Constantia* was not Lipsius's most systematic or theoretical treatment of Stoic ethics. Rather, it was a manual for practical psychology and wise living, acquiring a leading position in European thought. There were more than eighty editions between the 16th and 18th centuries - over forty in the original Latin, the rest translations. The treatise embodied elements of militant Calvinism and Jesuit arguments on free will, becoming common cultural property during the Baroque period and influencing scholarship, poetry and art up to the Enlightenment. Gerhard Oestreich argues that Neo-Stoicism influenced European thought of the pre-modern period receiving insufficient attention for shaping political, social and military reform. Underestimated too, are its general popularity and decisive influence on the important paradigm changes producing the modern state in Europe.<sup>67</sup>



*Groot Constantia*





Another adjacent farm *Het Paradijs* – a former Company post - was initially owned by **Hester Weijers: Klim** (from Lier), widow of **Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert** (from Utrecht), who later sold the place (7 April 1678) and the slaves: **Thomas van Bengale**, **Jantje van Batavia**, **Paulus van Cabo Verde**<sup>68</sup> and the *heelslag* slave girl, **Petronella (Pijttie) van de Caep** (born c. 1664/5), to the burghers, **Willem van Wijck** (from Ingen) and partner (*socius* or *compagnon*) **Gerrit Theunisz:** (from Utrecht).<sup>69</sup> Van Wijck next appears in the muster roll (1679) in partnership (*compagnie*) with **Hans Ehrentraut**.<sup>70</sup>

Van Wijck later sold his share (1685) to Ehrentraut and moved to the garden *Roode Hek* which he purchased from **Cornelis Pietersz: Linnes** (from Christiania<sup>71</sup>) as well as the slave **Anthonij van Guinea** (14 years old). Van Wijck is of importance here as he likely fathered at least two *halfslag* daughters (**Lijsbeth** and **Jannetje**) by the domesticated (previously private but now Company) slave **Dorothea van Angola** - both equally favoured, influential and genealogically significant and also domestic slaves in the Van der Stel households: *père* (Simon) and *filis* (**Willem Adriaan** and **Jonker Frans**).<sup>72</sup>

Grof's family appear in the tax returns (*opgaaf*) for the years (1670, 1678, 1682, 1688 and 1692) with small numbers of farm animals (1670) and crops (1682 and 1688), one male and one female slave (1682) and only one male slave (1688).<sup>73</sup> Grof and Grietie Pietersz: and one child appear in the muster roll (1685).<sup>74</sup> In the tax return (1692) Grof is listed resident in the Cape District - sans wife and without agricultural animals or crops but with one male and one unnamed female slave.<sup>75</sup> Grof is listed (1695) as before, but now resident in Table Valley amongst the free-fishing folk (significantly amongst the families of his legitimate daughter **Maria Liermans** and illegitimate daughter **Margarita van Hoff**), with one unnamed female slave but also three slave children, one boy and two girls.<sup>76</sup>

Grof's recorded ownership of slaves is a little sketchy. We know that he was able to purchase (1 April 1677) two unnamed male slaves with other free-burghers as incentive to consolidate farming operations. These were distributed from newly arrived slaves (93 in number) on the Return Fleet from Ceylon mostly from the Indian sub-continent: Tuticorin, Cochin, Quilon and the Malabar Coast.<sup>77</sup> From **Adriaan van Asperen**, he purchased (7 April 1677) a female slave, **Col van Madagascar**, for Rds 50 and he sold (10 December 1682) the slave **Isabel van Madagascar** to **Cornelis Pietersz: Linnes** (from Christiania) for Rds 25.<sup>78</sup> Worth noting is the transaction involving the sale (15 January 1683) of a slave **Claas van Bengale** by **Jacob Aertsz: Brouwer** (from Tiel) to one **Theunis Visser** for Rds 48.<sup>79</sup> *Teunis de Visser* is also mentioned in conjunction with Grof in a Council of Policy resolution concerning the complicated leases of land to **Cornelisz Stevensz: Botma** (from Wangeningen) and buildings to **Thielman Hendricks:** (from Utrecht) and **Heinrich Everts: Schmidt** (from Ibbenbüren) at *Rustenburg* - the *Comp[agnie]s. thuijn en wijngaart Rustenburg alias 't Rondebosje*.<sup>80</sup>

### Grof's illegitimate liaisons

To what extent Grof's second 'marriage' was blessed in terms of love or expediency, we do not know. Was Grietje related to Grof's deceased wife, Aeltje – assuming that she also hailed from Hardenburg (a possibility given the same patronymic)? Legally Grof would



be prohibited from marrying his deceased wife's mother or sister – such an act amounting to incest – although at times such unions were either overlooked or more likely undetected. Nevertheless, already by 1660, Grof had fathered an illegitimate daughter by a private slave woman. The child was conceived prior to the arrival of Visser's wife (30 January 1662). His illegitimate daughter (**Margarita**) - one of the colony's earliest *halfslag* slave children - quickly rose in the ranks of the Company Slave Lodge becoming its first schoolmistress (*matres*) and, after liberation as *halfslag* at legal majority (22) and payment of a manumission fee, marrying (2 September 1685) a prominent Norwegian free-burgher **Lambert Laurensz: Barzenius van Hoff** (from Bergen). She also had a pre-wedlock child by Commander Simon van der Stel's chef, the slave **Ventura van Ceylon** (and co-slave with her mother in the households of Minister Wachtendorp and Commander Borghorst).<sup>81</sup>

Much later, perhaps when Grietje Grof was relieved to forgo the more physical aspects of her marital duties, Grof fathered a son **Anthonij** (born c. 1692)<sup>82</sup> by his own slave Marij. This happened soon after Grietje's murder (the child was baptized one month after her death). Grof fathered four more children by the same slave woman: **Susanna** (born 1694)<sup>83</sup>, **Jacob(us)** (born c. 1695)<sup>84</sup>, **Pieter** (born c. 1697)<sup>85</sup> and **Maria** (born c. 1699)<sup>86</sup>. Susanna was later known as **Susanna Vissers**: (after her biological father<sup>87</sup>) and **Susanna Elberts**: (after her mistress for whom she worked at the time of her adult baptism<sup>88</sup>).

Whether Grof was indeed biological father to Marij's children and also of the earlier Margarita begs further questions. Conceivably without DNA testing, we may never know for certain. From a social, historical and legal perspective we have only documentary evidence on which to draw inferences. In terms of self-identification and being indentified as his children and association, however, we can safely assume that at least Margarita and Susanna affirmed Grof's paternity and that the local community were not averse to endorsing this. Furthermore, Grof's testamentary arrangements for Marij and her children's manumission confirm a consummated relationship or concubinage. Grof was prohibited from marrying his freed slave as she was *heelslag*.<sup>89</sup>

Grof made testamentary provision in a deed (24 March 1696) for Marij and her three children to be manumitted following his death. She was to take her possessions - chest (*kist*) and clothes - out of the estate.<sup>90</sup> Immediately prior to this, Grof witnessed the baptism of Marij's son, **Jacob(us)**, who was baptized – significantly in the register for free citizens – in anticipation of the infant's conditional manumission after Grof's death.<sup>91</sup> Land adjoining Grof's landed property *Witteboomen*, with which it became consolidated, was granted (1697) to Grof's son-in-law **Lambert Simonsz: Stam** (from Amsterdam), second husband to **Maria Liermans**. In the same year, however, both properties were incorporated into Van der Stel's *Constantia* estate. Simon van der Stel, possibly unhappy with his neighbours, resorted to dirty tactics abusing gubernatorial power to work the family off the land and consolidate the Visser/Stam property with his estate at *Constantia*.<sup>92</sup> The homestead at *Groot Constantia* had already been built (1692) but the ex-governor only retired there (1699). *Witteboomen* became separated again (sometime before 1724) when it passed from **J.G. Stoots** to **J.H. van Helsdingen**. Stam and family were already resident in Table Valley among the free-fishermen community.<sup>93</sup> Stam had purchased (already in 1694) the erf of the free-black fisherman *den Chinees* **Domingo van Bengale** who sold his property in order to relocate with his wife (**Maria Anthonisz: van Bengale**) to Batavia.<sup>94</sup>



Grof was dead by 1700.<sup>95</sup> After Grof's death, Marij gave birth to three more children: the slave **Arent** (born 1702), and the free-born **Geertruij** (born 1708) and **Willem** (born 1711), fathered by **Arent van Malabar**<sup>96</sup>, **Gerrit Evertsz:** and **Hendrik Willemsz:** respectively. These children, one born in slavery and the other two born in freedom, their baptisms recorded in the register for 'Slave Children of Free-burgher or Company Servants' the register entitled 'Names of the Christian Children' and the baptismal register for Drakenstein respectively. **Arent** was baptized (6 August 1702)<sup>97</sup>. **Geertruij** was baptized (2 October 1708)<sup>98</sup>. **Willem** was baptized (7 November 1711)<sup>99</sup>. Although Grof was deceased (by 1700), Marij's conditional manumission only became effective (after 1702).

What is extraordinary is that Grof himself - together with his illegitimate but respectable *halfslag* daughter **Margarita** - witnessed the baptism (12 January 1696) of his slave concubine Marij's son, **Jacobus**. Soon thereafter, Grof's eldest legitimate daughter, **Maria Liermans**, witnessed the baptism (21 April 1697) of her father's illegitimate son **Pieter** by his slave concubine Marij. Margarita also witnessed (16 August 1704) the baptism of **Adriaan** (son of **Carel Adriaansz: de Brak** and **Alida Willemsz:**) the grandson of her half-sister **Maria Liermans**. Grof's non-slave ('white'), illegitimate-born granddaughter, **Dina Ockerse alias Dina Willemse**, witnessed (27 October 1709) the baptism of **Marij Hattingh**, daughter to Grof's illegitimate daughter **Susanna** by his concubine. These links between Grof and his legitimate and his illegitimate offspring (both non-slave and also slave offspring by *both* his concubines), reveal the existence of a close extended family or at least public acknowledgment of family ties. This sheds important light on the intricacies, subtleties and nuances of integrated family life in a VOC slave-owning colony like the Cape of Good Hope.

### Social status and legacy

In terms of respectability, the Visser family became subaltern in status. This is most un-exemplary for a truly 'Cape Dutch' *family* outnumbered by North German and Scandinavian bachelors and later French-speaking Protestant refugee (Huguenot) families and in striking contrast to contemporaneous colonial families starting out with unmarried immigrant founding fathers (eg the Bezuidenhout, Louw, Van der Merwe, Mijburgh, Mostert, Ras, Visagie and Van Wyk families). Their use of a surname at a time when patronymics were the norm (with only few higher ranking families recorded at times with non-patronymic surnames) indicates an initial higher social standing than the average Dutch/Low German/Frisian/Scandinavian immigrant to the colony.

The status soon lowers, however, possibly due to Grof's eldest legitimate daughter (**Maria Liermans**) committing adultery and acquiring convict status. Invariably (ultimately?), the taint of adultery, bastardy, criminality and concubinage affected reputation, dignity and honour.<sup>100</sup> Grof's widowed legitimate daughter (**Zacharia**) maintained this legacy by shacking up with the unmarried Cape-born *halfslag* **Johannes Basson** (legitimate son of famous freed slave woman **Maaij Anselva van Bengale** whose *voorzoon* was the slave-born, executed, *halfslag* free-burgher **Jantje van As**)<sup>101</sup> and mothering an illegitimate, politically troublesome, son (**Arnoldus Johannes: Basson**).<sup>102</sup> Also noteworthy, is the collective role - a veritable family affair - played by her many legitimate (Putter / Krügel) and illegitimate (Basson) offspring and relatives by marriage



in supporting **Estienne Barbier** - executed rebel or 'social bandit'.<sup>103</sup> Historians have overlooked this important aspect of his rebellion. These related individuals are listed by name: **Hendrik Kruger [Krügel]**; **Lodewyk Putter**; **Frans Campher**; **Arnoldus Johannes Basson**; **Hendrik Ras**; **Jan Olivier**; **Sybrand van Dyk** and **Johannes Ras**. Significantly, they also feature collectively undertaking (1738) an illegal expedition (punitive raid?) to the *!Ariep* [Gariep or Orange River] - with **Willem van Wijk** ['**Willem Namaqua**'] - the notorious cultural broker who 'went native' undertaking the Nama '*t Kammi* (urination or 'golden shower') initiation ceremony: **Lodewyk Putter**, **Hendrik Ras**, **Matthys Willemsz**, **Jacob Swart**, **Frans Campher**, **Andries van der Walde**, **Sybrand van Dyk**, **Augustus Lourens** & **Jan Gous** - Servants of **Hendrik Kruger** [*sic*].<sup>104</sup> Penn is aware that the people supporting Barbier were a "closely related group", but he eschews exploring the family ties:<sup>105</sup>

**Lodewyk Putter**, **Arnoldus Basson** and **Hendrik Krügel** are all half-brothers - being sons of Grof's legitimate daughter **Zacharia Jans: Visser**. Their mother, first marries hunter **Diederik Putter**, but subsequently when widowed, has an illegitimate son by *mesties* burgher **Johannes Basson** and then marries colonist **Andreas Krügel**. **Hendrik Ras** and **Johannes Ras**, in turn, are step-uncles to the 3 afore-mentioned half-brothers, being brothers to their stepmother **Maria Ras**, 2<sup>nd</sup> wife to **Andreas Krügel** after the death of his 1st wife **Zacharia Jans: Putter**, *née* **Visser**. **Jan Olivier** is brother-in-law to **Arnoldus Johannes: Basson** whose wife is his sister. **Sybrand van Dyk** is 1st cousin to **Jan Olivier** and to Arnoldus Johannes Basson's wife **Catharina Olivier**.

Grof's youngest legitimate son (**Johannes**) married an orphaned Dutch girl specially shipped out to provide spouses to a colony lacking sufficient nubile European women. The wife (Cape-born **Jannetje Thielemans**;) of Grof's eldest legitimate son (**Gerrit**), likewise, came from a family tainted by criminality.<sup>106</sup> Their banished daughter (**Aeltje**) again brought shame on the family by committing adultery with **Jasper Gommer** (from The Hague).<sup>107</sup> Grof's youngest legitimate son (**Johannes**) was convicted of theft (30 June 1701) and he and his immediate family left the Cape.<sup>108</sup>



## *Cherchez les femmes!*

Grof's earlier brief encounter, liaison or concubinage (... *het schandelyke crime van fornicatie ofte hoerendom*) with the commander's private slave woman appears not to have blemished his standing in Cape colonial society – on the contrary, it may have enhanced it. However, his later unashamed, indiscrete, defiant and public long-term but illegal concubinage with his own slave appears to have had the opposite effect on him, his slave and her offspring.<sup>109</sup> Ironically, his illegitimate daughter (Susanna) became mistress of the not insubstantial *Spier* estate at Stellenbosch.



*Spier*

More importantly, his illegitimate daughter (Margarita) by the commander's private slave ended (at least for a while) even higher up the social scale than her own biological White-Christian-European father and his legitimate offspring. Her *castiço* daughter (**Elzabe Barzenius van Hoff**) - Grof's granddaughter - in a noteworthy volte-face, came to own the most important wine-producing portion of *Groot Constantia* and of the entire colony: *De Hoop op Constantia* - originally *Klein Constantia* or *Petite Constance*.<sup>110</sup>

Up to now, Mrs Van Hoff's slave origins and affinity with the extended Van der Stel father and sons' households have been overlooked; also her pivotal role in acquiring this renowned property. Instead, more attention has been paid to her second husband (**Johannes Colijn**) and to a lesser extent his sister and neighbour (**Johanna Colijn**) at *Groot Constantia* - constantly eclipsed by her husband **Carl Georg Wieser** (from Heidelberg) – both siblings also of slave origin as evidenced by the 'politically corrected', but uninformed, eulogy by former South African President Thabo Mbeki in his address at



the official opening of the Cape Town International Convention Centre, Cape Town, (28 June 2003):

“It was through the enterprise and endurance of **Maria Everts**<sup>111</sup> son, **Johannes Colijn**, which established his family as premier winemakers and exporters in Simon van der Stel's Constantia Valley for nearly 150 years during the 18th and 19th centuries. This is surely a triumph for descendants of slaves who came in chains and yet epitomise the very role models, which we now seek in re-shaping and renewing our African continent. It is in this spirit that I am confident that this centre will grow from strength to strength“.

Once Governor Simon van der Stel retired (1699), the stage was set for the show-down between the ‘old-world’, creolized, ethnically interlarded, inter-continental, nepotistic and secular Eurasian Van der Stel dynasty drawing sustenance from both Europe and Asia and an emerging, aggressively younger, disgruntled, mercenary, Eurocentric, Christian *nouveau riche*. The old governor's succeeding son, **Willem Adriaan van der Stel** was recalled in disgrace (1707) yet succeeded by another relative. A subdued, if not humbled, Simon van der Stel died (24 June 1712) at the house of his friend, business partner and right-hand man, **Johann Pfeiffer** (from Frankfurt) - favoured and privileged husband to the colony's first-born baptized female *halfslag* the illustrious Maria Hendriks: and sister to Grof's illegitimate *halfslag* daughter Margarita. Pfeiffer not only held the *pacht* (monopoly or lease) on brandy and other liquor, but was also one of the last privileged Saldanha ‘farers’ (*Saldanhavaarders*) exercising exclusive rights to a fishery at Saldanha Bay and on Dassen Island, burning train oil and supplying dried fish to feed the Company slaves thereby monopolizing fishing activities with the inter-related, pro-Van der Stel, multi-ethnic free-fisherman community. Pfeiffer and a retired Simon van der Stel, not surprisingly, were *co-pachters* together with the immensely wealthy **Heinrich Ostwald Eckstein** (from Löbenstein) and father-in-law **Paul Heyns** (from Leipzig). Heyns was husband to Cape-born *halfslag* **Maria Schalks**: – fellow slave in Van der Stel's household with Mrs Pfeiffer.<sup>112</sup>

Pfeiffer's widow single-handedly continued the business astutely passing on her rights to her much younger second husband, **Peter Bertram Ortmann** (from Cologne). He in turn purportedly so badly managed affairs after the death of Maria Hendriks: that he was disgraced (worked out?) and recalled with his Cape-born mixed race second wife (1722) to the Netherlands.<sup>113</sup>

Descendants of Lijsbeth van Bengale's youngest daughter (and Margarita's youngest sister), **Anna Pieters**: - especially through the descendants of Anna's daughter **Maria Adriaans**: - albeit by way of politic marriages between a runaway reformed American pirate (**Jan de Wit**) and the granddaughter of yet one other *pacht*-holder (**Johannes Blankenberg**), respectively<sup>114</sup> - were to hold sway as entrenched VOC elite at the Cape and in the East Indies for a long time thereafter. Van der Stel's death preceded the catastrophic smallpox epidemic (1713). The plague decimated the Western Cape's indigenous Khoe/San population. It also ultimately sealed the fate of the colony's yet-to-be-integrated free-black community of individually emancipated slaves arresting any further accommodation and/or assimilation as legal and socio-economic equals to the colony's burgeoning population of immigrant Europeans - differentiating and separating them into a mixed-race free-fisherman urban community.



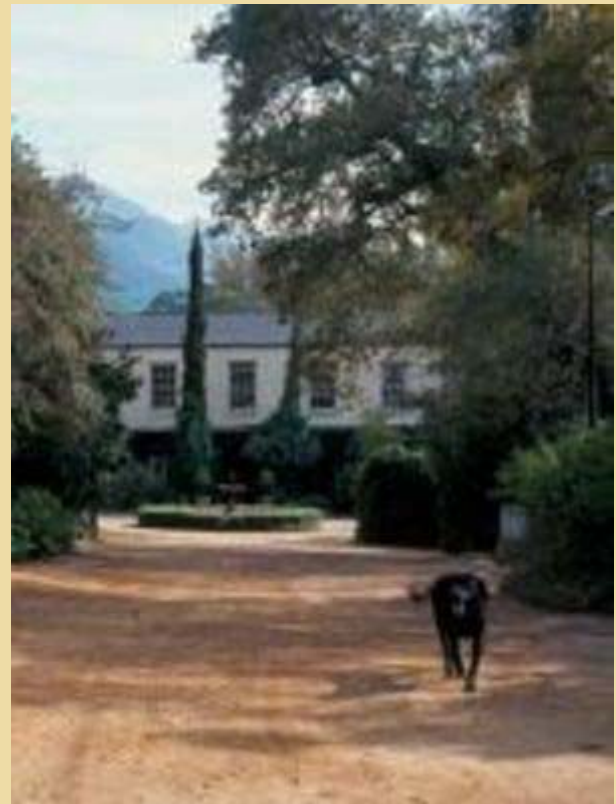


**Klein Constantia**

**Hope and Constancy**

Thereafter, *Groot Constantia* was auctioned and subdivided (1716) into separate farms: *Bergvliet*, *Klein Constantia* or *Petite Constance* (later *De Hoop op Constantia*) and a reduced portion retaining the original estate's name. *Wittebomen* - incorporated into *Groot Constantia* but granted in terms of a separate deed - reverted to

its original separate state and acquired (1714) by **J.J. Stoots** who transferred it to **J.H. van Helsdingen** - related by marriage to the first owner (**Pierre Meyer**)<sup>115</sup> of *De Hoop op Constantia*. Meyer a likely smallpox victim (1713), however, had his farm *De Hoop op Constantia* sold (1713) to **Johann Jürgen Kotze**, husband to Grof's *castiço* granddaughter (**Elzabe Barzenius van Hoff**) - daughter of Grof's illegitimate *halfslag* daughter (Margarita). Grof's granddaughter remarried (1718) the free-born *halfslag* **Johannes Colijn** who after her death, not only remarried (1724) a white Cape-born woman (**Johanna Appel**), but also purchased (1733) *Groot Constantia* thereby amalgamating it once again with *De Hoop op Constantia* and as the Cape's most distinguished winemaker at the time ensuring a place for Constantia wine on the world map.



**Witteboomen**



The famous **Hendrik Cloete Senior (1725-1799)** who later came into possession of *Groot Constantia* continued the tradition. André Jullien’s comments (1816) in his encyclopaedic work *Topographie de Tous les Vignobles Connus* that the Constantia wine of the Cape is “among the finest liqueur wines of the world, ranking immediately after that of Tokay” and literary references by Jane Austen, Dickens and Baudelaire confirm the generally accepted view of his time, reflected in the alarming prices Constantia fetched in Europe.<sup>116</sup>



**Hendrik Cloete Senior (1725-1799) & attendant slave boy**

### ***Groot Constantia***

The recent spat (and defensive injunction that ‘history be respected’) between rival Western Cape wine estates *Groot Constantia* and *Blaauwklippen* – ironically both connected to Grof and his family – concerning the right (monopoly?) to be the Cape’s oldest wine-producing estate – also has its own attendant ironies.<sup>117</sup> The findings of commissioned historian Dr Con de Wet not only



ignore the family ties between the two farms, but also that Constantia wine in the words of Hugh Johnson “is as extinct as Falernian”. The demise of Constantia wine can be attributed to a number of unfortunate factors: British possession of the Cape (finalized in 1814) with subsequent dropping and raising tariffs, the appearance of mildew oidium (1859); removal by Britain of a tariff barrier against French wines and the disastrous advent of phylloxera (1866). *Groot Constantia*, Johnson concludes is a “national monument; its vineyards a state wine farm whose wine, although good in the modern style, does not attempt to reproduce the famous dessert wine of the 18<sup>th</sup> century”.<sup>118</sup> Since 2003, however, production of latter-day Constantia dessert wines





by both *Klein Constantia* and *Groot Constantia* and marketed as *Vin de Constance* (1986) and *Grand [sic] Constance* (2003), respectively, are endeavours to remedy this unproductive interlude.



***Blaauwklippen at Moddergat, Stellenbosch***

### ***De Constantia***

*Paterfamilias* Grof's legacy - in terms of progeny, consanguinity and extramaritally extended family ties - is huge, making him a redoubtable founding father of South Africa's colonially induced (and now also diasporized) population and his descendants - who ramified northward initially along the Cape's West Coast and further up into the Northern Cape as intrepid hunters and pioneers interfacing and interlarding with Khoe/San indigenes - in no mean way helping to develop the colony and ultimately Southern Africa and help denude its wildlife. The curious survival of the silver commemorative medallion struck for the wedding of Grof's legitimate son (Coenraed) perhaps foreshadows Grof and his family's initial - not necessarily *inconstant* - pretensions to a higher status. The medal housed in Cape Town's Slave Lodge [Iziko Museums] - formerly the SA Cultural History Museum - was struck to commemorate the Cape wedding (5 August 1685) of Grof's son **Coenraad Jansz: Visser** and **Catharina Everts: van der Zee**. One side has pictorial engravings, legends, a monogram and the year 1685. The other has allegorical emblems and further inscriptions.<sup>119</sup>

To paraphrase Hugh Johnson: *Constantia*, the wine - also the valley and its *dramatis personae* - are the more remarkable: "All demonstrate how even in a savage and backward environment, infinite pains can procure excellence. When the pain stops, so does the quality ..."



## Genealogy of Visser Family at the Cape (First 3 Generations)

**Johannes Coenraet(sz:)** Visser - **Jan Groff(f)** (from Ommen in Overijssel, the Netherlands)

marries (1) **Geertjen [Alida?] Gerrits:** (from Hardenberg in Overijssel)

30 January 1662: arrives on *Wapen van Amsterdam* with 3 children (**Maria, Gerrit & Gesina**)

marries (2) (*de facto*) **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale**

marries (3) Cape c. 1665 **Margaretha (Grietje / Grietie) Gerrits: [Grietje Pietersz:]** provenance unknown - death axed her to death by slave **Claes van Malabar** at *Witteboomen* (7 March 1692)

marries (4) (*de facto*) **Maria (Marij) van Bengale/Negapatnam/de Coromandel Cust**

**b1 Maria Jans: Visser** [**Maria Liermans**] born Ommen c. 1649; dies Cape c. June 1718; marries (1) Netherlands **Willem Willemsen / Willemsz: de Lierman** (from Deventer); marries (2) Cape *de facto* extra-marital relationship c. 1672-1674 **Ockert Cornelisz: Olivier** (from Ouwerkerk); marries (3) Mauritius c. June 1690 **Lambert Simonsz: Stam** (from Amsterdam); left Mauritius (1690) for Cape on *China*; 1695: resident Cape District with husband, 1 son & 2 daughters; 1694: Stam purchases erf from *den Chinees Domingo van Bengale* in Table Valley; free-fisherman Table Valley; her heirs were: 'From the 1st Bed': Dina Willemsz, Daatje Willemsz [in the fatherland], Pietertje Willemsz [in Batavia][married to Gerbrand Wijbranz] & the late Cornelis Willemsz [deceased - 4 surviving minor children (*overleden - 4 onmondige nagelaten*)] 'From the 2nd Bed' (*Van de 2de Bed*): Geertje Lambertsz [married to Martinus Ackerman].

**c1 Alida (Aeltje) Willemse:** baptized Cape 20 June 1667; dies young

**c2 Jannetje Willemse:** baptized Cape 18 July 1669; dies young

**c3 Hendrik Willemse:** baptized Cape 26 October 1670; dies young

**c4 Willem Willemse** baptized Cape 19 September 1671; dies young

**c5 Cornelis Willemse: / Willemsz: alias Ockersz: [Olivier] (1673-1713)** born 1673; baptized Cape 27 August 1673; dies 1713; marries 22 November 1699 **Anna Rigman van Weij** (d/o **Johannes Richmann** (from Wey) & **Maria Matthyse Eli**); she marries (2) **Joost Bevernagie**; she marries (3) **Herman Stokvliet**

**c6 Dina Willemse: / Ockerse: [Olivier]** baptized Cape 28 July 1675; marries (presumably civil only) **Hans Jacob Brits** (from Stein)

**c7 Alida (Daatje) Willemse:** baptized Cape 27 June 1677; 1695: (*Opgaaf*): Alida *Freslinghs*; marries (1) Cape 4 November 1691 **Carel de Bra(a)k** (from Cassel); dies Mauritius; marries (2) Mauritius **Ary Simonsz:** (from Katwyk); dies Mauritius 1711; 1708: she repatriates to Netherlands

**c8 Pietertje Willemse: Lutmug** born Mauritius; marries Stellenbosch 29 August 1705 **Gerbrand Wynants: / Wybrandts: (from Batavia)**; emigrate to Batavia

**c9 Simon Stam** baptized Cape 24 May 1692; dies young

**c10 Geertruijd (Geertje) Lamberts: Stam** baptized Cape 16 January 1695; marries **Marthinus Ackermann** (from Doria)

**b2 Gesina (Geesje) Jans: Visser** born Hardenburgh, Overijssel; marries (1) 12 July 1671 **Hendrik Gijsbertsz: Verschuur** (from Amersfoort); marries (2) 26 December 1694) **Dirk Gijsbertsz: Verweij** (from Polanen); dies 1713 (smallpox)

**c1 Gijsbert Verschuur** baptized Cape 15 November 1671; marries 4 October 1712 (**Anna**) **Sabina Venter**

**c2 Jannetje Verschuur** baptized 29 October 1673; marries **Matthys Wigman**

**c3 Willem Verschuur** baptized 5 January 1676; dies in infancy

**c4 Martha Verschuur** baptized 25 April 1677; marries 26 July 1693 **Coenraad Cloete**

**c5 Alida (Aeltie) Verschuur** baptized 20 August 1679; marries (1) 28 July 1697 **Rynier Laurenz Nauta**; marries (2) 15 March 1711 **Dirk Vroomhof** (from Sonsbeek)

**c6 Willem Verschuur** baptized 26 October 1681

**c7 Hilletje Verschuur** baptized 24 September 1684; marries (1) 21 December 1704 **Curt Gerd Pieper** (from Diepholz); marries (2) **Jan Hinrich Hop** (from Vilsen)

**c8 Gerrit Verschuur** baptized 1 September 1686

**c9 Anna Verschuur** baptized 13 June 1688; dies in infancy

**c10 Anna Verschuur** baptized 19 March 1690; marries Cape 26 November 1711 **Johannes Vlok**

**c11 Catharina (Trijntie) Verwey** baptized 9 June 1697; marries 10 December 1713 **Johannes Franke / Franck** (from Berlin)

**c12 Marretie Verwey** baptized 24 May 1699; dies in infancy



- c13** **Marretie Verwey** baptized 6 March 1701; marries **Pieter de Waal** (from Amsterdam)
- b4 c14** **Gysbert Verwey** baptized 10 December 1703; marries 2 April 1724 **Maria van N/Eck Gerrit Jansz: Visser (from Ommen) ['Gerrit Grof']** born Ommen; dies Cape 1713 smallpox epidemic 1713; marries Cape 4 August 1675 **Jannetje Thielemans:** (daughter of **Thielman Hendricks:** (from Utrecht) & **Maijken Hendricks: van den Berg** (from Diest); granted 9 September 1690: granted farm *Blaauw Klippen* at Moddergat, Stellenbosch; granted farm (registered 17 October 1714) *gelegen achter de Blaauwberg*; 1715: heirs to his estate: Jan Hendrik Munnik (married to Jacomina Visser); Johannes Visser; Jan Steenkamp (married to Geesje Visser); Hans Roos (married to Johanna Visser); Christiaan Rasp (married to Femmetje Visser); Jan Arend Roodewald (married to Anna Visser); Burgert van Dijk (married Maria Visser); Gerrit Visser
- c1** **Tieleman** baptized Cape 21 February 1677; dies unmarried 1713? [alive 1706]
- c2** **Hendrick** baptized Cape 23 October 1678; dies unmarried 1713?
- c3** **Alida (Aaltie / Aeltje) Vissers** baptized Cape 2 June 1680; marries (1) 16 December 1696 **Jacob Petrus Bodenstien** (from 's-Gravesande); marries (2) *de facto* **Jasper Gommer(s)** (from Den Haag); deported to Netherlands for committing adultery
- c4** **Johannes Visser** baptized Cape 20 September 1682; marries 14 March 1717 **Maria (Maatje) Slabbert** (from Meliskerke)
- c5** **Jacomina (Jacomyntie) Visser** baptized Cape 9 July 1684; marries (1) **Jan Hendrik Munnik**; marries (2) **Arnold Hendrik Scholtz**
- c6** **Gesina (Geesje) Visser** baptized *Geesie* Cape 1 September 1686; marries **Jan Steenkamp**
- c7** **Gijsbert Visser** baptized 27 August 1688; dies young
- c8** **Jannetje / Jannetie Visser** baptized Stellenbosch 28 May 1690; marries (1) 19 May 1715 **Johannes (Hans) Roos** (from Leipzig); marries (2) **Lucas Visagie**
- c9** **Geertruy (Geertie) Visser** baptized Cape 20 July 1692; young
- c10** **Femtra (Femmetje) Visser** baptized Cape 23 November 1694; marries **Christiaan Rasp**
- c11** **Maria (Marritie) Visser** baptized Cape 30 June 1697; marries 6 October 1715 **Burgert Pietersz: van Dyk**
- c12** **Johanna ('Anna') Visser** baptized *Johanna* [sic] Cape 7 June 1699; marries (1) **Johann Rodewald** (from Lenzen a.d. Elbe); marries (2) Cape Town 4 May 1727 **Jacob Nissen** (from Wismar)
- c13** **Gerrit Visser** baptized Cape 21 August 1701; marries 15 February 1728 **Elsie Sophia Brand**
- b6** **Coenraed Jansz: Visser** born Cape; baptized Cape 8 April 1663 [*ende een van Jan Coenraets Visscher, vrij lantbouwer, en is genaemt Coenraet, de getuigen zijn Jacob Cloeten, vrij lantbouwer ende zijn huysvrou: ... : Des voormiddaghs zijn na gedane predicatie door den predicant De Meter verscheijde kinderen (die hier aen Caep gebooren zijn) gedoopt*]; marries Cape 5 August 1685 **Catharina Everts: van der Zee** born 1673 on *Europa* (d/o **Evert Cornelisz: / Cornelissen** (from Delmenhorst) & **Maria Willems** (from Utrecht);
- c1** **Jacomina (Jacomijntje / Minke Groff) Visser** born 1685; baptized 23 May 1688; marries (1) 29 August 1705 **Johann (Jan) Beukes** (from Otmenbeukhold [Ottmarsbocholt]); marries (2) as widow 12 July 1722 **Heinrich Schroder** (from Bochum)
- c2** **Alida (Aeltje) Visser** born 1688; baptized 23 April 1690; marries 24 July 1712 **Nicolaas (Claas) Swart**
- c3** **Evert Visser** born 1692; baptized 29 July 1691; deceased by 1744
- c4** **Geertruy (Geertie) Visser** born 1694; baptized 21 March 1694; marries *c.* 1715 **Augustus Meyhuizen**
- c5** **Catharina Visser** born Stellenbosch 1695; baptized Cape 21 October 1695; marries 13 February 1717 **Jurgen Beijers**
- c6** **Johannes (Jan) Conraad Visser** born 1697; baptized Stellenbosch November 1697 unmarried in 1744
- c7** **Marij Visser** born 1707; baptized Cape 8 October 1707; marries Stellenbosch 20 December 1733 **Frederik Brand**
- c8** **Johanna (Jannetje) Visser** baptized 1 February 1711; marries (1) 28 November 1734 **Dirk Maartens: / Martensz;** marries (2) 17 September 1752 **Johann Christian Volkmann** (from Pommere)



- c9 **Martha Visser** baptized 11 February 1713; marries c. 1739 **Laurens Maartens:**
- c10 **Gesina (Geesje) Visser** baptized 24 November 1715; marries 2 August 1743 **Jurgen Hendriks:**
- b7 **Zacharia Jans: Visser** ['**Zacharia(s) Wagenaer**'] baptized Cape (23 August 1665) [*noch een kind van Joan Coenraadsz Visscher en Grietje Gerrits; genaemt Zacharias [sic]*]; marries (1) 26 October 1679 **Diederik Potter [Putter]** (from Zierenberg) [*Anno 1679 den 29 October Diederick Potter van Surenbergh, jonghman, vrijwiltshut en Zacharia Visser van de Cabo de Boa Esperance*]; marries (2) *de facto* **Johannes Basson** (son of **Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson** (from Wesel) and **Maaij Anselva van Bengale**); marries (3) 5 July 1706 **Andreas Krügel** (from Tennenlohe) [*Andries Kryger[sic] van Nurenberg jongm.[an] met Zacharia Janse Visser wed[uw]e. Diederik Putter*]; born 1675; soldier 1703; farmer at Paarl; 1734 owner of *Weltevreden*, near Joostenburg, Muldersvlei; dies 1734; he marries (2) **Maria Ras**
- c1 **Margaretha Putter** baptized 1 December 1680; marries **Jan Niemand** (from Arendsee)
- c2 **Anna Catharina Putter** baptized 11 July 1683; marries **Pieter Roelofs:**
- c3 **Jannetje Putter** baptized 18 November 1685; marries **Nicolaas Holm** [?]
- c4 **Elsie Putter** baptized 21 March 1688; marries (1) **Johannes Mulder**; marries (2) **Barend Vlotman**
- c5 **Susanna Putter** baptized 25 June 1690; marries (1) 16 February 1710 **Sebastiaan Pyl**; marries (2) **Hans Kuun**; marries (3) Drakenstein 12 October 1732 **Johann Trapp** (from Hamburg)
- c6 **Geertruy Putter** baptized 14 September 1692; marries **Gerrit van der Linde**
- c7 **Alida (Aeltje) Putter** baptized 5 September 1694; marries Stellenbosch 19 November 1713 **Casper Heinrich Badenhorst** (from Wiedenbruegge [Lüneburg]); he marries (2) Stellenbosch 4 August 1724 **Christina Mattijsse van de Caep** (daughter of liberated *halfslag* **Elisabeth (Lisjbeth) van Wijck van de Caep**)
- c8 **Maria Putter** baptized c. 1696
- c9 **Jan Lodewyk Putter** baptized c. 1696; marries **Anna van der Swaan**
- c10 **Arnoldus Johannes: Basson** baptized Stellenbosch 26 February 1702; 1719 (*Opgaaf*): enumerated with mother & step-father, **Andries Krugel**; inheritance from mother's estate disputed by mother's 2nd husband; lives at *Vrolykheid*, Roodesand [Tulbagh] & owns *Misgund aan de Waagenboomsrivier* & *Uijtnood aan de Kijzersrivier*; 21 March 1739: banished to Batavia; 1742: dies at sea on *Sara Jacoba* en route to Cape (under name of **Adriaan Balters van Cabo de Goede Hoop**); marries 1<sup>st</sup> cousin **Catharina Olivier** (daughter of **Cornelis Olivier, alias Willemse: / Ockerse;** & **Anna Richmann van Weij**); 2 December 1742: she marries (2) as widow **Pieter du Plessis alias du Plaisir Charlsz:**
- c11 **Hendrik Krügel** baptized Cape Town 18 April 1706; marries 16 November 1727 **Maria van der Swaan**  
**Andreas Krügel** marries (2) **Maria Ras**; and they have 1 child: **Johannes Krügel** 12 June 1729
- b8 **Johannes Jansz: Visser** baptized Cape 16 January 1667: [*Januarij 16: een soontje van Jan Coenraets en Grietjen Gerritsen sijn huysfrouw, wierd genaempt Johannes, peters waren Bartholomeus Boorn [Born], en Teuntjen Bartholomeusz*]; marries 8 May 1689 **Catharina Jans van der Zee** (from Rotterdam) one of *Berg China* orphan girls who arrives 1688; 30 June 1701: convicted for theft; he & family disappear from Cape records & likely relocate
- c1 **Johanna (Jannetie) Visser** baptized 5 March 1690
- c2 **Sara (Saertie) Visser** baptized 1 April 1691
- c3 **Johannes (Joannes) Visser** baptized 23 November 1693
- c4 **Willem Visser** baptized Cape 26 August 1696
- c5 **Geertruid Visser** baptized Cape Town 31 May 1699
- c6 **Catrina Visser** baptized Cape 20 August 1702
- c7 **Willem Visser** baptized Cape 17 July 1705



## Genealogy of Elisabeth van Bengale at the Cape (First 4 Generations)

**Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale (born c. 1643)** – private slave woman formerly belonging to (1) **Pieter Kemp**, (2) **Jan van Riebeeck**, (3) [?] Rev. **Johannes de Voogd** (from Amsterdam), Rev. **Johannes Petrus Wachtendorp** (from Maasbommel), Commander **Jacob Borghorst**, Sergeant **Johannes Coon** (from Sommesdijk);

baptized as adult (aged about 30 years) Cape 29 October 1673 (with **Catharina van Malabar**)

manumitted 1673 ([?] testamentary manumission by Johannes Coon)

marries Cape 5 November 1673 **Anthonij de Later van Japan**, widower of **Annica van Bengale**

relocates with family to Batavia (1673)

**b1 Maria Hendri(c)ks: / Hendrix:** (c. 1655-1720) *halfslag* private slave born Cape; possibly biological daughter of midshipman **Heinrich / Hendrick Hagen(s)** (from Lochum [Rhineland-Palatinate]) who arrived (1658) on *De Harp*; baptized Cape c. 1658; 1679: *mistij*s in household of acting commander **Heinrich Crudop** (from Bremen); marries (1) Cape 17 July 1690 **Johann Pfeiffer** (from Frankfurt am Main); 1675: soldier on loan - sentenced to 6 years hard labour on Robben Island for embezzlement, his property to be confiscated; 20 April 1706: granted *Westervoort* [now Westerford] on the Liesbeeck; 1709: lessee (*pachter*) of the wine licence; 1712: death of **Simon van der Stel** in their house; 13 April 1713: bequeaths in will f 2000 to sister **Margaretha Visser** *aan haar suster Margareta Visser* & appoints niece **Elsie van Hof** as universal heir *hare nigt Elsie van Hof huysvrouw van de Burger Jan Jurgen Coetzee*; 1713: he dies (smallpox epidemic); his widow is made legatee in will of **Constantia van de Cust** (*alias Constantia van Bengale / Malabar*), widow of **Joost Ventura** [step-brother to **Jacob van Hoff** - son of her half-sister **Margaretha Jans: Vissers**]; marries (2) Cape 9 September 1714 **Peter Bertram Ortman** (from Cologne), a soldier (1709) & burgher (1714); no issue; he marries (2) **Christina Kruijsman** (daughter of **Maria Vosloo** & **Arnoldus Kreutzmann** (from Mörs); step-daughter of **Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson** & **Jan Andreas Dissel** (from Jever [Ost Friesland] and/or Quenlinburg) & granddaughter of *heelslag* Company slave **Christina Pieters: van de Caep**); 1722: deported & ordered to leave colony by Council of Policy departing with 2nd wife to live at Rheinberg;

**c1 Anna Pfeiffer** baptized 23 September 1691 [*den 23 dito een kindt gedoopt waervan vader is Joannes Phijpher de moeder Maria Hendriks, als getuijge stondt Lambert van Hof ende Susanna Greeffs is genaemt Anna*]; marries 16 September 1708 **Johannes Lette** (from Leiden)

**c2 Francina Pfeiffer** baptized 29 November 1693 [*de selfde Dito een kindt waervan vader is Joann Phijffer de moeder Maria Hendriks tot getuijge stondt Lambert Lourens ende Margrieta Hoff, is genaemt Francina*]

**b2[?] Heindrick** baptized Cape 17 July 1659

### Child fathered by Jan Grof

**b3 Margaretha (Margarita) Jans Visser(s) (1659-c. 1710/11)** born Cape c. 1659; baptized Cape [?] as **Reintje [Grietje?]** 18 July 1660; 7 June 1685: member of Cape Church; Company Slave Lodge *Matres*; marries (1) *de facto* the slave **Ventura van Ceylon / Bengale**; marries (2) Cape 2 September 1685 Norwegian **Lambert (Lammert) Laurensz: Barzenius van Hoff** (from Bergen) [*Lammert Lourens: van Hoff, van Noorwegen en Margarita van de Caap*]; 1670: **Lambrecht Laurent(z): / Lourensz:** (from Bergen); 1670: on *Voerman*; 1671: on *Brujdegom*; 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).

**c1 Jacob [van Hoff]** baptized Cape 30 April 1679 (parents: **Venture [Ventura van Ceylon/Bengale] en Margarita Companies slaeven** (witnesses: **Maria [Maria Hendriks?] mistij**s van de E.[dele] *H.eer*] *Cruidop [Crudop]*) - his biological father was Simon van der Stel's chef, **Ventura van Ceylon**;



- c2** **Elsabe (Elsje / Elsie) Barzenius van Hoff** baptized Stellenbosch 29 [month illegible [?] May] 1689 marries (1) 12 February 1704 **Johann Jürgen(s): Kotze / Coetze** (from *Benniveld*) [*Jan Jurgens Coetze, jongman van Bennivelt met Elsje Barzenius jongedochter van de Caap*]; farmer *De Hoop op Constantia* [originally *Klein Constantia* or *Petit Constance* purchased from **Pieter de Meijer** (husband to **Aletta de Savoye**) who sold (1712); dies 1717; marries (2) 1 May 1718 **Johannes Colijn** (illegitimate s/o **Bastiaen Jansz: Colijn** (from The Hague) & **Maria Everts: van de Caep**)(grandson of **Evert van Guinea & Anna van Guinea**); he marries (2) 23 September 1724 **Johanna Appel** (d/o **Ferdinandus Appel & Lavina [Louwina] Cloete**; his widow marries (2) 21 February 1745 **Lambert Mijburgh**, wid/o **Anna Clara Kouting** (son of **Albert Mijburg & Elsie van der Merwe**)
- d1** **Johannes Kotze** baptized Cape 13 November 1707

#### Further children by unknown fathers

- b4[?]** **Jacob Hendrixe: [van] Hagen(s) / Hages / Hags** born Cape c. 1661; possibly biological son of the midshipman **Heinrich / Hendrick Hagen(s)** (from Lochum [Rhineland-Palatinate]) who arrived (1658) on *De Harp*; baptized Cape 28 August 1661; 1687: testifies in assault case of **Antoniq van Timor**; 1690: grievously assaulted by **Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson** (from Wesel) (Basson convicted 21 February 1690); sentenced (1694) to hard labour (10 years) for trying to help absconded slave to escape on Danish vessel [**Emanuel Fonseca van Madras** (25) slave of late **Will Deeron** absconded from English ship *Josais*] (11 January 1694) stealing several of late master's possessions (money, a diamond ring, gold & amber worth about f 600) & **Will Gutter** was given power of attorney to **Guilliam Heems** (from Brughes) to catch him & hold him in custody until Gutter's return; apprehended he was convicted with free-black **Jacob Hages**; no known descendants.
- b5** **Anna [Anna Pieters / Pyters van Batavia alias Anna Liberta?]** baptized 2 September 1663; accompanies mother & stepfather to Batavia?; marries (1) Cape 21 March 1694 **Lambert Adriaansz: / Adriaens:** (from Weij / Wye) [Gelderland]) **Lambert Adrianse van Weede, jongman met Anna Pyters van Batavia**  
 6 December 1695: *Sijn nae voorgaende belijdenisse tot dese gemeente overgekomen Lambert Adriaense en Anna Pieters sijn hujsvrouw, als mede Hendrikje Rovijn jonge dochter*  
 27 December 1703: joint will mentions *voordochter* **Maria Adriaans:**  
 17 August 1708: joint will mentions *voordochter* **Maria Adriaans:**  
 marries (2) 26 November 1712 **Sebastian Sigismund / Siegemund** (from Zerbst) widower of **Gertrud Mabelis / Malebus** (from Rheinburg) [*Sebastiaan Sigmund van Zerbst, wedr. met Anna Pietersz, wed. van Lambert Adriaansz* ]
- c1** **Davidt** baptized Cape 22 May 1678 [ ... en *Davidt, de moeder Annyke: de vader Kristenen, de peet Margarita suster*]; dies young [?]
- c2** **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) [Adriaans(e):]** *voorkind* baptized Cape 29 August 1683 (mother: **Anna Pieters**; witness: **Juffr. Coon [Alexandrina Maxwell]**); marries Cape 8 November 1699 **Gabriel Domas** (from Hamburg); he marries (2) 1 July 1703 **Anna [de] Groot** (d/o **Simon Groot** (from Wittenburg) & **Getrud / Geertruy Wit(h)** (from Hamburg) step-daughter of **Hendrick Bouman** (from the Dithmarsh)
- d1** **Anna Dorothea Domas** baptized 17 April 1701 (witnesses: **Lambert Adriaanse: en Anna Pieterze:**)
- c3** **Maria [Adriaans(z):]** *voorkind* baptized Cape 30 December 1685:[infant:] **Maria [Maria Adriaans:]; [mother:] Anna Liberta [Anna Pieters:] van Juff Coon [Alexandrina (Sandrina) Maxwell];[witness:] Margarita [Margaretha Jans: Visser];** marries 20 March 1707 **Jan de Wit / White** (from New York [formerly Nieuw Amsterdam]) (son of **Willem de Wit**); 1705: pirate on *Speaking Trumpet* under American pirate 'king' John Bowen shipwrecked at *Black Rock* off Mauritius; deserts to Dutch settlement; sent to Batavia on *Oegstgeest*; arrives 1705/1706 as VOC sailor at Cape on *Oestgeest* ex Batavia via Mauritius; sent to Madagascar on *Ter Aa* as slave trader for Dutch; 1722-1743: member of Marriage Board & Church Elder; burgher councillor; member of the Orphan Chamber; Lieutenant of the Infantry.



- d1**     **Anna Catharina de Wit** baptized 26 December 1707 Cape (witnesses: **Lammert Adriaansz:** & his wife **Anna Adriaansz.:**); marries 24 February 1726 **Rynhard Johannes Wiltens** VOC junior merchant
- d2**     **Maria Elizabeth de Wit** baptized 24 January 1712 (witnesses: **Johannes Phijffer en sijn huisvrouw Maria [Hendriks:]**)
- d3**     **Willem Adriaan Christiaan de Wit** baptized 3 June 1714; dies young
- d4**     **Petrus Johannes de Wit** baptized 23 August 1716; marries **Anna Maria Sandenberg**; marries (2) 15 February 1756 **Aletta Jacoba Blankenberg** (daughter of **Johannes Henricus Blankenberg** & **Anna Margeretha van der Heijde**)
- d5**     **Isabella de Wit** baptized 28 May 1719; marries 22 May 1746 **Jasper Westpalm** (from Batavia) (son of **Michiel Westpalm**, VOC shareholder)
- d6**     **Johanna de Wit** baptized 18 January 1722; dies 25 Feb 1747 aged of 25, on *Zuiderberg*; marries 26 July 1744 **Thomas Swellengrebel** (from Archangel), merchant at Batavia
- d7**     **Johannes de Wit** baptized 1 October 1724; dies young

#### Children fathered by Anthonij van Japan

- b6**     **Anthonij** baptized Cape 6 September 1665 (no witnesses) – accompanied parents to Batavia ?
- b7**     **Jan** baptized Cape 19 October 1672 (witnesses: Anthonij Jansz: *de Later* van Bengale & Catharina van Paliacatta) – accompanies parents to Batavia?



**Genealogy of Maria van Bengale / Coromandel / Negapatnam**  
**- slave belonging to Jan Grof at the Cape**  
**(First 3 Generations)**

**Children fathered by Johannes Coenraed Visser [Jan Grof]**

- b1** Anthonij Visser born 1692
- b2** Susanna Visser(s): *alias* Susanna Elber(t)s: born 1694; baptized Stellenbosch 11 April 1700 [Susanna dochter van de meijdt van Juffrou Elbers [Elberts] [Geertruida Elberts - Mrs Wessel Pretorius], de getuigen Gertruij Elbers [Elberts], ijs gedoop den 11 Aprijel 1700]; marries (1) Hans Heinrich Hattingh (from Speyer), widower of Marie Lanoy (from Aulus), widow of Ary Lecrévent (Arie Lekkerwijn); farmer at Spier; dies c. 1729; marries (2) 10 February 1732 Wilhelm (Willem) Rubeck [Rube / Rubeek] (from Wesel).
- c1** Maria (Marij) Hattingh baptized Cape 27 October 1709; dies *post* 1782; unmarried
- c2** Margaretha (Margriet) Hattingh baptized Cape 9 August 1711; dies young
- c3** Catharina (Catrina) Hattingh baptized Stellenbosch 24 April 1713; dies young
- c4** Johannes Hattingh baptized Stellenbosch 27 May 1714; dies 8 April 1776; unmarried
- c5** Christiaan Hattingh baptized Stellenbosch 5 June 1718, dies 25 September 1786, marries Zwartland 8 October 1747 Anna Catharina Basson (d/o Arnoldus Johannes: Basson & Catharina Olivier) (granddaughter of Zacharia Jans: Visser & granddaughter of Cornelis Olivier & great-granddaughter of Maria Jans: Visser)
- c6** Johannes Hendrik Hattingh baptized Stellenbosch 28 April 1720
- c7** Johannes Michiel Hattingh baptized 24 May 1722; dies young
- c8** Johannes Michiel Hattingh baptized Stellenbosch 12 September 1723; marries 27 March 1768 Catharina Horn
- c9** Susanna Hattingh baptized Stellenbosch 17 March 1726; marries 8 August 1761 Wilhelm Esterhuyzen
- c10** Catharina Hattingh baptized Stellenbosch 27 March 1728, marries 9 August 1751 Paulus Fouché
- b3** Jacob/us Visser born 1695; baptized Cape Town 12 January 1696
- b4** Pieter Visser baptized Cape Town 21 April 1697
- b5** Maria Visser baptized Cape Town 28 June 1699

**Child fathered by Arent van Malabar**

- b6** Arent baptized 6 August 1702 [Slaven Kinders der Vrijborgers of Comp[agnies]. Dienaeren: 6 Aug:[ustus] [1702] van Arent de Mallebaar, en Maria van Nagepatnam, onder getuyge van Jan Hendrikse van Elwe en Lijsbeth van Wyk gen:[aem]t Arent]

**Child fathered by Gerrit Evertsz:**

- b7** Geertruy baptized Cape 2 October 1708 [Namen der Christen Kindere [after 1709 changed to: Namen van vrije Christen kinderen]: 2 Xb[er] [1708] van Gerrit Evertsz, en Marij van Nagenapatnam; de Getuigen, Dirk Gerritsz. en Elizabeth Evertsz [Lijsbeth Sanders / Sandra van de Caep] Geertruij]

**Child fathered by Hendrik Willemsz:**

- b8** Willem baptized Drakenstein 7 November 1711 [7de Novemb[e]r; Willem. d'Vader Hendrik Willemsz, en Maria van Bengale niet [...] getrouùt; getuygen Ary Derksz van Nek en Anna Hester]





---

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> 'White Trees' - named after the indigenous Silver Tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) and labelled (1687) *Pinus africana* S. Witteboom by Hendrik Claudius. Linnaeus originally named (1753) the genus *Protea* as *Protea argentea*, and the family *Proteaceae*, after the Silver Tree. He later redefined *Protea* (1771).

<sup>2</sup> The census (1693) lists 2 slaves and 2 convicts (*bandieten*) "in the forest" and a single slave woman "at Paradise" assisting Company woodcutters. Nine or ten elderly manumitted Company slaves settled there (1687) at a time when Commander (later Governor) Simon van der Stel implemented large-scale oak tree-planting [Karel Schoeman, *Early Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1717*, p. 323; Dan Sleight, *Buiteposte*, p. 257].

<sup>3</sup> Recorded variously as *Maria van Negapatnam*, *de Cust Coromandel* and *Bengale*. The variations of provenance or 'toponym' are usual for slaves at the Cape during this period with place-names often being interchangeable: *Negapatnam* was a VOC factory on the Indian sub-continent's *Coromandel Coast*, replacing Paliacatta [Pulicat] as chief VOC factory in the Bay of *Bengal*.

<sup>4</sup> The court record states (on two occasions) '82-years old' making her unlikely to be Grof's wife as generally assumed. Was she his mother-in-law? No deceased estate papers for her exist.

<sup>5</sup> Recorded as **Johannes (Jan) Coenraad / Coenraat / Coenrae(d)t** (2nd name sometimes appearing as patronymic) **Viss(ch)er** and by his nick-name: **Jan Groff(f)**.

<sup>6</sup> Cape Archives (hereinafter 'CA'): Council of Justice (CJ), vol. 3 (Crim. and Civ. Cases (1689-1696), 18 March 1692), p. 192; CJ 725, no. 230 (21 March 1692); CJ 780, pp. 914-919; CJ 295; AR VOC 4030 (14 March 1692) fol. 328; Karel Schoeman, *Early slavery at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1717* (Protea Book House, Pretoria 2007), pp. 240-241.

<sup>7</sup> The article reworks research concerning the writer's most prolific multiple ancestor, Jan Grof – eight descents: six maternal (via his grandfather **Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr. (1895-1976)** & great-grandmother **Jeanetta (Iconetta) Christina Dale**, born **Marais (1863-1963)** and two paternal (via his grandmother **Hester Maria Johanna Upham**, born **Basson (1895-1930)**).

<sup>8</sup> She appears as **Geertjen [sic] Gerrits van Hardenburg** in Cape muster rolls (1662-1665). Is this an error for **Aeltjen** [diminutive form for **Alida**] by George McCall Theal (also featured in H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope* hereinafter 'Leibbrandt') when transcribing these original records housed at The Hague? She makes no other appearances in the records consulted. The name *Geertruida* and/or the diminutive *Geertjen* do not feature as inherited names among recorded descendants.

<sup>9</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>10</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>11</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>12</sup> [D.B. Bosman & H.B.Thom (eds.), *Dagregister van Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck* (A.A.Balkema 1955), vol. 2, p. 279].

<sup>13</sup> 'Leibbrandt': *Letters Despatched 1652-1662*, vol. III, p. 268; *Letters and Documents Received 1649-1662*, p. 164 (Letter from Delft, 30 November 1660)

<sup>14</sup> 'Leibbrandt', *Attestations*, p. 438.

<sup>15</sup> 'Leibbrandt' *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 183, (Letter from Amsterdam, 19 September 1661).

<sup>16</sup> *Van Riebeeck's Journal*, pp. 202-203.

<sup>17</sup> *Van Riebeeck's Journal*, p. 291.

<sup>18</sup> CA: CJ 1, p. 502; Anna J. Böeseken (ed.), *Uit die Raad van Justisie 1652-1672* (Die Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, 1986), no. 309.

<sup>19</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>20</sup> **Maria Hendriks**, in her first will (1713), bequeaths money to her sister **Margareta Visser** (... *f* 2000 *aan haar suster Margareta Visser*) and appoints as universal heir her niece, **Elzabe Barzenius van Hoff**, Margarita's daughter (... *hare nigte Elsie van Hof huisvrouw van de Burger Jan Jurgen Coetzee*) [CA: CJ 2598, no. 67 (Will: **Maria Hendricks** *geboortigh van de Caab, thans wed:e van de gewesene Burger Johannis Phijfer*, 13 April 1713)].

<sup>21</sup> **Margarita** is named as sister to **Anna** when witnessing baptism (22 May 1678) of Anna's child **Davidt**: ... *en Davidt, de moeder Annytie]: de vader Kristenen, de peet Margarita suster*.

<sup>22</sup> Significantly **Margaretha Jans: Visser** witnesses the baptism (30 December 1685) of Anna Pieters's *voordochter* **Maria Adriaans:** and her sister **Maria Hendricks:** witnesses the baptism (24 January 1712) of Anna Pieter's granddaughter **Maria Elizabeth de Wit**.

<sup>23</sup> The appearance of **H. Hagens** in the following attestation is noteworthy. Possibly his biological father? 20 May 1661: "Declaration of **Corn: Willemsz.**, Corporal, and **George Fredericus**, of Uts [Oedt, near



Cologne?], that on Monday, the 16th inst., about 8 p.m. the gunner, **Willem Cornelisz**, of Rotterdam, used some bad words towards **G. Fredericus**, which went so far that a great commotion was created at the Fort. The commander ordered the gunner to be put in irons. The latter (whilst deponent, the corporal went to inform the fiscal [**Abraham Gabbema**] of the row, and who also heard the bad words), went into his room for his side arms which he brought out bare in his hand. He ran with it to G. Fredericus, but **H. Hagens** and **Frans de Coninck** took the sword from him and prevented him from doing any mischief. He swore and scolded and made a great noise, &c. The above certified by oath, 27th May". ['Leibbrandt', *Attestations*, p. 454].

<sup>24</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Maaij Ansela & the Black Sheep of the Family: A closer look at the events surrounding the first execution of a free-burgher in Cape colonial society for the murder of a non-European', *Capensis*, nos. 4 of 1997, nos. 1-4 of 1998, nos. 1 & 2 of 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Mansell G. Upham: 'In Hevigen Woede ... Part I: *Groote Catrjyn*: Earliest recorded female convict at the Cape of Good Hope – A study in upward mobility'; 'Part II: Christoffel Snijman – his curious position and ambiguous position in early Cape colonial society', *Capensis*, nos. 3 & 4 of 1997, pp. 8-33 & 29-35.

<sup>26</sup> CA: C 2391 (Council of Policy: Attestations 4 September 1652- 6 February 1660), Declaration: Roeloff de Man (1 September 1659), pp. 86-87; 'Leibbrandt', *Letters Despatched from the Cape 1652-1662*, vol. III, pp. 426-427.

<sup>27</sup> Van Riebeeck owned 3 female slaves from Batavia according to the muster (1657). Domingo is a male name, the female version should be *Dominga*.

<sup>28</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 21; CA: C 326, p. 251; CA: CJ 1 2952, pp.136-139; CJ 1, pp. 164 & 168-171; case no. 74.

<sup>29</sup> 'Leibbrandt', *Attestations*, p. 447 (Case no. 71, 10 July 1660).

<sup>30</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672*, p. 139, n. 415; p. 447 (10 July 1660).

<sup>31</sup> 'Leibbrandt', *Attestations*, p. 454; 25 May 1661: arraigned for insulting Commander Van Riebeeck [case no. 91]; 22 October 1666: arraigned for being involved in a stabbing incident [case no. 197].

<sup>32</sup> CA: C 2391 (Council of Policy: Attestations 4 September 1652- 6 February 1660), Declaration: **Roeloff de Man** (1 September 1659), pp. 86-87; 'Leibbrandt', *Letters Despatched from the Cape 1652-1662*, vol. III, pp. 426-427.

<sup>33</sup> *Transport en Schepenkenissen* (hereinafter 'Slave Transactions') by Anna Böeseken / Margaret Cairns in *Slaves & Free Blacks* & J. Leon Hattingh in *Kronos* – courtesy of Rob Shell.

<sup>34</sup> Presumably **Anna** (born c. 1663) and **Anthonij** (born, c. 1665).

<sup>35</sup> *Transport en Schepenkenissen* (hereinafter 'Slave Transactions') by Anna Böeseken / Margaret Cairns in *Slaves & Free Blacks* & J. Leon Hattingh in *Kronos* – courtesy of Rob Shell.

<sup>36</sup> Böeseken, *Wagenaer's Journal*, p. 153.

<sup>37</sup> C 496, deel II, p 576.

<sup>38</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'The First recorded Chinese and Japanese at the Cape', *Capensis* no. 2 (1997), pp. 10-22, being a *resumé* of the paper 'The First Japanese Africans and Early Japanese contact with the Cape of Good Hope' presented by the writer in Tokyo, Japan for the *Asiatic Society of Japan* (13 December 1993) – for media coverage see: *Kyodo News Agency* (Jocelyn Ford) 'First Japanese in Africa was a slave, historian says; *Rafu Shimbum* (Los Angeles) (13 December 1993) 'Japanese man entered Africa in 17<sup>th</sup> Century; *Asahi Evening News* (14 December 1993) 'First Japanese in Africa was a slave; *Mainichi Daily News* (15 December 1993) 'First Japanese in Africa was a slave'; & *The Japan Times* (16 December 1993) 'Slave called Africa's first Japanese'. Details of Anthonij *de Later* van Japan also appeared in 'Japanese blood in Afrikaners? Old documents point to Japanese emigrant registered as White free folk, *Asahi Shimbum* (6 November 1991, p. 13) featuring interview by late Itoh Masatako with the writer. See also Itoh Masatako, *Nanga Kyouwaku no uchimaku: apartoheito no shuen made [The Republic of South Africa behind the scenes: until the abolition of apartheid]* (Chuuokoronshya, Tokyo 1992) & Asak Jun, *Azania ni akai bara [The Red rose of Azania]* (Tokyo 1993), p. 103. Initially it was thought that there was a 2<sup>nd</sup> Japanese 'slave' at the Cape also named *Anthonij Moor van Japan [sic]*. Subsequent re-investigation has shown his name to be a misreading of the inventory (1 March 1701). The slave recorded in the inventory of **Jan Dircx: de Beer** (from Wangeningen) was actually *Antonij Moor van Japara / Japare* [not *Japan*] (a place in Indonesia) [CA: MOOC 8/1, no. 63] which explains his later appearance as **Anthonij van Bantam** when sold in execution to **Hugo de Goijer** from De Beer's deceased estate (29 April 1701) for Rds 102.2 [CA: MOOC 10/1, no. 18].

<sup>39</sup> *Transporten en Schepenkenissen* (transcriptions by Anna J. Böeseken & Margaret Cairns).

<sup>40</sup> Iwao Seiichi, *Nanyo Nihonmachi no kenkyu [The Japanese Immigrants in Island Southeast Asia under the Dutch in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries]*; Iwao Seiichi, 'The Japanese Quarters in Southeast Asia



---

in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries'; Kamura Kunio (ed.) *Shin Nagasaki Nempyu* by Mitsui & Doi Shinichiro (Kodansha).

<sup>41</sup> *Transporten en Schepenkenissen* (transcriptions by Anna J. Böeseke & Margaret Cairns).

<sup>42</sup> For more details of the careers of **Salmon Sweers** and siblings in the Dutch East Indies, see TANAP, R. Bijslam, 'Inventaris van de verzameling van stukken, afkomstig van Salomon Sweers, Jeremias van Vliet, Jacques Spex en Francois Mannis' housed in the Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. The family was likely related to another contemporary and prominent VOC official **Balthasar Sweers**. Until 1685: *secunde* at Deshima (VOC post in Japan); 1691 obtains seat on Council of Justice at Batavia & appointed senior merchant. - reasons for sudden dismissal, however, not furnished in official papers; 1692 given permission to repatriate without rank or salary but requests to repatriate as commander-in-chief instead of **Willem Kemp**, who, as skipper of *Waterland*, occupies highest position in Return Fleet - according to a Cape Council of Policy resolution, his seniority is acknowledged, but request denied as not occupying any position of authority technically meant that he was no longer in service [CA: C21, pp. 66-73, n.1 (6 June 1692)].

<sup>43</sup> 'Leibbrandt', *Attestations*, p. 426 (Case no. 61 (13 September 1659); Declaration by **Jan Coenraet Visser** (6 September 1659).

<sup>44</sup> Journal, 8 September 1660.

<sup>45</sup> 'Leibbrandt', *Journal 1662-1670*.

<sup>46</sup> He was convicted (30 April 1667) for desertion & fraud and sentenced to be flogged [CA: CJ1, p. 30; Anna J. Böeseke (ed.), *Uit die Raad van Justisie 1652-1672*, no. 220].

<sup>47</sup> CA: CJ1, pp. 452 & 460; Anna J. Böeseke (ed.), *Uit die Raad van Justisie 1652-1672*, no. 288.

<sup>48</sup> CA: VC 39, vol. 1 (Muster Rolls: 1660-1700), pp. 1-13; 'Leibbrandt', *Letters Despatched*, vol. 3, pp. 273-282.

<sup>49</sup> Resolution of the Council of Policy (28 December 1717); <http://tanap.amtex.nl/xml>.

<sup>50</sup> 'Leibbrandt', *Journal 1662-1670* (18 December 1662).

<sup>51</sup> A.J. Böeseke (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Zacharias Wagenaar 1662-1666*, (Pretoria, 1973): Thursday 6 November 1664: *Op de middach is ons door Willem Willemsz, in de Wandelingh de Lierman, vrije lantbouwer alhier, toegebracht een levendige jonge reinocer waervan hij geisteren de moeder met noch een jongetje achter den Rondenberg (die omtrent 4 mijlen van hier recht techen over 't Robbeneijlant leght) geschoten hadde ... op hope dat dit rare beest sulle cunnen opqueecken en met de te verwachten retourschepen naer 't vaderlant zenden.*

<sup>52</sup> CA: VC 39 & 49 (Muster Rolls of Freeman at the Cape, 1660 onwards), vol. 1: pp. 18 & 22.

<sup>53</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>54</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>55</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>56</sup> No deceased estate papers could be found.

<sup>57</sup> Recorded as *Grietje Pietersz* in the tax roll (1685) [CA: VC39, vol. 1].

<sup>58</sup> No records for some marriages solemnized at the Cape can be traced. Since marriages were a civil matter, these did not have to be consecrated in church for legal validity. There was only one church at the time and people from other denominations were excluded or excluded themselves. Records for the Matrimonial Court (created 1676) have not survived.

<sup>59</sup> CA: CJ 1, pp. 234-236; CA: CJ 1, pp. 473, 475-476 & 477-478]; Anna J. Böeseke (ed.), *Uit die Raad van Justisie 1652-1672*, no. 43, p. 150-151 & no. 295.

<sup>60</sup> CA: C 9 (Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, 18 August 1676), pp. 98-104, *Den vrijman Willem Willemsz van Deventer ... de kinderen in echt tusschen haar en haar voors. man geprocreeert, sullen werden gealimenteert van den borger Jan Coenraed Visser, als daar van de grootvader en dienvolgende wel de naaste daartoe wesende*; CA: C.J.282, pp. 69-80 & 87, CJ 1, pp. 756, 759, 760, 771, 775 & 777, CJ 780, no. 123, pp. 39-401; Anna J. Böeseke (ed.), *Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652 - 1622*, no. 438 (24 April, 16 May, 30 May, 22 June, 6 July & 20 July 1672); J.L.M. Franken, 'Willem Willemsen, van Deventer: Die avontuurlike lewensloop van 'n Riebeeckse vryburger', *Standpunte Nuwe Reeks* 14 XI, nr. 2 Oct.-Nov. 1956;

[http://visser-genealogie.synthasite.com/jan\\_Coenraad\\_VISSER.php](http://visser-genealogie.synthasite.com/jan_Coenraad_VISSER.php).

<sup>61</sup> Gerald Groenewald, 'A mother makes no bastard': Family law, sexual relations and legitimacy in Dutch colonial Cape Town c. 1652-1795', University of Johannesburg; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Beleid en Praktyk: Die doop van slawekinders en die sluit van gemengde huwelike verhoudings aan die Kaap voor 1720', *Kronos*, vol. 5 (1982), pp. 25-35; Vertrees C. Malherbe, 'Illegitimacy and Family formation in colonial Cape Town, to c. 1850', (UCT 2008).



<sup>62</sup> Deuteronomy (23:2).

<sup>63</sup> **Alida** (baptized **Aeltje** 20 June 1667); **Jannitje** (baptized 18 July 1669); (3) **Hendrik** (baptized 26 October 1670); and **Willem** (baptized 19 September 1671).

<sup>64</sup> *Den vrijman Willem Willemsz van Deventer ... de kinderen in echt tusschen haar en haar voors. man geprocereert, sullen werden gealimenteert van den borger Jan Coenraed Visser, als daar van de grootvader en dienvolgende wel de naaste daartoe wesende* [CA: C 9 (Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 18 August 1676), pp. 98-104.

<sup>65</sup> Erf nos. 895 (Homestead, Off Pear Lane, Constantia) & 896 (Outbuildings: Constantia Main Road, Constantia). The homestead is now home to estate agent Pam Golding. Thus far no record of the original grant or purchase has been traced. A recent commissioned study sets out the erf's history as follows: "Originally a small farm and homestead owned by C. [sic] Visser; 1697: L. Symonsz (son-in-law) is granted adjoining land; 1697: S. van der Stel buys out Simonsz ("Witteboomen becomes part of the farm "Constantia"); 1714: sold to J.G. Stoots; 1724: sold to J.H. van Helsdingen; 1778: inherited by J.G. Van Helsdingen; 1800: wife enlarges and runs property; 1824: sold to W.F. van Rheede van Oudtshoorn; 1833: sold to J.A. Dreyer; sold to J.W. Brunt; sold to W. Crozier van Rheede van Oudtshoorn; sold to D.J. De Kock; 1875: sold to W.A. van der Byl. Notes: the homestead was ravaged by fire and altered. Notes: U-shaped homestead; after the fire the homestead was renovated and one of its wings given a second storey and all the woodwork replaced; the house is difficult to date but thickness of the walls and what is still visible of original ground floor plan suggest not later than 1824; the house probably built by the elder Van Helsdingen, possibly even Stoots; present front facade was originally one of the side wings." [<http://constantiapoa.co.za/Forward.doc>. Fabio Todeschini & Jean Blankenberg, 'Draft: 'Tangible Heritage Resources in the Constantia – Tokai Valley: Towards a conservation management plan for this portion of the Cape Winelands cultural landscape (Phase 1 Appendices Volume) for the Local Ratepayers, The Cape Town City Council, Heritage Western Cape & The South African Heritage Resources Agency' (Appendix 9: 1991)'].

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.grootconstantia.co.za/index.php?id=94>

<sup>67</sup> Engelbert Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed* (edited, translated & annotated by Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey) (University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu 1999), p. 19.

<sup>68</sup> Cap Vert – now Dakar in Senegal.

<sup>69</sup> DO: TS 3, no pagination and DO: T 219.

<sup>70</sup> In 1682 he is listed in the (*Opgaaf*): No. 15: Willem van Wijck: 1 man; 1 slave man; 1 slave woman [Petronella (Piettie) van de Caep - later Ehrentraut's concubine who later freed her]; 7 oxen; 80 sheep; 1 pig 3 muids wheat sown; 25 muids wheat harvested; 2 flintlocks (*snaphaen*); 1 rapier (*degen*); Cape District.

<sup>71</sup> Oslo, Norway.

<sup>72</sup> Their story will be the subject of a follow-up article.

<sup>73</sup> 1670: No. 34: Jan Visser: 1 man 1 wife 5 children. His immediate neighbours were Willem *de Lierman*, Jan Pietersz: Louw and Willem Schalksz: van der Merwe.

1678: No. 65: Jan Coenraad Visser: 1man, 1 wife, 3 sons, 3 daughters, 2 males slaves, 3 female slaves, 1 slave child. His neighbours were: Claas Laubser, Willem *de Lierman*, Gerrit van der Bijl, Evert Jansz: and Pieter Jansz: van der Westhuijsen. Further afield his son Gerrit Jansz: Visser and son-in-law Hendrik Gijsbertsz: Verschuur appear to be neighboured by Jan van Brienen, Pieter Gerritsz: Boshouer, Baes Leendert Jansz: van Gijselen and his concubine (*bijsit*), Hendrik van Schalk, Cornelis Claesen, Gerrit Theunisz: van der Swaan, Willem van Wijck (from Ingen) and Jan Pietersz: Louw (from Ditmarsken).

1682: No. 14: Jan Coenraad Visser: 1 man, 1 wife, 2 sons, 1 daughter, 1 males slave, 1 female slave, 1 slave child. His immediate neighbours were: Jan Pietersz Broertje [Louw], Leendert Jansz van Gijselen, Willem van Wijck [(from Ingen)], Hans Eerentruy [Ehrentraut], Evert Cornelisz: (from Delmenhorst) and Matthys Michielsz: [(from Glückstadt)].

1688: No. 271 Jan Coenraad Visser: 1 man, 1 wife, 1 son, 1 male slave. His neighbours were: Jan Pietersz: Louw [Broertje], Aart Claasz:, Myndert Claasz:, Martin van Staden, Jan Roelofs: (from Copenhagen), his son Coenraad Jansz: Visser, Paul NN, Jan van den Bosch, Gerrit Victor, Gerrit Jansz: van der Byl, Leendert Jansz: van Gijselen, Heinrich Eckhoff, Cornelis Cornelisz:, Frans Bastiaansz:, Hendrik Hans:, Jan Meyboom, Hans Adam (from Lübeck), Jan Coenraad Meyer, Martin Pousioen, Dirk Bathoes, Michiel NN & Matthys Michielsz: [(from Glückstadt)].

<sup>74</sup> CA: VC 39, vol. 1.

<sup>75</sup> 1692: No. 71: Lambert Simons Stam 1 man, 1 wife, 1 son, 1 daughter; No. 131: Gerrit Visser 1 man, 1 wife, 4 sons, 5 daughters; No. 221: Jan Coenraad Visser 1 man; No. 231: Jan Jansz Visser 1 man, 1 wife 1



daughter; No. 241: Diederik Putter 1 man, 1 wife 6 daughters 1 female slave; No. 261: Coenraat Visser 1 man, 1 wife, 1 son, 2 daughters.

<sup>76</sup> 1695: No. 397: Jan Coenraad Visser 1 man, 1 wife, 2 sons; No. 400: Lambert Simons 1 man, 1 wife, 1 son, 2 daughters. His immediate neighbours are the free-black woman Jannetje van Wijck van de Caep, Jan Huijbertsz, Juaan van Malabar, Jacob Albertsz, Joost Pietersz: van Dijk, Burgert Pietersz: van Dijk, Lambert Adriaansz: (from Weij), Louis van Bengale, his son-in-law, Lambert Simonsz: [Stam (from Amsterdam) and his son-in-law Lambert Lourensz: van Hoff (from Bergen) [Tax Returns transcribed from records in the Ryksarchief, s' Gravenhage & lodged at UWC – courtesy of Hans F. Heese].

<sup>77</sup> CA: C 10 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 1 April 1677), pp. 95-106.

<sup>78</sup> 'Slave Transactions' by Anna Böeseken/Margaret Cairns in *Slaves & Free Blacks* & Leon Hattingh in *Kronos*.

<sup>79</sup> 'Slave Transactions' by Anna Böeseken/Margaret Cairns in *Slaves & Free Blacks* & Leon Hattingh in *Kronos*.

<sup>80</sup> CA: C 10 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 1 April 1677), pp. 95-106.

<sup>81</sup> Before becoming a Company slave (31 December 1669), he belonged to Lt. **Abraham Schut** who had sold him (1668) to Commander **Jacob Borghorst**.

<sup>82</sup> Websites (*supra*) stating that he was free-burgher at Simon's Town are questionable. The Anthonij Visser at Simon's Bay appears to be an unrelated, high-ranking ex-VOC official as evidenced by marriage and numerous slave transactions involving him as buyer/seller. In any case, no baptism for Antonij (necessary for eligibility to marry) has come to light – unlike that of his sister Susanna. See CA: MOOC 14/8, part 1 (Annexures to liquidation account: **Arnoldus Koevoet**, 1738) which lists one **Anthonij Visser** (from Utrecht) as guarantor for loan to Cape-born free-black **Arnoldus Coevoet**.

<sup>83</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>84</sup> Baptized as an infant in the register for free citizens in anticipation of ensuing manumission.

<sup>85</sup> CA: DRC/A - VC 604, p. 5 (21 April 1697): *gedoopt het kint van Jan Coenraet Visscher en Maria van Nagepatnam onder getuijge van Maria Visscher genaemt Pieter*.

<sup>86</sup> CA: DRC/A - VC 604, p. 13: *28 Junij [1699] van [Jan?] Coenraet Visser en Marij [van] Negapatnam onder getuijgen van Hendrik Willemse en Marta Manuels gen:[aem]t Maria*.

<sup>87</sup> DRC/A (Stellenbosch Baptismal Register), p. 70: *1713 Marta, d'Vader Koenraet Janse Visser, d'Moeder Catryna Everse van der Zee, getu[igen] Hans Hendrik Hatting met Susanna Vissers: ii Feb.[ruarij] 1713*.

<sup>88</sup> J. Leon Hattingh misreads this as *Elders*.

<sup>89</sup> In terms of the Statutes of Batavia and instructions left by visiting VOC Commissioner Ijsbrand Goske (1671) and Commissioner-General Hendrik A. van Reede (1685).

<sup>90</sup> CA: Deeds Office [DO]: *Transport en Schepenkenissen*, vol. XIX (24 March 1696), pp. 44 (*verso*)-45 (*verso*); Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 172.

<sup>91</sup> DRC/A (Cape Town Baptismal Registers 1696-1712), p. 2: *12 Jan:[uarij] 1696 gedoopt het kint van Maria onder getuijge van Jan Coenraet Visser & Margareta van Hof [Margaretha Jans Visser(s)] was genaemt Jacob*.

<sup>92</sup> Dan Sleight - personal communication.

<sup>93</sup> 1706: *Vrij Vissers* supporting W.A. van der Stel. ANNEXURE Y, 'Leibbrandt', *The Defence of Willem van der Stel*, pp. 180-181.

<sup>94</sup> 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 **Lambert Symonsz: Stam**.

<sup>95</sup> No appearance in the tax roll (1700) and subsequent tax rolls. No deceased estate papers have been found.

<sup>96</sup> A slave named **Arent van Malabar** belonged to Simon van der Stel and baptized two children by concubine **Helena van Macassar** (2 August 1693 & 31 July 1695).

<sup>97</sup> *Slaven Kinders der Vrijborgers of Comp[agnies]. Dienaeren: 6 Aug:[ustus] [1702] van Arent de Mallebaar, en Maria van Nagepatnam, onder getuyge van Jan Hendrikse van Elwe en Lijsbeth van Wyk gen:[aem]t Arent*.

<sup>98</sup> *Namen der Christen Kindere* [after 1709 changed to: *Namen van vrije Christen kinderen*]: *2 Xb[er] [1708] van Gerrit Evertsz, en Marij van Nagenapatnam; de Getuigen, Dirk Gerritsz. en Elizabeth Evertsz [Lijsbeth Sanders/Sandra van de Caep] Geertruij*.

<sup>99</sup> Drakenstein Baptisms, CD-ROM (Paarl) (Drakenstein Heemkring, 2006): Baptism Register, 1711; *7de Novemb[e]r; Willem. d'Vader Hendrik Willemsz, en Maria van Bengale niet [...] getrouit; getuygen Ary Derksz van Nek en Anna Hester*.

<sup>100</sup> Karel Schoeman, 'Coda: the turning point', *Early slavery at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1717*, pp. 370-387.



<sup>101</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'This corner of the world smiles for me above all others: Gysbert Hemmy from Africa – a reappraisal', *NLSA Quarterly Bulletin*, vol. 63, nos. 1&2, pp. 16-30.

<sup>102</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>103</sup> Nigel Penn, 'Estienne Barbier – An Eighteenth Century Cape Social Bandit', *Social Dynamics*, 14, Issue 1 (1988), pp. 1-19; *Rogues, rebels and runaways: eighteenth-century Cape character* (David Philip Publishers, Cape Town 1999) - quoting G.M. Theal [*Belangrijke Historische Dokumenten*, Parts I and 2. *Verscheidene Dokumenten betrekking hebbende tot den Oproermaker Estienne Barbier* (Cape Town, 1896), p. 5.

<sup>104</sup> G.J. Schutte, *Briefwisseling van Hendrik Swellengrebel Jr oor Kaapse Sake 1778-1792* (Cape Town 1982), pp. 73-74.

<sup>105</sup> Nigel Penn, 'Estienne Barbier – An Eighteenth Century Cape Social Bandit', *Social Dynamics*, 14, Issue 1 (1988), p. 12.

<sup>106</sup> Her mother was the notorious twice-convicted (1672 & 1677) **Maijcke Hendriks: van den Berg** (from Diest) who was also banished to Mauritius dying there as a pauper [CA: C 8 (13 April 1672), pp. 2-9; C11 (14 July 1677), pp. 38-44]. Her half-brother (**Hendrik Jacobsz: van Westerkerke / Westkerken**, *alias Tielemans Hendrik*) and his son (**Jacobus Hendricks: van Westerkerke**) were arraigned (1705) & banished (1709) for having fled into the interior after assaulting and stabbing (1703) the Stellenbosch cobbler **Jacobus van Bergen / van den Berg** (from Breskens) [see Johann van den Berg, 'Argivale inligting oor stamvader Jacobus Van den Berg (1673-1714)', *Familia* 43/4 (2006), pp. 185-192].

<sup>107</sup> Adam Tas, *Diary*; CA: 1/STB 12/17 (*Generale en Krygskassarekening*, 20 June 1712).

<sup>108</sup> G. Con de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, *Historiese Publikasie-Vereniging* (Cape Town 1981).

<sup>109</sup> Concubinage, initially discouraged in theory (not practice) was only later formally outlawed (proclamations 30 November 1678, 9 December 1678 & 1681); the 1st recorded prosecution (involving a privately owned domestic slave woman) only took place (1690).

<sup>110</sup> See Genealogy.

<sup>111</sup> **Maria Everts (Swarte Maria)** was the enterprising *heelslag* daughter of the freed slaves **Evert van Guinea** and **Anna van Guinea**.

<sup>112</sup> These affinities detract somewhat from Eksteen's attributed entrepreneurial skills, which Gerald Groenewald does not explore in 'Entrepreneurship and Social Capital in a Colonial City: The Case of Hendrik Oostwald Eksteen in Cape Town, 1702-1741', (University of Johannesburg). Eksteen took over – also in terms of fishing operations - where Pfeiffer left off.

<sup>113</sup> CA: C 24 (Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 30 August 1703), pp. 96-98 (*Johannis Phijffer, pagter van de brandewijnen en verdere stercke dranken*); C 25 (10 July 1706), pp. 47-50; C 25 (2 May 1707), pp. 97-99; C 25 (2 June 1707), pp. 104-106; C 26 (27 September 1707), p. 15; C 600: *Orig. Dagregister* (1707), pp. 374-375; C 26 (15 November 1707, pp. 27-28; C 28 (13 April 1711), pp. 117-129; C 29 (1 June 1711), pp. 24-27; C 29 (8 June 1711), pp. 28-29; C 29 (11 June 1711), pp. 30-32; C 29 (5 July 1712), pp. 117-118; C 30 (14 February 1713), pp. 36-38; C 31 (27 June 1713, 6 October 1716; 19 January 1717 & 2 February 1717), pp. 34-36; C 58 (17 February 1722), pp. 47-58 (9 March 1722), pp. 87-88.

<sup>114</sup> I am deeply indebted to Gerda Waanders-Pieterse for sharing her invaluable research on Anna Pieters: and the De Wit Family.

<sup>115</sup> **Pierre Meyer** (from Château-Queyras) arrives (1688) on *Wapen van Alkmaar*; granted farm (18 July 1692) at Groot Drakenstein (later part of *Nieuwendorp*) but sells (12 February 1694) to **Cornelis Obitz** (from Trondheim); deacon Drakenstein church; farmed in partnership with **Jean Durand** (from la Motte-Chalançon) who farmed at *Bergen Henegouw*, Simondium; moves (1705) to Table Valley; detained (1706) by W. A. van der Stel; dies (c. 1713) (smallpox epidemic?); marries **Aletta de Savoye** baptized Cape 17 July 1689 (daughter of **Jacques de Savoye** (from Aeth) & **Marie-Madeleine le Clercq**) [CA: MOOC 7/1/5, no. 46 (Will: Aletta de Savoye, 1733)]; half-sister to **Marguerite-Thérèse (Margo) de Savoye (1672-1742)**, wife of **Henning Villon** and formerly wife to **Christoffel Snijman van de Caep**. Margo (the writer's 6x patri-/matrilinial ancestor), dies at *Witteboomen* when it belonged to her youngest surviving daughter **Elisabeth Snijman** baptized Drakenstein (21 March 1706) who marries c. 1724 **Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen** (son of **Johannes van Helsdingen** (from Amsterdam) & **Anna van Meynen**); lessee of Cape wine & brandy licence at Rondebosch.

<sup>116</sup> Hugh Johnson, *The Story of Wine* (Mitchell Beazley, 1989 & 1996), p. 236.

<sup>117</sup> Hennie Duvenhage, 'Which wine farm is SA's oldest?', southafricanwine directory (14 December 2009) <http://www.winedirectory.co.za/index.php/which-wine-farm-is-sas-oldest>.

<sup>118</sup> Hugh Johnson, *The Story of Wine* (Mitchell Beazley, 1989, 1996), p. 242.



---

<sup>119</sup> D. Bax, *Het oudste Kaapse zilver 1669-1751* (Amsterdam, 1974); S. Welz, *Cape silver and silversmiths* (Cape Town, 1976); Robert A. Laing of Colington, 'Commemorative family medals during the DEIC period', *Arma* (Journal of The Heraldry Society of Southern Africa), vol. 7, nos. 1-2 (December 2001) [http://www.reocities.com/arma\\_za/VOCmedals.html](http://www.reocities.com/arma_za/VOCmedals.html).

