

GENERALE MISSIVE

Nuusbrief van die Stigting VOC (Cabo) 2/24
Newsletter of the VOC (Cabo) Foundation



Stigting VOC (Cabo) het op 16 September 1995 tot stand gekom met Bewaring, Opvoeding en Kultuurtoerisme as doel en geregistreer by Stad Kaapstad, EWK en SAEHA. VOC (Cabo) Foundation was established on 16 September 1995 with Conservation, Education and Cultural Tourism as aims and registered with City of Cape Town, HWC and SAHRA. Web: www.kaap-voc.org. E-pos / E-mail: voccabo@gmail.com Bank: Nedbank, Somerset-Wes / Somerset West. Rek / Account.no. 1145512305. Rek. naam / Account name: 'Stigting VOC'

Welaen vrunden!

Upcoming Events

We are pleased to announce that **Mansell Upham** will be our next speaker:

Saturday 9 November 2024 (Virtual - live from Tokyo, Japan; time: 10:00)

Indonesia's Jonker Rebellion (1689) & its South African Aftermath

The violent death (1689) at Batavia (present-day Jakarta on Java, Indonesia) of the defeated rebel and the public display of his butchered and impaled head of **Jonker van Manipa (c. 1630-1689)** - long-time intrepid collaborator and commander of the VOC's *Pribumi* or *inlander* ('indigenous' / 'sons of the soil') soldiers stationed at Batavia, accused of conspiracy with his followers – marks the end of the *Jonker Rebellion*. Mansell will spotlight the lesser-known intricacies of this infamous uprising and its surprising impact on the Dutch-occupied Cape of Good Hope.

Mansell George Upham is a researcher, writer, historian and jurist specialising in South African colonial history. Born in Welkom, Free State, he grew up on the East Rand, Cahora Bassa (Mozambique), North West, and the Western Cape. He read French and English (Stellenbosch). Thereafter he graduated in Law and was admitted and authorised to practise and to be enrolled as advocate of the High Court of South Africa. He represented South Africa as diplomat in Tokyo, Japan. A champion of indigenous rights and Khoe / Bushmen renaissance, he spearheaded the campaign to repatriate the then unburied Saartje Baartman becoming legal advisor and representative in South Africa and the UN (Geneva) for the *Griqua National Conference of SA* and other Khoe / Bushmen representative groups. He also farmed in the Bosjesveld (Worcester) and lectured in Seoul, Korea (University of Kangnam). He is currently freelancing in Tokyo, Japan. He has published a wide range of articles on early Cape colonial studies (*Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, *Familia*, *Capensis*, *Insig*, and *Antiquarius*, Tokyo). His *Uprooted Lives, Unfurling the Cape of Good Hope's Earliest Colonial Inhabitants (1652-1713)* can be viewed at the following links: <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui66.htm> & <https://mansellupham.wordpress.com/about/>

We are equally pleased to announce that **Sigi Howes** will also be giving a talk:

Saturday 23 November 2024 (venue: SASNEV, Pinelands; time: 10:00)

Education at the Cape under the VOC: 1652-1795, and the role of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in the development of education.

From the time that the VOC was active at the Cape, education was of a purely elementary character, and in the hands of the church. It was not compulsory and made provision only for religious instruction, some basic reading and writing, and rudimentary, and its purpose was nothing more than to prepare young people for church membership. And yet – there were pockets of excellence that allowed the British to build in after 1806 and it was directly due to the zeal and efforts of the DRC that the people in the outlying districts did not grow up altogether destitute of education.

Sigi Howes is the recently retired principal of the Western Cape Education Department's Centre for Conservation Education and Education Museum in Wynberg. As one of the functions of museums is to do research, it is this that has driven Sigi for the last twenty years to research the history of schools in the Western Cape mainly, but also the former Cape Province and before that the Cape Colony. Early education at the Cape is her specialist field and, even though retired, Sigi still gets many requests for information on early education. She holds a BA degree in History; a Primary Teachers' Diploma; a Higher Education Diploma; a Post-Graduate Diploma in Museology and a Master's degree in Education Policy Studies.

We are further delighted to have **Paul van der Linde** give a talk as well as a *personal* guided tour of Cape Town's historic *Groote Kerk*:

Saturday 7 December 2024 (venue: Groote Kerk, Cape Town; time: 10:00)

The Groote Kerk: The architectural history (1677-1841) and some of the personalities associated with the church

Paul Phillip van der Linde obtained his master's degree in Historical Studies (*cum laude*) from the University of Cape Town in 2022, where his research examined the formation of an agrarian class composed of formerly enslaved people ('free blacks'; *vrijzwaarden*) in the Dutch Cape Colony between 1679 and 1710. Extrapolating his findings to contemporaneous Dutch colonies constitutes a key part of Paul's current PhD project at Radboud University, Nijmegen (Netherlands). His primary research objective is to supply a comprehensive account detailing the commodification and utilisation of land in the Dutch colonial empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In conjunction with his PhD research, Paul is also keenly interested in the development of vernacular architecture at the Cape during the Dutch period. One of the buildings that has most fascinated him is the Groote Kerk in central Cape Town. In his upcoming lecture, Paul will discuss the architectural history of the site, from its inception as a burial ground in 1677 to the completion of the current church in 1841, as well as some of the personalities associated with the church. VOC (Cabo) Foundation members can also look forward to a guided tour of the church building and the clock tower.

16 Desember 2024 - Ceremony for the remounting of the *Piekenierskloof Seinkanon*

Alex Giardini, Kandidaat M.A. Koloniale & Globale Geskiedenis, Leiden Universiteit

Ek onthou as kind op skool in Citrusdal dat ek altyd gefasineerd was deur die kanon wat voor die skool gemonteer was, en ek het gewonder hoekom dit - van alle plekke - daar geplaas is.

Toe ek in graad vier was, het ons onderwyseres, juffrou Jacobs die storie vertel van hoe hierdie kanon vroeër jare op die berg met die naam Vanmeerhoffskasteel gestaan het, wat toevallig op ons familieplaas, Bergsoom is en aan my oupa George McGregor behoort het. Ons is vertel dat dit as 'n seinstelsel gebruik is vir die burgers in die binneland om hul wapens op te neem en na Kaapstad te gaan, aangesien dit beteken het dat daar 'n vreemde vyand in Tafelbaai was en dat die kolonie verdedig moes word.

Ek het ook die teken opgemerk wat op die kanon gegraveer was, met die voorletters VOC met 'n eenaardige 'A' bo-op. Ek het gewonder waarvoor dit staan en wat die betekenis vir die dorp, en veral vir die skool, was!

Geskiedenis van die ou Seinkanon op Citrusdal

Uittreksel uit A.P. Smit se boek *Ons Kerk in Bo-Olifantsrivier*, waar hy oor die geskiedenis van die kanon skryf, *Die ou Seinkanon op Piekenierskloof*:

Die ou seinkanon wat vandag as historiese gedenkwaardigheid by die Hoërskool Citrusdal gemonteer is, herinner eweneens aan die gevare van vervloë tye, toe die Kaap meermale op sy hoede moes wees teen vyandelike oorlogskepe van of die Engelse of die Franse. Hierdie kanon is in 1759 bo-op die berg by Piekenierskloof geplaas. Dit was een van 'n twaalfstal seinkanonne wat in in rits vanaf Seinheuwel (Vlaeberg) in Kaapstad op die hoogste koppe landwaarts in op houtstelle geplaas was. Die van Piekenierskloof was die verste in die noordelike rigting, met die een bo-op Piketberg as die naaste aan hom. Nader 'n vyandelike vloot Tafelbaai, begin die kanon op Seinheuwel skiet, terwyl die ander kanonne (Koeberg, Dassenberg ens.) die seine moes aan-stuur vorentoe in die rigting van Piekenierskloof. Al kon die kanonnier nie altyd oral in die verte die geknal hoor nie, kon hy minstens die rook van die ontploffing sien.

In latere jare is hierdie seinkanon van die berg afgebring, war dit baie jare half begrawe teen die pad aan die voet van die berg en later op die stoep van die hotel by „The Rest" 'n „rusplek" gevind het, totdat dit in 1938 met die Eeufees van die Groot Trek na Citrusdal gebring en langs die C.J.V. saal ingemessel is. In die jare veertig is dit op die terrein van die hoërskool gemonteer.¹

¹ A.P. Smit: *Ons Kerk in Bo-Olifantsrivier*, pp. 14-15.



Piekenierskloof Seinkanon uit dae van Kompanjie, soos gemonteer op skoolterrein.

(Foto: N. Traut)

CA Ravenscroft 675, The Rest, Clanwilliam.
In die agtergrond is die berg Vanmeerhoffskasteel, en dit was op hierdie plaas se werf waar die kanon half begrawe gelê het vir baie jare.

Wat ek wil byvoeg is dat hierdie boek uit 1966 dateer. Omtrent 10 jaar na die boek gepubliseer is, is die kanon verskuif vanaf die ou skool (wat gestaan het waar West Coast College nou is) na die nuwe skool toe. My ma se neef, Kockie van der Merwe was nog die hoofseun in 1976 en het die verskuiwing en onthulling bygewoon.

Twee jaar later het die volgende artikel verskyn in 'n plaaslike koerant, *DIE WESLANDER* (EINDE JULIE 1978)

KANON UIT 1759

Mej. L. van Zyl afgeneem by 'n ou kanon wat in die dae van die H.O.I.K. as seinkanon, in die Piekenierskloof gebruik is. Dit is in 1759 bo-op die berg geplaas en was deel van 'n waarskuwingstelsel van twaalf kanonne waarvan die eerste op Seinheuwel, Kaapstad, geplaas is. Hierdie kanon was die verste noord, met die een op Piketberg die naaste aan hom. Nader 'n vyandelike vloot die Kaap, het Seinheuwel die eerste gewaarsku, waarna ander kanonne noordwaarts - Koeberg, Dassenberg ensovoorts - begin blaf het.

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Besoek vanaf Stigting VOC (September 2017)

Op 13 September 2017 het die Stigting VOC besoek afgelê aan die kanon en daar het wyle dr. Dan Sleigh nog verduidelik wat die geskiedenis van die kanon is in meer detail en toe genoem het dat dit baie beter sou wees vir erfenis bewaring, opvoeding en veral kultuurtoerisme (ons stigting se kernpilare) dat die kanon eerder verskuif moet word nasteby sy oorspronklike posisie.



Foto's: Alex Giardini

Die VOC se Seinstelsel

Vanaf 1734 het die VOC seinkanonne gebruik om burgers vir die Kaap se verdediging op te roep aangesien daar geen ander vinnige en doeltreffende metode was waarop die inwoners uit die binneland opgeroep kon word nie. Dit was 'n eenrigting-kommunikasiestelsel van die Kasteel na die binneland.

Daar was eintlik twee seinstelsels in die Kaap. Een stelsel is gebruik om die goewerneur in te lig dat skepe op pad is. Terselfdertyd het dit die Nederlandse skepe gewaarsku of die Kaap nog veilig is en dat hulle dus Tafelbaai of Valsbaai kon binnegaan. Die seinstasies van hierdie stelsel was aanvanklik net op Leeukop en Robbeneiland geleë. In 1743 is die seinstelsel na Simonsbaai uitgebrei, net in die wintermaande met kanonne op Muizenberg, Constantia Nek, Wynberg en Welgelegen wat die boodskap terug na die Kasteel oorgedra het. Van Muizenberg het 'n berede soldaat met 'n geskrewe boodskap wat meer inligting bevat (aantal skepe, nasionaliteit van skepe, bestemming, ens.). Elke seinstasie het 'n kanon en 'n vlagpaal gehad. Elke keer as 'n skip opgespoor is, is 'n skoot afgevuur en 'n geheime herkenningseinvlag is gehys. Die Nederlandse skeepsbevelvoerders is vooraf ingelig hoe die sein sou lyk.

Die ander stelsel, wat gebruik is om burgers op te roep, het in vier verskillende rigtings na die binneland ontwikkel, naamlik die Swartland/Sandveld; na die Olifantsrivier/Witzenberg in die Boland; Karoo en die Overberg/Suid-Kaap. Daar was vyf en dertig seinstasies wat almal óf op hoë heuwels óf berge geleë was.

Elke seinstasie is beman deur 'n seinman wat gewoonlik die boer was op wie se plaas die stasie geleë was of sy voorman. Elke seinstasie het 'n kanon gehad met al die toerusting wat nodig was om seinskote af te vuur. Rookseine is ook gebruik. Wanneer manne van militêre ouderdom wat in die omgewing van 'n seinstasie gewoon het óf kanonskote gehoor het óf rookseine gesien het, moes hulle hulself bewapen en dadelik te perd Kaap toe ry om onder hul vaandels byeen te kom om te help met die verdediging van die nedersetting.

'n Siviele beampte (heemraad of veldwagmeester) het elke seinstasie gereeld geïnspekteer. Hierdie offisiere is aangestel deur die burgerkygsraad van die verskillende distrikte waar die seinstasies geleë was.

Gedurende die VOC-tydperk (1652 tot 1795) is die seinstelsel by vier geleenthede getoets en elke keer het dit doeltreffend gefunksioneer.

Ons huidige situasie met die Seinkanon projek

Vanaf 2019 is begin met planne om die kanon op Citrusdal terug te laat plaas op sy oorspronklike plek op Piekenierskloof. 'n Brief is getik, maar is nooit gestuur nie. Soos almal weet het die Pandemie uitbreek in 2020 en meeste planne is op ys gesit as gevolg. Intussen het die Stigting VOC bygedra tot twee ander projekte verwant aan die seinstelsel. Beide is afgehandel in 2021. Die eerste projek was die verskuiwing van die seinkanon, veilig op 'n replika-affuit bo-op Paarlberg geplaas en afgevuur op Erfenisdag, 24 September 2021. Danksy die inisiatief van die Paarlberg Natuurreservaatbeheerraad met hulp van die Stigting VOC en gefinansier deur die Van Ewijck Stigting het hierdie projek waar geword. Op 1 Desember 2021 is ons laaste projek van die jaar afgehandel op Nitida wynlandgoed, waar ons Stigting VOC 'n Afrikaanse inligtingsbord onthul het, weereens met geldelike bydrae van die Van Ewijck Stigting. Vir meer inligting kyk gerus na ons vierde uitgawe van ons Generale Missive vir 2021.

Na die skielike afsterwe van dr. Dan Sleight in Julie 2023 is besluit om hierdie projek weer aan die gang te kry. Na maande se briefwisseling en komitee vergaderings is 'n ooreenkoms gemaak, waar die skool se beheerliggaam besluit het om die kanon te laat verwyder en mnr. Hanri Theron van Kardoesie, restaurant en padstal, het sy samewerking belowe om die kanon te laat plaas op die koppie net bo Kardoesie, op die Piekenierskloof. Op 20 April 2024 is besoek afgelê deur mnr. Martin Venter van die Kanonvereniging van Suid-Afrika om afmetings te neem en te bevestig dat dit die korrekte kanon is.



Foto's: Martin Venter

Na besprekings met die skool, sowel as met mnr. Venter het mnr. Theron van Kardoesie die kanon veilig verwyder op 31 Mei 2024.



Foto's: Hanri Theron

Intussen is die kanon mooi skoongemaak en staan reg vir montering op Kardoesie. Die affuit sal gemaak word van 'n geskikte hardhout, volgens die afmetings sodat die kanon reg kan staan op sy oorspronklike staanplek. Tans word al die voorlaaiereedskap ook gemaak vir die kanon om weer afgevuur te word. Die sluitgat sal binnekort oopgeboor word en die kanon sal geproefvuur word, voor dit gemonteer sal word.

Ons beoog om op Versoeningsdag **16 Desember 2024** die onthullingseremonie te hou en ons nooi al ons lede uit vir hierdie byeenkoms. Dit is ons grootste projek van die jaar en ons wil graag die jaar afeindig op 'n hoë noot!

Previous Events

Ons Onthou Eva (Krotoa), c.1643-1674

Op Sondag (28 Julie 2024) is 'n spesiale erediens gehou in die Groote Kerk (Kaapstad) ter viering van die lewe van Eva (Krotoa) Meerhoff, wie op 29 Julie 1674 oorlede is. Paul Phillip van der Linde het die erediens namens die Stigting VOC, en as 'n afstammeling van Eva via haar dogter Pieterella Meerhoff, bygewoon. Ook teenwoordig was verskeie lede van die Khoekhoe gemeenskap, sowel as kerkleiers en ander afstammelingen van Eva. Ds. Riaan de Villiers van die Groote Kerk, wie verantwoordelik was vir die organiseering van hierdie geleentheid, het ook 'n skildery en gedenksteen ter nagedagtenis van Eva laat maak wat nou 'n permanent deel van die kerk vorm.

Daar is wynig bekend oor Eva se geboorte en vroeë kinderjare. Jan van Riebeeck verwys die eerste keer na haar in 'n dagboek inskrywing van 28 Januarie 1654: "Item oock alle de Watermans ofte Strantloopers nevens een van Herry's vrouwen, die dooff is, ende alle desselfs kinderen, onder welck oock een meysjen dat bij ons gewoont ende den naem van Eva gecregen had."² Hieruit kan afgelei word dat Eva 'n lid van die Watermans/Standlopers (Goringhaikona), en dus waarskynlik 'n niggie van Herry die Strandloper, was.³ Meeste geskiedkundiges beweer dat Eva tussen 1642 en 1643 gebore is, en dus elf of twaalf jaar oud was toe sy vir die eerste na die Fort toe gebring is. Hier het sy nie net as 'n bediende gewerk in Van Riebeeck se huishouding nie, maar het ook 'n belangrike rol gespeel as 'n tolk en bemiddelaar tussen die Nederlanders en die Khoekhoe – behalwe vir haar eie taal kon sy ook vlot Nederlands en Portugees praat.⁴ Verder was Eva die eerste inheemse persoon in Suid-Afrika wat, blykbaar op haar eie versoek, gedoop is op 3 Mei 1662 deur die besoekende predikant, Petrus Sibelius. Twee jaar later, op 2 Junie 1664, is Eva in die huwelik bevestig met die Deense chirurg Pieter Meerhoff. Drie kinders uit hierdie huwelik het volwassenheid bereik, naamlik: Jacobus (geb. 1661), Pieterella (geb. 1662) en Salomon (geb. 1666). Beide Jacobus en Salomon is relatief jonk oorlede, wat beteken dat die afstammelingen van Eva en Pieter Meerhoff slegs uit die huwelik van hul dogter Pieterella Meerhoff en haar man, Daniel Zaaijman, gebore is.⁵

Die dood van haar man, Pieter Meerhoff in Madagaskar in 1667/8, was ongelooflik traumaties vir Eva. Met sy afsterwe het Eva nie slegs haar eggenoot en die pa van haar kinders verloor nie, maar ook haar bondgenoot en beskermmer in 'n gemeenskap wat 'n lae opinie van inheemse mense soos sy gehad het. Dit is dus nie verbasend dat Eva haar toenemend tot alkohol gewend het as a manier om haar trauma te verdoof nie. As gevolg hiervan het die Kerkraad op 8 Februarie 1669 besluit om Eva se drie kinders (Jacobus, Pieterella, en Salomon) van haar af weg te neem en hulle tydelik in die sorg van die vryburgers Jan Reijniersz en Lijsbeth Jans te plaas. Op 26 Maart 1669 besluit die Kaap se Politieke Raad om Eva sonder verhoor na Robben Eiland te verban. Dit is hier waar Eva op 29 Julie 1674

² Jan van Riebeeck, *Dagregister Jan Antonisz. van Riebeeck: Deel I, 1651-1655*, eds. D.B. Bosman and H.B. Thom (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1952), 193.

³ Harry, ook bekend as Autshumao, was die hoofman van die Goringhaikonas en het as tolk gedien vir verskeie Europese nasies voor én na die stigting van Kaapstad in 1652. Hy is in 1663 oorlede.

⁴ Pieter Conradie, "The Story of Eva (Krotoa): Translation Transgressed," *Proceedings of the XVth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association* 2, no.26 (2000): 467-468.

⁵ Mansell G. Upham, "In a Kind of Custody: For EVA's Sake...Who speaks for KROTOA?," *Uprooted Lives*, no.21 (2015): 1-10.

oorlede is.⁶ Haar “onchristelike lewe” niesteenstaande, word Eva se liggaam die volgende dag “volgens Christelike gebruik” in die houtkerkie binne die Kasteel begrawe voordat dit teen die einde van 1677 op die terrain van die huidige Groote Kerk herbegrawe is. Ten spyte van hierdie tragiese einde, word daar in die afgelope dekades uiteindelik erkenning gegee aan die merkwaardige rol wat Eva (Krotoa) gespeel het in Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis as tolk, bemiddelaar en stammoeder. Behalwe vir bekende figure soos Paul Kruger, Jan Smuts, en F.W. de Klerk is daar vandag duisende Suid-Afrikaners van alle rasse en gelowe wie hul bestaan kan toeskryf aan hierdie besondere vrou.



Figuur 5: Die dubbele identiteit van Eva (Krotoa) Meerhoff. Geskilder deur Dieuwke-Jean Linee en onthul op 28 Julie 2024.

Praatjie oor Dekolonisasie deur dr Cleophas

Namens die Stigting VOC wil ons graag **dr Cleophas** van US bedank vir die stimulerende en waardevolle praatjie. Kyk gerus by <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8QSbR39q5Jk>

U openlike, persoonlike, toegewyde, tydige en toepaslike aanbieding oor Dekolonisasie mbt die VOC aan die Kaap het werklik waar ons lede nuwe insigte en waardevolle stof na denke aan die lig gebring. Ons beoog om dalk ‘n verdere paneelbespreking oor Dekolonisasie in die nabye toekoms met ‘n verskeidenheid van sprekers te reël. Ons sien uit vir nog soortgelyke praatjies en enige bydraes van u kant in die toekoms.

Schoeman en die VOC-tyd: Historikus of kroniekskrywer?

Dan Sleigh het voor sy dood oor **Karel Schoeman** as historikus geskryf, en sy dogter **Jean Sleigh** het die teks aan LitNet gestuur om te plaas as meningsartikel.

Dan Sleigh’s critique (published posthumously) of author Karel Schoeman’s historical writings - <https://www.litnet.co.za/schoeman-en-die-voc-tyd-historikus-of-kroniekskrywer/>

⁶ Mansell G. Upham, “The Fall of Eva Meerhoff, born Krotoa of the Goringhaicona (c.1643-1674),” *Muatze*, 31 July 2022, https://mansellupham.wordpress.com/2022/07/31/the-fall-of-eva-meerhoff-born-krotoa-of-the-goring/#_edn14

Digest

Robert Duigan, Political researcher & editor, The Cape Independent

[Amboyna Massacre \(1623\) – the torture and execution \(for treason\) by VOC agents on Ambon Island \[Maluku, Indonesia\] of 21 men](#)

Mansell Upham, *Muatze*

The Amboyna Massacre of 1623 involved the torture and execution of 21 men—10 English East India Company (EIC) employees, 9 Japanese mercenaries, and 1 Portuguese *Mardijker*—by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) on Ambon Island. This event stemmed from intense rivalry between the EIC and VOC over the spice trade. The accused were charged with treason after confessions were extracted under torture. The incident led to ongoing Anglo-Dutch tensions, influencing English withdrawal from the East Indies and later serving as a pretext for conflicts between the two nations in the 17th century.

[Van sout in die wonde tot bloedlating: Enkele funksies van chirurgyns op VOC-skepe](#)

Gert van Jaarsveld, *LitNet*

In 1595 het die eerste Nederlandse vloot van vier skepe om die Kaap na die Ooste gevaar. Die reis het 15 maande geneem, en slegs 87 van die 249 bemanningslede het oorleef, hoofsaaklik as gevolg van siektes soos skeurbuik, beri-beri, en malaria.

Gert van Jaarsveld beskrywe die toestande en mediese praktyke wat die VOC VOC laat geslaag het om 'n miljoen Europeërs na die Ooste te stuur gedurende sy byna twee-eeuse bestaan vanaf 1602 tot 1796.

[Bloubergstrand residents fight to preserve village heritage against property developments](#)

Kailin Daniels, *Netwerk24*

Bloubergstrand village residents are opposing the rezoning of beachfront properties into hotels, bars, and restaurants, fearing it will harm the area's historical character and limit public beach access. The Bloubergstrand Village Residents' Association (Village BRA) is leading the resistance, emphasizing the need to preserve the village's heritage and protect it from overdevelopment. Property owners argue they are within their legal rights, but residents are concerned about potential noise, crime, and environmental harm.

[Die Johann Rossouw-gespreksreeks: Versfeld, Degenaar en die herwinning van die Logos in die eietydse Afrikaanse teologie en filosofie](#)

Johann Rossouw, *LitNet*

Die opstel bespreek die skeiding tussen filosofie en teologie in die Afrikaanse konteks oor die afgelope 25 jaar. Die skrywer wys daarop dat teoloë gereeld nuwe filosofiese idees soek, terwyl filosofe minder geneig is om inspirasie uit teologie te put. Hierdie skeiding word gesien as 'n oorblyfsel van die Middeleeuse onderskeid tussen die twee velde. Daar word geargumenteer dat 'n herwaardering van die Logos, geïnspireer deur die fenomenologie en werke van Marthinus Versfeld en Johan Degenaar, 'n manier kan bied om die huidige krisis in die Afrikaanse filosofie en teologie te oorkom.

[The Truth about Cape Slavery: 'A sad and painful journey' into SA's forgotten history](#)

Patric Tariq Mellet, *News24*

Patric Tariq Mellet's book *The Truth About Cape Slavery* explores the enduring impact of slavery on South Africa's economy and society, emphasizing its central role in shaping the nation, much like in the United States. The book critiques the lack of recognition and understanding of this history in South Africa, particularly in narratives that prioritize colonial stories over those of the enslaved and indigenous peoples. Mellet uses the book as a platform to argue for reparations and land redistribution.

[FAK wys nuwe direksievoorsitter aan](#)

Maroela Media

Carel Boshoff, hoof van die Vryheidstigting, is as die nuwe voorsitter van die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK) aangewys. Hy volg prof. Danie Goosen op, wat die rol vir bykans 20 jaar vervul het. Boshoff het deur sy werk aan die bevordering van Afrikaner-identiteit en -erfenis 'n belangrike rol in die FAK gespeel. Goosen se leierskap het die FAK deur uitdagende tye gelei, waar dit gegroei en ontwikkel het. Hy het die Afrikanerkultuur herleef en die FAK se relevansie in 'n veranderende wêreld versterk. Sy nalatenskap as 'n kulturele leier sal nog lank voortduur.

[Good Hope by Nick Clelland](#)

John Maytham, *Cape Talk*

John Maytham speaks to Nick Clelland about his debut book, *Good Hope* – the book is about an alternative present-day Cape Town that is the capital of a new independent country formed in 2007. The novel explores the tradeoff between present civil liberties and the authoritarianism that comes with security and prosperity, influenced by experiences in Rwanda.

[V&A Waterfront's Heritage Impact Assessment begins](#)

Genevieve Serra, *IOL*

Cape Town's V&A Waterfront is set for an R20 billion upgrade, which will be rolled out over 15-20 years. The Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) is now open for public comment, evaluating the site's historical significance. The upgrade includes rezoning to Mixed Use 3, aiming to transform the area into a residentially led, mixed-use development with public amenities. Key features include reconnecting the Waterfront to the Atlantic Ocean, a new public walkway, and leisure facilities. The HIA will address potential heritage impacts, with public input welcomed by September 2.

[Natural heritage – reviving the Cape Flats' endangered botanical biodiversity, species and landscapes](#)

Kristen Engel, *MSN*

The Cape Flats, once rich in diverse plant species, now face severe biodiversity loss due to urbanization, agriculture, and environmental degradation. Many suburbs are named after the now-extinct plants that once thrived there, such as the Cape water lily in Lotus River. Efforts to restore the region's biodiversity are underway, with community-led projects reintroducing indigenous species like *Erica turgida* and the Rondevlei spiderhead.

For Whom the Bell Tolls: The Fate of the First Groote Kerk, 1704-1834

Paul Phillip van der Linde, PhD Candidate at Radboud University, Nijmegen

The establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa predates the construction of the first Groote Kerk building by several decades. The first church services, presided over by the VOC *sieketrooster* (lay preacher) Willem Wijlant, were initially held aboard Van Riebeeck's flagship, the *Drommedaris*, until the completion of Fort de Goede Hoop.⁷ Thereafter the hall above the Commander's quarters in the Fort was used "for daily prayers and Sunday sermons" (...*daer dagelyckx 't gebet ende Sondaghs 't sermoen gedoen*),⁸ with the courtyard serving as a temporary burial ground – two graves were discovered during archaeological excavations in 1966.⁹ The quaint atmosphere evoked by this first makeshift church is evocatively captured by H.C. Hopkins who, quoting G.M. Theal, describes the walls as having been bedecked with lion and leopard skins – the taxidermied zebra, at least, was seemingly removed before Sunday services. Notwithstanding, the formal inception of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa can more accurately be dated to 1665, for it was in this year that Joannes van Arckel was ordained as the Cape's first minister and the *Kerkraad* (Church Council) was created.¹⁰

During the construction of Kasteel de Goede Hoop between 1666 and 1679, a small wooden church was erected in the Castle's courtyard. However, this building was not without its limitations. Apart from its small size, it was often commandeered as a storeroom for the garrison and was once blown over by a particularly violent Southeaster. In 1677 the Cape's Council of Policy, requiring more space within the Castle, decided to demolish this wooden church and to level the courtyard. Doing so nonetheless presented a serious logistical issue, as the ground where the church had been built was higher than the surrounding area.¹¹ This necessitated the exhumation and reburial of those who had been interred inside the church since 1666 – these included Dominee Van Arckel and Eva (Krotoa) Meerhoff, Van Riebeeck's Khoekhoe translator who had passed away on 29 July 1674.

The death of Dominee Petrus Hulsenaer on 15 December 1677 compounded the urgency of the matter, to such a degree that, on the very next day, the Council of Policy bequeathed an abandoned section of the Company's Garden to the *Kerkraad* to be developed into a walled churchyard and – in time – to construct a proper church (...*een behoorlijk proper kerkckje te laten maeken*).¹² Those formerly interred beneath the wooden church at the Castle, including Krotoa, were subsequently reburied in a communal grave on this site. The foundation stone of the *proper kerkckje*, the initial design of which seems to have been in the shape of a Greek cross (+), was duly laid by Commander Johan Bax van Herenthals on 9 April 1678. Bax did not realise it at the time, but he would become the first in a long line of Cape administrators to be buried inside the new church after he succumbed to a chest infection on 24 June 1678. The rapid demise of Bax was perhaps a harbinger of things to come, for the construction of the church did not advance much further than his foundation stone. Indeed, when

⁷ George Hofmeyr en HOFFIE Hofmeyr, "Die VOC aan die Kaap en Godsdien," in *Die VOC aan die Kaap, 1652-1795*, ed. Con de Wet, Leon Hattingh, en Jan Visagie (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2017), 384-387.

⁸ Jan van Riebeeck, *Dagverhaal van Jan van Riebeeck, Commandeur aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Deel I (1652-1655)* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1884), 373.

⁹ Liesbet Schietecatte en Tim Hart, "Archeological Monitoring and Excavation in the Area of Jan van Riebeeck's Earthen Fort at the Grand Parade, Central Cape Town," *Iliso Consulting Engineers and Project Managers (Pty) Ltd for the City of Cape Town*, 2009, 8.

¹⁰ H.C. Hopkins, *Die Moeder van ons Almal: Geskiedenis van die Gemeente Kaapstad, 1665-1965* (Kaapstad: N.G. Kerk-Uitgewers en -Boekhandel, 1965), 46.

¹¹ J.A.S. Oberholster, *Die Groot Kerk: 100 Jaar Oud, 1841-1941* (Kaapstad: N.G. Kerk-Uitgewers en -Boekhandel, 1941), 6.

¹² Western Cape Archives and Records Service, *Cape Council of Policy, 1652-1795*, C.12, 17-22.

Commissioner-General Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein visited the Cape in April of 1685 he reported seeing only the foundations of a cross-shaped church. This would remain the status quo for the next fourteen years.



Figure 1: Map of Cape Town (c.1680-1697) illustrating the cruciform foundations of the first Grootte Kerk building (B) surrounded by the churchyard (C) with the Slave Lodge (D) to the left. (Nationaal Archief, *Plan van 't Fort de Goede Hoop, 's Comp. Tuyn en eenige publieke en particuliere gebouwen daaromtrent*, NL-HaNA_4.VEL_828)

It was only in March 1699 that the matter of the church was eagerly taken up by the new minister Petrus Kalden and his influential benefactor, Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel. Following an inspection of the site in November 1700, the existing foundations were deemed inadequate and were broken up. The church was reimagined as an octagon, with Van der Stel laying a new foundation stone on 28 December 1700.¹³ Van der Stel's personal interest in the first Grootte Kerk building is significant for several reasons. Whilst the Governor himself may not have designed the new church, his influence is perceptible in its distinct octagonal form – which was repeated in the layout of his farm Vergelegen (see Figure 2) and the foyer of the new governor's residence, Nieuweland (Newlands House). Moreover, apart from allegedly appropriating funds from the *Kerkraad* for the construction of the church – the government was expected to supply schools and churches for free – Van der Stel was also accused of billing the *Kerkraad* for wood used on Vergelegen.¹⁴

¹³ Hopkins, *Die Moeder van ons Almal*, 48-51.

¹⁴ Alys Fane Trotter, *Old Cape Colony: A Chronicle of Her Men and Houses from 1652-1806* (London: Archibald Constable & Co Ltd., 1903), 105-106; Hopkins, *Die Moeder van ons Almal*, 50-51.

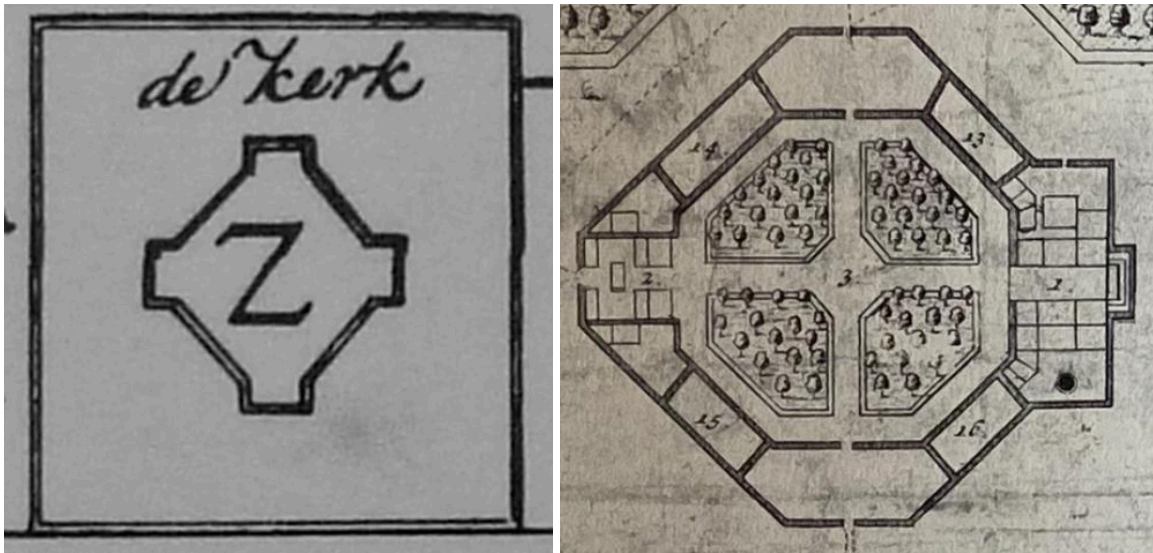


Figure 2: The triumph of the octagon. A comparison of the post-1700 Groote Kerk (left) and W.A. van der Stel's estate, Vergelgen (right).

These controversies notwithstanding, work on the new church progressed rapidly. In April 1702 the free burgher Jan Cornelis Stip was commissioned to thatch the roof and by October of the same year, ebony for a pulpit was purchased at f.44 (*gulden*). Before the end of 1702 the exterior of the building was complete, enabling the sculptor Martein de Mentz, and the painter Christiaan Wynogh, to beautify the interior of the church.¹⁵

The construction of the church tower was left until last for, on 1 April 1703, Van der Stel wrote to the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC stating that the church “except for the tower” was complete. The church bells were initially destined for a small cupula on top of the main building. However, their weight and the strength of the Southeaster convinced the *Kerkraad* on 4 April 1701 to build a clock tower on the building's seaward side. On 14 May 1703 it was decided to add an additional level to the tower, and in the same year Lambert van der Schelden was employed as the official bell-ringer – for which he was paid Rs.4 (*rixdollars*) per month, as well as an additional Rs.2 to chase stray dogs out of the churchyard. The initial church bell, which had come crashing down in May 1725, was replaced the following year by a new bell supplied by the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC, and made by Albert de Grave.¹⁶

The first Groote Kerk building was finally inaugurated on 6 January 1704. Apart from its technical and architectural sophistication, the structure's unique octagonal design served as a kind of spacial embrace whilst large, multipaned windows bathed parishioners in natural light. The minister and naturalist François Valentyn (1666-1727), who visited the church in 1714, left a detailed account which merits quoting at length:

It [the church] is almost octagonal in form, having 4 large bays; and in each of these are 2 large glass windows, which by my guess are between 20 and 30 feet high. To the North and to the South it has gables, rising much higher and finely curving upwards...Also on the North and South sides are two lovely entrances, 10 or 12 feet high, which are finely marbled in red and white. Within the Church are 4 round whitewashed pillars, which are about 3 feet in diameter and about 25 feet high including their ornamentally marbled capitals, against each

¹⁵ Hopkins, *Die Moeder van ons Almal*, 53.

¹⁶ Hopkins, *Die Moeder van ons Almal*, 67.

of which stands a fine pew...Behind the pulpit to the right of a stained glass window is the tomb, or better said the arms of the Governor Louis van Assenburg with a banner above it...on the other side of the window was the tomb of the old Heer Simon van der Stel. On both sides of his coat of arms are various pieces of ordinance, gilded, also some trumpets and various weapons and muskets, also heavily gilded.¹⁷



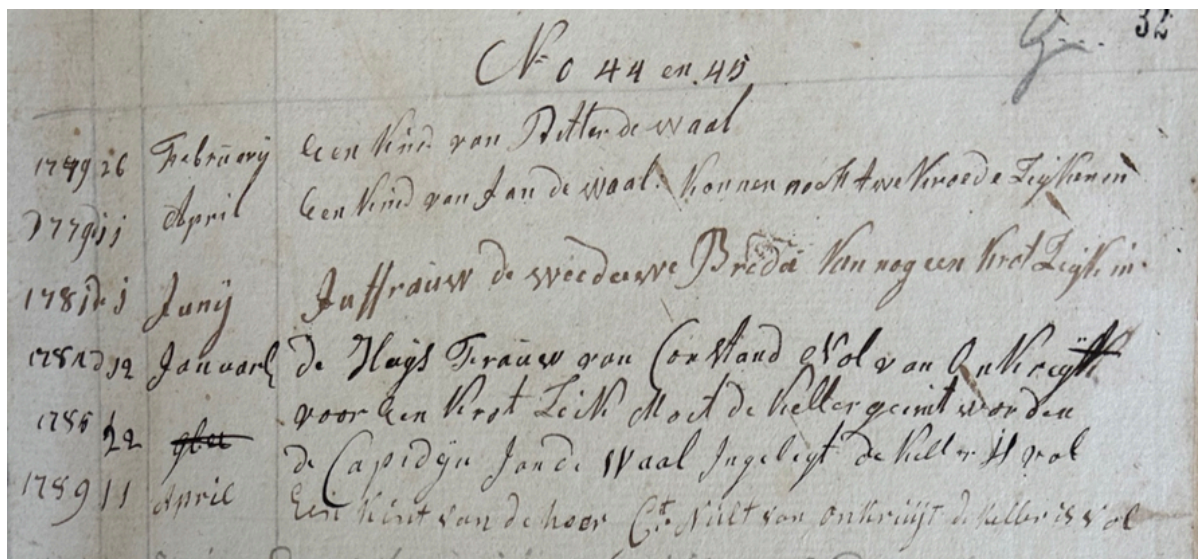
Figure 3: Exterior view of the Grootekerk from Church Square by H.C. de Meillon, c.1830



Figure 4: Interior view of the Grootekerk by an unknown artist, c.1830

¹⁷ François Valentyn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the Matters Concerning it: Part I*, eds. P. Serton, R. Raven-Hart, W.J. de Kock (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1971), 89-91.

In addition to the aforementioned Bax van Herenthals, Van Assenburgh, and Van der Stel, five other Cape governors were buried inside the first Groote Kerk over the course of the eighteenth century. These included Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes (1654-1724), Pieter Gysbert Noodt (1681-1729), Adriaan van Kervel (1681-1737), Rijk Tulbagh (1699-1771), and Baron Pieter van Reede van Oudtshoorn (1714-1773). The latter, having passed away en route to the Cape, was temporarily pickled in brandy so that he could receive a proper church burial – earning him the nickname “brandy baron.” As in the Netherlands and other Dutch colonies, the internment of high-status individuals inside the church was standard practice at the Cape. Indeed, as early as 1699 the *Kerkraad* had made provisions for up to 180 crypts inside the church. A standard, single crypt measured seven by three feet and had room for between six and nine coffins depending on their size and placement. This translates to a minimum capacity of 1,080 coffins and a maximum of 1,620. Initially, a single crypt could be purchased by anyone for f.500. However, the popularity of this practice, and the finite number of crypts, meant that a policy of renting out crypts was eventually introduced. Moreover, by 1709 it was decided that any foreigner who perished at the Cape and wished to be buried inside the church could not be below the rank of senior merchant (*opperkoopman*) or captain.¹⁸ A perusal of the burial register for the Groote Kerk between 1756 and 1796 not only reads as a Who’s Who of the colony – including individuals such as Oloff Bergh, Henning Huysing, Willem ten Damme, and Count Jacob van Renen – but also reveals that the concept of “Rest in Peace” did not necessarily apply. The high mortality rate, especially amongst children, meant that the *koster* (sexton) was constantly busy opening crypts to make room for new individuals, as this extract from the register of the double crypt no.44 & 45 illustrates:



Jaar	Dag	Maand	Inschrijving
1779	26	Februarij	Een kind van Arend de Waal.
1779	11	April	Een kind van Jan de Waal. Kannen noch twee groot leyken in.

¹⁸ Hopkins, *Die Moeder van ons Almal*, 132-133.

1781	1	Juny	Juffrouw de weduwe [van?] Breda. Kan nog een groot lyk in.
1782	19	January	De Huys Frauw van Constand Nol van Onkruyt. Voor een groot lyk mocht de keller geruymt worden.
1785	29	Oktober	De Captein Jan de Waal ingelegt. De keller is vol.

Those disinterred from the crypts to make room for new individuals (or perhaps because their rent was overdue?) were placed in a *beenhuys* (chapel house) constructed by Jan Bout in 1737. The fate of this fascinating little building and its contents are unclear. However, a reference to it in 1853 implies that it survived the fate of the main church building by several years.¹⁹

Despite the addition of two galleries above the north and south entrances in 1753, and its expansion from an octagon to rectangle between 1779-1781, the church was unable to accommodate Cape Town's expanding population. Furthermore, as an inspection report of the building in 1835 revealed, the weight of the roof – as well as significant water damage over the years – had severely compromised the integrity of the walls and internal columns. When a piece of one of these columns broke off during a Sunday service on 8 February 1835, it was the last straw. A bitter feud concerning the future of the old church ensued, with some congregants advocating for the building's preservation, whilst others proposed the construction of a new church. Subsequent inspections of the building's fabric, notably by architects such as John Skirrow and Herman Schutte, effectively sealed the building's fate. The repairs required to make the building safe were deemed prohibitively expensive, and on 31 October 1836, the *Kerkraad* resolved to demolish most of the existing building, leaving only the tower and consistory intact.²⁰ With this, Cape Town lost one of its most unique and historic buildings. Its successor, with its curious Gothic and Neoclassical architectural elements, was designed by Schutte and opened on 31 January 1841. This second iteration has remained the spiritual heart of Cape Town's Dutch Reformed congregation ever since.

¹⁹ Hopkins, *Die Moeder van ons Almal*, 140.

²⁰ Hopkins, *Die Moeder van ons Almal*, 71-82.

Collector's Corner:

Original VOC Documents from the Collection of Michael Barter

VOC doc 26 (1794): Farm Loan: Louis Fontein (Namaqualand) to the baptized *Bastaart Hottentot*, Gerrit Obie

Transcription

Certificeere ik ondergeteekende Landdrost van Stellenbosch en Drakenstein: dat den Plaats, de Louis Fontein geleegen en de Klipfontein aan deese zijde van de Camies Bergen in het klijne Namaqua land, door den gedoopten bastaart Hottentot **Gerrit Obie** in leening verzogt, volgens attest van den veldcorporal aldaar **Johannes Cornelis van der Westhuijzen**, aan



denselven **Obie** in leening kan worden uitgegeeven. –

Stellenbosch den 3 Augustus 1794 –

H: L: Bletterman

Translation

I, undersigned Landdrost of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein certify: that the farm Louis Fontein, situated at Klipfontein on this side of the Camies Mountains in the little Namaqua Land, was requested by the bastard Hottentot **Gerrit Obie** on loan, according to the attestation of the field corporal there, **Johannes Cornelis van der Westhuijzen** and can now granted on loan to the said **Obie** –

Stellenbosch the 3rd August 1794

H: L: Bletterman

NOTES (Mansell Upham):

Hendrik Lodewyk Bletterman aka **Ludwig Heinrich Blettermann** (from Sonderhausen, Thuringia) born 14 February 1705; son of organist **Christian Georg Blettermann**; arrives 1741 as assistant; burgher 1743; member of Burgher Council; captain of Burgher Infantry; marries Cape 11 February 1742 **Elsabé Bergstedt** baptised Cape 12 June 1712 (witnesses: *den Capt. Olof Berg en Anna de Cooning, zijn huisvrouw*); daughter of **Matthias Bergstedt** (from Stockholm, Sweden) & Cape-born **Christina Bergh, widow Jacobus de Wet** (from Amsterdam); maternal granddaughter of **Olof Bergh (1643-1724)** (from Gothenburg, Sweden) & freed Cape-born Eurasian private slave **Anna de Coning (1661-1734)**; maternal great-granddaughter of freed private slave **Maaij Anselva van Bengale (dies 1720)** by **François de Coning** (from Ghent, Spanish Netherlands); 5 children repatriates 1762 with 2 daughters, **Christina Hendrika & Anna Elisabeth Egbertha**; sons repatriate too; returns to Cape & dies there (21 November 1776); children also return, except son **Christian Friedrich**, minister of Sandershausen Lutheran community [CA: MOOC 8/16 (Inventories: Orphan Chamber), no. 49 **Hendrik Lodewijk Bletterman** 25 November 1776 [**Otto Luder**] **Hemmij** Inventaris van alle zodanige goederen als *ab intestato* metter dood zijn ontruijmd ende nagelaten door den **oud burgerraadt s:r Hendrik Lodewijk Bletterman** ten voordeele van zijne bij **wijlen desselfs huisvrouw juff:w Elsabe Bergstedt** in huwelijk verwekte **vijff kinderen**, met namen 1) den **burger lieutenant s:r Johannes Matthias Bletterman** 2) **Christina Henrica Bletterman** 3) den **adsistent in dienst der E: Comp:e mons: Hendrik Lodewijk Bletterman** 4) den **eerwaarden predicant in de Luitersche leere te Sondershausen de heer Christiaan Fredrik Bletterman** en 5) **Anna Elizabeth Egberta Bletterman**]

Johannes Cornelis van der Westhuizen (1763-1840) - son of **Cornelis van der Westhuizen (1716-c.1789)** & **Glaudina Engelbrecht**; grandson of **Nicolaas (Claas) van der Westhuizen (1679-1736)** & **Catharina Olivier**; great-grandson of **Pieter Jansz: van der Westhuizen alias Swarte Piet** (from Brughes, Flanders) & **Maria Hendriks: Winkelhausen alias Marij van Westphale** (from Burgsteinfurt, Münsterland via Leiden, Zuid-Holland), widow of **Hendrik Barendsz: [Gildenhausen]** (from Dortmund); marries **Elsie Engelbrecht** daughter of **Hermanus Engelbrecht & Anna Mgadalena Ras**; 8 children.

VOC Land Grants & Leases to *Bastaard Hottentots*

The granting (in the 18th century) of colonially occupied land by the VOC to (ideally baptised) *Bastaards* (Cape of Good Hope inhabitants born of unions between Khoe women and European or Cape-born 'white' men) and *Bastaard Hottentots* (born of Khoe women and slave men) introduces a whole new twist in terms of colonisation. This comes in the wake of the Council of Policy resolving (20 November 1787) that *Bastaard Hottentots - baptized and other* – and not in *service* [literally 'subsisting among any of the burghers'] but residing in the Colony were now liable to all the taxes paid by burghers, and they are therefore directed to be placed on the rolls, and to make the usual *Opgaaf*. Similar land grants (1792 & 1793 / 1794 respectively & transcribed *verbatim* by Mansell Upham) are made to other colonially assimilated indigenes, eg: *Bastaard Hottentot Cornelis Cok [Kok] & Franciscus Basterd Hottentot* [CA: 1/STB 11/19 (*Lijs der personen, dewelke de volgende plaatzen ondert 't District van Stellenbosch in Leening bezitten, en met de betaaling der agterstallen en zo meede met die van Jaarlijksche recognitie voor het gepasseerde boekjaar 1793/4*)]:

Den **Bastaart Hottentot Cornelis Cok [Kok]** d'*Elandsfontein* geleegen agter de Coperberg den 18 May 1776 op ordonnantie en g'expireert 24 October 1776 zonder in al dien tyd iets te hebben betaald ...

[Jaaren / No. / Rijxds]

15:10:380

[CA 1/STB 11/19 (*Lijs der persoonen, dewelke de volgende plaatsen ondert 't District van Stellenbosch in Leening bezitten, en met de betaaling der agterstallen en zo meede met die van Jaarlijksche recognitie voor het gepasseerde boekjaar 1793/4*)]

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Franciscus Basterd Hottentot de *Domvenos* gel.[egen] aan de andere zijde van de Roode Wal in't Roggeveld [Amount]

Jaaren / No. / Rijxds

5:10:140

Cornelius Kok I (Piquetberg 1746-1820) - a literate man who settles with his followers at Kamiesberg joining Khoer father **Adam Kok** - former *posthouder* on Cape burgher **Nicolaas Laubser Evertsz.**'s farm *Stinkwater* in the Bokkeveld banished (1761) therefrom by the VOC after feuding with fellow *Hottentots* **!Garuhamab** *alias* **Claas Afrikaner** (born *ante* 1760, dies *post* 1800) and **Oude Ram** (last-mentioned's father) - near the **!Garib / Gariap / Orange / River** and also Little Namaqualand. With Bushmen and Kora / Koranas (a Khoer group then settled on the Orange River's north bank), he maintains good relations with missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS) operating there who persuade him (c. 1804) and **Barend Barends** to settle with their followers near *Klaarwater* - a row of springs north of the Orange River. Visiting missionary, **Rev. John Campbell**, purportedly convinces (1813) these two leaders to change the group's name from **Basters / Bastards** to **Griqua** with *Klaarwater* being renamed *Griquatown*. Other groups of **Basters, Korana, Damara, and Bushmen** come into the area and refuse to recognize the two leaders as chiefs with **Barends** resorting to cattle raiding while **Cornelius Kok I** abdicates authority to son, **Adam Kok II** aka **Dam Kok (1760-1835)**, returning to Kamiesberg.



Adam Kok II aka Dam Kok (1760-Can(n)ol Fontein [Knollefontein] “situate at the foot of the Hill called Paardeberg”, Zwartland 1835)

He later returns (1816) to Griquatown to reassert authority but successfully. He and another son, **Cornelius Kok II (c. 1778-1858)**, then move to Campbell, where he establishes himself as independent chief (until 1820 - his death year) with chieftainship passing to **Cornelius Kok II** [C.J. Beyers (ed.), *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. IV (Butterworth & Co., Durban / Pretoria 1981), pp. 285-89; William Dower, *The Early Annals of Kokstad and Griqualand East*, James Kelmsley & Co., Port Elizabeth, South Africa 1902; J.S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg 1939; Robert Ross, *Adam Kok's Griquas: A Study in the Development of Stratification in South Africa*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1976; Keith Irvine (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia Africana Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 3 (South Africa-Botswana-Lesotho-Eswatini), Reference Publications Inc. Algonac, Michigan 1995; <https://dacb.org/stories/southafrica/kok-cornelius-i/>]

See also Laura J. Mitchell's "Loan Farms Claimed by Khoisan and Mixed-Race Individuals" <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/mitchell/chapter3.html#p32> & Fig. 3.9. Khoisan and Mixed-Race Loan Farm Claimants - Source: CA: Receiver of Land Revenue series & L. Guelke RLR data. www.gutenberg-e.org/mitchell/detail/3-8-Khoisan.html [*Belongings: Chapter 3: Property, Family, and Identity in Colonial South Africa - An Exploration of Frontiers, c. 1725-183*]

Behouwde vaert / Selamat jalan / Go well

Alex Giardini, Mansell Upham, Paul van der Linde (Redakteurs / Editors)

30 October 2024