THE NOTEBOOK OF JOHANNES SMIESING (1697-1734), WRITING AND READING MASTER IN THE CAPE SLAVE LODGE¹

Archie L Dick

Introduction

In the 1714 census of the Cape Slave Lodge of the Dutch East Indian Company (VOC), seventeen year-old Johannes (Jan) Smiesing was identified as a third generation creole 'halfslag' slave.² When his request for manumission was granted on the morning of Thursday 8 November 1731, he was described in the VOC's Council of Policy Resolutions as a *Comps. lijfeijgene* (Company slave), and as a *schoolmeester* (school master).³ He was born in 1697, and baptized in the Lodge on 10 March of that year. Manda Gratia (daughter of Armozijn Claasz) and Jan Smiesingh of Amsterdam (an employee of the VOC) were his parents.⁴

Smiesing spent almost his entire life in the Lodge, where he went to school, met his wife Anna van Dapoer whom he later divorced, fathered some of his children, and worked as a teacher. He died in 1734 as a thirty seven year-old free black. Besides the notebook, evidence of his life as an intellectual included a writing desk, a book stand with books, and three bibles listed in the inventory of his possessions. A fuller biographical sketch of Jan Smiesing will be presented in a chapter of a forthcoming book, and the aim of this article is simply to introduce the notebook. In 1934, J.L.M. Franken first identified some features of Smiesing's notebook in an article on home education in the Cape from 1692 to 1732. Karel Schoeman's recent publications provide more clues about the contents of this notebook, which he describes as 'a unique personal record' of one of the 'inmates' of the Slave Lodge. Schoeman also points out that this notebook may be the only surviving piece of writing from the Slave Lodge.

The full scope only became clear however when electronic scans of the entire notebook were made available. ¹⁰ It is now possible to present a transcription of this fascinating text for the first time, and to begin to add some context. As a whole, Smiesing's notebook offers valuable general insights into life in the Slave Lodge in the early 18th century, and specific insights into the life of one of its occupants. More importantly, the kinds of questions prompted by this primary source open up new possibilities for scholarly research.

One opportunity is to explore connections between identity construction and the oral and textual cultures among the 18th century Cape slave and free black intelligentsia, and to compare them with the 'public sphere' debates of racial identity and print culture among middle class elites in the early 19th century. Another opportunity is to uncover the Cape's alternative intellectual cultures, and their connections with wider 'alternative networks of authority' in the early modern period. The kinds of political and religious contacts between slave and free black elites and Muslim and other exiles from Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Java, and Makassar in a

small but highly diverse community at the Cape deserve further attention. ¹² There are also other avenues for further research.

Smiesing's notebook

The notebook is really a kind of commonplace book with blank bound pages, which Smiesing filled with his notes probably using one of the quill pens supplied by the VOC. It is bound with bright red covers that have two leather ties to secure them. Smiesing's name and surname are inscribed on the cover. Just beneath his name is the date 1717, followed by the barely visible number 32. This is perhaps why Franken identifies 1717 to 1732 as the years covered by the notebook. The date 1734, which is the year in which he died, is however part of a calculation in his handwriting across the writing on one of the notebook's pages. The notebook consists of 14 unnumbered pages of writing. About six to ten pages have been neatly cut out of the book. Some passages of writing end abruptly and parts appear to be missing. Smiesing describes himself on one of the pages of his notebook as the writing and reading master in service of the 'Honourable East Indian Company', and on another page as the 'Schoolmaster'.

Johannes Smiesing SCHRIF en LEES MEESTER In dienst de E Oostindische Comp

> pieter samuel Aan cabo de goede hoop Jan Smüesing Schoolmeester jnt De I: Compa

There is no absolute certainty that Smiesing actually used some of the contents of the notebook for classroom teaching. He may have kept the notebook for his own purposes. His identity as the writing and reading teacher, however, indicates the probability of its use also for teaching. The sources of some of the contents of Smiesing's notebook will be traced, as far as possible, to contemporary literature. The contents are presented, for the sake of convenience, under the following headings: personal; writing and reading; arithmetic; morning hymn; and medical remedies. These sections do not therefore follow the sequence found in the notebook.

Personal

In just more than four pages, Smiesing lists the births, baptisms, deaths, and burials of his children and other relatives. He also records the arrival, inauguration, death, and burial of Pieter Gysbert Noodt who was governor at the

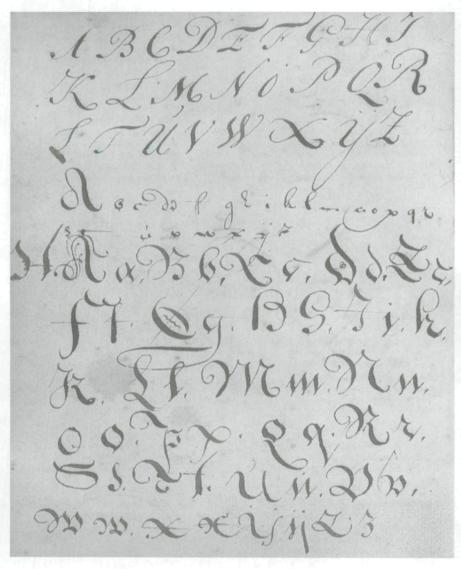
Cape from 1727 to 1729. It would appear from the several entries that Smiesing was locating himself within his family network, and reflecting on his own identity in a very self-conscious way. A comparison with other specimens of writing from that period is necessary to understand his writing style, and to place it linguistically in its proper historical context.

(Verso) Int Jaar onses Heeren Jesù Christo 1727 de 13 (donderdagh)16 februarius is den Wel Edelen Heer gouverneur Pieter gijsber Noodt geariveert Aan Cabo de Goede Hoop met skip gent¹⁷ Gasperdam den 25 february op dingsdaagh als gouverneur aangestelt de 25 April 172718 172719 den 18 April Vrydagh snagts te half twaalf is anna van dappor In de Craam gekomen van een Jonge soon den 27ste April gedoop Genaemt frans 1727 den 22 Júnij deter Evan gelium Johannis ìì vers ì: 2: 3: 4: op de kerk gang van de E: d: H Anno ì729 Zaturdag nademiddag te vier ûŭren op den 23 April Is den Wel Edelen Heer gouver²⁰ neur pieter gysbert Noodt in den Heere ontslapen en begraa²¹ Ven den a den 30 dito begraven

(Verso) In den Jaare onses HEERE Jesús Christús 1725 den 23 ocbr²⁸ Dingsdag morgen te drie ûûre Is anna van dappor is 29 de Craam Cekomen van een Jonge soon en den Heijligen doop ontfangen den 28 october genaemt **Johannis** 1727 den 18 April Vrijdagh snagts te half twaalf in de Craam gekomen van een Jonge soon den 27 April 172730 gedoopt get31 frans Anno ì706 den ì6 Augustus Is pieter Cornelisze Hartoch geboren op den iò Augustus 1728 overleden op dingsdag 18 ì72832 28de onnozee kinder dag 633 dingsdag middag te Elf ùure is anna Van dapoer bevallen van Een jonge Zoon gedoopt & Cenaemt 34 (Recto) Anno 1731 In den Jarren onses Heeren Jesú Christús den 30 December is Johannis Smiessing in dis solven tegen waardige Hüijs Vroù anna Van dapor in den getenstaat²² getreden Rouwe van mijn moeder manda Grazia In den HEERE ontslapen den 1023 Maaij ì7ì9 d 27 Maaij In den Jaare onses HEERE 1724 den 10 Januarius mandag smorgens te 7 ù ure is anna van dappor in de Craam gekomen Van Een Jonge dogter den 16 Januarius den Heer²⁴ Heijlige doop ontfangen genaemt Manda In den Heere ontslapen den 29 Maay 172625 & woensdag morgen te drie ùure de 3ì dito begraven 172726 den i7 Junij Gillijam Frisnet orleede 1729 den 29 November is myen meydt Bevalle 27 -van een dogter genaemt dina

(Recto) Anno 1703 den 5 november is geboren Armosina Jonas Anno 1707 den 28 Januarij Anna Elizabeth Jonas geboren Anno 1708 den iì Julij maria barens gebore Anno 1713 de 5 Januarij Anno 1713 den 5 februarij maria geertruij frisnet geboren A35 1728 den 28 desember is Anna Van dapoer bevallen Van een Jonge Zoon & den 23 Januarij 1729 gedoopt genaemt pieter lambertús Anno 1730 op woensdag den 4 Januarius in den Heere ontslapen den 7 dito begraven Anno 1731 den 9 January op dingsdags'morgens te halve tien ùuren is anna Van dappor bevallen van een Jonge dogter & den 4 Februarij Gedoopt

(Verso) genaamt anna Anno 1732 den 26 November snagt tiisjen 10 & 11 ûuren Is mijn Huys vroùw anna Van dappor bevallen Van een Jonge Zoon & den 30 dito gedoopt genaamt Jacobiis



Letter types used in Smiesing's notebook. WCARS, A1414

Writing and reading

There are different sets of letter typefaces of the alphabet in both upper and lower cases on one of the pages. These letters may have been copied out of an ABC book, and may have been used also to prepare additional ABC boards for the Lodge school. The VOC supplied ABC books and ABC boards to the Lodge School. The ABC board (ABC bordje) was similar to the hornbook, and intended for beginning readers. The hornbook, a primer for study, usually consisted of parchment or paper attached to a small paddle-shaped wooden board. It contained the letters of the alphabet (in upper and lower case, and cursive), and was commonly protected by a sheet of transparent horn. Although not very different, the Dutch ABC board was more of a tablet or wooden board usually without the handle. The alphabet was usually followed by the 'Lord's prayer'. It was used widely in Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries, and was considered to be a good method to teach children in a very short time.

The Dutch ABC book or *Abecedarium* was used for reading exercises by more advanced learners, and would typically include the alphabet (in Roman and cursive letters).³⁹ It contained also Christian religious items such as the Ten Commandments, the 'Paternoster' and *Ave-Maria*, the Catechism, morning and evening prayers, as well as Christian proverbs that began with the letters of the alphabet. Franken suggests that some letters on this page in the notebook are in the Gothic type.⁴⁰ This claim, and the full range of letter typefaces on this page, requires further investigation.

Arithmetic

I traced the exact examples of addition and subtraction in the notebook to one of the several editions of Willem Bartjens' *Vernieuwde cyfferinge*, which was in circulation at the Cape at the time. ⁴¹ This work had already been available in the Netherlands since 1607, and subsequent editions were continuously corrected to improve the text. ⁴² Smiesing's arithmetic notes end with a promise of multiplication but with no actual lessons, and it is now possible to find in Bartjens' *Vernieuwde cyfferinge* the very examples he must have used. This book contains also worked examples to explain counting, division, how to calculate interest, profits and losses, how to convert international currencies, weights and measures, and other practical applications of arithmetic. We can only speculate on how much of this was taught in the Lodge school.

The edition of Bartjens' *Vernieuwde cyfferinge* in the NLSA explains in its title page that the text had been improved by Jan van Dam, and later revised and re-worked, and that all errors were removed by Klaas Bosch. It is revealing that the very first arithmetic example in Jan's notebook, which explains how to add three three-digit figures, is preceded by the word *ellen*. This is the plural form of *el*, which is an old Dutch unit of length (usually an arm's length - a metre after metrication in the Netherlands in 1820), and was primarily used for measuring cloth. ⁴³ It is possible that the entire approach to teaching arithmetic to slave children in the Lodge school was to promote its practical applications for future use. ⁴⁴

Additio45

(RECTO)			(VERSO)						
Additio beteekent	3	76	5	430ì	6	10003	9	5555	
een Vergadringe VeLer		39		ì03ì		57836		6666	
kLijne Sommekens	-	46	12/11	4573	7.1	56037		7777	
om daer van eene		3ì	-111	7011	1	3090	31	8888	
algemijne groote		ì0	146	777		90ì	1 7	9999	
somma te maken	100	3	0.54	888	5	9ì	Sec	77ì7	
		49	10	799		7		4 ⁴⁹ 179	
1 ⁴⁶ ellen		99		23		38		9999	
376		76		27		716		8888	
203		43		37		1596		7007	
ì79	1119	ìO		74		23704	100	6776	
758	- 1	Ìì	(V 0)	11		39000		5667	
Dell' Glassiff de la constant de la		37	Pro-pr	9	1	40030		5667 ⁵⁰	
2 ì		76		8	1.2.5	66566	17.	8754	
2		606	di Seri	19569		299615		7897	
3						- il.		9876	
4	4	ì24	7	9874	8	409		8967	
5		215		6789	Aug.	508	- 3	7876	
6	61	670		8895		607		8789 ⁵¹	
7		767		9786		506		ì4ì286 ⁵²	
8		76	100	8999		405			
9		56	MA	9876	L. L.	304	3.6	5- X-8-515	
8	20	150	13114	7993	h di	203			
7		100		6887		304			
6		ì30		7559		909			
5		202		7687	T.C.	808			
4		592	17180	9998	THE I	707		Eijnde Van	
75		437	1011	8886	M. H.	606	21	Additio	
TENTRAL TOTAL	100	999	018	7779	Miles	806	De Art	en de Volgt	
That was the same	1-200	110	, Sorr	8989	a de	907	7	Substractio	
		4628		6798	Ciudia.	90748			
				7667	15.	909			
				8899	100	809			
				9898		905			
				153264 ⁴⁷	I COM	809			
RMI POT POT LEGIS			100	- Property		11421			

Substractio53

Sübstractio, beteekent aftrecken d'eene Somme van't andre stellende altijt de minste onder d'meste, alst volgt

89	Van
57	Treck
32	rest
89	proef

Substractio54

			(RECTO)				
Van ⁵⁵	543	V	347	V	7623789923274843		
Treck	421	T	136	T	4698096986293981		
rest	122	R	211	R	292569293698085 ⁵⁶ 2		
proef	543	P	347	P	7623789923274843		
V	4592	V	92652	V	⁵⁷ 7623789923274843		
T	1410	T	51431	T	4698096986293981		
R	3182	R	41221	R	2925692936980852		
P	4592	P	92652	P	7623789923274843		
V	965403	V	6378506	V	876376000378634178		
T	265401	T	1435034	T	468909812782946099		
R	700002	R	4943472	R	407466187595688079		
P	7 ⁵⁸ 65403	P	63784 ⁵⁹ 06	P	876376000378634178		
V	540637803			-	Eijnde Van		
T	193717802				Substractio		
R	346920001		Z. E.		en de Volgt		
P	7 ⁶⁰ 40637803				MultipLicatio		
V	976401383212				ALs VoLgt		
T	419564394701		1, 1-				
R	556836988511	1-5-	P.		1		
P	976401383212	A	157 7				
V	703000034783ì2				-		
T	29832101984304		PETER STATE OF THE		1		
R	40467901494008		7				
P	70300003478312				1		

Morning hymn

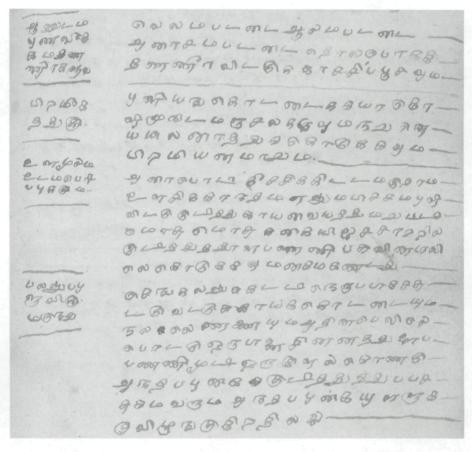
I discovered the source of the morning hymn (morgen gesangh or morgenlied) in Smiesing's notebook in an edition of Vernieuwde Urania, a hymn book by Dirk Pietersz Pers published in Amsterdam in 1648. It is one of several hymns in that hymn book that was sung to the tune of the German Lutheran hymn Auss meines Hertzen Grunde. There is a consistent indication that Dutch Reformed schoolmasters at the Cape were expected to teach children to sing psalms. These psalms of David were set to rhyme by Petrus Dathenus (c. 1531-1588), and sung to French tunes from the Genevan Psalmbook of 1562. In this context, it seems that this morning hymn instead of a psalm in Smiesing's notebook was a little unusual. Was it a sign of an alternative religious outlook? The tune of this hymn must have been well-known at the Cape at the time because it was played by VOC trumpeters on incoming ships every morning. The music is a fuguette composed by Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703), who was a second cousin of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750). In the Bach family there was more than one Johann Christoph Bach. This one was an organist at Eisenach in Germany, and he was well-known for his compositions for keyboard instruments of the time.

The tune is available on YouTube, and it is now possible for the first time to hear what this morning hymn sounded like in the Slave lodge school in the early 18th century. ⁶⁶ The melody consists of eight two-bar phrases. The first and second phrases are repeated in the third and fourth phrases, and they return in the seventh and eighth phrases. This structure was typical of early post-Reformation hymns that kept melodies simple to encourage congregational singing by facilitating learning and memorization. ⁶⁷ The third verse of the hymn is incomplete in Smiesing's notebook. It ends abruptly with the first four lines of that verse at the bottom of the page. It may have continued on the next page, which could have been cut out, and there may possibly have been more verses, or the entire hymn. It could even have been followed by an evening hymn. A comparison with the earlier version of the hymn in Pers shows some differences and possible copying errors in words and lines.

Ô Christi, HijL en LeVen, Ô god Van Eúwighz:68 U WiL ik de Eere geven, Met waare danckbaerhz:, Omdat gij mij behoedt, Wil ik met hert en mondt, In desen morgen stonde, ontsLúijten mijn gemoedt, Ù LiefLijkhz en Z⁶⁹eden, Blinck aLs't morgen roodt, Waerdoor ik heb Skreegen, Het Leven door de Dood,71 ALLeen door ú gena, Heb gij mijn Lijt²voor qúaaden Mijn Ziele⁷³Voor misdaaden, bevrijdt van ALLe schaade⁷⁴— Ik⁷⁵ heb dan stof te Looven, úijt een oodt moedighendz, dat [door] ú77gúnst Van booven, mijn troost is in mijn Smerte⁷⁸

Medical remedies

This is probably the most fascinating section of the notebook as well as the most mysterious. This medical knowledge probably marked Smiesing as an intellectual and as a 'barefoot' doctor. Several questions however still remain unanswered. These include: how and from whom did he obtain this list of remedies; how widespread was the use of the Tamil language and the circulation of Tamil writings at the Cape at the time; how did this Siddha tradition of Tamil medicine relate to the medicine practiced at the VOC hospital;⁷⁹ and, how were these remedies adapted locally? For convenience, the arrangement here is different from Smiesing's page layout. The meanings of the words in bold in this transcription are still unclear. Underlining is found in some places in the original text, and is used here for ease of reading.



Extract from Smiesing's notebook showing medical remedies in Tamil script.

(Recto)

kuppaimeni perunkāyan kūţun kaţuku veļļulļi norpamāna nervāļam noyya tenkāy niņan kūţţi arpa maruntenrennāmal analil vetuppik koļļa vīrā(/ļa)ya kerpavācuk ⁸⁰ karaincatoṭāk ketutiyutane pul mikuntitume.

Mix Acalypha indica leaves and asafoetida together with mustard, garlic, fine croton and flesh of a tender coconut - do not think this is a cheap medicine (without effect) – and leave it to dry in the sun. The $[v\bar{r}\bar{a}(/|a)ya]$ flatulency in the womb will dissolve together with the [infection?].

yīlaikka maruntu.

cūkkiri mor kāṭi elumpiccam puḷi arai poṭi kīccikkiṭṭam kayāḷam ⁸² poṭṭu mūṇu nāḷayir piraku kācci vaṭittuk koṭukkavum. uppup puḷi viṭavum. yīḷai mārum.

A remedy against wheezing.

Make a decoction of **cūkkiri**, buttermilk, vinegar (?), lime, tamarind and a half sniff of iron dross, boil and filter it after three days, before administering it. Avoid (taking) salt and sour. The phlegm will go away.

pala vicātikkum cūraņam vakai.

cīriyar iruvaruñ ciranta mūva[ru]ruṅ uriyar oruṅ[ruṅ] koṭiya kāy arum āriyaṇ āṭṭiṇil alacam/acai tākamum nerpaṭak kūṭamal nerupporuṭākkume.

A kind of medicinal powder against many ailments.

(The meaning of this passage is unclear)

vayirruk katuppukku.

nagoīrakattai ponniramāka varuttu mātālan kāy tol kūṭayiṭittu vennit taṇṇīrile 83 ākutal tayirile ākutal koṭukkavum.

Against griping pain or irritation in the stomach.

Fry the cumin until it becomes gold-coloured and crush a citrus (?) rind and all before administering it either in warm water or in curd.

vīrocanam panna vakai.

āmaņakku eņņai kottān verum ilaic cāru veļļai ven eļaiyam kūṭak kācci vaṭittuk kāciṭai koṭukka veṇṇit taṇṇīr kūṭik koṭukkavum.

A method to purge.

Put together the oil extracted from the castor oil seeds, the root of the Cassytha Filiformis, juice extracted from (betel?) leaves and white cardamom, boil and filter it and cook it again before administering it in warm water.

(Verso and Recto)

piramīkattukku⁸⁴

viţunukirānţī veruṭane piṭunki niļavil ulatti⁸⁵ iṭittut tūļ paṇṇi cirunīrile koṭukkavum. uppup puḷi viṭavum. **piṛamīkam** mārum.

against gonorrhoea(?)

Pull the Evolvulus Alsinoides out by its root, leave it to dry in the shadow, crush it and make it into powder before administering it in urine. Avoid [taking] salt and sour. The Gonorrhoea will reduce.

kāccalukku

vallāral yilai [4] verkempum⁸⁶ kuventiru⁸⁷ pākkuc cīval arivaruttuk kūṭap ppoṭṭu ⁸⁸ taṇṇīril kuṭiṇīr kāccik koṭukkavum. curam niṛkum.

against fever

Fry leaves of the Indian pennywort, [4 pieces of] dried ginger, [?] areca-nut parings and sift it. Put it together and boil it in water, as (to make it) drinking water, before administering it. The fever will come to an end.

kattu vicātikku vakai

mañcal veļļai venkāyam ten cuņņāmpu kūţa araittup pūcavum.

a remedy against a tumor

Grind turmeric, white onion, honey together with lime and smear it.

makotara vikkattakku

oru pal veļļai venkāy [...] kumī [nu] pirettum vīnu kūţak kācci koţukkavum.

against dropsy

Boil a white onion with only one bulb, $kum\bar{i}nup$ (Portuguese for cumin??) pirettum (?) together with wine (P. $v\bar{i}nu$?) and administer it.

cattikku [marai]

cukku vayampu⁸⁹ **pā/(/para)vu virumel pāvu koviri kirāvu** pūļi elam arakku uṭaṇe kācci vaṭittu koṭukkavum.

[against] vomiting (?)

Boil and filter dried ginger, sweet flag, ?? tamarind, sesame, together with lac⁹⁰ before administering.

cinan tūram vakai

nervāļam⁹¹ nīrvāļam ⁹² pāļacāņam añcu vakai ituvellām oru tenkāy muļa⁹³ tirantu poṭṭu aṭait ttaṇṇīr oṭukira vāykkālile 8 eṭṭu nāļ putaittu vaiyttat tillam⁹⁴ pāl viṭṭu araittu veppeṇṇai viṭṭu araittu ceppil aṭaittu vaiyttuk koṭukkavum. pala vicātikkum nallatu.

a remedy against inflammation (?)

Gather two varieties of Croton (seeds) and five sorts of dried cowdung, open a coconut that has sprouted before planting and put all these things in it. Let it sink in a canal with flowing water during 8 days, then pour sesame and milk into it and grind it and hereafter add Margosa oil and grind it again. Secure [the prepared medicine] in a bottle and administer it. It works well against many ailments.

paranki vicātikku maru

itaramum karuñcirakamum mutal murai nellütta viţamal iţittu iranţā murai mocumokakkai yilaic cārril iṭikkavum mungām murai kuppaimeni ilaic cārru viṭṭu iṭittu piṭam⁹⁵ paṇṇi añcu nāļ koṭukkavum. uppu puḷi viṭavum.

a remedy against venereal diseases

First crush quicksilver and black cumin while continuously adding [paddy] and crush it a second time in the juice of the Bristly byrony leaves and then crush it a third time while you pour the juice of the Acalypha Indica leaves into it, preserve it by burying it under the earth before administering it five (successive) days. Avoid (taking) salt and sour.

ānutampun vīkkam tannīrkalum

velam paṭṭai ālam paṭṭai araicam paṭṭai tol pokki taṇṇīr viṭṭuk kācci pūcavum.

(against) swelling of the penis and [retention]

Remove the skin of the bark of the Babul tree, the Banyan and the Pipal⁹⁶ tree, then add water and boil it before smearing.

piramīkattukku

puliyan kottaik **kayar koşa muṭai** mañcal karuvum naruneyyil araittuk koṭukkavum. piramiyan mārum.

against Gonorrhoea

Grind tamarind seeds, soft top of a coconut (?) koşa muțai and yolk in cow's ghee and administer it. The Gonorrhoea will stop.

ulmūlam utamperippukkum

arai poți kīccikițtam itaram ücikkāntam elumpiccam puļi vițtu ițittu kāya vaiyttu marupați mocumocukkai yilaic cārril ițittut tüļ paṇṇi pacuvin pālile koṭukkavum. kaiy kaṇṭatu.

Against piles and burning

Pour a sniff of iron dross, quicksilver, load-stone, lemon, tamarind, together, grind it and leave it to dry. Then again grind it in the juice of Bristly Byronia leaves and make it into powder before administering it in cow's milk. It will take effect immediately (?).

pallup puluvikku maruntu

ceńkalluk katti neruppākac cuttu vattuk kāyk kottaiyum nallennaiyum atin pelile pottu oru pānai cinnat tulaip panni mūti oru kulal kontu antap pukaik kutittut tuppac cukam varum. antap pukaiyullukku vilankukiratillai.

remedy against tooth infection

Gather together bricks, bake them and leave them to dry. Add seeds of green fruits (?) and sesame oil to its grit. Make a small hole into the vessel and close it. Take a tube and suck that steam (into your mouth) and spit it out (again). You will become healthy. You should not inhale that steam.

Conclusion

Jan Smiesing's notebook offers rich insights into everyday life in the Cape Slave Lodge in the early 18th century. It compels the revision of views on self-identity and slave and free black intellectuals. It invites a fresh appreciation of the reading, writing, and arithmetic skills of slaves. It provokes the need for further investigation into alternative traditions of worship and medicine in early modern Cape Town. It also raises awareness about the diversity of cultures and languages in the Cape slave and free black communities. One wonders, for example, how many slaves, convicts, and exiles from Tamil-speaking regions there were at the Cape around 1730. Finally, it stimulates the search for more information about the upward mobility of families like that of Jan Smiesing, and about the impact of slave lodge teachers on intellectual life at the Cape.



ENDNOTES

- I am grateful to Robert Shell for letting me have a copy of this text, and for encouraging
 me to transcribe it. I am grateful also to Simon Schmidt of the French Institute of
 Pondicherry (IFP) in India for the Tamil transcription and translation. The assistance of
 Joukje Geertsema and Lakshmi Subramaniam with translations, and the comments of
 Karel Schoeman, are gratefully acknowledged.
- Jan's surname appears in official documents in several forms, such as Smesing, Smiesing, Smeedige, and Smüesing. He was also identified as Jan van Manda van de Caab. Creole means locally or Cape-born. The Dutch used 'Halfslag' to refer to a 'halfbreed' or 'halfcaste' person as someone who had also had partial European ancestry.
- Resolutions of the Council of Policy, C. 88, pp. 69-71, 8 November 1731. Available at: http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/ (Accessed 10 February 2010).
- For a biography of Armozijn Claasz, see Karel Schoeman, Armosyn van die Kaap: die wêreld van 'n slavin, 1652-1733, 2nd ed. (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 2005).
- Masters of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 8/5.69, 5 November 1734. Available at: http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/ (Accessed 10 February 2010).
- 6. See Robert Shell and Archie Dick, 'Literacy and identity in the Slave Lodge: Jan Smiesing, schoolmaster and healer, 1697 to 1734', forthcoming in a book on social identities in eighteenth century Cape Town, edited by Nigel Worden. A fuller analysis of the notebook itself will be presented in a forthcoming article by the author.
- J.L.M. Franken, Huisonderwys aan die Kaap, 1692-1732, (Kaapstad, Bloemfontein en Pretoria: Nasionale Pers, Beperk, 1934), 7-8.
- 8. Karel Schoeman, Early slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1717, (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2007), 367. See also: Schoeman, Armosyn van die Kaap, 658-9.
- 9. Schoeman, Armosyn van die Kaap, 659.
- 10. Western Cape Archives & Records Service (WCARS): A1414, Accessions section of the Cape Archives Depot, Cape Town. It is unclear how the notebook landed in the Accessions group of documents, which originated with private persons and organizations.
- 11. For the possession of books by free blacks in the early 18th century, see Vybeke Pieters, Boeken aan de Kaap: een onderzoek naar de Dessiniaanse bibliotheek in haar sociaal-culturele context, (Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 1997), 70-2; for Arabic and Malaysian literacy, and a manuscript culture, see Achmat Davids, 'Words the Cape slaves made: a socio-historical-linguistic study', South African journal of Linguistics, 8 (1), 1990, 1-24; for early 19th century print culture, see Andrew Bank, Liberals and their enemies: racial ideology at the Cape of Good Hope, 1820 to 1850, (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1995), 17-22; K. McKenzie, The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in early nineteenth-century Cape Town, (Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993).
- 12. Kerry Ward, Networks of Empire: forced migration in the Dutch East India Company, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 179, 185-237.
- 13 Franken, Huisonderwys aan die Kaap, 7.
- 14. Schoeman, Armosyn van die Kaap, 658.
- 15. Robert Shell speculates that these pages may have contained a secret history of Smiesing's family.
- 16. 'donderdagh' is inserted above 'i3' in a lighter shade of ink, and may have been added at a later date.

- 17. Probably an abbreviation for 'genaemt'.
- 18. There is an unclear symbol here and 'Jaarig', preceded by an apostrophe, is inserted below 25 April 1727.
- 19. The five lines of text from '1727' to 'frans' are scored out. Many other lines in the text are also scored out by Smiesing.
- 20. There appears to be what looks like a quote mark (") here, perhaps to indicate the incomplete word.
- 21. There is a stroke here, perhaps to indicate the incomplete word.
- 22. This word is unclear; there appears to be a smudged letter ('i'? with a diacritical mark beneath it) between the letters 'g' and 'e'.
- 23. This number is scratched out but it looks like the number 10 or 19.
- 24. This word is partly smudged.
- 25. Written across these three or four lines in bolder strokes are calculations of the number of years elapsed by subtracting one year from another. The three calculations from left to right are: 1724 minus 1720 with the answer given as 4; 1734 minus 1721 with the answer given as 13, of which the numeral 1 is smudged; and 1721 minus 1705 with the answer given as 16, which is preceded by the numeral 1.
- 26. This date is underscored.
- 27. The first letter looks a smudged capital 'B'. The last letters of the word are inserted above the rest.
- 28. Probably an abbreviation for 'october'.
- 29. This may be an error since 'in' is used in the same phrases elsewhere in the text.
- 30. Written beneath 'April', and not scored out.
- 31. Probably an abbreviation for 'genaemt'.
- 32. This date is written large in the left margin. There seems to be some confusion or error about the birth and death dates.
- 33. This number is written large in the left margin.
- 34. The name is not given.
- 35. Probably an abbreviation for 'Anno'. The rest of the lines of text on this page are scored out.
- For a list of school supplies, see H.C.V. Leibrandt, Precis of the Cape Archives: Journal, 1676: 276.
- 37. See: http://www.iupui.edu/~engwft/hornbook.html (Accessed 8 February 2010).
- 38. Andrew W. Tuer, *History of the Horn Book*, (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 143.
- 39. P.S. Du Toit, Onderwys aan die Kaap onder die Kompanjie, 1652-1795: 'n kultuurhistoriese studie, (Kaapstad en Johannesburg: Juta, 1937), 4.
- 40. Franken, Huisonderwys aan die Kaap, 7.
- 41. Willem Bartjens, De vernieuwde cyfferinge van Willem Bartjens.../herstelt, vermeerdert ende verbetert door Mr. Jan van Dam en nu in desen laatsten druk op nieuws... nagesien, bewerkt en van alle... fauten gesuywert door... Klaas Bosch (Amsterdam: Joannes Kannewet... 1732-1745), 9-11. There is an entry for this title in the catalogue of the private library of Joachim Nicolaas Von Dessin (1704-1761), see: Joachim Von Dessin, Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Publicae; Capitis Bonae Spei, Octavo first series, Item 991, p. 158.
- 42. Du Toit, Onderwys aan die Kaap, 5.
- See: El (lengtemaat) Uit Wikipedia, de vrije encyclopedie, at: http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/El (lengtemaat) (Accessed 4 February 2010).

- 44. See C.A.L. van Troostenburg De Bruijn, De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië onder de Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1602-1795, (Arnhem: HATjeenk Willink, 1884), 538-9.
- 45. 'Additio' is written in larger and bolder letters. The page is divided into two columns, which contain sections with four worked examples of addition, and some text. For convenience, the arrangement here is different from Smiesing's page layout.
- 46. The numeral 1 (one) sometimes appears as 'i' in the examples, and differs from the usual 'i' in its shape and use of the special diacritical mark. This is not consistent, however, and sometimes either the i is used without the diacritical mark, or the usual 1 is used.
- 47. The correct sum total should be 153259, and the given total is either the result of copying errors from the edition that Smiesing used, or because subsequent editions of Bartjens' *De vernieuwde cyfferinge* made improvements to examples. The edition in the NLSA has 7998 instead of 7993, and 8889 instead of 8886, with a total of 153267.
- 48. This figure (907) is repeated mistakenly because the given sum total (11421) is smaller than the true sum of all the preceding numbers by exactly 907. Also, 907 is listed once only in the NLSA edition.
- 49. This figure is smudged but it is the numeral 4.
- 50. This figure (5667) is repeated mistakenly. It is listed once only in the NLSA edition.
- 51. This is a copying error. The figure should be 8798 in order to give the correct total.
- 52. This total figure is only correct without the copying errors.
- 53. 'Substractio' is written in larger and bolder letters.
- 54. 'Substractio' is written in larger and bolder letters and without the diacritical mark above the 'u'. The page is divided into two columns, which contain sections with worked (unnumbered) examples of subtraction, and some text.
- 55. In order to understand these examples, you have to subtract row 2 from row 1 to get row 3; then add row 2 and 3 to get row 4, which must be same as row 1. In this way, as Smiesing explains, you have proof that the answer is correct. The first letters (V, T, R, P) of these words are repeated for each example.
- 56. This figure should be 6, and is a copying error.
- 57. This is the exact repetition of the example directly above it.
- 58. This figure should be 9, and is a copying error.
- 59. This figure should be 5, and is a copying error.
- 60. This figure should be 5, and is a copying error.
- 61. D.P. Pers, Vernieuwde Urania, of Hemel-Sangh: Zijnde het 11 deel van Bellerophon of Lust tot wysheyt waer in veele historiale en Christelijke gesangen, stichtelicke liedekens, (Amsterdam: Nicolaes Van Ravestyn), 1648, Song number 128, p. 214.
- 62. I am grateful to Reino Ottermann for this information.
- 63. Du Toit, Onderwys aan die Kaap, 47; Schoeman, Early slavery, 165; van Troostenburg De Bruijn, De Hervormde Kerk, 481; A. Moorrees, Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in uid-Afrika, 1652-1873, (Kaapstad: SA Bybelvereniging, 1937), 49.
- 64. G.C. Cillié, Waar kom ons Afrikaanse gesange vandaan?, (Kaapstad: N.G. Uitgewers, 1982), 34; See also J.H.H. Du Toit, Die Gesangkwessie: Rondom die bundel "Evangelische Gezangen" met besondere verwysing na Suid-Afrika, (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Pretoria, 1971), 27-8.
- 65. Fanie Jooste, 'Die optrede, leefwyse en lotgevalle van die VOC-trompetters en -tromspelers aan die Kaap van 1652 tot c.1700', South African journal of cultural history, 20 (2006): 143-62.

- 66. See: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BjFGWyWlGvk&feature=related (Accessed 15 March 2010).
- 67. I am grateful to Sean Adams for this information.
- 68. The 'z' here and in other places is a sign that indicates '-heid'. I am grateful to Karel Schoeman for this information.
- 69. This letter looks a little unusual. In Pers this word is 'zeegen'
- 70. In Pers this word is 'beckregen'.
- 71. In Pers this line is 'Het leven upt den dood'.
- 72. In Pers this word is 'ziel'.
- 73. In Pers this word is 'lichaem'.
- 74. In Pers this word is 'schae'.
- 75. This word is written in a way that it appears to commence the preceding line also ('ALLe schaade').
- 76. In Pers this line is 'Uyt een ootmoedigh hert'
- 77. In Pers the word 'door' comes between 'dat' and 'ú'. This may be a copying mistake by Jan.
- 78. In Pers this line is 'My dit geschoncken wert'.
- 79. Siddha medicine is a form of south Indian Tamil traditional medicine.
- 80. Kerpavācu is karpavāyu, 'flatulency in the womb causing hysteria'.
- 81. For convenience, the arrangement here is different from Smiesing's page layout. The meaning of all the words in bold in this transcription are still unclear. Underlining is used for clarity; this is used in some places in the text.
- 82. Kayālam is kiyālam, 'decoction'.
- 83. Vennit tannīr in vennit tannīrile has been taken as vennīr, 'warm water'.
- 84. Piramīkam in piramīkattukku has been taken as piramēkam, 'Gonorrhoea'.
- 85. Ulatti is ulartti, 'having left to dry'.
- 86. Verkempu is verkompu, 'dried ginger' (Sri Lankan Tamil).
- 87. The meaning of kuventițu remains unclear.
- 88. Ppottu contains one 'p' too many.
- 89. Vayampu is vacampu.
- 90. Sealing wax.
- 91. Nervālam is nervālam, 'Croton tigilium'.
- 92. Nīrvāļam is nervāļam. Probably the Chinese croton seed and the Hindu croton seed are meant since these are used in medicines, see T.V. Sambasivam Pillai, Tamil-English dictionary of Medicines, Chemistry, Botany and allied sciences, (Madras: The Research Institute of Siddhar's Science, 1938-1998).
- 93. tenkāy mula has been interpreted as mulaittēnkāy.
- 94. Tillam is tilam, 'sesame'.
- 95. Piṭam is puṭam.
- 96. araicam has been taken as a corruption of aracam (Pipal, Ficus religiosa).

Copyright of Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa is the property of Association of Friends of the National Library of South Africa and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listsery without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.