

HERCULES DES PREZ AND CECILIA D'ATHIS: FOUNDERS OF THE DU PREEZ FAMILY IN SOUTH AFRICA

R.H. du Pré
Department of History
University of Transkei
Private Bag XI
5117 Unitra

Hercules des Prez en Cecilia d'Athis: voorouers van die Du Preez familie in Suid-Afrika.

Die Des Prez's wat in Junie 1688 in die Kaap aangekom het, was die voorouers van die Du Preez's van Suid-Afrika, waarvan die manlike lyn in getal tans 25 000 tot 30 000 tel. Moontlik dra 'n gelyke aantal Suid-Afrikaanse burgers die bloed van Hercules des Prez en Cecilia d'Athis in hulle are deur die vroulike lyn. Van die benaderde vyftig Franse Vlughteling familienaam wat vandag nog in Suid-Afrika voorkom, tel agt onder die 36 sterkste families in ons land. Hulle is: Nel (Néel), Du Plessis, Fourie, Du Toit, Le Roux, Viljoen (Villion), Marais, en Du Preez (Des Prez). Deur familie onder-trouery vloei die Des Prez bloed ook sterk in die are van ander families.¹

Die storie van Hercules des Prez en Cecilia d'Athis, hulle ses kinders en 37 kleinkinders, is die kulturele geskiedenis van die eerste drie geslagte van die Suid-Afrikaanse Du Preez's, insluitende die vroulike lyn. Dit is ook 'n kulturele geskiedenis van hulle tydenote soos die Franse setlaars en hulle afstammeling vinnig 'n integrale deel geword het van die samelewing van die dag, en opgeneem is in die ontwikkelende Afrikaner komponent van die Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking.

The Des Prez's who arrived at the Cape in June 1688 were the ancestors of the Du Preez's of South Africa, the male line of which numbers about 25 000 to 30 000 today. Probably an equal number of South African citizens carry the blood of Hercules des Prez and Cecilia d'Athis in their veins through the female line. Of the approximately fifty French refugee family names which survive in South Africa today, eight feature among the thirty-six most populous families in our country. They are: Nel (Néel), Du Plessis, Fourie, Du Toit, Le Roux, Viljoen (Villion), Marais, and Du Preez (Des Prez). Through interfamily marriages, Du Preez blood flows strongly in the veins of the other families too.²

The story of Hercules des Prez, his wife, and their six children and thirty-seven grandchildren, is the cultural history of the first three generations of the South African Du Preez's, including the female line. It is also a cultural history of their contemporaries, as the French settlers and

R.T.J. Lombard, "Die Hugenote-afkoms van die Afrikanervolk", *Bulletin of the Huguenot Society of South Africa* 21, 1983, p. 14.

2. R.T.J. Lombard, "Die Hugenote-afkoms van die Afrikanervolk", *Bulletin of the Huguenot Society of South Africa* 21, 1983, p. 14.

their descendants rapidly became an integral part of the communities of their day, and were assimilated into the developing Afrikaner component of the South African population.

Introduction

The story of Hercules des Prez and his wife Cecilia d'Athis; their six children and their spouses; and the 37 grandchildren and spouses of those who married, is also the story of the French Refugees and the developing settlement at the southern tip of the African continent. Between 1670 and 1730, 299 French Refugees arrived at the Cape. Because they constituted approximately one-fifth of the population of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) settlement at the Cape at the time, these French-speaking foreigners from Western Europe exerted a strong influence on the white component of the embryo South African nation. About twenty French immigrants arrived before 1688 but the bulk, numbering 181, disembarked from eight ships in 1688-1689; the rest in ones and twos during the next four decades. After 1700, immigration of French settlers was stopped officially. The coming of the French was a one-off event in the long history of white immigration to this country.³

2. The Des Prez Refugees travel to the Cape

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, French-speaking Protestants were forced to leave the land of their ancestors because they were denied the freedom to worship according to the dictates of their conscience.⁴ These French Refugees eventually chose as one of their countries of refuge the DEIC settlement at the Cape of Good Hope.⁵ The bulk of the French Refugees who emigrated to South Africa in 1688-1689 travelled in small groups in eight ships from Holland to the Cape. Six ships, one of which was 'De Schelde', arrived between April and August 1688 and two others arrived in 1689.⁶

'De Schelde', a wooden sailing ship 140 feet (42,7 m) long and 35 feet (10,67 m)

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3. The French refugees who arrived at the Cape around 1688-1689 have generally been referred to as "Huguenots". The term already existed in 1309 and was in general use by 1560 as a derogatory name for the Calvinist militants of France. However not all Calvinists were militant and after 1598 (the Edict of Nantes) and especially after 1628 (the fall of La Rochelle), the name fell into temporary disuse. In 1785, the centenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it was decided to revive it as a name of honour for all French Calvinists. In the South African context, it refers to all those who fled from their homeland because of religious persecution, especially after 1685. See C.G.S. de Villiers, "Waar kom die naam 'Huguenoot' vandaan?", *Bulletin of the H.S.S.A.* 7, 1969, p. 12; J. le Roux, "Wie en wat was die Huguenote?", *Bulletin of the H.S.S.A.* 29, 1991-1992, pp. 20-21.
 4. R. Elphick and H. Giliomee, *The shaping of South African society* (Cape Town, 1979), p. 363.
 5. The French who emigrated to the Cape in 1688 never used the name "Huguenot" but referred to themselves as "Refugiés". The name "Huguenots" was also never used by the Dutch authorities in Holland or at the Cape when referring to the French refugees, probably because of its derisory connotation in France. It came into use in South Africa only a century later. The French Settlers at the Cape were called "French Refugees" (Fransche Vluchtelingen) or "French Reformed Refugees" (Fransche Reformeerde Vluchtelingen). They were also referred to as "Free French Settlers", "Emigrated French Refugees" or simply "the French" or "the French Colonists". P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots of South Africa 1688-1988* (Cape Town, 1988), p. 17; J.G. le Roux, *Wie en wat*, pp. 20-21. For the sake of historical accuracy the term "Huguenot" is avoided in this paper as far as possible. So too, the word "French Huguenot" which is a misnomer as there were no other Huguenots.
 6. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 77-82.

wide, traded for the Zeeland Chamber. It sailed from Vlissingen on the Wester Schelde on 19 February 1688 with 23 French Refugees on board, including the Des Prez's and their six children. Charles and Marie Prévot and their children were fellow-passengers. It is not known whether the Des Prez and Prévot families were acquainted before the voyage. There were considerable interfamily marriages later, which indicates that the long confinement at sea on the same ship from 19 February to 5 June 1688 developed a strong bond between them. Travel on board the ship was arduous but the Refugees kept up their courage by prayers every morning and evening and by reading their Bibles. Every family had a Bible in French or a book of French psalms.⁷

The passengers of the 'De Schelde' probably lived, slept and ate in one big cabin or 'salon'. Nobody was permitted on deck during the whole voyage as 150 sailors had to move around in order to work the sails. Each passenger could bring only his most-needed personal possessions with him such as the tools of his trade. They could bring as much money as they wished, but few had any.⁸ Passage and provisions were free. The latter consisted mainly of salted meat boiled in sea-water, pickled fish, hard biscuit, rancid butter, dried beans and peas and small amounts of water. Two glasses of beer or wine daily had to make up for the shortage of water. There was a severe scarcity of fresh vegetables which often led to the problem of scurvy. There were other epidemics or illness too.⁹ In addition to the above privations, the passengers had to endure the rigours of the weather, both heat and cold. There was also the ever-present danger of shipwreck, fire and storms. The Des Prez's and their fellow-voyagers survived at least two severe storms at sea — the first, eight days after sailing from Vlissingen and another, five days before their arrival at the Cape. The latter storm almost destroyed their ship. The 'Cape of Storms' also lived up to its name by preventing the ship from casting anchor in Table Bay. The passengers only disembarked eight days later.¹⁰

The Refugees also experienced a pirate-scare. At A Praia, on the Cape Verde Island of St. Jago (Tiago), the captain was informed that an English privateer had the previous day shown its complete 'impartiality' by capturing an English, a Dutch and a Portuguese ship. The captain of 'De Schelde' hoisted sail as soon as he had taken on a supply of fresh water and proceeded immediately on his voyage south. This prevented the passengers from exercising their sea-legs at Cape Verde, the only stopping place on the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. Fortunately they escaped the attention of Turkish pirates who usually sold their female captives as slaves on the Middle-East markets.¹¹

After an unpleasant journey of three months, the eight Des Prez's and their fifteen fellow-passengers arrived in Table Bay on 29 May 1688. Stormy weather delayed their disembarkation and they went ashore only on 5 June. Despite the privations suffered there were no deaths nor any sickness on board.¹² The Des Prez's, who arrived at the Cape in June 1688 were Hercules des Prez, born c.1645, and Cecilia d'Athis, born c.1650, of Kortrijk (Courtrai) in Flanders (Vlaanderen, Flandre), later French Flanders; Elisabeth born 1670; Hercules born 1672 (or 1673); Marie-Jeanne born 1675; François-Jean born 1677; Jacquemine born c.1679; Philippe born c.1681. They were the ancestors of the Du Preez's

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7. The Des Prez family also had their Certificate of Membership from the Walloon (French-speaking) Church in Vlissingen. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, p. 80.
 8. M.H.C. du Preez, "Reis na die Kaap", *Die Knouterout* 1, 1971, p. 2.
 9. M.H.C. du Preez, "Reis na die Kaap", *Die Knouterout* 1, 1971, p. 2.
 10. M.H.C. du Preez, "Reis na die Kaap", *Die Knouterout* 1, 1971, p. 3.
 11. M.H.C. du Preez, "Reis na die Kaap", *Die Knouterout* 1, 1971, p. 3.
 12. M.H.C. du Preez, "Ons familie se oorsprong", *Du Preez-Nuus* 1, 1976, p. 3.

3. Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope in June 1688

In the December 1687 census the whole settlement at the Cape numbered just over a thousand white people: 573 burghers (men, women and children) and 39 knechts, with the remainder being Company officials and their families. There were 310 slaves, including children. Ten years later Cape Town still had only 300 homes.¹⁴ Thus, at the time of the arrival of the French Refugees, Cape Town was a very small town. By then, the shortage of grain and wine had disappeared and the problem became one of over-production. Nevertheless the Commander at the Cape, Simon van der Stel, promised to receive the French Refugees with goodwill and to offer them a helping hand. He regarded the first arrivals on 26 April as 'pious and diligent' and was sure that if the others to follow were like the first group, the French would contribute greatly to the development of the Colony and spur the Dutch to greater effort. However the first arrivals were already expressing disappointment between 26 April and 1 May. They did not find in Cape Town what they had been promised.¹⁵ Evidently, the Commander was not happy with them either, for seven days after the arrival of 'De Schelde', Van der Stel remarked that the new arrivals "exceeded the previous arrivals in virtue and diligence to help themselves forward".¹⁶ More French Refugees arrived in August 1688, among them, the French pastor, Pierre Simond. He remained in Cape Town until all the new Refugees had come ashore by 26 August.¹⁷

Van der Stel did not immediately grant farms to the French as they arrived between April and August 1688. The great majority were housed and fed in Cape Town until 15 October of that year when Van der Stel accompanied them personally into the interior. Apparently he did not want to dump the new arrivals on the open veld during the wet winter months for which the Cape was notorious. However some did move inland from 26 May 1688 to start taming the wilderness after they were issued with farming requisites. They left their families in Cape Town. Hercules des Prez and his family remained in Cape Town and were housed and fed for some time by a Cape Town burgher. The Dutch Government had forbidden the French to take any possessions with them except unlimited amounts of money, of which Hercules and his fellow-Refugees had very little. Although a linen-worker by trade, it is unlikely that he even brought his tailor's tools with him. Thus the Du Preez's ancestor was probably as destitute as most of his compatriots.¹⁸

4. Dissatisfaction with their farms

Between 26 August and 13 October Pierre Simond visited the few French who had ventured into the interior and were struggling for survival. He found them in extremely difficult and wretched conditions on their original grants of land in Drakenstein. Some were disgruntled

13. R.T.J. Lombard, "Die Hugenote-afkoms", p. 14.

14. See F. Leguat, *The voyage of François Leguat of Bresse to Rodriguez, Mauritius, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1891), 2 vols. (edited and annotated by P. Oliver).

P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, p. 82; F.C. Fensham, "Grepe uit die vestiging van die Hugenote in Suid-Afrika", *Bulletin of H.S.S.A.* 26, 1988-1989, p. 21.

16. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 79-80.

17. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 79-80.

18. F.C. Fensham, "Grepe uit die vestiging", p. 21.

with their farms and had other complaints. They begged the pastor to ask Van der Stel to give them better land. He promised to pass on their requests.¹⁹ However, much help was given to the Des Prez family and their fellow-French who were still in Cape Town. The Charity Board of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town provided money for bread, ship's biscuits, dried peas and salt meat which were distributed by the deacons. This was to meet the immediate need for food. Before the French left for the interior the Company provided planks for building their shacks and also gave them money. Food and other household necessities to last for six months until the harvest were also provided, including wheat (for sowing) for those farmers who had none. Hercules and the others also received clothing, seeds and seedlings, and agricultural implements. The recipients had to repay the interest-free loan with wheat. In October 1688 collection lists were circulated among the Dutch burghers at the Cape to help the French. Some burghers gave money and some gave goods. 950 sheep were promised.²⁰

5. Settling on the new farms

Although Simon van der Stel had received the French settlers in a friendly manner and had treated them well, he still regretted that they were not Netherlanders. He wanted to keep the Cape Dutch, with Dutch as the only official language. However he had to be satisfied with the French colonists who had been sent out by the Chamber of Seventeen (XVII). His plan was not to settle the Refugees together to form a 'Little France' but to spread them among the other colonists in Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. In this way more rapid assimilation would take place and this would prevent a French colony from being established at the Cape, which was the wish of the XVII.²¹

The winter of 1688 was stormy and lasted a long time, but finally, on 15 October 1688 the Des Prez's set off with the Commander from the Castle for the interior, with the French pastor and twelve wagon loads of French Refugees and their paraphernalia. The Company, the Charity Board, the burghers of Cape Town and the Burgher Council and Heemraaden of Stellenbosch provided the transport for the Settlers — six wagons from each town. Soldiers drove the Company wagons. The group travelled to the cattle-post at De Kuylen (Kuils River) where they spent the night. Then they continued their journey via Polka Draai and Stellenbosch Kloof to Stellenbosch which they reached on Saturday the 16th. On Tuesday the 19th, the Commander shared out 100 trek oxen and twenty heifers, charged to the Free Burghers' account. After allocating a few farms in Stellenbosch to new settlers, the Commander and his party travelled on Wednesday, 20 October, via the cattle-post at 'De Kleine Hottentots Holland' (Klapmuts) to Drakenstein. During the following three days, Van der Stel explored the Olifants Hoek Valleij (later Franschoek) and the beautiful farming land east of the Berg River. He also explored the valley south of Drakenstein which he named 'Stellenkeurs Valleij' and on Sunday, 24 October 1688, allocated land to the new settlers. At the same time those earlier French settlers who were dissatisfied with the original allocation of farms in Drakenstein obtained permission to settle on new farms. It was not easy to find suitable farming soil for all of them. The eventual title-deeds of the French

19. J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap* (Pretoria, 1978), pp. 14-15.

20. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 82-86, 91-94.

21. J. Fisher, *The Afrikaners* (London, 1969), p. 17; T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A modern history* (Johannesburg, 1987), p. 23.

settlers reflected the situation as it existed after 24 October 1688.²²

Hercules des Prez and his fellow-French compatriots thus started life in South Africa, dumped on the open veld which was overgrown with the 'wagon boom' (the three-like protea nitida) and 'fyn bos' (bush and shrubs), on the wild frontier of a new country. They had only the few personal possessions they were able to bring with them plus a certain amount of food, materials, equipment and livestock supplied by the Company. Moreover the list of goods supplied is dated 30 June 1690 which indicates they did not receive everything on their arrival and settlement. There was almost no transport as horses were very scarce and they could not afford ox-wagons. Some of them received a little help from the surrounding farmers. Others even found shelter in the humble huts of these Dutch-speaking burghers. They were surrounded by bush, wild animals and nomadic Khoikhoi. On top of this many of them had never been farmers, e.g., Des Prez was a tailor/linen worker.

Some of the Refugees had received fertile land on the slopes of the Simonsberg (Simon's Mountain) with its mountain water. However others were given land stretching eastwards between the present road to Franschoek, and the Berg River. It consisted of a rocky plain which provided only very poor grazing in winter and nothing in summer. The lower terrace along the Berg River, only a small portion of the farms granted, was fertile and thus suitable for grain crops and vineyards. However this land suffered from winter floods and was swampy during the rainy season. Except for Charles Marais (Marré) on 'Le Plessis Marie', and Jacques de Savoye on 'Vrede-en-Lust' and 'Rust-en-Vrede', whose farms were on the fertile slopes of the Simonsberg, the others complained about the size of their farms and the quality of the land they were given. For instance De Savoye's land, 120 morgen, was double the size of the average farm granted to the French.²³

Whilst focusing on the settling of the Des Prez's and their fellow-French Refugees in South Africa from 1688 onwards, one must nevertheless bear in mind that these new immigrants thereby became party to the European 'invasion' of the Cape. Within a hundred years of Van Riebeeck's landing in 1652, the European settlers dispossessed the Khoikhoi and San of their traditional hunting and grazing grounds and limited their freedom of movement. Game, their chief source of food, was wiped out by the 'invader' hunters, or else fled further into the interior. Having lost their main food supply, the San and Khoikhoi resorted to raiding the white man's livestock. One can thus understand their hostility to the white settlers, and their 'thievery', right from the start in 1652. The Des Prez children were also caught up in this situation, especially after Philippe, the youngest son, settled on the northern frontier in the Land of Waveren in 1706.

6. The Des Prez's on 'Den Zoeten Inval' in Drakenstein

Hercules des Prez occupied the farm allocated to him on or around 24 October 1688. The 62-morgen (53ha) farm lay on the western bank of the Berg River in Drakenstein (Suider Paarl today). Hercules called it 'Den Zoeten Inval' which means "The Sweet Haven".²⁴

F.C. Fensham, "Hugenote-vroue", *Bulletin of H.S.S.A.* 25, 1987-1988, p. 29; P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 90-94; F.C. Fensham, "Greppe uit die vestiging", pp. 21, 25.

23. J.L.M. Franken, "Die vestiging van die Franse Vlughtelinge aan die Kaap", *Die Burger*, 7 September 1939; J.J. Hugo, "Daniël Hugo aan die Kaap", *Bulletin of H.S.S.A.* 27, 1989-1990, pp. 41-42.

24. He gave it a Dutch name unlike so many of his French neighbours who gave their farms French names. This was probably because he knew Dutch, the language of his Flemish neighbours in his native Flanders. He had also lived in Holland for a short time before coming to the Cape.

The Berg River ford on Den Zoeten Inval became known as Cecilia's Drift.²⁵ The destitute Des Prez family immediately erected a temporary shack of planks and clay, with a roof of grass thatch, near the river but above the flood plain. Their farm on the open veld was unfenced, covered with indigenous vegetation, surrounded by predators and exposed to the Cape spring which could still be cold and wet. Khoikhoi and San were also a danger to the new arrivals. With the farming implements the Company had provided they began clearing the land. They also levelled it for planting vegetable seeds and seedlings and for sowing wheat, all of which was also provided by the Company. They had to have bread and wheat was sown even though it was too late in the Cape season. They had to survive until the expected harvest on the provisions provided by the Charity Board, the Company and generous burghers of Cape Town and Stellenbosch. However, not all the help was immediately forthcoming.

Des Prez was assisted on the farm by his wife and older children, including 16-year-old Hercules the younger. 18-year-old Elisabeth had meanwhile married Pieter (Pierre) Jansz (Janse) van Marseveen,²⁶ a Stellenbosch burgher, in July 1688.²⁷ Den Zoeten Inval was too small, the land was not fertile — swampy near the river and rocky in the higher lying areas — and the weather was against them. The wheat harvest at the end of 1688 was so poor that Des Prez and most of the French settlers did not even bother to reap their meagre crops. Thus they all had to continue to depend on Company assistance to survive until they could become self-sufficient. They had to wait for up to two years for all the promised help. Nevertheless part of Den Zoeten Inval was suitable for the production of wheat and wine and after three to four years Des Prez had good harvests. He also kept sheep and cattle. Thus it was a mixed farm like the other farms at the Cape in the 17th century. Hercules des Prez on Den Zoeten Inval was in the centre of the French settlement spread out in the Valley of the Berg River from Franschhoek in the south to Dal Josaphat in the north.

7. Difficult living conditions

Van der Stel was not unaware of the difficulties faced by Hercules des Prez and the other French settlers. On 15 April 1689 he informed the XVII in Holland that the French would need to be helped for the first three or four years. He pointed out the great physical effort required of them to prepare the land to bear wheat, vineyards and other fruit. The land had never been 'cultivated or disturbed since creation'. It first had to be cleared of all wild animals and useless weeds as well as of shrubs, 'kreupel' bushes and the roots of the same. In another letter written a week later he spoke of their pressing poverty because 'in this wild and desolate land' they would not be able to enjoy the fruits of their labour for the next three or four years. However because of 'trouble' they caused when they were allocated their farms six months earlier, he was suspicious of them. There were already 150 French Refugees in the land and that was enough, he said. They knew little about farming and did it half-heartedly; some were guilty of bad behaviour, others had to be supported by the Deaconate and the Company.²⁸

The French were also dissatisfied. Although they were given free farms in the most

25. M.H.C. du Preez, *Die herkoms van die Du Preez-familie in Suid-Afrika* (Paarl, 1974), pp. 10-11; J.G. le Roux, "Waar was hulle plase?", *Bulletin of H.S.S.A.* 23, 1985-1986, p. 40.

26. There are a number of variants of this name, for example, Marsaveen, Marsevene, Maarzaveen, Marzeveeren.

27. They were allocated their own farm nearby, in Paarl Diamant at the foot of Paarl Mountain.

28. L. Bryer and F. Theron, *The Huguenot heritage* (Diep River, 1987), pp. 44-45.

fruitful and picturesque part of the colony, they objected to being scattered among the Dutch. Early in 1689 Pastor Simond submitted their request to the Commander to live near each other but he refused. Some of them were so unhappy about this that they even refused to take up farms granted to them and went to work for other farmers as knechts. Although they had their own French pastor they were dissatisfied because there was no separate French congregation. They were part of the Stellenbosch congregation and under its church council even though it did not have an ordained minister yet. On 15 June 1689 Simond wrote directly to the XVII asking that the French be permitted to live closer together. He also informed them of the preaching and pastoral-care difficulties he would have if the French formed part of the Stellenbosch congregation. Therefore, he was applying on behalf of his French church members at Drakenstein for a separate congregation and church council. A deputation consisting of the pastor and four other Frenchmen, including Louis Cordier, visited the Castle on 29 November 1689 to request farms which bordered on each other, and for their own congregation and church council at Drakenstein. Van der Stel refused to receive them and accused them of leading a lazy life under 'the cloak of religious persecution'. They were better treated than the Dutch but were disloyal in return, he said.²⁹ He called them in and told them never to bother him again with such 'impertinent requests'. However the French did not give up hope.

On 6 December 1690, the XVII, acting on the letter sent by Pierre Simond in June 1689, permitted the French Refugees to establish their own congregation in Drakenstein, with their own church council. On the other hand they were not permitted to live closer together in one community. The teachers at Drakenstein and Stellenbosch had to be, if possible, bilingual and apply themselves especially to teaching the French children the Dutch language. In that way Van der Stel would be able to integrate them more fully into the community. Thus in 1691 Drakenstein became the third congregation in the Cape. Louis Cordier became one of its first elders. The French had won their first battle with the Cape authorities.³⁰

Nevertheless, Van der Stel was not happy with the French settlers and complained as early as 28 November 1689 that they had not come up to the authorities' expectations. On 29 June 1691 he declared openly that he had purposely placed the French among the Dutch settlers so that they would learn the Dutch language and values and be integrated thereby into the Dutch nation. "We find that they still have the fickle nature and that they are very much like the Israelites, who, in spite of God feeding them in the desert, still longed for the onion-pots of Egypt".³¹ In the same year he stated that because of problems with the French over land, integration, church and schooling, he did not want any more French Refugees. He wanted "hard-working and devout farmers and labourers such as the Dutch and High Germans". He repeated this again in 1699 in his instructions to his successor, his son Willem Adriaen.³²

8. More assistance for the French Refugees

On 30 December 1689 the Cape was notified that 6 000 rix-dollars (about 18 000 guilders) was being sent to Pastor Pierre Simond from the Charity Board in Batavia for the benefit of the French Refugees. On 17-19 April 1690 the money was distributed among 'the poor

29. J. Fisher, *The Afrikaners*, p. 17. Hercules des Prez was not a member of the deputation. Louis Cordier's daughter, Marie, later married Francois-Jean des Prez.

30. L. Bryer and F. Theron, *The Huguenot heritage* 43, pp. 49-50; J. Fisher, *The Afrikaners*, p. 18.

31. L. Bryer and F. Theron, *The Huguenot heritage*, p. 54.

32. L. Bryer and F. Theron, *The Huguenot heritage*, pp. 54-55.

French fugitives' according to their needs. 'Hercules de Pré with wife and five children' received 510 guilders. 'Elizabeth du Pré, young unmarried woman' received 100 guilders. In fact she had married Pieter ('Hakkelaar') Janz van Marseveen in July 1688, and was therefore not included in Hercules's family when help was given from the fund. Apart from the money received from Batavia, Hercules and his fellow-French were also given a considerable amount of cash from local sources. Van der Stel mentioned that 18 000 guilders had been paid to the French Refugees on 18 April 1690. A few Refugees did not need financial help but were assisted in other ways. It was further recorded that 'Hercules du Pré, the elder' was among the French Refugees who received supplies from the Company on credit, to the value of 583 guilders. 'Hercules du Pré, the younger' received supplies to the value of 424 guilders but no money from the Charity fund in his own name. Others received supplies but no money. Supplies to the total retail value of 17 000 guilders were provided on credit to the French settlers in 1688-1690. Des Prez and his eldest son each received on credit supplies such as the following from the Company's stores:

Food: Wheat, fish oil, olive oil, pepper, salt vinegar, sugar, coffee, tea tobacco, wine, etc.

Building materials: planks, bags of nails, etc

Building tools: hatchets/axes, chisels, planes, handsaws, augers, files hammers, drilling bits, trowels, etc.

Kitchen utensils and equipment iron pots, plates, cups, cutlery, kettles, flints, etc.

Agricultural implements and supplies: spades, shovels, sickles, threshing tools, scythes, a quarter-share in a plough, canvas cotton, cable rope, gunny sacks, etc.

Hunting materials: lead, gunpowder, flintlock stones, knives, etc. Flintlocks or firelocks were shared with others.

Livestock: oxen for ploughing and transport; other cattle plus sheep and poultry for meat, clothing, etc. (Horses were scarce in the colony and only when a farmer prospered could he afford to buy one or more horses.)³³

9. Hardship during the first few years

The hardship suffered by the French during the first three or four years was very real. In June 1689 they were still waiting for 950 sheep promised them by the Dutch burghers in October 1688. The money from the Batavia Fund was distributed only on 17-19 April 1690. Company supplies were provided between 1688 and 1690.³⁴ In a letter to the XVII dated 15 June 1689 Pierre Simond wrote about the conditions under which Hercules des Prez and his fellow-French settled in Drakenstein:

33. J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote*, pp. 20-21; P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 82-86

34. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 82-86, 112-113.

Even though they have better ground, they are not thereby better off, because they do not have the means to equip themselves properly. Words fail to express the trouble they had in building their houses, small as they were. Wood is scarce in this country. There was little that was suitable for building and they had to go far to cut in and then carry it home on their backs because they lacked a wagon or had to pay a high price for a vehicle to transport the wood. It is a time-consuming task and some are not finished yet. The transport of the corn and other articles that the Company advanced to them is a more difficult problem. The nearest settlers are more than 12 hours from Cape Town and need two days to reach it. What aggravates their misery even more, is that they could do nothing in 1688, even though a large number of them had arrived in more than enough time to sow their grain if they were able to do so and had fertile soil. What is more dismal, is that I do not foresee how they are going to succeed in doing anything this year. It is late in the sowing season and they have no ploughs and most of them have no oxen.³⁵

An illustration of the difficulties experienced by the French Refugees in their efforts to wrestle a living out of the desolate region in which they found themselves, is found in the Will of Pieter and Hester van der Bijl of Stellenbosch, drawn up in July 1713. Amongst other things, they spoke of "temporal goods and means granted to us by God's grace and dearly purchased out of the African wilderness at the cost of our sweat and blood".³⁶ This was the cost the Des Prez's also had to pay when they settled on the new frontiers of the colony at the Cape at the end of the 17th and during the 18th century.

After the initial hardship the French began to prosper. The climate at the Cape was essentially healthy, the soil mostly fertile, game plentiful, and farms and farm houses were cheap. Thus despite the difficulties and hardships of the first three or four years, the French learned to cope with conditions at the Cape and many became quite prosperous. When the new vineyards, wheat-fields and orchards bore their harvests, the future began to look brighter. Because their farms were too small, the more prosperous French often held more than one farm in different places through purchase or, in some cases, through inheritance or marriage. Some farmers were also granted outlying farms for their growing flocks and herds. From 1700 to 1715, twenty-eight farmers were recorded as owning more than one farm. These included two of Hercules des Prez's sons: Hercules the younger and Philippe. However, the father, Hercules, lived for only seven years on Den Zoeten Inval and never owned a second farm.³⁷

Only rich farmers could afford to own slaves and it was some time before any of the French could become slave-owners. They borrowed slaves from their Dutch neighbours to help with the farming, building operations and fencing of property. They also employed white knechts (servants) and Khoikhoi extensively in these activities. Some of the slave and Khoikhoi even learned to speak French. Hercules des Prez never owned a slave but Pierre du Mont bought one in 1699, a year before he married Des Prez's widow. She owned three slaves at the time of her death in 1720. Her children also owned slaves after 1700.³⁸

35. J.J. Hugo, "Daniel Hugo aan die Kaap", p. 41.

36. J.J. Hugo, "Daniel Hugo aan die Kaap", p. 42.

37. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 115-117.

38. A.J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700* (Cape Town, 1977), pp. 157-194.

10. Mixed farming among the French

Products produced by the French were wine and brandy (mainly of poor quality), cereals (wheat, rye, barley and maize), livestock (cattle and sheep and a few pigs), vegetables (carrots, cabbages, turnips, lettuce and onions amongst others), fruit (watermelons, sweetmelons, oranges, lemons, apples, pears, pomegranates and cherries), nuts (almonds and chestnuts), herbs, mulberry trees (for silk production) and olives. Unfortunately silk and olive production did not succeed at the Cape at that time. Van der Stel blamed the French but this was hardly fair. The farmers produced perishable goods for their own use only, because of the distance from Cape Town. Cattle provided milk, meat and transport; sheep provided wool and meat; hides and skins were used for shoes, clothes, riems, etc. Barter with the Khoikhoi was illegal before 1700 but the French obtained much of their livestock in this manner from their nomadic neighbours. The farmers had very few horses. The French settlers gave so much attention to wine production that they neglected the cultivation of wheat. This led to excessive drinking. Not until 1695, the year in which Hercules des Prez died, were the French well-settled and producing grain. However in March 1699 W.A. van der Stel forbade the distilling of liquor from cereals to prevent the shortage of bread.³⁹

The muster-roll of 1692 shows that Hercules des Prez the elder was, after the initial years of hardship and privation, very successful in his mixed-farming activities. He owned 23 cattle, second only to Jacques de Savoye who had 30 cattle and 400 sheep — more than any other French Free Burgher. He planted 6 000 vines on Den Zoeten Inval but was exceeded by a number of his neighbours who each planted between 7 000 and 10 000. Hercules also harvested 25 bags of wheat, 25 bags of rye and 3 bags of barley. François du Toit was the largest producer of grain that year.⁴⁰

11. The areas settled by the Des Prez's and the French

Before and after 1688 a few French settled in and around the District of Stellenbosch, which included present-day Stellenbosch, Vlottenberg, Somerset West, Strand and Kuils River. They were not many as the French preferred living close together in the Valley of the Berg River. By 1699 twelve French Refugees, most with families, were known to have settled in the Stellenbosch District. They included François Villion (Viljoen) whose daughter, Cornelia, became the second wife of Hercules des Prez the younger in 1702 or 1703; Guillaume du Toit and Guillaume Néel (Nel), fellow-rebels with Hercules des Prez the younger in 1705-1707; Pierre le Fèvre and his sister Barbère (Cleef), with whom the orphan Isaïe Caucheteux lived before marrying Anne van Marseveen, daughter of Elisabeth des Prez, in 1708; the surgeon Jean Prieur du Plessis whose surgeon son, Charl Prieur, married Anne's sister Cecilia in 1712; and the surgeon Gédéon le Grand who became the Des Prez physician and lived with Elisabeth while practising in Drakenstein.

By 1699 however, the Des Prez's and the bulk of their French compatriots were settled in the Valley of the Berg River as follows: Olifants Hoek which became Le Coin Francais, De Fransche Hoek or Franschoek, (all of which means French Corner) — 10 families; Groot Drakenstein (west of the Berg River, including Simondium) — 21 families (Hercules des Prez the younger and his brother François-Jean, lived here after their marriages in 1696 or 1697 and 1705 respectively); Klein Drakenstein (east of the Berg River, Paarl and

39. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 110-115.

40. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 116-117.

Dal Josaphat) — 15 families (Jacqueline des Prez and her sister Marie-Jeanne lived here after their marriages in 1695 (or 1696) and 1697 respectively. Their elder sister Elisabeth moved here in 1714); foot of Paarl Mountain (West of the Berg River, Noorder and Suider Paarl, and Paarl Diamant or Central Paarl) — five families (Hercules des Prez the elder and his family lived in Suider Paarl from 1688. Elizabeth des Prez lived in Paarl Diamant after her marriage in the same year); Lemiet Vallei at the foot of the Lemiet Berg, called 'Val du Charron' (Wagonmakers Valley), then Wagen Makers Vallei from 1717, then Wellington a century later — twelve families (freehold farms were granted in February 1699 and Philippe des Prez and his future step-father, Pierre du Mont, were among the original settlers here. François-Jean des Prez moved here in 1708 from Groot Drakenstein).⁴¹

Despite the dissatisfaction of the French settlers about their living conditions and their grievances against Simon van der Stel, Leguat reports on 12 February 1698 that

The Cape is an extraordinary refuge for the French Protestants who live in good correspondence with the Hollanders augmented by a considerable number of French, the Company maintaining a minister and a reader for them and affording them every day fresh tokens of their respect. They are perfectly at ease, some of them having become wealthy. ... (they peacefully enjoyed their good fortune there and got on well with the Hollanders who, as everyone knows, are frank and straightforward by nature'.⁴²

On 21 November 1719 the Council of Policy appointed a commission to investigate the indebtedness incurred by the French Refugees nearly thirty years before.⁴³ Apparently some were still struggling to make a living in their adopted country. However, as we have seen, many others had prospered. No Des Prez name appears on the list of indebtedness of 1719.⁴⁴ Hercules des Prez and his children and grandchildren can be numbered among the French who became successful South African settlers in the last part of the 17th and the first part of the 18th centuries.

12. Death of Hercules des Prez and the widow Cecilia

Hercules des Prez died in 1695 after only seven short years on his farm, Den Zoeten Inval. The exact date of death is not known. His name appeared on the muster-roll in July 1694 but he was definitely deceased by 2 November 1695 because on that date Cecilia d'Athis signed a Contract of Hire, as a widow, for a white labourer (knecht). There was an earthquake at the Cape on 4 September 1695 and one can but speculate if this was the cause of Des Prez's death or not. He was probably buried on Den Zoeten Inval as was the custom with those who possessed farms of their own.⁴⁵ The assets of his estate totalled 4 253 rix-dollars and his liabilities were 2 057 rds. Thus he died solvent. He left behind 414 sheep, 35 cattle and a horse — the latter a luxury at that time. He possessed no slaves but had employed a knecht or white servant at a monthly wage of ten guilders plus the usual payments

41. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, p. 91; J.G. le Roux, "Die Wamakersvallei in 1850", *Bulletin of H.S.S.A.* 26, 1988-1989, p. 43.

42. F. Leguat, *The voyages of François Leguat*.

43. F. Leguat, *The voyages of François Leguat*, pp. 9-10.

44. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, p. 86.

45. However some were buried in the church burial places, e.g., his widow, Cecilia d'Athis, was buried inside the new Drakenstein church in 1720.

in kind.⁴⁶

Cecilia outlived Hercules by 25 years and continued her active life. In Drakenstein she hired a knecht, Jan Harmse van Deventer, who worked on an annual contract basis from 2 November 1695 to 1699. Van Deventer was paid 10½ guilders 'cash in hand' per month and was also provided with food, tea, tobacco and liquor as well as accommodation.⁴⁷ In 1700 the 50-year-old widow married Pierre du Mont of the Lemiet Valleij and made his farm, 'Zoeten Dal', her new home. Pierre du Mont, a French Refugee from Calais, arrived at the Cape about 1696. He was known to have been in Drakenstein in 1698 as he was godfather to Pierre van Marseveen, son of Elisabeth des Prez, on 24 August of the year. The infant's grandmother, Cecilia d'Athis des Prez, was godmother. On 28 February 1699 he was among those granted 30-morgen farms in the Lemiet Valleij. Du Mont's farm, 'Zoeten Dal', was on the Compagnies Rivier in Agter Groen Berg, near present-day Hermon. He bought his first slave soon after that. On 14 June 1699 he and Marie le Fèvre, wife of Hercules des Prez the younger, were godparents at the baptism of Marie, first child of Philippe des Prez and Elisabeth Prévot. For the baptism on 10 April 1701 of their next child, Hercules, they chose Hercules des Prez the younger and his mother Cecilia. The friendship of Du Mont and the widow Des Prez led to their marriage in 1700. At the time of Cecilia's second marriage her only unmarried child, François-Jean, was still living with her. He took over farming operations on Den Zoeten Inval until his own marriage in 1705. Probably the brothers Hercules, François-Jean and Philippe cared for farming operations on the old family farm between 1705-1716. Pierre du Mont died on Zoeten Dal before 3 August 1716 leaving no descendants.⁴⁸

Cecilia probably moved back to Den Zoeten Inval after August 1716. On 16 August 1718 she secured the sought-after Drakenstein wine-and-brandy monopoly or lease (pacht), comparable to a wholesale liquor licence, for which she bid the equivalent of R300,00 at the annual auction of such monopolies at the Castle. In 1719 she obtained the monopoly again for the equivalent of R460,00. Den Zoeten Inval is still a wine farm today.⁴⁹

13. Death of Cecilia d'Athis des Prez du Mont

Cecilia d'Athis died on her farm Den Zoeten Inval on 15 November 1720 at the age of seventy years and was buried inside the church in Suider Paarl as became a woman of her means. This church had been dedicated just five months before. She lived long enough at the Cape to see all her children married and all but one of her grandchildren baptized. She outlived two husbands, a daughter, a daughter-in-law and a son-in-law, at least three grandchildren, and one great-grandchild. She shared in the adversities and prosperity of the Free Burghers on the 'frontier' in Drakenstein. She saw her children trek into the interior as the frontier expanded to the Lemiet Valleij (Wagen Makers Valleij) and then to the Land of Waveren. She also witnessed the French become an established part of the Dutch-speaking nation at the Cape.⁵⁰

According to the inventory of her will, Cecilia d'Athis was reasonably well-off at her death. She left Den Zoeten Inval to her youngest child, Philippe, who lived in the Land of

46. M.H.C. du Preez, *Herkoms*, pp. 10-11.

47. M.H.C. du Preez, *Die Knouterout* 1, 1971, pp. 3.

48. C.G. Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape* (Cape Town, 1970), pp. 101-110; M.H.C. du Preez, *Die Knouterout* 2, 1972, p. 2; J.G. le Roux, *Hugenotbloed in ons are* (Pretoria, 1988), p. 83.

49. M.H.C. du Preez, *Herkoms*, pp. 11-12.

50. M.H.C. du Preez, *Herkoms*, pp. 11-12.

Waveren.⁵¹ The transfer was recorded on 11 March 1721. Each of Cecilia's six children were beneficiaries in her will. She also included a few of her grandchildren, especially the children of Elisabeth, François-Jean, and Jacquemine. Cecilia set aside 297 rix-dollars for her funeral although a grave inside the new church cost only 25 rds. She left behind the French Family-Bible and a small box of family papers, including the certificate of membership of the Walloon Church in Vlissingen, Holland. Paul Roux bought the Bible from the estate and the certificate eventually landed up in the Cape Archives, the only one of its kind to survive in South Africa. The inventory also included the following: nine porcelain teacups and saucers, a slate, a chest (kist) with copper bands, two guns, two copper teakettles, one copper distilling kettle with accessories, a large number of vats which included three half-aums of brandy, an ox-wagon, 133 head of cattle including oxen, and 272 sheep. She also had two male slaves, Antonie and Jan (Jantje), and a female slave named Lijsbeth. She had purchased Jantje of Macassar from Salomon de Gournay a short while before he left the Cape on permanent return to Europe after almost thirty years in South Africa. The date of sale was recorded as 6 February 1718.⁵²

14. Friends and enemies of the Des Prez's

The Des Prez's were good friends of the Prévots, Du Toits, Du Plessis' and Cordiers. There were many interfamily marriages between the children and grandchildren of these families. Hercules the younger was also a good friend of Adam Tas and his uncle Henning Hüsing and he joined them in the rebellion against Governor W.A. van der Stel in 1705.⁵³ Such was the close relationship between Hercules and Hüsing that the latter signed as witness of the inventory of Hercules's estate on his death in 1721.⁵⁴ The Des Prez's were however not on good terms with the Hugods and the De Savoyes. Their pastor, Pierre Simond, probably influenced them against the De Savoyes. He spread such ugly stories about the latter family that these stories even reached the XVII in Amsterdam. There were many quarrels, some of which led to court cases between the Des Prez children on the one hand and Jacques de Savoye and Daniël Hugod on the other hand. Both Hercules des Prez the younger and Hugod were stubborn, fiery-tempered men, making conflict between these close neighbours in Drakenstein (Simondium) inevitable. The Du Prez's were not easy people to get on with. They were easily irritated and were often at variance with some of their neighbours, yet they were never in trouble with the law.⁵⁵

15. The Des Prez's become Du Preez's, the 'Africaanders'

By the second and third generations the French became 'Africaanders' (Afrikaners) like their

51. It was a common practice in those days to leave the family farm to the youngest son and not to the eldest. Philippe died by May 1722 and Den Zoeten Inval became the possession of his widow, Elisabeth Prévot.

52. M.H.C. du Preez, *Die Knouterhout* 2, 1972, p. 2; M.H.C. du Preez, *Herkoms*, pp. 11-12; A.J. Boëseken and M. Cairns, *The secluded valley. Tulbagh: 't Land van Waveren 1700-1804* (Cape Town, 1989), pp. 43, 135.

53. Although Hercules the younger was charged with sedition by W.A. van der Stel in 1706, he was completely exonerated.

54. P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, pp. 93-97.

55. M.H.C. du Preez, *Die Knouterhout* 3, 1972, p. 5; J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote*, pp. 34-51.

Dutch, German and Scandinavian neighbours.⁵⁶ Thus the grandchildren of Hercules des Prez and Cecilia d'Athis became Dutch-speaking Afrikaners even though most of them were still 100% French by birth. Even fourth generation ancestor Pieter Johannes du Preez (1748-1829), 100% French by descent, was a Dutch-speaking Afrikaner. Ironically the French may have contributed to the eventual death of the Dutch language in South Africa because of the deformation and simplification which occurred when they were forced to speak this foreign tongue. Along with the slaves and Khoikhoi, they may have been one of the originators of Afrikaans.⁵⁷

The family name Des Prez or Des Pres was already becoming 'Dutchified' by 1702. Various spellings were De Pré, Du Pré, De Pree, Du Pree and Du Preez, the latter being the most common form in South Africa today. Their French first names were already being spelt in Dutch from about the same time; for example, Jacques — Jacobus, Pierre —Pieter.⁵⁸

Conclusion

There are a number of reminders of the Des Prez Family in Drakenstein today:

Farm: The southern part of the original farm bears the name 'De Zoete Inval' and is owned by Adrian Robert Frater, son of Peter Frater whose great-great-grandmother was a Du Preez. The farm produces wine of origin, i.e., an estate wine. The northern portion of the farm is called 'Firwoods' and is owned by a Joubert. The Du Preez Monument is situated at the entrance to this part of the old farm.

Suburbs: 'De Zoete Inval', lies between the farm and the road to Franschhoek. 'Courtraï' lies on the mountain side of the main road in Suid Paarl and was part of the original Des Prez farm.

Streets: Cecilia Street, east of Paarl station, runs south across the N1 to the farm and also to the suburb of De Zoete Inval. De Zoete Inval road runs through the suburb of the same name to the farm itself. Also in this suburb but with no access to the farm, are: Des Pres Street, Datis Street, Hercules Street, Cortryk Street and Schelde Street.

Drift: Cecilia's Drift on the Berg River, has existed from the time Den Zoeten Inval was established. There are two bridges at the drift, one on the old road and the other on the N1. The latter carries the new route through the Huguenot Tunnel in Du Toit's Kloof to the interior.

Descendants: There are tens of thousands of South Africans who carry the blood of Hercules des Prez and Cecilia d'Athis in their veins. Through interfamily marriages with other South Africans of French, Dutch, German, Scandinavian and British descent, Du Preez blood flows strongly in the veins of the other families too. As is the case with most Afrikaner families,

56. L. Bryer and F. Theron, *Huguenot heritage*, pp. 52-53; P. Coertzen, *The Huguenots*, p. 98.

57. H. du Preez, "French, language of the Huguenots", *Bulletin of H.S.S.A.* 27, 1989-1990, p. 25.

58. The French spelling of first names and family names of Hercules des Prez and Cecilia d'Athis, their six children and thirty-seven grandchildren, has been used in this paper. The Des Prez parents and their children were born Walloons in Flanders and therefore had French names. 36 of 37 third-generation des Prez's were born during the lifetime of their French grandmother and thus were given French first names. In practice their names were most often Dutchified in the records kept by Dutch officials.

the Du Preez's also have a healthy dose of mixed blood,⁵⁹ and the Du Preez name can be found in all stratas of South Africa's "Rainbow" society. The blood of a Khoikhoi (Eva van Meerhof, through De Vries); a Guinean slave (Lijsbeth Sanders of the Cape, through a Potgieter); a slave of unknown origin (Maria Lozee, through Steijn); and Indian slaves (Anthonie of Bengal and Catharina of Palicatte or Bengal, through two Botha brothers), flows through the veins of many Du Preez descendants in the male and female line.⁶⁰ Many Voortrekker heroes, Boer generals and National Party leaders had a generous percentage of mixed blood in their veins. Add to that the blood of a Jew (Tas) and a Portuguese (Ferreira), and we see that the Du Preez's in South Africa today are fairly representative of the "white" and "coloured" population which is "an exotic pot-pourri" of various European nationalities as well as "the indigenous people of South Africa."⁶¹

The descendants of Hercules des Prez and Cecilia d'Athis, in both the male and female line, have formed a very significant component of the South African nation over the past 300 years and in a number of ways contributed to the building of what is today a non-racial, multi-cultural, democratic society.

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59. H.F. Heese, *Groep sonder grense* (Bellville, 1984), pp. 5-23; J.S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured people, 1652-1927* (Johannesburg, 1968), p. 282.
60. See for example C.C. de Villiers and C. Pama, *Genealogies of old South African families*, Vol. II (Cape Town, 1981), pp. 623-5, 711-23, 744, 778, 927-31; H.F. Heese, *Groep sonder grense*, pp. 44, 63, 67-8; J.A. Heese and R.T.J. Lombard, *Suid-Afrikaanse geslagregisters*, I (Pretoria, 1986), pp. 360-61, 365-6, 368-9, 372; J.L. Hattingh, "Die blanke nageslag van Louis van Bengal en Lijsbeth van die Kaap", *Kronos*, Vol. 3 (1980), pp. 5-11, 29-38, 52-88; J.G. le Roux, *Hugenotebloed in ons are*, pp. 19-22.
61. I. Goldin, *Making race, the politics and economics of Coloured identity in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1987), p. xxvii.