RAMBLES
THROUGH THE ARCHIVES
OF THE
COLONY OF THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
1688-1700.

BY
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"Truth is established by scrutiny and deliberation: falsehood thrives by precipitation and uncertainty."—TACITUS.

FIRST SERIES.

CAPE TOWN:
J. C. JUTA AND CO.
1887.
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TO THE

HONOURABLE JOHN TUDHOPE,

MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

AND

COLONIAL SECRETARY OF THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

This Volume

IS DEDICATED AS A MARK OF THE PERSONAL REGARD

OF

THE AUTHOR.
INTRODUCTION.

Many authors have complained that, although their works are read, the introductions penned by them with so much pains are generally skipped, and that often the writing of even a small one is a more difficult task than the treatment of many portions of the subject to which the volume which it is intended to introduce, has been devoted. Be this as it may, I hope that at least a few of my readers will peruse this first page. It will explain the reason why I wrote.

Being Custodian of the Archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope—a most interesting and valuable collection of Dutch official papers, covering the period from the departure from Holland of Commander Johan van Riebeeck, in December, 1651, in order to establish a factory or refreshment station here, until January, 1806, when the Cape was taken by England—I considered it necessary, not only to arrange the documents properly, but also to draw out their contents in the form of an English précis, and, at the same time, compile a copious index for the convenience of reference.
In this form many years of Colonial History have already been completed by me; and I trust within a very early period to be able to publish the whole in the same manner in which the papers of the two first years 1651–53, have seen the light.

It was, however, suggested to me that, in the meanwhile, a narrative of the most important events of the period with which I have been busy would not be unacceptable, and, accordingly, I ventured to undertake the task of writing one; but having, as it were, to begin in the middle, and finding it impossible to do justice to my subject without laying before the reader events which preceded it, and should be thoroughly known, my story naturally assumed its present form. Hence I decided to place it before the public under the name of "Rambles through the Archives." Should it afford information to the reader, and likewise a few pleasant moments, my object will be attained.

My thanks are due to the Honourable John Tudhope, M.L.A., Colonial Secretary, and Ministerial head of my Department, for the kind interest which he has taken in my work; for his words of encouragement; and for his indispensable assistance so readily rendered in removing the most serious difficulties in the way of publication.

I likewise wish to express my sincere thanks to Charles A. Fairbridge and W. Rawbone, Esquires, both of this city, for rare volumes kindly lent to me; to Monsieur J. Van den Bergh, the Venerable Archivist at the Hague, not only for important extracts from the collection in his custody, but likewise for his invariable kindness, willing-
ness, and readiness to afford me all the information at his command; and likewise to his Lordship, the Right Reverend Bishop of St. Helena, for valuable extracts from the St. Helena Records, regarding the Huguenots on that Island, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

H. C. V. Leibbrandt.

Parliament House, Cape Town.

March, 1886.
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RAMBLES
THROUGH THE ARCHIVES
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COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

CHAPTER I.

I have purposed to lay before the reader in plain, unvarnished language some of the most remarkable events embraced within the period of the administration of Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel, a man hitherto considered as the embodiment of tyranny, cruelty, and oppression, because judged only from the description of his enemies, and without the light of evidence which places him in a more favourable view, and shows that "Black's not so black;—nor white so very white."

But, to do so satisfactorily, it will likewise be necessary to depart somewhat from the usual form, and introduce into the text copious extracts from the archives, in order that every statement adduced may at once be confirmed by indisputable evidence, and the reader have before his eyes, as clearly as possible, in one unbroken narrative, a faithful and impartial description of the public career of a much-abused man.

It must, however, not be understood that I intend to produce a laboured defence on his behalf, or to present him in a saint-like character, without spot or blemish. I wish it to appear as that of a man, erring like his fellows—yea, like the best of them—in many things, but at the same time revealing a character which wins our admiration, and, in the midst of its surrounding difficulties and troubles,
stands, according to fact, far removed from the spot where tradition and calumny have placed it.

On the 6th of September, 1696, the Board of Seventeen, in session at Middelburg, decided to accept the resignation of Governor Simon van der Stel, on condition that he remained in office until the arrival of his successor. On the 27th of December of the following year (1697) he was informed that his son had been appointed to take his place, and that on his arrival he was personally to instal him in the presence of the Secunde Elsevier, Fiscal Blesius, and Captain Bergh.

On the 23rd of January, 1699, Willem Adriaan van der Stel arrived at the Cape, with his wife and family, in the ship Stad Keulen. He had been an alderman of the town of Amsterdam, and was selected for the high appointment of Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in order that the Seventeen * might mark their satisfaction with the administration of his venerable father, who, having for nineteen years ruled over the destinies of the young Colony, had begged to be relieved of its cares, and permitted to remain at the Cape as a simple freeman, and pass the remainder of his days at his cherished country-seat and model farm,

* The Seventeen.—Cornelis Houtman having opened the way to India for his countrymen, the latter were not slow in seizing their opportunity. At great cost and enormous sacrifice the merchants of Amsterdam started a Company for trading to the Indies. The example was soon followed by other towns and districts, mentioned as Zeeland, the Meuse, Noorder Quartier, and West Vriesland (North Holland). These joint-stock companies were individually known as the chambers of Amsterdam, Zeeland (or Middelburg), Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enckhuysen, and as one body obtained a charter from the Dutch Government in 1602, which was in 1622 renewed under the name of the General United Netherlands Chartered East India Company. The second article of this document required that whenever a general meeting of all the chambers was held, it should be representative, and consist of seventeen members—eight to be furnished by Amsterdam, four by Zeeland, two by Rotterdam, and one by each of the other chambers. This Board of Seventeen was, therefore, the chief administrative body of the Company, and was consequently invested with unlimited power over the territories granted by the charter to the Company. The members are generally mentioned as the Lords Seventeen, and, as a rule, every one spoke of them as the Honourable Lords and Masters.
the world-famed Constantia,* the creation of his own genius.

Before his son's arrival, however, and in accordance with a resolution of the Council of the 13th of September, 1698, he left the Cape † twelve days later, in order to make a general inspection of the country stations and their appendages, and also carefully to examine the nature, situation, and quality of the lands in different parts of the country, especially those near the stations and adjoining Stellenbosch and Drakenstein; the object of his journey being that, should the result be as favourable as was anticipated, he might still further extend the Colony's boundaries for the greater development of agriculture. Returning home on the 26th of October, he reported that he had found everything in proper order, and all the stations under good control, but that the lands of some residents in the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein districts were rather too confined for their cattle and agricultural pursuits; that there were besides many other freemen who had not yet been settled, and who had requested plots

* It is generally supposed, on the authority of Kolbe and Valentyn, that this was the name of his wife. Valentyn knew better, but forgot to rectify the mistake. Simon van der Stel was married to Johanna Jacoba Six, daughter of Willem Six and Catharina Hinlopen. Kolbe states further that Simon van der Stel was the illegitimate offspring of his father by an Indian slave girl, that he did not know his own age, and must have been about five years old when baptized, &c.; but I take the liberty of considering this statement to be as gross a calumny as many others from his pen: e.g., that Governor L. van Assenburgh, when at dinner at Constantia, shortly after his arrival at the Cape, was deliberately poisoned at table, and with difficulty saved by Surgeon Beunraath; that the poison never could be completely eradicated from his system, and in its evil effects could only be counteracted by copious wine libations. Van Assenburgh was never so well at the Cape as during the days when he was said to have been poisoned. Simon van der Stel was born at Mauritius on the 14th of October, 1639, the same year in which his father, Adriaan, succeeded Pieter de Goyer as commander of that island. See Valentyn.

† What is now Cape Town was then generally spoken of as the Cape (de Kaap), an expression still in ordinary use, especially among the Dutch-speaking portion of South Africa, proving that the Cape of Good Hope is really not where, according to the maps, it is supposed to be.
of ground for the purpose; and further, that to keep them on effectively, and satisfy their wishes, he had presented about thirty of them with good pieces of new land—each one being provided according to his abilities, as the opportunity allowed,—and that all the grants adjoined those in the Wagon-makers' Valley and at the Limiet Berg. He hoped that this would conduce to the prosperity of the people and the development of agriculture and cattle-breeding.

The little church of Stellenbosch having become much too small, and being likewise very damp, he had, at the request of the congregation, consented to have it enlarged in the form of a cross, and thus made more convenient for the parish. The burghers had undertaken to defray the costs of the enlargement, if the Company would supply the iron and glass that were necessary. The congregation had already collected Rds. 1000, and likewise expected a good sum from the well-disposed at the Cape.* (Gen. desp. to Amst., 18 March, 1699.)

To his great satisfaction, whatever he had done or proposed to do, and such preliminary steps as had been taken by his son, all of which had been mentioned in the despatch quoted, were highly approved of by the Masters, who in their reply of the 23rd of June, 1700, expressed their great satisfaction with the good condition of the government at the Cape, and the progress and rapid expansion of the Colony. They desired that no effort should be spared for its further advancement and development. They had, moreover, decided on their part to lend a strong helping hand by sending out well-trained agriculturists and persons capable of making good wine, and also as much timber as the freemen required for building purposes; and they likewise showed their appreciation of the intention

* I have been informed by the Rev. Mr. Neethling, the present incumbent, that the first church of Stellenbosch stood somewhat lower down than the present one; and that the erf in Church Street, now in the possession of Mrs. Wium, the kind and worthy proprietress of the pleasant and well-known boarding-house, is a portion of the old site, and that graves have been found in the back yard and those of her near neighbours. See Appendix A.
of the inhabitants of Stellenbosch to enlarge their church—"as such a pious work could not but produce beneficial results"—by sending out with the Oosterstein the Rev. Hercules van Loon, as Resident Minister of that parish.*

As ordered by the Board of Seventeen, and according to usual custom, the retiring Governor had the rare pleasure of personally inducting into office as his successor, on the 11th of February, 1699, his son Willem Adriaan. Books had been previously examined and stock taken; and when all this had been completed to the satisfaction of the Council, the drums were beaten, soldiers and burghers appeared under arms, and the newly-arrived head of the Government was solemnly introduced to the Company's lieges. Not only was a general pardon proclaimed to all fugitive servants of the Company—there were some hiding in the wilderness at the time—but already, on the day after his son's arrival, the retiring Governor had ordered that various convicts who were serving in chains, and had committed comparatively slight offences, should be released from their irons.

In order to remain within reasonable limits it will be impossible to do more than—where my narrative requires it—refer to the administration of Simon van der Stel, the most important, I venture to say, in the earlier history of the Colony. And to do so effectually, I embody here the instructions left behind him for the information and guidance of his son, as they will enable us to obtain some knowledge of the principles which actuated him in his administration, and at the same time serve as a connecting link to attach our narrative to the events which precede it; a few of which, connected with the Huguenots, will be specially referred to.

* In 1697 he had returned from Batavia to Holland, and, because the climate did not agree with him, was allowed to remain at the Cape and serve out his time here, provided he could persuade the Rev. Petrus Kalden to proceed to Batavia in his stead—an arrangement declined by the Rev. P. Kalden, and disapproved of by the Directors when they heard of it. He came to an unfortunate end (see Journal, 27th of June, 1704). His widow afterwards married Willem Helot, who rose to the rank of Acting Governor after the death of Governor Van Assenburgh, but was recalled in disgrace.
The instructions are dated the 10th of March, 1649. He commences with an apology for drawing them up, because, although many orders had been left here by the various Commissioners who had from time to time been appointed to inspect Cape affairs, events had occurred since, which during their stay in the Colony they could not possibly have foreseen, and naturally not provided for. Moreover, the Lord of Mydrecht had ordered that, as desired by the Directors, the retiring Governor should leave plain instructions for his successor, as during the short stay of the various Commissioners here officious and by no means disinterested persons had been generally ready, in order to promote their own selfish ends, to give one-sided information when questioned, so as to influence the Commissioners in their favour; thus causing and adding to mischief by their ignorance of facts, and at the same time sheltering themselves under the cloak of a desire to further the public welfare. The result had consequently often been that the Commissioner was prevented by a mass of confused and conflicting evidence, and the brief time at his disposal for a personal and minute inquiry, from completing his task thoroughly, and always liable to the possibility of making a misstatement, or omitting something of importance.

Hence he had deemed it necessary to jot down the results of his personal experience during the period of his administration, which might be serviceable to the new Governor and his Council.

"You should bear in mind," he said, "that agriculture in general, and the cultivation of wheat especially, had never before been developed by any Commanders or Governors to such an extent that the population of the Colony could at all subsist on the produce of the country, so that we were necessarily obliged to obtain the bulk of our supplies for the garrison,burghers, and slaves from the High Government at Batavia, which annually provided us with rice, but never without bitterly complaining
of the heavy expense unavoidably incurred—as an extra
ship was always required for the purpose—and continually
urging us to make every effort to depend upon ourselves
alone, and so relieve the Company.

"However, from the commencement of our own ad-
ministration, we have not only—contrary to every one's
opinion—developed agriculture so successfully, and so
diligently fostered it and made the people do the same,
that the annual importation of rice, and the complaints
inseparable from it, have ceased, but the Colony has been
raised to such a flourishing condition, that at present the
inhabitants have enough produce to depend on, and, when
the harvests are plentiful, are able likewise to export of
their abundance to Batavia. This has been already often
done.

"But that the Colony and the cultivation of wheat
may not again retrograde, it will be necessary for the
people to apply themselves even more diligently to agri-
culture than—as they are doing now—to an excessive
cultivation of the vine, and effectively to prevent the
former from being made subservient to or neglected for
the latter.

"Many freemen are so greatly addicted to wine that
under its influence they are gradually neglecting the
cultivation of their lands, which naturally become ex-
husted, as they kill off their cattle and are left without
manure. Hence from year to year they more and more
impoverish their families, and therefore should be strictly
ordered to keep their lands in good condition.

"Some have already purposely abstained from doing
this, and, abandoning their grants, have requested new
ground instead, pleading that they are not sufficiently
provided with cattle to secure the required quantity
of manure, and are therefore unable to grow any wheat.

"Should you be weak enough to give way to such sinister tricks, the whole of Africa would not be sufficient to accommodate and satisfy that class.

"Moreover, they are only inclined to sow enough for themselves, and are always looking out for places far inland in order to make their living by bartering with the Hottentots for cattle, butter, and milk—this being their chief aim.

"The Colonists settled along the borders of the Berg River, which contain the best and fattest lands, should be urged to enclose their properties and deepen the rivers, which, overflowing their banks during the rainy season, flood whole corn-fields and wash the crops away, covering the fruitful spots with sand, and making them unfit for the plough.

"But only the lazy, ignorant, and evil-disposed do these things, and therefore, to counteract the evil as much as possible, it might perhaps be advantageous, if old servants of the Company, with means of their own, and of good repute—should they be so inclined—were invited by the offer of free papers, good lands, and reasonable assistance, to settle here as agriculturists. Others would soon follow from Holland and India, and within a comparatively short time there would be a respectable class of 2000 burghers here, capable of carrying arms, sufficient to meet all attacks of European Princes, and remove all fears on this head.

"This plan would likewise secure another advantage. It would rid the Colony of a class who have obtained their freedom under the pretext of being desirous of applying themselves to agriculture, but who have hitherto merely
wandered from one farmer to another, and vagabondized without a home, the willing tools of the evil-disposed, by whom they are employed in the forbidden cattle trade with the natives, frustrators of every good intention of the Company, interferers with its prerogatives, and its systematic robbers."

Here he fully enters into the mischief caused by the illicit traffic with the natives, and gives the reasons why it should be forbidden; but as this subject will be fully treated further on, I have considered it superfluous to insert the whole of this portion of his "Instructions."

At the end he says:

"We have endeavoured to the utmost of our power to discover these dangerous and vicious persons by the publication of the most rigorous placcaaten, and by instructing the Landdrost to call them together, as often as possible, that they may show their free papers, and be mustered in the usual manner—especially the unmarried men, and those who wander from one place to another, without giving the required notice—declare their place of residence, and so be found when required, for warding off any hostile attack. By these means we hoped to divert them from their illicit traffic, and likewise to discover and capture all rogues and vagabonds, that the well-behaved residents might be protected from their thefts, and made to dwell in security."

He then continues in the following strain:

"From the above it naturally follows, that, as it is the Company's chief object to hold these lands in security, it is indispensable not to permit any European to settle far in the interior and away from those already settled within easy distance from the castle; for not only should this
wicked trade be suppressed, but the freemen should be made to live near each other, that, should an enemy appear, they might be easily called together by their officers and the ordinary signals.

"At present, however, those living at a distance pretend that they cannot hear the signal guns, or that they have not been personally summoned. They simply retire further into the interior, and by their conduct show that they care very little about the safety of the Colony.

"Not only should such persons be punished, but you should be very careful in discharging any of the Company's servants. Candidates for free papers should be of the Reformed Religion, subjects of the States General, or members of such Germanic nations as are not engaged in sea traffic, lest you expose your Government to the danger of a revolution. Should the Colony be populated by other nationalities, each individual would hold fast to his own, and all our defensive arrangements and precautions become futile accordingly.

"In this respect those of the French nation, although settled here and well received, are the least to be trusted.

"Regarding the planting of oak-trees, you should bear in mind that the young ones planted on the plains suffer severely from the heavy south-east winds, and are kept down by them. Those not quite so exposed certainly grow better, but only provide wood unfit for timber, crooked and twisted. On the other hand, when planted in the forests and well sheltered, they thrive beautifully.

"About ten years ago we planted 16,000 very young ones, of the thickness of a finger, in the old forest, on the slopes of Table Mountain, in good black soil; and although during the first two or three years some were injured by
the baboons, which destroyed their bark, about 12,000 are still alive and growing luxuriantly. Most of them are already thirty-six feet high, with a diameter of seven or eight inches near the ground. Within a few years they will produce serviceable beams and planks, sufficient for all purposes. But as all the open spots in the forests have not yet been planted, they likewise should be covered with young trees. Moreover, all timber should be cut at the right time, in winter, near the ground, and obliquely, that the new shoots, which spring forth during the summer, without any knots—because nourished by the full strength of the whole root—may after a few years have the required thickness for staves.

"Unfortunately, the burghers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, whom we urged to plant a few suitable oak forests, selected unfavourable spots, so that, as we found from personal inspection, the trees have, like some of those here, been dwarfed. They should be advised to plant in the many mountain kloofs, and be properly assisted. We have already supplied them with many young oaks, but thousands more are standing ready for removal at Rustenburgh.

"The dwarf-wood would be very useful as fuel for the ships, but might be saved for a long time to come, if the freemen, who are wood-cutters and carriers, were only compelled, according to the placcaat, to add to each of their loads four stumps to show that they have taken that number out of the ground; for by uprooting such stumps the soil is turned completely over, and the tree seeds in it are properly covered in loose soil, and spring forth so abundantly that it seems almost incredible.

"Should, however, the stumps be left standing, the seeds falling on them find no soil, and perish. Hence for
a systematic cultivation of fuel the stumps should be pulled up, and those refraining from doing so, punished.

"Those hitherto sent out by the Company, to barter cattle from the natives, generally take their way through Hottentots Holland, but find the mountains on the other side so steep that, in order to reach the top, they are obliged to unyoke their cattle, and carry upon their shoulders both wagons and loads. On the top, however, they find the country flat and gently sloping, with good roads to the kraals of the Soussequas, Hessequas, and Captain Coopman, in whose neighbourhood, we are told, many forests exist, containing very high trees fit for all kinds of timber, and which, if cut, might—but not without trouble—be conveyed thence to the Castle on wagons over three different roads, which could be made. The first would be towards the Roode Zand, through the Berg River; but as the latter often remains impassable in that neighbourhood for two or three months, that road would most likely be found the longest.

"The second would be from the forests mentioned, to the top of the steep mountain-range referred to as lying behind Hottentots Holland. Thence the beams might be easily lowered with ropes and windlasses, or over slides, and so further conveyed to the Castle. This road would be much shorter and better than the first.

"The third would be by way of Drakenstein, and the ridge or kloof lying behind it, over which, as far as the high mountain-range, a road runs, known as the Oliphant's pad, wide and broad in some parts, but very narrow at the side of the steep range, and with a horrible abyss below. No wagon could go over it at present, but it is a very short one, and a few slaves might within three months' time so widen it that wagons and oxen could conveniently pass
the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

along. Not only would it secure easy access to the open country of the Hottentots, but also to the forests near them. It would be the best and shortest road, and likewise the most useful. Hence it deserves your attention. Nor need you fear any obstruction or opposition from the natives who live in the open air, and only use brush for fuel; for they would neither suffer any personal injury, nor consider themselves aggrieved, if any trees were cut down.

"The Company's cattle, having multiplied so rapidly, should be properly cared for at the various stations, the keepers being inclined to defraud and waste. The herds should not be allowed to graze their animals near those of the freemen, as they would soon find an opportunity for exchanging the best of the Company's for the worst of theburghers'. For the same reason no freeman should be permitted to graze his cattle on any of the said stations. This evil should be guarded against as much as possible.

"To economise the grass on the stations, the freemen should not be allowed to outspan on them for grazing their cattle. This has already been provided for by placcaat, which, if well observed and always modified according to circumstances, will greatly benefit the breeding stock, and secure excellent meat for both ships and hospital. This course would likewise benefit the Hottentots, for by continually bartering away their cattle to the Company and the freemen, and their internecine wars in which they capture each other's stock, which they are not in the habit of saving, but immediately on their return home consume in honour of their victory—each year has seen their herds diminishing and themselves poorer. Hence, being so jealous of each other, they should be protected and governed with great gentleness, and already
we have accustomed them not to make war on each other before giving us timely notice and obtaining our consent. Hitherto they have likewise never refused to appear before us to be reconciled to each other, and settle their differences amicably; submitting their disputes readily to our decision. We earnestly recommend you to continue this course.

"The hospital being very old, too small, and situated on a very unhealthy spot, standing, as it does, on the beach, affected in winter by the north-west winds and the vile stench of the rotten sea-weeds in summer, to the great inconvenience and injury of the patients, we decided to build a new and much larger one near the Company’s gardens on a suitable spot, well provided with clear, fresh water and pure air. We urge you strongly to complete the building and carry out the rules drawn up for the treatment of the patients, that those helpless sufferers may receive better accommodation and sustenance than before. The freemen multiplying so rapidly will most likely in three years’ time be able to supply the Company with all the sheep required by it. In that case, all the stations should be broken up, as yielding no profit, but causing heavy expense. And whereas the free butchers, although permitted by the Lord of Mydrecht to kill and sell at a fixed price, often sit with folded arms for four or six months, with the excuse that they have been unable to obtain any or a sufficient number of cattle for slaughter, and then suddenly again commence to kill for a short time for burghers and soldiers all kinds of meat, sound and unsound—a proceeding that should not be allowed—and whereas such conduct arises purely from their selfish natures, as they not only obtain cattle in a detestable manner, but likewise do not hesitate to buy whole troops
of unsound and scurvy * sheep, whose disease is of such an evil and poisonous nature that it can never be healed, infecting, as it does, not only the pastures over which they roam, but also the sheds in which they pass but a single night, with such a virulent contagion, that all other flocks brought on the same grounds and sheltered in the same sheds are immediately infected; an evil which we have endeavoured to prevent expressly by placcaat, viz. that scurvy sheep shall not be depastured with healthy ones, although, to our regret, very little effect has been given to it—and whereas it has been found that neither those sheep nor those sheds, although washed a hundred times, and even whitewashed with lime, can again be disinfected—and whereas such sheep, brought to fresh and good pastures, seemingly get rid of the scab and drop its crust, gaining flesh finely, but retaining within them the infection, so that, as soon as the pasturage becomes indifferent, and they are pinched by the winter cold, the evil at once again reveals itself—and whereas the said free butchers use such sheep, mixed up with many mad and a few good ones, for killing, and sell the meat to the garrison and the burghers, so that, in consequence of this incurable infection, only heavy sickness and ill-health must result for the people—therefore, it will be necessary to examine and approve of all slaughter cattle before they are killed.

"Should it be found possible to breed a large number of horses, many oxen might be withdrawn from work, and cattle would become so abundant that neither ships nor hospital would ever be in want. But, then, a good supply of forage should also be sown—barley, horse-beans, and oats. The latter should be ordered from Holland and

* Schurft or Brand Ziekte.
sown separately; and though the earlier settlers were under an erroneous impression that they afterwards degenerated into weeds and spoilt the corn-lands, they could be prevented from causing injury if pulled out or cut off at the same time with the wheat, for the seeds having then dropt would spring forth again, and could be completely destroyed by the plough.

"It should also be considered whether those freemen who arrive here poor, are no agriculturists, and simply support themselves by swindling and usury, and sucking the marrow out of the bones of the farmers, with no other object than to become rapidly rich, and, having succeeded, to return with their booty to the fatherland as soon as their time has expired, should not, before their departure, and in addition to their passage-money, pay a certain exit-tax to be calculated according to the fortunes made by them here.

"The burghers who mount guard outside the Castle should continue to do so in small companies, in order to become thoroughly accustomed to martial discipline and the use of arms, that in times of war they may know what to do.

"The goods of the Company should be always valued and priced in a full meeting of the Council—only members attending—and the price current should be affixed annually at the Castle gate and the houses of the burghers.

"All these matters came under our observation during the nineteen years of our administration, and therefore we decided to add them to what has gone before, and, in conclusion, merely refer to the exhaustive codes of instructions left behind by the various Commissioners, especially the Lord of Mydrecht, regarding the government of the
Castle, the duties of the officials, the despatch of the ships, and the management of the school and the slaves.

"We recommend you and the Company's possessions to the Holy and Worthy Protection of the Almighty, cordially praying His Divine Majesty to guide you with His Holy Spirit, and grant you such equity and prudence, and likewise such an upright, pure, and steadfast mind, combined with such faithful diligence as you may be in need of, for the administration of Church and State, and the furtherance of the Company's interests here, that your work may tend to magnify God's Holy Name, satisfy our masters, and preserve and augment your own honour and reputation. This we cordially wish you.

"Dated at the Castle Good Hope, this 30th day of March, 1699.

"(Signed)  S. VANDER STEL."

What will strike the reader especially in this memorandum is the writer's unfeigned distrust of some of the Huguenots settled in the Colony, or, more correctly speaking, of their political proclivities.

But what could have induced him to express himself thus severely? Let me endeavour to find the answer, for, even if unsuccessful, the attempt itself will enable me to lay before the reader some portions of the archives connected with the Huguenots at the Cape and their fellow-sufferers in Europe and elsewhere, which I have reason to believe are not generally known, although of great interest.
CHAPTER II.

In order to judge the Governor fairly and understand his position correctly, it will be necessary to go back a few years preceding the arrival of the Huguenots in this Colony. In the year 1666 Louis XIV. of France had, after the Peace of the Pyrenees, directed his Minister Colbert to found the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. One of its special objects was, according to Père Tachard, to make observations in foreign countries, correct geographical charts, facilitate navigation, and perfect astronomy. The East Indies and China especially, in which latter country arts had flourished for 4,000 years, were the object of the monarch's ambition, and the more so, after he had heard of the successes of the missionaries there. The enthusiasm created in his breast by the narrative of Father Couplet, who passed through Paris from China on his way to Rome, would alone have been sufficient to urge him on to extraordinary efforts; but the arrival of two Siamese mandarins, escorted by a priest named Monsieur le Vachet—a missionary settled in Siam—who had been sent by their King to learn news of the embassy which he had sent to the King of France, with magnificent presents, on board a vessel reported to have been cast away, convinced him that the Asiatic monarch was anxious to win his friendship, and might likewise be induced to embrace the Christian faith. Six Jesuit missionaries were accordingly selected—among them Père Tachard—not only for the purpose of scientific research and observation, but likewise to use their best endeavours to propagate Christianity and convert the King.

Among the latter's* subjects was the Greek Constan-

* His name was Phra Narai, and he was made King under that of Phra Chao Hang Phuok. See Sir J. Bowring's Siam, 1857; who further mentions that his Prime Minister, the Greek Constantine
tine Phaulcon, who had been raised to the rank of Prime Minister. He appears to have enjoyed the full confidence of his master, and possessed unbounded influence over him; and, being one of the converts of the Roman missionaries, had urged his sovereign to send the ambassadors to France, whose luckless fate in the French East India Company’s vessel, the Sun of the East, appears to have been as sad as that of those sent a few years later in a Portuguese vessel, the Nostra Senhora de los Milagros, which was wrecked near Cape Agulhas. (See Resolution and Journal, 21st of May, 1686.)

But an ambassador for Siam had likewise been appointed by the French King—the Chevalier de Chaumont—and he and the missionaries left Brest on the 3rd of March, 1685, in the ship L’Oiseau, accompanied by the King’s ship La Maligue, arriving at the Cape on the 21st of May, 1685. Here they found four large Dutch vessels in the bay, one flying the admiral’s flag. The latter had brought the Hon. H. A. van Rheede, Lord of Mydrecht, sent purposely to India to inspect the various residencies, and leave the necessary instructions. He was a man of quality, at that time about fifty years old, handsome, civil, wise, and learned, thinking and speaking well on all subjects. The second was commanded by Mons. St. Martin, a Frenchman by birth, Major-General of Batavia and Commander-in-chief of the Indian forces. Père Tachard found them both, and likewise Commander Van der Stel, to be men of worth, and he “felt happy that during his stay he had

Phaulcon, converted to Christianity by the missionaries, was not only suspected and disliked for drawing away many mandarins from their ancestral religion, but that there were sufficient grounds for believing that he was likewise anxious to hand over the sovereignty of Siam to the French King, of which the advent of considerable bodies of French soldiers is unmistakable evidence. The independence of the country and the preservation of its religion accordingly gave Chao Dura, a natural son of Phra Narai, and Phra Phetraxa, an opportunity of conspiring against the King and assassinating Constantine. These explanations I have deemed necessary to enable the reader to understand a large portion of the Archives of this period. See also, in connection with this, the despatch from the Cape to Batavia, dated 3rd of May, 1688.
such men to deal with." Every arrangement was made for their comfort, and every assistance rendered them for making such observations as they deemed necessary, especially for fixing the exact longitude of the Cape. Apartments were provided for them in the summer-house in the Company's gardens, which they speak of as the loveliest and most curious conceivable in a country having the appearance of being one of the most dismal and barren spots on earth. Commissioner Van Rheede especially showed them great favour; and when the hour of their departure had arrived, they found that the Governor had sent on board for their use some tea and Canary wine, whilst they on the other hand presented him with a microscope and a small burning-glass. The Lord of Mydrecht gave them letters of introduction to the Governor-General and others at Batavia, and wished them God's-speed. He and the rest seemed greatly affected at the departure of the missionaries, embraced them tenderly, and said, "We pray God that your designs may succeed, and you may bring a great number of infidels to the knowledge of the true God." They obtained from M. Van der Stel much useful information, making at the same time the acquaintance of a young physician of Breslau in Silesia, called H. Claudius, who for his great abilities had been retained at the Cape. He had travelled in China and Japan, closely observing everything there. He drew and painted animals and plants perfectly well, and had been kept here purposely to assist the Dutch in making new discoveries, and studying the natural history of South Africa. He had completed two great volumes of several plants, drawn to the life, and also made a collection of the same, which he had pasted to the leaves of another volume. M. Van Rheede always had these books by him, and showed them to the missionaries, intending to publish a Hortus Africanus after his Hortus Malabaricus. This learned physician had already been as far as six score leagues into the interior towards the north and east, in order to make new discoveries, and from him the missionaries obtained all their knowledge of the country, of which he gave them a little map, made with his own hand, and adorned with some
the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

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likenesses of the natives and the rarest animals.* The reception of the Ambassador and the missionaries at Siam was everything that could be wished for, and not long afterwards it was arranged by the Prime Minister, Constantine, that Père Tachard should alone return to Europe, report progress, and secure the services of a staff of missionaries.† The result we find in the general despatch from the Cape to The Seventeen, dated the 26th of April, 1688, and quoted below:—

"On the 9th June, 1687, the French King's ship La Loire arrived here, and two days later Le Gaillard, L'Oiseau, Le Drommedaire, La Normande, and La Maligne. They had left France on the 1st of March, and were proceeding to Siam. All were large and well-armed ships, having on board Mons. Vaudricourt as Admiral, Mons. du Quesne, junior, as Vice-Admiral, and twelve companies of sailors and soldiers under the command of the Marquis des Farges, Field-Marshal and late Governor of Brisac.

"The Loire wished to make it appear that she knew nothing of any other French ships, but as we were aware of the contrary, we began silently to arm ourselves and to call all the men in. The powder-magazines were secured, and large supplies conveyed into the Castle, as the Commander was determined, should the least act of hostility be committed, to set fire to the whole settlement, and leave the French nothing.

*Some time ago the late Mr. J. C. Juta presented a volume to the South African Public Library, consisting of a sketch in water-colours of the Koperberg, and of many drawings of indigenous plants, birds, and animals. The execution of the whole is marvellously beautiful, and it is just likely that the artist was Hendrik Claudius, the apothecary from Breslau, who attended Commander Van der Stel on his journey to Namaqualand. Already, in 1802, Com.-Gen. De Mist complained in his voluminous report that the volume was missing from the Archives. At present about twenty drawings are wanting to the original number as given by De Mist.

† The English edition of Père Tachard's Voyage to Siam, 12mo, 1688, was kindly lent to me by C. A. Fairbridge, Esq.
"The two vessels in the Bay were anchored close in
shore, and other precautions adopted; and thus the French
found us on the 11th of June. They sent some of their
officers on shore to greet the Commander and ask permi-
sion to obtain refreshments and land their sick. The
annexed note, however, will show you what arrogant
language they used. It was sent to us as it is—blotted,
undated, and unsigned.

"In order not to embitter them by a refusal, but to
remove everything that might give them a pretext for
quarrelling, we decided to receive them with our guns
ready for action, and otherwise prepared, but at the same
time to allow them to bring a certain number of sick on
shore, and buy what they required from the freemen at
the most favourable prices which the latter could obtain.
Good watch was kept that no one approached the Fort
without permission, or landed arms, or that healthy men
were left on shore during the night. No boats were
allowed to be moored at the jetty after sunset or before
sunrise, and only the surgeons were allowed to remain
with the sick, assisted by as many men as they required.

"It was much in our favour that many had died on the
voyage, that very many were sick, and that the healthy
ones were so divided among themselves by dissensions, that
they really were unable to attempt anything. They were
evidently also very much disappointed that certain per-
sons, suspected by the Governor of too much familiarity
with them, had in good time been sent away to Mauritius
and Batavia, and therefore not again met by them here.
The one was Pierre Couchet, a Frenchman of Amiens, who
had managed to obtain the position of gardener here, and
in whose possession the Governor found a letter addressed
to the heads and directors of the foreign Mission Societies
at Paris, in the Faubourg St. Germain, and which he had undertaken to see delivered safely himself, a copy of which we annex. The other was Hendrik Claudius, an apothecary in your service. What understanding he had with the Jesuits has been fully shown, to our great perturbation, by their book lately published regarding their Siamese voyage. In it his name is mentioned, and it is plainly stated that he communicated to them everything about the Colony and our inland expeditions, and perhaps more besides than we know of.

"Everything, fortunately, went off well; the French left on the 28th of June, after warmly thanking us in their own name and that of their King for all the kindness received by them. The general, admiral, and mostly all the officers, and the envoys, Messrs. De la Loubert and Sebret, called on the Governor to bid him farewell, as representing the Hon. Company. But the frigate La Maligne remained behind, in order to return to France and carry news to the King of their progress hitherto. She left on the 9th of July, and took a letter to you.

"We suffered a great loss by the death, during the stay of the French here, of Captain Hieronymus Cruse. We could find no more suitable successor than his able Lieutenant Dominiques de Chavonnes, and therefore we decided to appoint him, involved as we were in perilous times, and ignorant also of the state of Europe and our country, the intentions of the French, their present strength, or what it might still be afterwards. We made Ensign J. Rootsteen Lieutenant, and Sergeant I. Schryver Ensign, subject to your approval. The garrison consists of a rough lot and of different creeds, so that we were obliged to provide it with efficient officers in good time, as matters would be in a bad state, should a sudden attack occur and
there were no able officers at hand. We are far from our friends and at the mercy of our enemies, whose only warning would be the blow when struck. As it is, we are each moment in danger of our necks and of losing all. Moreover, the hard-heartedness of the imprisoned Lieutenant B., whom for our own security we removed from Robben Island to the Castle, during the presence here of the French, that he might be in safe keeping, caused us great anxiety.

"We lost nothing, however, by stopping all agricultural and other works during the presence of the French, because we were obliged to call all the men to the Castle, for we learned to know our weak points and how to prepare ourselves in case of a hostile attack, in order not to be overpowered."

"To call the men to arms as soon as possible in cases of

* It is not to be supposed however, that, because the farmers had been called away from their ploughs, and unable to sow, the Commander had exposed the Colony to the danger of a bread famine. In the same despatch (26th of April, 1688) he says: "We have hitherto done our best to realise your object regarding the Colony, which by God's grace has so far advanced that we have 3664 muids of wheat in stock, which will serve us for more than two years, exclusively of what is still in the hands of the freemen and at the Company's posts, as we had no sufficient storage for the whole quantity, or cellars for the wine. Of the latter we still have sixty-nine leaguers on hand, although fourteen have been sent to Ceylon by the Leeuwenberg and four to Mauritius. In order to make room for the new harvest, we intend to send sixty lasts of wheat and some leaguers of wine to Batavia, at the request of and in repayment for what the High Government has been pleased to send us this year by that ship. We shall not fail to send by the outward-bound ships as much corn to Batavia as they can take in, and to do so more and more every year, so that by these means we may be able to equalise the expenditure and revenue of this residency. The chances are all favourable, as we have an abundance of all kinds of Fotherland grain, Natal corn, and barley, besides the choicest of European, American, and Asiatic tree and ground fruits, all of which thrive here famously. The Commander attends most carefully to the cultivation, so that the people assisted
emergency, we decided to place small guns (see also Journal, 14th of May, 1690) at different spots, to give them notice to rally around their standards. One was placed on the Tigerberg, one at the Schuur, another on the Stellenbosch Kloof, and another at Drakenstein.

"As cavalry is most indispensable here, we formed a corps among the burghers. The number at present is thirty-nine, and that of the infantry one hundred and twenty, exclusive of officers.

"The Stellenbosch burghers, not wishing to be backward, also formed a corps of dragoons, forty strong. They received their standard from the Governor himself at the Castle. Eighty men were left for the company of infantry—all fine and smart fellows, who have courage enough to show that, when it comes to a pinch, the devotion with which they served as soldiers in the Fatherland has not been driven out of them by agricultural pursuits.

"They all deserve pity, and we are pained that they have been obliged to neglect their ploughing and sowing season in order to defend the Castle from the threatened attack of the French, who managed to select a time for their arrival when the roadstead was without any of your ships, and the agriculturists were hard at work. The latter, therefore, not only lost their harvest, but also their..."
seed-corn, for, if sown too late, the parasites destroy the crops.*

"The returns show the following results (Cape district):—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grain</th>
<th>Sown</th>
<th>Reaped</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>87(\frac{3}{4}) muids</td>
<td>746 muids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rye</td>
<td>17(\frac{1}{4})</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>9(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men, 123; women, 54; sons, 70; daughters, 72; men-servants, 20; slaves, 166; female ditto, 37; children ditto, 27; oxen, 611; cows, 637; heifers, 175; calves, 187; horses, 99; sheep, 17,084; pigs, 87; firelocks, 187; pistols, 42; swords, 108; vine stocks, 293,600.

"That the harvest of the Stellenbosch people cannot be compared with that of the preceding year, and what their loss has been, one example will suffice to show; as it has often been seen that five bushels of wheat produced from 50 to 60 muids. When they sowed last, the following were the results:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grain</th>
<th>Sown</th>
<th>Reaped</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>294(\frac{3}{4}) muids</td>
<td>1110(\frac{3}{4}) muids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rye</td>
<td>29(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>140(\frac{1}{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>7(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>19(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A great difference indeed compared with preceding yields! We trust that God will in future bless their labours abundantly, and let us live together free from all annoyance, in peace and security!

"We and they have reason to thank Him that in His fathomless mercy He has been pleased abundantly to prosper them with wives and children, servants, and chattels, for at present the returns are (i.e. at Stellenbosch):—Men, 131; women, 34; sons, 49; daughters, 40; servants, 19; slaves, 64; female ditto, 7; children ditto, 9;

* See note, p. 24.
oxen, 868; cows, 289; heifers, 213; calves, 241; horses, 56; sheep, 13,058; pigs, 141; firelocks, 157; swords, 47; pistols, 22; vines, 109,300. It is therefore evident that we have 350 freemen capable of bearing arms, their children (full grown) and loan-servants included,* so that with God's help we shall soon be able to oppose any foreign power which might wish to nestle here."

But though the Commander spoke hopefully, it was no easy matter for the people to carry ceaselessly the spade in one hand and the sword in the other. Even in times of the greatest security their life was a hard one, for on the 15th of April, 1689, he wrote as follows to the Seventeen:

"The labour required of the newly-arrived settlers is immense, in order to prepare their lands for corn, wine, and other crops. The ground, never cultivated since the creation of the world, is full of bush and roots, &c., which must be taken out, so that only after three or four years fair crops may be expected. The farmers have a hard life of it in order to make a living. They mostly arrive here destitute; their tools and implements and household necessaries cost more here than at home. They are, therefore, obliged to become debtors to the Company. This oppresses them for a long while before they are able to clear off their liabilities, as they cannot under such circumstances compete favourably with long-settled residents."

* It is not all unlikely that, if things had come to the worst, he would have carried out his intention of blowing up the whole settlement rather than let it fall into the hands of the enemy. He never failed in prompt action, never hesitated when called upon to do, and, however terrible he might have deemed the sacrifice, we believe he would as readily have given his life for the Company as his father before him, and, with his 350 burghers capable of carrying arms, done what Leonidas and his brave 300 Spartans did at Thermopylae, about twenty centuries previously—rather died than surrendered his trust.
It was still peace, however, when the Governor wrote to Batavia on the 3rd of May, 1688, that the Gaillard and Loire had arrived in Table Bay from Siam, having on board the Envoy De la Loubert and Père Tachard, who was likewise an Envoy from the King of Siam to their Majesties of France and England, and to the Pope. Père Tachard communicated to him the great designs which the King of France had on the Siamese territories. He felt certain of returning thither shortly, and had forty-four samples of different kinds of gold, silver, copper, tin, and other mineral ores; also some rough diamonds, garnets, rubies, agates, &c. All had been found in Siam, and were taken as a present to the King of France. He asked Commander Van der Stel to smelt some of the minerals when he returned from France, and to inform him of the results. But when the Commander offered to do so at once, he pretended that he could not very well get at them without great loss of time, and therefore no information could be given to the Seventeen on this point.
CHAPTER III.

Whatever intentions the French fleet under Vaudricourt might have had, the Commander and officers had been so thoroughly disarmed by the courtesy and politeness of Commander S. van der Stel, qualities which were innate in him, and which he could neither conceal nor suppress, that after the Oriflamme, commanded by M. L'Estrelle, carrying 306 soldiers and sailors and 54 guns, arrived in Table Bay, on her way to Siam, the Governor wrote to Batavia on the 18th, and particularly to Commissioner-General H. A. van Rjeeede on the 24th of June, that on the day after his arrival M. L'Estrelle landed with ten or twelve officers and noblemen and thanked the Commander Van der Stel in the name of his King for his services and acts of kindness and friendship shown to the French, and in acknowledgment of the same presented him with His Majesty's portrait encased in a gold medallion with a blue ribbon, attached to an artistically made gold chain of quadruple links.

The presentation took place in the presence of the Secunde Andries de Man, Fiscal Dirk van Kuyk, and Secretary Grevenbroeck, who acted as interpreter. The Commander accepted the gift to show his respect for His Majesty, but added that he would communicate the fact to his masters and ask their permission to keep the present. M. L'Estrelle replied: "It is enough: I fully understand your meaning." In his letter to the Seventeen he says that he was afraid to refuse to accept the gift, in order to give no offence. (See letter despatched on the 14th of January, 1688, p. 193.)

It may be suggested that the present had some political meaning, and was intended to shake Van der Stel's loyalty to the Company, but he had invariably been kind and hospitable to foreign visitors without distinction;
stretching the powers vested in him as far as his oath and honour would allow. To this John Ovington readily testifies on the part of the English; whilst on the 24th of Dec., 1689, he received a letter from the Danish East India Company, sent by the squadron, the Flying Wolf and consorts, under the command of Mauritz van Hartmann, purposely written, to thank him for his invariable kindness and assistance rendered to the Danes, and in warm and graceful terms to express their appreciation of the same. Hence the conclusion to be drawn would rather be this, that whatever cause of quarrel the French might have sought in order, during their stay at the Cape, to have it all their own way, he had completely disarmed and won them by his judicious conduct, his kindly disposition, and gentle, manly bearing, which seldom fail to produce reciprocal heartiness and respect, where otherwise the most deplorable results might ensue.

It was true that there was still peace, but little did some French ships care about that, for, as mentioned in the general despatch of the 26th of April, 1688, the captain of the Sillida on his arrival in Table Bay reported that in lat. 3° or 4° N. he had been attacked by two French vessels, which had boarded and searched him, taken out a Frenchman, and compelled the Sillida to salute them. Nor was this an exceptional case.

It was true that the French troops in Siam were dying rapidly away, and that, as stated by Admiral Du Quesne, there was no chance of any of them surviving much longer, and likewise that not much dependence could be placed on the stability of the Siamese King’s friendship, but that would only affect the Indian trade to a slight degree in favour of the Dutch and English, in case the French abandoned Siam, as they were not long afterwards obliged to do, when the revolution and the massacre had taken place there; but then it was also on the cards that a certain and general European war against France was merely a question of days or weeks, and that should such an untoward event happen, Louis XIV., if at all successful, and perhaps assisted by England, would have his hands free
to do almost what he liked in India. The Grand Alliance, however, hampered him, and the reader of history knows how, even with such a formidable array against her, France could hold her own on the Continent, and would have gained the day, if Louis had not, in the excess of his folly, taken the management of the war and the appointment of the generals into his own hands.

In good time, though very nearly too late, William III. found himself free to act—after having convened a new Parliament—and had it not been for his rapid successes in Ireland, which kept the French ships confined and "broke the heart of Tyrconnel," the infinitesimal army of Simon van der Stel at the Cape would have been compelled to retire before the mariners and soldiers of France, and the C'ape itself converted into a French settlement. In that case the whole of India would have been lost to both England and the States.

Moreover, the distance from Europe was great, and half a year was required before news could reach the Cape of what was happening there. How then could the Commander do otherwise than fear the presence of one of the many elements in a community which, because Catholic, and having no ties of fellowship to bind them to the Protestants expelled from France, were for that very reason the more dangerous as partisans of France in case of a war with that country? Or, when a supposed Protestant Frenchman, like Couchet, was discovered to have been on the most intimate terms with the Jesuits who had been at the Cape? No wonder, therefore, that Van der Stel dreaded the mixed character of his garrison, and was anxious to appoint the ablest officers whose services he could command! Hence he describes only one of the difficulties of his position, when after being informed of the troubles at Nagapatnam—without even referring to his other cares—he says:

"The misfortune which befell those of Nagapatnam will show what terrible anxiety, painful days, and sleepless nights we pass through, for often we also are hard
pushed and threatened by conspiracies of slaves and convicts, fortunately always discovered in time by God's grace. Never, however, did the Colony appear to suffer more inconvenience from that rabble than a month ago when seven or eight slaves placed a black freeman at their head and fled inland, armed with knives, a gun, some powder and lead, &c. During the night they broke into a freeman's house and shot the hunter of the Company, who had rushed to the assistance of the owner. After having done more mischief and taken away three guns, powder, food, &c., they went away, intending to attack another freeman's house the following night and murder all the inmates, giving the arms to the slaves found on the place. In that way having largely increased their number, they decided to kill the freemen one after another and destroy the Colony entirely. They would have succeeded if the slaves of the Company and freemen and the convicts had joined them; for they are far superior in numbers to the whites, and would have made it sufficiently hot for us; but the Commander having been in good time informed of their plans, decided to smother the monster in its cradle. All the passes were occupied by the Company's servants and freemen; the conspirators were surrounded on all sides, and in a river, thickly covered with rush and trees, they fought four hours desperately against six of the freemen, and were only overpowered after having killed one of the latter. Three of the ringleaders were killed fighting to the last. Four others and a female were conveyed to the Castle, where they will be rewarded according to their deserts.

"Under such circumstances it is too dangerous to give fire-arms to slave herds—hence, last year, we issued a placcaat forbidding it, even knives included."
He further shows in this same despatch that the garrison consisted merely of a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, and seven sergeants—five of the latter were stationed at each point of the Castle; one was at Saldanha Bay, and the other at Clapmuts, superintending the works—fifteen hundred muids of corn having been won at that station. There were also ten corporals: two were at Robben Island—one superintended the gathering of shells, &c., and the other had charge of the imprisoned Lieutenant B.; both had to take care of the place with their men, and report all ships’ arrivals—one was at the Kuilen, and another at Hottentots Holland; the rest were stationed in the Castle. Fifty-five soldiers were distributed between the main guard and the points, and twenty-two employed in fetching fuel.

With bitter irony he adds:—

"These men guard your important fortress, within which moreover we have, as a snake in our bosom, a Macassar Prince, with some of his generals and servants, exiled hither, and ordered to be fed and guarded by us."*

* He was evidently the same known as Dain Majampa, formerly a hostage sent hither from Batavia in the Blaauwe Hulk, in 1681. He wished to return and had all the time behaved well. He had already in 1692 grown into an old man, and at his own request and the wish of the Cape Council he was sent back to India in 1693. Another had died here in 1689. See Journal of 27th of December of that year.

To show how Van der Stel was obliged to be continually on his guard against treachery, the following example will suffice. It is taken from the Journal of the 13th of May, 1689. Jean de la Motte, a French soldier in garrison here, revealed a conspiracy hatched between another French soldier, Ludovic, and the French prisoners taken in the Normande and Coche. Ludovic had told them that the people had been all terrified when they saw the squadron arrive under the command of General des Farges and Mons. Vaudricourt; that they were all living in great discord with one another; that there were blacks ready to betray the Cape; that the people here wished to kill one another; that the country was a most beautiful one, and richer than was believed; that those who attacked it would not be in want of adherents, and that there would be less resistance than was believed; that the prisoners were to try and get themselves located on the isthmus between Table and False Bays, where they might hunt and would have fresher air; that Ludovic had requested La Motte to
But even setting all this aside, Van der Stel's position was in every sense one of grave anxiety. I have already given his own description of the insecurity and enormous responsibility felt by him in one single matter, the desertion of the slaves, the crimes committed by them, and the difficulty of recapturing such fugitives. But let me add to this the hundreds of sick in hospital, whose places on board their ships he was obliged continually to fill with healthy men taken from his garrison, so that often what might on paper be called a defensive force, capable of defending the fort, was in reality a host of invalids laid up in hospital, and after restoration to health at once removed on board of the outward-bound vessels to take the place of the sick landed here for recovery. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that a large percentage of his ever-changing forces was generally unfit for duty.

But often those that were well—military, sailors, and even burghers—were apt to escape from the Colony, whenever a favourable chance offered, diminishing still further the small number of men fit for active duty. It is said that necessity has no law; hence, no doubt, acting on the strength of that proverb, English vessels often carried away with them as many men as they could, no matter how obtained. One example will suffice. In April, 1688, Samuel Wyth, an Englishman, arrived here in the Princess Mary, almost completely manned with blacks. He reported that the Governor of Tenasserim, who was in great favour with the King of Siam, had attacked and killed all the English within his jurisdiction—about fifty in number provide the French officers with an inkstand; that a certain French captain had once given him three or four jewels to sell; that he had exchanged a piece of clothing of theirs for something else; that Ludovic had free access to the officers whenever he liked, and had said that only he and no one else would proceed inland with them, and had attempted to gain La Motte over on his side, &c. Secretary Grevenbroek was horrified to hear all this, and reported it to Administrator de Man, and also to the Governor, who was at the time on board one of the prizes. Ludovic was quietly made prisoner and examined, and all the French prisoners (privates) on land and on board were securely confined.
—and that he and three others had with difficulty escaped, and with his little vessel and the blacks managed to reach the Cape in the best way he could. He declared that the French had caused this disaster by their intrigues, and added, that of fourteen large ships at Bengal, the English were not able to man two, as all the men had either been murdered, died, or run away. They had even in vain offered from forty to fifty rupees to sailors of the Dutch Company.

Under such circumstances it cannot be wondered at that Captain Heath of the English ship Defence, which had, assisted by her consort and three Dutch vessels, beaten off the French squadron at Madras, commanded by young Admiral du Quesne—of which we shall have occasion to say more below—when at the Cape, induced forty military, sailors, and freemen to desert. It was, however, a poor consolation for Van der Stel to be told about three years later by Ambassador Goldsborough, proceeding to the Court of the Grand Mogul, that Heath had, for what he had done, been disrated and condemned to forfeit his wages. (See Journal of the 1st of August, 1692.)

From the Hottentots living in the neighbourhood, and towards the West, on this side of the Oliphant's River, he had to fear nothing, for in the general despatch to Holland of the 26th of April, 1688, he says:

"Their captains, including those far distant, have either by envoy or personally requested you, through the Commander, to extend to them your friendship and protection. They thoroughly understand that reverence for the Company makes each tribe live in peace with its neighbour, and the result has been that they are rapidly multiplying in numbers and in cattle, and growing more affectionately disposed towards us every day; so that at present, in the most busy time of the harvest, they do as the Westphalians, who go down to Holland for ploughing and harvesting. At the same time they are so averse to the English and the Danes, and especially the French, that often we had
to use force to prevent them from interchanging blows with foreigners.”

But though these natives were so friendly and ready to assist the whites, it seemed that the wealth obtained from their intercourse with the latter had tempted the cupidity of the Namaquas and Grigriquas, who were induced to cross the Oliphant’s River to attack those located in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay; an emergency for which the Commander had likewise to be prepared. He therefore sent the marauders word, that if they did not desist or retire he would attack them; a threat which was fortunately effectual.

A more serious matter was the intention of the Ubiquas or Bushmen to murder the Drakenstein settlers. Their vicious nature was already well known at that time, and no other plan appeared more feasible than “to attack and destroy them by fire and sword.” The measures adopted for the purpose were kept strictly secret, however, as the enemy was one that was not to be trifled with: hence the Commando system was inaugurated, which still plays such a prominent part in the history of South Africa, and will not very likely soon be set aside for any other.
CHAPTER IV.

Another matter that must have sorely puzzled Van der Stel after the war broke out was the relation in which the two sons and the nephew of the great Admiral du Quesne stood, on the one hand, towards the Huguenots, and on the other, towards France and its anti-Protestant King; and when we carefully ponder this subject, we cannot feel surprised that the Governor distrusted the political proclivities of some of the Huguenots settled here.

Personally he regarded them with great affection, if we are to judge from what he wrote about them or did in their favour. To give a few extracts.

On the 26th of April, 1688, he wrote to the Seventeen in reply to theirs of the 11th of January, 1688:

"We hope to find among the expected French and Piedmontese fugitives, some who are acquainted with the vine stock and the planting of olive-trees, in order to teach the older settlers what they as yet do not know about the cultivation of those plants. . . .

"We are heartily glad that some French and other fugitives are about to come out with their Minister. We shall, as far as our humble efforts will permit us, receive them with love and kindly feeling, and unsparingly lend them a helping hand, according to your orders, that we may refresh and comfort them after all the sufferings and persecutions which they have undergone; and should they conduct themselves as honestly and industriously as their countrymen who settled here a while ago, they will marvellously establish and strengthen this Colony, and generally rouse the highest emulation of the Netherlanders."
On the 28th of the same month he again wrote:—

"We shall lend a helping hand to the French fugitives and give them proofs of Christian love, by helping them on their legs;" and to Delft on the same day: "The Sion will not call at the Cape. She ran into Saldanha Bay, and will thence proceed direct to Batavia. The French fugitives on board have been brought hither in the coaster, the Jupiter. They were received by us with proofs of Christian love and compassion, and will be assisted in everything. We shall give them at the earliest opportunity the two French Bibles and ten psalm-books."

To Batavia he expressed himself as follows on the 2nd of September:—

"The Rev. Pierre Simond* arrived in the Zuid Beveland, on the 19th of August last, and will be followed by many French and Piedmontese fugitives, who will settle here as agriculturists, tradesmen, &c. We trust that they will not disappoint the directors, and heartily pray God, that He may abundantly bless this enterprise."

As we already mentioned before, he wrote to the Seventeen in feeling language concerning the difficulties and sore trials which the new settlers were struggling with—their poverty, and their hard battle to free themselves from debt and compete on more favourable terms with the older settlers. But he went much further than that in

* After his arrival good care was taken to convey him comfortably and safely to his place of destination; the Landdrost and Heemraden were requested to show him that affection, regard, and reverence which his office and person demanded, and to assist him to the utmost of their power in building a comfortable house for him. See letters despatched to Stellenbosch, 16th of October, 1689. That he was not badly off is proved by the fact that he could already in June, 1689, remit f.114 to Holland. (Letters despatched to Holland 20th of June, 1689.)
his despatch to Batavia, dated the 22nd of April, 1689. There he unburdens his sympathetic soul as follows:—

"The French fugitives sent hither from the Fatherland, and established here, will, in consequence of their extreme poverty, not be able to enjoy any fruits of their labours in these wild and desert lands for three or four years to come. In the meanwhile they must be supported by the Company, and assisted from the slender resources of our poor-fund. Already the account for articles supplied them since their arrival has been considerable, and in order to relieve the Company of the burden as much as possible for the future, and assist these poor people in the most suitable manner, we request your Right Honourables most humbly that you may be pleased to allow, that for their support and assistance, and likewise for those who are still to come, a collection may be made at Batavia, for which they will at all times be grateful, and we likewise shall feel personally obliged."

It is generally known that, in reply, the Batavia High Government at once sent to the Cape the munificent sum of Rds. 6000, for distribution among the poor exiles—the original bill of exchange is in my custody—but I doubt whether it is as well known whence the money came. I therefore insert the information in order to make the narrative as complete as possible.

Among the many possessions which the Dutch obtained in the East Indies, we find the Island Formosa (Tayouan = Taewan = Terrace Beach). It fell under their authority in 1634; and, as they were accustomed to do in every other place, they built a stronghold on it and called it Fort Zeeeland. There Johan van Riebeeck must have passed some time, for in his Journal we often find the island mentioned, and the Cape compared with it. But the Dutch likewise established their Church, and with it a diakonie or poor-fund for the assistance of such members of the Reformed
faith as really required aid. When, however, in 1662, Tayouan had been seized by the Chinese pirate or rebel Coxinga, and the Dutch compelled to evacuate it, they carried away with them the fund, such as it was at the time, and deposited it in the Treasury at Batavia. (See letters despatched to the Seventeen, 24th of May, 1690.) And when Commander Van der Stel asked for assistance about twenty-one years later, the sum had increased to Rds. 6000, and the High Government decided immediately to send it to the Cape.

On the 19th of April, 1690, the money was distributed among the poor fugitives, who, as the Journal mentions, were wonderfully pleased and delighted with a present so truly welcome to them in their dire necessity. But their happiness was increased when a large number of oxen, obtained by barter from the Inquas Hottentots, some time before by the Ensign Isaac Schryver, was likewise distributed among them.

When they left to return to their homes, they heartily thanked the Commander for his good and kindly feeling, and the great care he had shown for them.

The distribution was made by their Minister, and some of their chief men, in presence of Commissioners appointed by the Council of Policy, and each one received according to his necessities and the number of his family. (See letters despatched 24th of May, 1690, p. 608.)
CHAPTER V.

After this digression, which I could not withhold from the reader, I return to the extracts. The narrative may on this account be found not to run so smoothly as it might otherwise have done, but I hope this imperfection will be amply compensated for by the additional information it contains.

On the 24th of May, the Commander and Council wrote to the Delft Chamber:

"We have assisted, as far as we could, the French fugitives who have hitherto arrived, especially those who dispose themselves to virtue (intend to be useful), who therefore also intend to remain here and prosper."

On the 12th of June, 1690, the following was despatched to the Amsterdam Chamber:

"The fugitives, about 150 in number, with their wives and children, have been located—some in the Cape, many in the Stellenbosch, but the greater portion in the Drakenstein district, where they can well subsist on agriculture and their different trades. Our object is to amalgamate them with our countrymen, that the one may impart to the other his own particular knowledge and experience, and in that manner agriculture be promoted. For that purpose we have deemed it expedient to order that their religious services shall be held alternately every Sunday at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein in the church, and on the same footing as the Dutch. We have helped them as far as our weak powers allowed, and it is evident that the majority of them will find a living. The gift sent them from India will do them good."
In connection with the above is another paragraph, in the oft-quoted despatch of the 22nd of April, 1688, viz.:

"The Commander is in treaty with some of the Hottentot Captains, in order to buy lands from them in a binding manner; for bearing in mind the extension of the boundaries,* he has lately established a new settlement along the Berg River and four leagues in a more easterly direction from Stellenbosch, in a beautiful and rich valley named by him Drakenstein. He has distributed there to twenty-three freemen plots of ground of equal dimensions and adjoining each other. Each one received 60 by 600 roods, or 60 morgen. Altogether the soil is splendid, one part perhaps a little better than another; but whoever has received a plot not quite so good as his neighbour's, has only to blame chance for it. The Commander worked hard to put all these people properly on their legs, and gave them cattle and sheep, &c."

On the 22nd of June, 1691, the Council expressed their pleasure at the decision of the Seventeen to raise the purchase-price of the wine by Rds. 5 per leaguer, as it had encouraged the farmers to undertake the cultivation with more zeal than before. The members wished the price to be fixed at Rds. 30, as they had found that, because the price was so low and the producers were only allowed to sell to the Company, no viticulturist cared to improve his produce. The natural consequence was that the Company was obliged to refuse a large quantity of wine as unsaleable.

* "And finally it was decided in consequence of the increase of the number of inhabitants of Drakenstein to extend the boundaries of that district in a manner the most convenient possible for those who intend to settle there, so that the furthest end of the Paarl Mountains (Perl-berg) and the Babel Tower (Babylonische Toren) shall be comprised within them, in the manner in which the Landdrost shall explain it to the people." (Extract from the Resolution of the Council of Policy, 19th of October, 1691.)
In order to understand this grievance, partly rectified according to the despatch quoted, we must refer to another from the Seventeen, dated the 17th of December, 1690, which mentions that Commander Parvé, of the Return Fleet, had reported (and his name is significant) that Rds. 20 and Rds. 15 for a leaguer of wine were far too little to compensate the producer. Formerly the price had been from Rds. 40 to Rds. 30, but, as the directors mention, the Lord of Mydrecht * had advised them to reduce it to prevent too large a production, and encourage a more extensive cultivation of grain, that the importation of rice from India might be dispensed with. This object had now been realised, but at the same time much advantage was expected from the making of wine also, and therefore they wished Commander Van der Stel not to allow this industry to be neglected, but to do his best to restore it. Hence, in order to encourage the producer, the prices had been raised to Rds. 25 for first, and Rds. 20 for second-class wine.

The Commander (Van der Stel), however, wished the price to be raised to Rds. 30 and Rds. 25.†

* In his instructions he disapproves of the many wine-shops at the Cape, especially in the neighbourhood of the Castle, and left orders that a large number of tenements near it should be demolished, the owners compensated, and sent to Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, to earn a living there as agriculturists, instead of making a questionable one here by keeping low taverns and by smuggling.
† On the 8th of August, Com. S. van der Stel taught the burgher Councillors the secret of making good wine, that they might communicate it to the growers for the public good. (Journal, 8th August, 1692.) The lesson evidently was not a long one, and could be easily learned, for on the 2nd of August, 1692, he wrote to Mauritius that he was glad that the wine made there was like sherry (de Xereze), and expected a sample soon. He likewise sent them different kinds of vines, red and white. Each kind was to be planted separately, and each stock three or four feet from the other, about two feet deep, and, if possible, on the sides of hills facing the east. When the pressing season had come, they were to take care that the grapes were completely ripe, and that the sound bunches were separated from the unsound, the rape from the unripe, the rotten, and the sandy, and that the first juice (voorloop) be kept separate from the trodden or pressed portions. I have no doubt whatever, in my own mind, that if these simple instructions are carried out scrupulously, Cape wine will again be found second to none in the world.
CHAPTER VI.

The above extracts will be sufficient to show that S. v. d. Stel was by no means unmindful of the interests of the Huguenots, and that he studied them to the best of his ability; but as we have already mentioned, independent of the anxiety caused him by the arrivals of the French squadrons to and from Siam and other parts of the East, before the war broke out, and the news which he received by the Tuimelaar, that hostilities had actually commenced, so that he was compelled to capture the two French ships, La Normande and Le Coche, which, if they had not been taken,* would most certainly have seized the Cape with the assistance of other vessels expected with news from France.

* The Normande was sent to the Amsterdam Chamber and renamed the Goede Hoop. In the heavy storms of the 4th and 5th of June, 1692, she was lying in Table Bay, as one of the richly-laden return ships of the Company, and with her consort, the Hoogergeest, and the English ship Orange, thrown on shore at Salt River. “The saddest of all was,” writes the Command.-r, “to behold so many souls in the utmost peril of their lives, and to hear their miserable groaning without being able to find any way of saving them. At last, Jochem Willemsz, of Amsterdam, sailor, doing duty as quarter-master, in the Spierdyk, offered to swim through the surf towards the wrecks with a rope round his body. In this he was successful, and by means of a raft and the rope, which he had taken with him and which enabled us to pull the raft backwards and forwards, the greater portion of the people were saved from certain death. We cannot refrain from humbly bringing to your Honour’s notice this true-hearted action, so courageously and successfully performed in our presence, and to the admiration of all, and we respectfully beg that it may be your gracious pleasure to remember him in proper time, as he has been the means of saving many of the Company’s servants.

“Two little English girls who had been passengers on the Orange, and had lost everything by the wreck, we allowed a passage to Europe with their female slave. They were eight and nine years old. Their passage will be paid by their uncle, Richard Edmonson, draper, living in Gracechurch Street, London.”
and which had letters on board to that effect—as was shown by the despatches found in them—he hardly knew, far removed as he was from all sources of information, from assistance and trustworthy advice, in what manner to regard the position of the nephew and the two sons of the late Admiral du Quesne towards their own country on the one hand, and the Protestant section of Europe on the other—especially the position of the nephew. He had chosen the profession of his uncle and his father, and already likewise risen to the rank of Vice-Admiral, being known in the Archives as the younger Du Quesne, and, when first mentioned, as Lieutenant to the celebrated Vaudricourt.*

We cannot ignore the fact that, rightly or wrongly, he is described by C. Weiss, and also mentioned by R. A. Poole, on the authority of Aignan in his États des Protestants, a copy of which I have vainly endeavoured to obtain, as “having introduced eighty Huguenot families into the Cape, which were established by the Governor at Drakenstein.” The Archives are silent on this point. The few extracts copied at the Hague throw no light whatever on it, and only by searching carefully through the Dutch State papers of the period will it be possible to find conclusive evidence to confirm or refute this statement.†

* As the narrative of Weiss regarding the two sons of the Admiral is evidently correct, I have a right to assume that he was likewise correct in his statements regarding the nephew. I have endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to obtain copies of the following works, which may perhaps clear up a great deal of uncertainty; all have been published in the French language. They are: (1) Journal of a Voyage made to the East Indies, by a squadron commanded by Mons. Du Quesne, from the 24th of February, 1690, to the 20th of August, 1693, by order of the (French) East India Company.—The Hague, 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo. (2) Journal of the Voyage of Du Quesne to the East Indies, by a naval officer serving in the squadron.—Brussels (Becker), 1692, in 12mo. (3) Narrative of a Voyage and Return from India during the years 1690 and 1691, by a naval officer (Mons. Pouchot de Chantassin).—Paris (Coignard), 1693, in 12mo. Of these last two publications, Boucher de la Richarderie says, in his catalogue, that they may very well be one and the same book, each merely bearing a different title, but that he has not been able to clear up the doubt.

† See Appendix B.
But having been made, and hitherto generally accepted, and it being, for the reasons given, impossible to question or ignore it, it will strike the reader very forcibly that if young Admiral du Quesne had really been the cause of the introduction of the Huguenots into South Africa—and by means of his frequent voyages to India and China, he knew the Cape perfectly well, and would most naturally suggest such an emigration—he was placed in a most anomalous position in every respect, after the war broke out. He was in the French service, and great interests had been confided to his keeping by his Royal Master. He was bound by solemn promise made to his deceased uncle, never to take up arms against France; and yet! the men and women whom he had introduced into the Colony had been bound by the ordinary oath, to consider themselves, and to act in every sense and under all circumstances, as loyal subjects not merely of the Company, but likewise of the States-General!

As long as there had been no war, there had been no difficulty; but who could fairly blame the Huguenots for cherishing a feeling of deep affection for the young Admiral, and for hoping or wishing that the time might come when they would be permitted to establish an independent Government, with him, perhaps, as their Prince or chief magistrate?

When the war broke out, however, Du Quesne was not the man to abandon his post, and therefore it was on the other hand also more than what could with any show of justice be expected from the Commander, that he should implicitly trust a foreign section of the community which heartily revered an admiral of a hostile fleet, continually in the Southern and Eastern seas, and particularly instructed to do as much injury as possible to the Company; and, should the opportunity be favourable, likewise to seize the Cape.

I know that it is a difficult and often likewise a hazardous task to build up from many unconnected links, small fragments of information and even much slighter materials, a complete statement of facts. I have found it to be so especially in the case of the connection of the Du Quesnes
with the Huguenots of South Africa, but I give the facts as I have collected them, leaving the reader at liberty to agree with my conclusions or otherwise.

It is generally known that Admiral Abraham,* Marquis du Quesne, although a Protestant, was the only one of his creed not banished from his country, but, on the contrary, for his great services loaded with favours by his King. And no wonder! For during the troubled times in which he lived, he had served France as faithfully and successfully as any patriot could wish to do. It would be beyond our purpose to sum up here what he did for his country. One event will be sufficient:—In April, 1676, he opposed, with a comparatively small force, the united fleets of Spain and Holland commanded by Admiral de Ruyter. The battle was fought off the coast of Sicily, near Mount Etna, and the island won for France. But De Ruyter was mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards.

Du Quesne's sons, however—Henri, Marquis after his father's death in 1688, and his brother Abraham, Comte de Moures—appeared to have shared in the general doom

* According to the Groot Algemeen Historisch & Geographisch, &c., Woordenboek, published by D. van Hoogstraten & J. L. Schuer, Amsterdam, 1783:—"He died on the 2nd of February, 1688, seventy-eight years old. He was married to Gabrielle de Bernière, and had four sons, who gave great proofs of ability. Henri, the eldest, remained a Protestant, and went to live on an estate in Switzerland, given him by the King in consequence of the services of his father. Abraham, the second son, was likewise a ship's captain, and in 1683 took prisoner the Prince of Monte Sarchio, Spanish general, and also showed his bravery in the expedition against Genoa in 1684. The third, named Isaac, also served at sea; and the fourth was called Jacob. The Marquis had various brothers, who all died in the service of the King."

Whether the particulars relating to the eldest son are quite correct, I am unable to say. Two things are to be borne in mind—the one, that for Admiral du Quesne's great services Louis XIV. rewarded him with a Marquisate and a large estate in France, named Bouchet; the other, that according to the contract made by Henri and his brother Abraham with the Dutch East India Company—and which will be referred to later on—both are mentioned as residents in the town of Amsterdam, but closely connected with the Huguenots, especially those who were scattered through Switzerland, who are indiscriminately mentioned as French fugitives or exiled Vaudois. See Appendix B.
pronounced by the infatuated King over a portion of his unhappy subjects. They had taken up their residence in Amsterdam, but though exiles in a foreign land, had with their first cousin, Admiral du Quesne, junior, loyally adhered to the first promise made to the old Admiral that they would never take up arms against their own country. Nor do they appear to have been destitute of means, as they were among those French exiles of influence and position who had set themselves to make the best provision possible for their unfortunate and impoverished fellow-countrymen and co-religionists. This we conclude from the following extract from a despatch of the Chamber, Amsterdam, dated the 10th of May, 1688, regarding the Piedmontese or Vaudois fugitives at Nuremberg, who were supposed to have expressed their willingness to proceed to the Cape. It says that the Seventeen had had a conference on the subject with the States-General, who were inclined to assist the unfortunates with funds raised a few months previously by collections in aid of the Vaudois in general; but that as yet no definite information could be sent, because only lately the fugitives had been directly addressed by letter through their representatives. It is certainly true that no mention is made here of refugees from France; but whether they came from that country or from Switzerland, the unfortunate exiles had in the public mind but really one name, that of Huguenots, and their interests and sufferings being identical practically, no distinction was made in providing for them, as will be seen from other extracts given below, when we shall likewise find occasion to devote a few pages to the Vaudois and their sad history.

It further appears that a part of the emigration scheme—of the Du Quesnes at least—was to establish French Colonies wherever practicable in the Southern and Eastern Hemispheres, and form them into independent commonwealths, if there were already no other powers settled on the spot for them to submit to. In the latter case the new comers were expected simply to join the settlement as all ordinary immigrants, and become absorbed in the general public. Take St. Helena for example.
John Ovington, in the interesting narrative of his voyages, relates that he left Gravesend in the ship Benjamin on the 11th of April, 1689; that there were many French fugitives on board who intended to settle at St. Helena, and among them Captain Poirier, who, by the advocacy of influential friends, was to be placed on the best spot of the island, where he had everything wherewith to support himself and his eight children. His descendants are, no doubt, loyal Englishmen to-day. (See Appendix C.)

The fugitives sent to the Cape came hither under similar circumstances and certain plain and well-defined conditions, to which every freeman—no matter what his nationality might be—was obliged to subscribe. Nor were they at all severe, or would they even at the present day be so considered by any sensible emigrant, if he were convinced that, by subscribing to them, he would, instead of after his arrival in a strange land being thrown unknown and penniless, as is often the case, with a large and helpless family on his own resources, be assisted and "helped on his legs," in the true sense of the word, by an association or administration which, like that of the Company, merely required in return a loyal heart, a sound head, an industrious hand, and the honest God-fearing life of a contented citizen.

It is to be taken for granted that the large majority at least of the fugitives were not only of the right stamp, but also well satisfied with the arrangements made for them; for no other impression can be left on our minds after a careful perusal of such extracts as I have given above—and they are only a few out of many—and that we never would have heard an unkind word against them from the mouth of Commander Van der Stel, although on the arrival of the first party he had been told by them that they were under the impression that arrangements would soon be made by which they would be permitted to appoint their own Government and chief administrator, had not the injudicious conduct of their Minister, Pierre Simond, and his unseemly quarrels with Jacques de Savoye—apparently as hard a millstone as himself—made Van der Stel dread that finally they might react upon the fugitives.
themselves and create among them a most unwholesome spirit of disaffection and insubordination. But as long as there was peace with France, no immediate evil was feared from the newly-settled Colonists, and hence it was a most ill-timed proceeding of the Rev. P. Simond, in the same year in which the news arrived that war had been declared, and that England might join France against the States—for such was the purport of the first communications—to appear before the Commander and the Council with a request which fairly staggered them, and, for once in his life, made the Commander show indubitable signs of impatience and anger.

It is to be regretted that the memorial itself and other papers of similar importance are missing. I trust, however, that copies will be obtainable at the Hague, though the loss of the originals can never be too deeply regretted. But the attentive reader of the resolutions of the 28th of November, 1689, which mentions the deputation and the Commander's wrath, will at once observe that it requires a link somewhere, which must be supplied in order to explain the Commander's conduct.

It is said that the memorialists wished to have a church and church officers of their own, but the Governor's reply hardly, if at all, affects that point; he addresses them as if they had expressly asked for some political concessions, and therefore the real facts should be gleaned from other portions of the Archives. They may be fairly guessed, I think, from the despatch of the Seventeen, dated the 17th of December, 1690, in reply to the memorial mentioned, and which had naturally been forwarded to them. It is as follows:—

"At the request of the Rev. P. Simond we have consented that a consistory should be elected from the French congregation, composed of elders and deacons, who—if they can be found—shall be versed in both the Dutch and French languages, and whose names shall always annually and beforehand be submitted to you for your approval,
the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

and which you shall give, should there be no reason to the contrary. You shall likewise appoint one or two council members to take session in that consistory as political Commissioners, and to appear there whenever and as often as they shall deem it necessary; and should any matters of importance or any discussions take place at any meeting which the Commissioners believe ought not to be ventilated, or much less, settled there, they shall be laid before the consistory of the Fort or Castle, in which there shall likewise appear and take session some deputies from the said Church Council of the French congregation, in order to form the great consistory by which these matters and disputes shall be settled or ended, and which shall for that purpose meet at such times or on such days as may be the most convenient. Further, the consistory of the French congregation, or elders and deacons, shall be allowed in their own parish to dispose of the alms given for the benefit of the poor, and distribute them among the needy; but in case any subsidies should come in from outside, their distribution or use shall be settled by the great consistory or Kerkeraad, which shall also take care that proper books are kept of receipts and expenditure, that annually a clear statement may be drawn out, as is usual in Batavia.

"Regarding the schools, also mentioned by the Rev. P. Simond, we shall endeavour to obtain and send out some schoolmasters, speaking both the Dutch and French languages, who are to be stationed at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein respectively, to instruct the children of both French and Dutch parents. Their efforts shall be to bring about that the children of French parents are taught to read and understand especially the Dutch language, in order to be the more easily incorporated into
our nation. For that purpose you shall not locate the Colonists, whether French or Dutch, each nationality separately, but you shall mix them up together and let them live among one another both at Drakenstein and Stellenbosch. By such means the public schools mentioned will become more efficacious for both Dutch and French children, and be maintained at much less cost."

It is therefore evident that they asked for their own consistory, and an autonomy for themselves in secular and church affairs, which the system on which the Dutch East India Company was founded could not allow, and which, moreover, had never been granted to any fugitive congregation anywhere in Europe, and that the memorial ended with the request for a French school for the children.

But the Rev. P. Simond, who took a leading part in this movement, appears to have been of a very restless and not very conciliatory nature, for on the 29th of June, 1691, the Governor and Council wrote to Holland as follows:—

"We only wish that the Rev. Pierre Simond and Jacques de Savoye would bear themselves towards each other more peaceably and amicably, and had settled their differences without, by means of their quarrelsomeness, resulting from sheer obstinacy, causing so much annoyance to the community (aan dese ingeseten) and such great trouble to us and the various husbandmen in the busiest season of work, to the injury of the general public. We tried to settle their differences, and reconcile them with each other. For that purpose we called together the Great Church Council (Groote Kerkeraad), in which the Rev. Leonardus Terwold presided. Moreover, three other ministers were called in, who were on board two ships in the bay; but all in vain, for both being stubborn, neither would give way to the other, as you will see from the annexures.

"We would very much have liked to see that the
French minister did not so much interfere with private affairs and those of the public in general, and that he had not troubled his congregation by making them give declarations, or called them together at one time for one, at another for another reason, as you will see from the annexed copy of the memorial signed by the French congregation and delivered by him to the Governor and Council."

It is therefore evident that Simon van der Stel could not consider the request of the deputation for church officers to be selected exclusively from the refugees, in the light of an ordinary one, and merely made to secure for themselves a few unimportant additional conveniences; although the right of complying with it did not rest with the Commander and Council here, but exclusively with the Board of Seventeen, which when applied to readily granted it. He connected it with their desire to be located together; and from that, rightly or wrongly, he concluded that they were taking the first steps to give effect to what some of them had told him, on their first landing.*

Until the peace of Ryswyk had been concluded in 1697, he would therefore have spent a most anxious time, fearing that each moment a hostile fleet from France might arrive, and that he would not only be obliged to meet an enemy from the sea, perhaps vastly superior in number to the garrison at his disposal, but likewise fruitlessly look to the Huguenot settlers for assistance, even if they refused to render any to the enemy.

No ship arrived from Holland which did not bring disquieting information regarding heavy French armaments being in preparation at Brest and elsewhere for the inva-

* At the present day it is difficult to understand the close connection between Church and State at the time of which I am writing. A desire expressed to secede from the Established Church was equivalent to a wish to form a conventicle, a form of congregationalism heartily abhorred by all Calvinists, and especially referred to and condemned in the Communion Service as a sin which unfitted a member for partaking of the Visible Emblems of Redemption at the Table of the Lord.
sion of India, crippling the Dutch and English trade and influence there, and if possible expelling both Companies from the Eastern seas; and what was even worse, if possible, always under the command of Admiral du Quesne. Therefore, although the directors had distinctly refused permission to the Huguenots to be located together as above mentioned, the Governor deemed it best to grant their request as far as he conveniently could, remove them as far as possible from the Cape, give them fruitful plots of ground near each other along the banks of the Berg River, and so extend them in an unbroken line from the French Hoek (Coin Français) to the Wagon-makers' Valley (Val du Charron).*

But even supposing that his anger was unreasonable, and there was no political object intended by the memorial, it is not according to fact, as lately stated,† that when the deputation called upon him, on the 28th of November, 1689, "it was left in an outer room, and by and by a message was sent, reminding them of their oath of allegiance which they had taken, ordering them to return to their homes, and informing them that they must be satisfied to remain as they were, a branch congregation of the church of Stellenbosch."

These words plainly imply that the deputation were not even permitted to enter the Council Chamber and prefer their request, but had been ignominiously dismissed; a want of courtesy foreign to the nature of a man whose affability

* When he wrote his despatch of 26th of May, 1688, they had already been settled on their lands; and to avoid the mistake which had been made in the establishment of Stellenbosch, Tigerberg, and other places, where the settlers had been located at a distance from one another, they had been ordered to build near each other and in a line, that they might, in cases of emergency, be able to assist each other the more easily. Another reason for making them settle in that manner was, that the Commander intended to connect the new Colony along the Berg River by a line of communication and a series of homesteads through the Groenekloof—now the Malmesbury district—with Saldanha Bay.

About the same time (see the same despatch) he was fortunate enough to discover the fine harbour to which he gave his own name, Simon's Bay.

† Chronicles of Cape Commanders.
and gentlemanly instincts—to say nothing of the respect with which men of his convictions and character regarded a minister, and would regard Pierre Simond—would simply render it impossible for him to act in that manner. By referring to the minutes, however, we find that it was decided “that in order to check the impertinences of the French, and prevent all plots in good time, to bring before their eyes their errors with a considerate reprimand, and earnestly to advise them to do their duty. Upon that they were called in, when the Rev. P. Simond spoke in the name of all, and requested a separate Church Council elected only from the refugees. Upon that His Reverence was requested to read the oath taken by all the freemen at the Cape, and they were dismissed (gedimitteerd) with the earnest warning to conduct themselves strictly in accordance with the contents of that oath, and in future not to trouble the Commander and Council with such impertinent requests, but to remain satisfied with the Church Council at Stellenbosch.”

It was not so much the deputation, however, which the Commander desired to censure. Knowing the inconvenient habit of the Rev. Pierre Simond to interfere in everything, whether secular or spiritual, it stands to reason that it was the Council’s object to remind the minister especially, in courteous but unmistakable terms, of his own duty to remain faithful to the oath which he had taken, and not exceed the bounds of his own particular province, or tempt others to do so.*

* It must also be borne in mind that at that time the Huguenots of the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein districts were hardly sufficient in number to form one small congregation. They numbered about 150 altogether when the Council wrote their despatch of the 12th of June, 1690; whilst the whole European population of the Colony, not including the servants of the Company, consisted of only 794 men, women, and children, an enormous portion of whom, at the Cape especially, belonged to the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Churches, as may be gathered not only from Valentyn and Père Tachard, but also from the Archives themselves, especially from the Le Boucq episode, which will be mentioned further on. A year later the Dutch portion of the congregation of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein numbered above 200 families, a much larger number than that of the Cape.
The petitioners could hardly have been mindful of the results of the Edict of Potsdam, published by the Great Elector of Brandenburg in reply to the Edict of the Recall, and dated on the 29th of October, 1685: for although the fugitives who took advantage of it by thousands were allowed to appoint their own magistrates, and the authorities were bound in all lawsuits between French and Germans to add to the ordinary courts of justice a certain additional number of persons selected for the purpose by the fugitives themselves, thus creating a peculiar form of judicial administration in Prussia, which lasted as late as the year 1812; and although each settlement received a church and minister supported by the State, the Elector had likewise provided a High Consistory, equivalent to a Committee of Council, to control their spiritual affairs. Hence Charles Ancillon,* himself a fugitive, apologising for this rigid supervision, says in his History of the Establishment of the Fugitives in Brandenburg (1690), "That a despotism was required for those who received support from the State; that they did not know the ways of the country, and therefore were obliged à avoir une grande soumission, et à se laisser conduire," adding, rather hyperbolically, "that it was impossible to allow them une vie cyclopique."

In the Netherlands the fugitives certainly had every conceivable privilege; they enjoyed all the rights of burghers, without bearing any of the burdens of the State, and only in 1715, after they had risen to prosperity and affluence, did the States deem it necessary to naturalise them all completely, and make them bear their share of the weight of the commonwealth. And yet, even in that country, there was an under-current of unfriendly feeling against them, which must in many cases have caused them great annoyance and pain. Nor was it less felt in England, where evidently without the personal influence of the King (William III.) they would not have enjoyed so many advantages. Already in the time of Charles II. men had looked askance at them, and suspected their true character: and although after William had

* R. A. Poole, The Huguenots of the Dispersion.
ascended the throne, the report of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into their affairs was highly favourable, and they had proved their fidelity to the Government by submitting that their youngest and strongest had lately been formed into three regiments, ready to die for the Protestant religion and the liberties of England,—that 20,000 more were peacefully exercising their trades in divers parts of the kingdom; and although there were about 2000 more, old, infants, sick and impotent, unable to provide for themselves,—also divines, physicians, merchants, gentlemen and common people, many of them heretofore rich and flourishing in their own country, but now reduced to the utmost misery, and exposed to starvation unless assisted by Parliament; and although £17,200 were voted as an annual grant in consequence, it is a remarkable fact that not only was every attempt made to naturalise them unsuccessful until 1709—a statute actually repealed within three years—but everywhere in England they were disqualified from holding land.*

It is therefore evident that the fugitives here were, generally speaking, in no worse condition than their brethren in Europe; for as their homesteads prove it at the present day, those who settled down and diligently pursued their calling soon carved their way to comfort and to affluence.

* See R. A. Poole.
CHAPTER VII.

Some, however, unfortunately preferred a wandering and unsettled life, and, to the regret of the Governor and Council, carried on the strictly-forbidden cattle-trade with the natives, and accordingly had come into the unlawful possession of even more cattle than the Company owned. For instance, in January 1696, the Hottentot Captain Doreas, alias Claas, informed the Council that the French or Waldensians had bartered nine oxen from the natives beyond the mountains, and that the animals were among his troop. The matter was at once investigated; and to reward him for his information, Claas was presented with the nine oxen, a bag of meal, some rice, arrack, and tobacco.

But in order clearly to understand the reason of the summary proceeding of the Governor in this matter, it will be necessary to know the following facts.

Already in 1695 the directors had considered it advisable to retire from all farming pursuits at the Cape and leave the whole exclusively in the hands of the burghers, who were supposed by these means to be able to support themselves more conveniently. But the elder Van der Stel had found, that in order to be able to sell cattle to the Company, the freemen were—as the Company had always been doing—obliged to barter from the natives, but that this course had been very injurious to the latter, who had often suffered the greatest injustice at the hands of the barterers. He had therefore deemed it advisable to forbid free traffic with the Hottentots, and to attach heavy penalties to the infringement of the placcaat.

And in order to show that he believed that he had forcible reasons for his apparently severe measures, the weight of which the directors would readily acknowledge, we have merely to refer to the minutes of the Council of
the 2nd of February, 1696, in which he draws attention to the fact that various lawless persons and others con-
demned to death—all whose names he mentions—and likewise the murderers of Corporal Jacob Cloeten, who had been so cruelly massacred, were still at large, not-
withstanding the best efforts made for their capture; that they were roaming about in the interior, or hiding in the mountains, and, notwithstanding their wicked con-
duct, were protected and screened by certain evil-
disposed settlers who provided them with arms, ammuni-
tion, and tobacco in spite of the placcaat, so that they had even the hardihood to visit the Hottentots beyond the mountains, and barter from them for mere trifles oxen and sheep which on their return they again sold for little or nothing to the freemen, who were very careful not to betray them; that besides these there were many other deserters, convicts, and fugitive slaves, armed and un-
armed—amongst them the soldier known as the Polish Nobleman, or Baron, and a certain Jean du Seine from Gri-
soms, both notorious rascals; that the peace and safety of the settlement urgently required that it should be delivered from such miscreants, and that therefore the latter should be declared outlaws—a proposal unanimously agreed to by the Council—and that Rds.100 should be paid to any one bringing any of them alive to the Castle, and Rds.50 for every one brought in dead; that the public should likewise be urged to do their best to capture the Polish Nobleman, Jean du Seine, and the other deserters and fugitive slaves, and even if necessary to shoot them in the legs for that purpose, and that those harbouring or assisting any of them after the publication of this notice should be treated like those convicted of harbouring and hiding murderers.

It would naturally be the Commander's duty, as it is that of every civilised administration in the world, to strain every nerve to capture dangerous criminals, and so secure the safety of the community which he had been called upon to rule; but it is likely that he would not have so persistently interfered with the decisions of the directors regarding the free trade of theburghers with
the Hottentots, after all his pressing remonstrances and proofs adduced had been found to be of no avail, and were only likely to cause him personal trouble without benefiting the natives, if the fugitives referred to above, and others who co-operated with them, and had so often ill-treated the natives and robbed them of their cattle, had not made use of an expedient which could not but bring his name into disrepute among the natives, and greatly prejudice him in the eyes of the directors, should the rumour reach their ears, however false it was and would be found if fairly investigated. These illicit cattle-traders professed to be servants of the Company, sent out by the Governor himself. They therefore abused the latter's name, and hence those who knew no better would credit him with being the cause of the evil system and its fatal results; and though innocent, he would be obliged to bear all the blame, and before being disgraced, as in the case of his son, would find no opportunity, except when too late, to disprove the charges brought against him. Some evil-disposed people at Stellenbosch, and especially at Drakenstein, were in the habit of employing this subterfuge, greatly to his annoyance; and hence on the 9th of February, a week after he had with the Council adopted measures for the capture of the criminals at large, he particularly referred to the illicit traders, and desired that effective steps might be taken for their discovery and conviction. The matter having been carefully considered, it was decided, in addition to the ordinary reward of Rds.60, to offer the informer one-third of the number of the cattle bartered, should a conviction be secured, and to promise him that his name would not be divulged.

This notice, however, did not produce the desired result, for on the 19th of October, 1697, another severe placcaat was promulgated which mentioned the utter disregard of all former orders issued against the illicit cattle-trade as shown by certain wasteful and selfish persons, who did not hesitate either in person, or by means of idlers, vagrants, and convicts, to conduct it with the natives, and, in order to gain their object more easily, pro-
fessed that they were servants of the Company sent expressly by the Governor himself, or, when the Hottentots showed any disinclination to barter, compelled them to part with their cattle, by threatening, thumping, and beating them. It further drew attention to the grave results which could not but follow such shameful conduct. Not only would the Company be left without cattle, and become the object of the natives' hatred and abhorrence, but unexpectedly it might be forced into a war with the blacks, and so placed in a position not at all creditable to itself. Hence to prevent all these possible evils, the punishments laid down in previous placcaaten were revoked, and it was enacted that whoever should after the publication of this new placcaat be convicted of the crime of illicit cattle-barter, would, as an example and terror to others, be made to stand publicly under the gallows with the rope round his neck, and after that be severely whipped, branded, and banished from the country, all his property being likewise confiscated; and should he ever dare to return, he would make himself liable to a much severer punishment. Moreover, every one without distinction would be allowed to capture, bind, and convey to the Castle any such illicit traders, and the Landdrost was ordered to muster the inhabitants of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein regularly, write down the names of the absent ones, and compel them to show where they were when the last muster took place. And that the Governor's meaning might be thoroughly understood, the placcaat was ordered to be published in both the Dutch and French languages.*

* Barter with the Hottentots was prohibited from the very earliest period: partly because it greatly interfered with the Company's efforts to obtain a sufficient number of cattle for slaughter and other purposes, and partly because a great deal of mischief and ill-feeling was continually being caused by the action of selfish individuals, who, caring very little about offending or injuring the natives, imperilled the general safety by their heartless conduct. The object of the Government was, therefore, to do nothing, or allow nothing to be done, by which the Hottentots might be offended or injured. In that light we must read the placcaaten which were issued from the 9th of April, 1652, until the very severe one of the 19th of October, 1697, to which the Seventeen took exception.

For the convenience of the reader who may be desirous of perusing
On the 27th of June, 1699, the directors expressed their opinion as follows:—

"Regarding the placcaat issued by you on the 19th of October, 1697, again ordering that no freeman shall be allowed to buy or barter any cattle from the Hottentots, and inflicting heavy penalties on all convicted of having done so, we have again read our despatch of the 14th of July, 1695, in which we mentioned that agriculture and cattle-farming were still in the hands of the Company, and expressed our opinion that neither was a fit pursuit for it, as it should have nothing to do with such things, which ought to be left entirely in the hands of the freemen, who will in that way be able to support themselves more easily. On the other hand, the cattle obtained from the Hottentots are so poor and unserviceable that if supplied to the ships they cause complaints... whilst those obtained from the

them, I give the dates, viz., 9th of April, 1652; 5th of January, 1654; 22nd of August, 1654; 12th of October, 1654; 18th of September, 1656; 25th of April, 1657.

On the 2nd of July, 1657, the freemen were permitted by Commissionier Ryckloff van Goens Senior to barter cattle from the natives, on condition that they paid no more for it than the Company. All their wares they were to buy from the Company, and all the cattle bartered they were bound to sell to the same and no other, not even to the ships without consent.

On the 26th of September, 1657, the freemen were warned not to buy any sickly, old, and useless cattle from the Saldanahs who were daily expected.

On the 4th of May, 1658, a placcaat was issued by order of the Lords Seventeen revoking the placcaat of Van Goens, strictly forbidding cattle-barter between the freemen and the natives, and the former were ordered to return to the Company within forty-eight hours the wares which they had obtained for that purpose.

This placcaat was renewed on the 13th of September, 1658; 24th of October, 1658; 24th of November, 1661; 20th of June, 1667; 21st of October, 1667; and 8th of April, 1680.

It is, therefore, evident that by prohibiting free barter, Simon van der Stel merely adhered to an old and often-renewed placcaat emanating from the directors themselves, and that he did so, for reasons which to him seemed valid, in the interest of the natives and the public peace,
freemen or colonists are in better condition, and if found not to be so, can be refused. We therefore did not expect that, contrary to our intentions, you would issue such a rigorous placcaat and attach such heavy penalties to its infringement, and accordingly wish it to be cancelled, leaving the freemen or colonists the liberty of buying or bartering cattle from the Hottentots, or of having them bought or bartered for themselves, so that, having taken good care of and fattened them, they may contract to supply the ships and their crews. You shall therefore draw up instructions for mutual guidance that on the one hand the arrangement may not become too costly for the Company, and, on the other, the freemen may find a living by supplying good meat. Moreover, the servants of the Company who have seats in the Political Council and at the Board of Justice shall be excluded and not allowed to supply.

"But as one of your reasons for issuing the placcaat was that the freemen personally, or by means of others, often extort the cattle from the Hottentots by beating and thumping them, and causing them much annoyance, it is our order that you shall provide against this evil by means of a rigorous placcaat, and punish offenders according to their deserts.

"As regards the Company's cattle, already consisting of a large number, you shall continue to supply the ships with them until no more are left, and the Company has rid itself of all. After that you are to get rid of all the servants and slaves who have been employed in the care of the stock, and the lands used as pastures being then no longer required, shall be given to others, and either let or sold for the benefit of the Company. . . ."
From the above it is evident that the directors had come to the conclusion that it would be a far more satisfactory arrangement to get rid of its farming encumbrances and obtain the quantity of meat annually required from one or more contractors, and that a rigorous placcaat against those who were in the habit of obtaining cattle from the Hottentots by improper means would be quite sufficient to meet the case. Nor did they show the slightest inclination to modify their view when a few years later Willem van der Stel pointed out to them the dimensions which that criminal system had assumed, and how deeply a large portion of the colonists were implicated. It was only in 1723, when the Rev. Petrus van Aken and the Consistory of Drakenstein charged Jacobus van der Heiden with the offence of annually sending out men deliberately to rob the Hottentots of their cattle—the same Van der Heiden who with Adam Tas professed in their Contradeductie to represent the aggrieved public, and who, according to Landdrost Starrenburg, should have been sent away as the most mischievous of the party—that they were constrained to acknowledge that the course adopted by both father and son to suppress the evil did not result from selfish motives on their part, but was based on evidence that admitted no longer of any doubt.

When, however, the Commissioner Wouter Valckenier arrived here as Commander of the return fleet, after the retirement of Simon van der Stel, and not long after the despatch of the Seventeen, already quoted, and ordered the cancellation of the placcaat of the 19th of October, 1697, the Council under his presidency drew up another, dated the 28th of February, 1700, revoking that of 1697, and warning all without exception that whoever was found abusing the privileges of free barter, or obtaining cattle from the Hottentots by threats, cruel treatment, or other unfair means, would, if convicted, suffer the severest form of capital punishment. Of course, Willem van der Stel was obliged to submit to the ruling of a Commissioner who was merely carrying out the positive instructions of the Seventeen, and whose authority he did not dare to thwart under any circumstances. The only course left open to
him was the one pursued by his father, viz. once more to the best of his ability to point out to the masters the ruin which would inevitably result to the natives, should free barter be permitted. But we shall have to say a great deal afterwards about him in connection with this subject.

From what has been adduced the reader will be able to conclude whether or not Simon van der Stel’s persistent endeavours to make cattle-barter with the natives a penal offence, and to confine it to expeditions sent out by the Company and commanded by experienced and trustworthy officers, well known to and liked by the natives, emanated from purely selfish motives; or whether, if Willem van der Stel had at all been worldly wise, and merely before everything else studied his own interests; or if he had not been a conscientious administrator, he would have thought it worth his while—even after such abundant and conclusive evidence regarding the cruelties perpetrated on the natives by some so-called cattle-traders had been placed in his possession, and after all the vain efforts made by his father—to suspend the publication of Valckenier’s placcaat, until he had again laid the whole case before the directors, whom he considered to have come to a decision on insufficient or incorrect information before them.

However, we have adduced enough to show why Simon van der Stel considered himself justified in confiscating the cattle-running among the herds of Doreas.
CHAPTER VIII.

It is one of the misfortunes of life which cannot be avoided, that however perfect a community may be in a religious, moral, and industrious sense, there will always be found in it a few black sheep, to its own great regret and the inconvenience of its rulers. It is generally supposed that all the Huguenots were persons of irreproachable character, and that without exception all were deeply religious, hard-working, and without any spot or blemish. But as the Archives leave a different impression on the reader, I am bound to take notice of it.

On the memorable day on which Commander Van der Stel lost his temper (28th November, 1689), he communicated to the meeting "the anxious thoughts and difficulties which some 'would-be' French fugitives had caused him: for pretending that to avoid the religious persecution of their King they had fled from France to other countries, especially to Holland; and in order to lead a lazy and indolent life, under the cloak of being zealous members and supporters of the Protestant faith, obtained a passage to the Cape in some of the Company's ships, nominally to become agriculturists; but (without casting the least reflection on the good) they had taken no trouble to find a living or attend to farming, and so did not fulfil the expectation which the Company cherished regarding them, &c." It was therefore natural that, as no careful selection of suitable persons had always been made in Europe, the Council begged the Seventeen in their despatch of the 24th of June, 1691, that, "although both the Cape and Mauritius were much in want of agriculturists, not to send any people of the wrong stamp, who would be entirely out of their element here, and thoroughly unacquainted with and unfit for the hard life which was the farmer's portion." They wished that no "French cadets
or persons of quality might be sent, but industrious and well-behaved farmers and tradesmen, among whom the Dutch and Germans seemed to surpass all others here."

Moved by the same reasons, no doubt the Commander wrote in his instructions that "it would be beneficial if old servants of the Company, having means of their own and being men of good repute, were tempted by advantageous conditions to settle here as agriculturists, for in that manner not only the respectable element among the burghers would be strengthened, but the Colony relieved from a class who had obtained their freedom under the pretext of being desirous of applying themselves to agriculture, but who had hitherto only wandered from one farmer to another and vagabondised without a home, the willing tools of the evil-disposed (by whom they are employed in the forbidden cattle-trade with the natives), frustrators of every good intention of the Company, inter-ferers with its prerogatives, and its systematic robbers."

Not very long after his son deemed it his duty to draw attention to the old and infirm fugitives sent out to the Cape, and to point out that as the object of the Company was to strengthen the agricultural element as much as possible, no good object could possibly be served by introducing people here who were too aged to work any longer, and that it would be far better to send out some Zealand farmers who knew their business and could work a farm satisfactorily.

But, as I have said before, the Commander knew how to appreciate a good and industrious man, although he might not exactly always admire his temper. For although he was often astonished at the mercurial disposition of some of the exiles, which made him write about them on the 24th of June, 1691, as follows: "We find that their crotchety (wispelturige) nature still adheres to them, and that they resemble the children of Israel, who, fed by God's hand in the wilderness, still longed for the onion."

* The expression should naturally be the flesh-pots of Egypt (ףתות עפר), Exodus xvi. 3; and were it not an anachronism, we might suppose that when the Commander was writing, there might at the moment have been running through his head the couplet said to have
pots of Egypt”—there is more of sorrow and sympathy in the sentence than harshness or indifference.

He certainly disapproved of the unseemly wrangles between the Rev. P. Simond and Jacques de Savoye; but he fully appreciated the good qualities of the latter, some information regarding whom and the church to which he originally belonged I give in the following chapter.

been quoted by Louis XV., in a conversation with the roué Richelieu, Field Marshal, Governor of Guyenne, and great grandnephew of the Cardinal:—

“Mutton with onion sauce, and, Lord, with musk perfume,
For your supper I propose:
When Richelieu the gay appeareth in a room,
Defend then well your heart and well protect your nose.”

Bungener, The Priest and the Huguenot.
CHAPTER IX.

Among the refugees despatched by the Zealand Chamber in the Oosterland (see Despatch from Middelburg, dated 8th of January, 1688), were Jacques de Savoye of Ath,* his wife Maria Magdalena le Clercq of Tournay, and his mother-in-law Antoinette Carnoy.

But a few weeks before the Rotterdam Chamber, one of whose members was Mr. A. Paets,† chief promoter of the École Illustré or Athenaeum at Rotterdam, established purposely to find chairs for Jacques Basnage and Pierre Bayle, had written to the Council as follows:—

"By this opportunity there will proceed to the Cape to settle there as a Colonist one Jacques Savoye and his wife. He has been 'under the cross' (onder 't kruys geweest synde),‡ and for many years an eminent merchant at Ghent, in Flanders; where he has been persecuted by the Jesuits to such an extent, and where even his life was being threatened, that in order to escape from their snares, and peacefully end his days beyond their reach, he has resolved to cross the ocean as a Colonist, and to take with him various Flemish farmers of the Reformed religion, who have

* Called Aeth by the Netherlands and Ath by the French. A strong little town in the northern portion of the province of Hainault, not far from the boundaries of Flanders at the Dender or Denre, nearly midway between Bergen and Oudenaerde. It was taken in 1690, with Mons and other cities, by the Duke of Luxembourg.
† His signature is among the Archives. See e.g. letter received from Rotterdam, 14th of December, 1703, in vol. 1704, p. 69.
‡ It was customary at the time to mention the congregations suffering persecution as congregations bearing, or under, the cross, (gemeen ten onder het cruys). The French expression was les Églises du désert, a name derived from the wild and solitary places in the South of France where the Huguenots secretly met for worship.
also suffered persecution, and for the same reason as that of Savoye leave their Fatherland. And because we know Savoye as we have described him, we most willingly recommend him to your notice, and request you to lend him a helping hand, and consider him in the light in which we have introduced him, hoping that for the furtherance of the intentions of the Lords Seventeen he will be an able and desirable instrument."

It is to be regretted that hitherto I have been unable to lay my hands on the papers referring to the disputes between him and the Rev. P. Simond, but among the despatches of the year 1692 I find three certificates regarding his person and conduct, which evidently were given to defend himself from charges brought against him by the minister. All are in the French language, but accompanied by a Dutch translation. The first is from the Rev. François Simon, minister of the Holy Gospel and preacher of the Reformed Congregation under the cross in Flanders, and is dated the 13th of March, 1692. He testifies—

"That he had often been, by order of the States-General, during the last twenty-five or thirty years in Flanders, and especially in Ghent, to preach the Gospel. That he had often met Savoye there, and had an intimate intercourse with him; that he had often communed with him on the mysteries of the Christian religion; that Savoye did not only appear well taught in the hidden things of salvation, but also able to defend their truths against the errors of the Roman Church. That this had often happened. That accordingly he had drawn upon himself the hatred and vengeance of the adversaries of our faith, who, considering him a person capable of extending the Kingdom of Christ and destroying that of Satan with all the power at his command, had employed every artifice to
destroy him if possible. That they had brought many lawsuits against him, and attempted to have him murdered that he might be prevented from further exposing the Roman idolatry. That in order to secure his own safety he had been obliged to leave Ghent about five years ago, and proceed to the Northern Netherlands. That some time later he had proceeded to the Cape, where he still was. That all the time in which deponent had known him at Ghent he had always considered him to be an honest man, and only heard him favourably mentioned, so that deponent was convinced of the respect in which every one held him, the good reputation which his conduct had secured, and the approbation of those with whom he had associated. That many pious and honest people whom deponent knew had described him as one whose life and habits in relation to civil affairs were irreproachable; that he was even loved by the moderate Catholics, who were not led away by passion but were reasonable. That as a merchant he had always passed as an honest man. That what deponent mostly esteemed in him above all, was not only his great knowledge of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but especially his great godliness, piety, and zeal for the glory of his Redeemer; in one word, all the virtues found in a true Christian. That he had always received deponent in his own house without fearing, as others did, and often lent it to him in a pleasant way for preaching the Gospel, showing that he feared God more than man. That his life seemed a worthy example of purity and holiness as much as it could be in the place in which he was, where idolatry reigned supreme. That deponent had, therefore, always admitted him to the pious exercises which he had regularly attended, and also to the Holy Communion. That deponent commended
him and his family to the grace of God, and prayed that He might continue to pour over him abundantly His most precious and costly blessings from the heavens above and from the earth beneath, and that deponent acknowledged him to be a true member of the Holy Body of Christ, consisting of those who had made profession of the true religion."

The above was attested by the Notary Public at Rotterdam, J. van Lodenstein, in presence of the witnesses Isaac Poortugaelisz and Philippe Pousée.

The next was made by the merchant Martin de la Court of Ghent, who stated on the 7th of March, 1692, that "Savoye, in consequence of the persecutions of the Jesuits, had left Ghent, when André du Pont, his son-in-law, became bankrupt there, and that he was not aware that he had taken anything away with him except what his friends had given him when he started for the Cape."—(Signed on the 7th of March, 1692, in the presence of the same Notary and witnesses.)

The last is one signed by Christiaan Crayenest and Jac. des Obry within Ghent, on the 1st of March, 1692, and is as follows:—

"That they knew Savoye very well and found him very zealous for the Reformed religion, and that his zeal went so far that it brought on him the hatred of the Roman priesthood, who, by means of manifold lawsuits, did everything to ruin him. That through his zeal he had been in danger of losing his life by the hands of murderers. That he had accordingly been obliged to take refuge in Holland, and that deponents had found no other doctrine in him than what agreed with the true religion, and that his manners had been irreproachable." (Also signed in presence of the same Notary.)

I have already said that these certificates were evidently given to defend Savoye from charges brought against him
by Simond. If not, why should they be given at all, for they are not ordinary letters of introduction to strangers, but rather evidence of a judicial nature to clear the character of a man grossly aspersed? Should this view be correct, it would follow that Savoye had been charged with usurping certain functions which only pertained to the minister; whilst the fact was, according to the deponents, that he had at Ghent been a staunch propagator and defender of the Reformed religion, an able apologist of the same and at all times ready to prove the truth of what he believed, as a lay-preacher doing his best to inculcate his views among people who had hitherto kept aloof from the Reformation, in a country and town almost entirely Catholic; and finally that the representatives of the dominant Church had looked upon him with no favour and done him much mischief, and that merely to secure his own safety he had been obliged to leave Ghent.

He had further been charged with dishonesty, but the Rev. F. Simon declared that he had always been honest, always favourably spoken of, always respected by all who knew him, and that his life and habits in secular matters had been irreproachable. That as a merchant he had always been considered honest, but that his great strength lay in his powerfully religious life, and his voluntary labours as a missionary in favour of Protestantism.

The last charge seems to have been that he had left Ghent under a cloud, and carried away more with him than he had a right to; but the merchant, Martin de la Court, declared that Savoye had only left Ghent in consequence of the persecution of the Jesuits, and that he was not aware that he had taken anything away with him except what his friends gave him when he left for the Cape.

The whole is certainly very favourable evidence from the standpoint of the givers, but it nevertheless leaves the impression that there was more of the militant than the meek and tolerant element in the ex-merchant of Ghent, and that, without in the least detracting from his virtues, a person with such decidedly pronounced principles conscientiously held would hardly feel himself at
home in the company of those who differed even slightly from him in theological opinion; and not only look with horror on the Church of Rome, but likewise on the Lutherans, and even such sections of the Reformed Church as might at all be inclined to take a more moderate view of the different doctrines considered by him characteristic of the true religion and indispensable for salvation.

He had, however, powerful and warm friends in the Rotterdam Chamber, which had forwarded the certificates referred to in a despatch with the following remarks:—

"10th of June, 1692.

"We enclose certain documents connected with Jacques de Savoye, at present living at the Cape, and concerning whom you have before this favourably testified. The papers will show you what testimonies he has received in his favour; and as we consider him to be an honest man, and are not persuaded of the contrary, it is not less praiseworthy than fair that persons like him should be supported in their just cause in a proper manner. This we recommend you with all discretion to do."

About a year later the same Chamber again referred to the documents above mentioned (14th of October, 1693), and said:—

"You seem to have been satisfied as regards the conduct of Jacques de Savoye, judging from the contents of the papers sent to us."

But evidently Van der Stel must have likewise referred to the crotchety temper of the old Walloon, for the letter continued:—

"It was not unpleasant news to us to receive good testimony concerning him through you, but his nature can only be effectively altered and improved by time, kind intercourse, and treatment. This we readily entrust to your discretion ('t Naturel niet beter te veranderen off
corrigeren synde, als door de tyt, en heuslycke omme-
gangh en behandelinge, dat wy een UE: bescheydent-
heyt wel willen deferen)."

And as if to show their appreciation of his kindness to Savoye, they add:—

"The share which this Chamber had in raising you to the rank of Councillor Extraordinary of India must be ascribed to our favourable disposition towards yourself."

The Commander, however, had naturally little opportunity to associate or commune with him like the Rev. François Simond, or to appreciate his theological abilities; he simply considered and treated him in the light of a hard-working immigrant, doing his very best to prosper; and hence he wrote to Delft on the 15th of April, 1689, that:—

"Jacques de Savoye and family conducted themselves according to wish, that their virtues and laborious zeal were examples to all the fugitives or exiles; and that therefore, because of his abilities and his knowledge of Dutch and French, he had been appointed to the office of Heemraad (Country Councillor)."

It will not be necessary to say more of him at present: I wish now to describe in brief terms the Church to which he belonged, as very little seems to be known of it; and I even once read, to my great surprise, in an essay written by a distinguished author that one of the acts of injustice committed against the fugitives here was that they had been obliged to abandon their own and become members of the Dutch Reformed Church. What I give may be depended on, as it is a brief summary of the very interesting sketch drawn by A. Ypey and I. J. Dermout, in their History of the Netherlands' Reformed Church, vol. i. pp. 294, &c., and vol. iii. pp. 57, &c.

The Walloon Church is a section of the Netherlands' Reformed Church. Persecution drove its members away
from the Southern Province, where the old Walloon* was still spoken—from Hainault, Artois, Luxembourg, Limburg, and adjoining portions of Flanders and Brabant—
to the Northern States, where they were well received. Excepting at Valenciennes, the Reformation had made hardly any progress in the south, and its tenets, supposed to have been originally brought thither by the Waldensians, whom persecution had likewise driven away from their native valleys, could only succeed in securing a larger number of adherents, after they had obtained a stronghold in Switzerland and Germany. But whether or not the Walloons obtained their more enlightened views from the Waldensians, they should be clearly distinguished from the latter, whose views on baptism alone differed widely from theirs, to say nothing of other points distinguishing them. It is more probable, however, that they received the Reformed faith from their northern neighbours, but not before the year 1541 is any Reformed congregation found among them. In 1563 a large number fled to Holland proper, because the Edict of Charles V., renewed by his son Philip II., had not been so strictly enforced there as in the south. Those who escaped to Brabant and Flanders likewise formed a considerable number. In England they also found a safe refuge. King Edward endowed them in 1550 with great privileges. They were allowed to build a church, and were most closely united to the Dutch refugees there. After the King's death, however, many left London for Emden, where Countess Anna permitted them to establish their church according to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Reformed Church of East Friesland.

Most of them, however, remained in their own country, but kept their opinions strictly secret. Although scat-

* The word Walloon survived the name of the country known in ancient history as Gallia or Gaul. It is but one of the many words in which the G or Gu has been converted into a W, like Guillaume into William, &c. Evidently the Scotch have retained from their Gaelic sires the peculiar sound of this digamma, which will be always heard when they pronounce such words as what, which, when, where, &c., the Wh almost assuming the same sound as that of the G or Gu in Dutch.
tered, they formed themselves into separate congregations known to each other by fictitious names. We read of the congregations *la Rose* (Rose-tree) at Lisle in 1563, and *le Bouton* (Rose-bud) at Armentières. In the same manner those who had fled to Flanders and Brabant knew one another. In Antwerp we find the congregation of *la Vigne* (the Vineyard), and at Ghent, that of *le Glaive* (the Sword). All these were the first to hold Church Councils or Synods, and likewise under fictitious names known only to the initiated. The first meeting of the kind occurred in a town of the Southern Netherlands, called by them *Teure* or *Teurne*, and supposed to be Toumay. In 1566, one held in the *Vineyard* (Antwerp) was attended by many Dutch ministers, and presided over by the celebrated Franciscus Junius. When in 1567 the Duke of Alva arrived in the Netherlands, many Dutch Protestants and likewise Walloons fled to England, Emden, Frankenthal, &c.; but when, in 1572, Liberty, long suppressed, was again lifting her head in Holland and Zealand, many Walloons migrated thither, in order to escape persecution in their own country. Those who remained behind suffered severely from the Roman priesthood, which, driven from Flanders, and especially from Ghent in 1578, had fled towards the Walloon provinces. But the results of the Ghent troubles became even more fatal for the Reformed when in the same year the Walloon provinces tore themselves away from the rest of the Netherlands, and again surrendered themselves by treaty to Spain. No Protestant could after that be safe in the Walloon territory. Every one therefore endeavoured to flee. But Flanders and Brabant afforded no longer a safe refuge, for both were in danger of being likewise soon annexed to the Spanish dominion. Hence all fled towards the Northern Netherlands, to Holland and Zealand, and already in 1577 their number must have been great if judged by that of their ministers present in a Synod held at Dordrecht that year, and by the fact that twelve months later it was decided in a National Synod, consisting of Dutch and Walloon ministers and elders, that the Walloon Church should be separated from the Dutch, in such a manner
that each section should henceforth hold its own Synods. After the Utrecht Bond of Union had been established in 1579, the number of Walloons still further rapidly increased, for henceforth they could be nowhere safer than in the United Provinces. They established themselves at Amsterdam, Haarlem, Middelburg, &c., and were likewise recruited with many who had returned from England and Emden, whither they had fled after Alva had arrived to destroy the Reformed with fire and sword. Very many arrived also from Tournay in Flanders, where the largest of Walloon congregations had been established, and the largest number of Protestants had suffered martyrdom.

But as these Walloons, settled in Holland and Zealand, had, on account of their different language, been necessarily separated from the Dutch Reformed Church in 1578, they had also been obliged to establish their own individual congregations. The authorities had allowed them to do so, given them suitable places, mostly convents, for their religious exercises, and further rendered them such pecuniary aid as was necessary to enable them to maintain their services and support their ministers. The latter were paid out of the public funds, although generally their salaries were not so high as those of the Dutch ministers. In course of time their widows were likewise cared for by the State. The first Walloon congregation in the Northern Netherlands was that at Amsterdam. When in 1578 the Government had been changed there, full religious liberty was at once accorded to both Walloons and Dutch Reformed, and both received a church in which to hold their services. Their first minister was Jean de la Greve. Similar congregations were established in Haarlem and Middelburg in 1579, in Leyden and Flushing in 1584, in Dordrecht and Delft in 1586, and likewise in all the other towns of the Netherlands. Continually fugitives were arriving, and all without distinction were received with great affection, protected, and cared for. In 1593 a Walloon congregation was established at Zierikzee, in 1595 at the Hague, in 1598 at Kampen, in 1605 at Rotterdam, and in 1621 at Nymegen. The oldest was formed at Utrecht in 1580. Not until the middle of the
seventeenth century did the establishment of new congregations cease, for as late as 1658 some Walloons formed one at Tolen.

Their most celebrated men of learning—men who had done incalculably much for the Reformation; men whose names are still household words among the Protestants—were Guy or Guido de Brez or Bres, born at Bergen in Hainault; François Raphelingius, born in the neighbourhood of Lisle, professor of the Eastern languages at Leyden; and Lucas Trelcat or Trelecatius, born at Douay, professor at Leyden.

Among their ministers, who were likewise very learned men, although not of Walloon descent, there were in the Netherlands—François Gomare or Gomarus, born at Bruges, professor at Leyden, and afterwards at Gröningen; Jean Polyander à Kerkhoven, born at Metz, professor at Leyden; and André de Wale or Walæus, of Walloon descent, but born at Ghent, at first minister at Middelburg, but afterwards professor at Leyden. And last, not least, François du Jon, or Junius, a French nobleman of Bourges, but when still very young Walloon minister at Antwerp, and afterwards professor in divinity at Heidelberg and Leyden. He died in 1602.

From what has been adduced, it has therefore become evident that the Walloon Reformed were as a people absorbed in the Reformed section of the Dutch nation, but that as a Church such an incorporation did not take place; that the Walloons were not absorbed in the Dutch Church, but that the Dutch learnt their Confession of Faith from the Walloons. The Dutch Confession of Faith originally came from the Walloon Church, which was Calvinistic, and remained so, whilst the Dutch Church was in its origin Zwinglian. The blending of the two parts, however, produced the Zwinglio-Calvinistic body, the old State Church of the Netherlands.

The Walloon Churches prospered rapidly. They consisted of honest, industrious, and religious citizens, who won and enjoyed the respect of all. They shared in and helped to promote the prosperity of their adopted country, as merchants, manufacturers, and tradesmen. Since the
seventeenth century not many were added to their numbers, because their children having learned the Dutch language had no longer any reason to detach themselves from the Dutch Reformed Church; but fresh arrivals kept up the number as it was, so that the Churches showed no signs of retrogression.

Finally, immense numbers were added to their own when the persecutions in France, which took their bitterest forms in 1680 and culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, drove thousands of French Protestants from their native country to find a home in the ever-hospitable North Netherlands, or, as the name will be expressed on the border of the medal about to be struck in Amsterdam by Mr. Elion, to commemorate the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as decided by the Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes des Pays-Bas, "Les Provinces Unies, terre de refuge de nos ancêtres." *

* It has been struck since.
CHAPTER X.

It would be out of place here to narrate the horrors and cruelties that preceded and followed the revocation of the Edict of 1598, which had secured for the Protestants of France the inestimable liberty of serving their God according to their conscience. A large number fled to Amsterdam, as the majority of the fugitives believed that in the centres of commerce and trade they would more easily be able to find a living for themselves and their families. Moreover, on the 25th of September, 1681, the Estates of Holland had decided to exempt them for twelve years from all extraordinary taxes; and seven years later, of half of the ground tax levied on the sale of all landed properties. In 1681 Amsterdam presented the fugitives with the rights of citizenship, granting them likewise the liberty to carry on any kind of trade or business, without the necessity of joining guilds or paying any taxes whatever. The town corporation also further decided to build 1000 houses for them, in which they could be sheltered and provided with the necessaries of life; and further to advance them money for erecting manufactories, buying household furniture, and obtaining what they required for their sustenance. Especially after the revocation, the number of fugitives had increased immensely, and with the full approbation of the chief magistrate, those Huguenots who had been accepted as members in the Walloon church, separated themselves on friendly terms from the latter, as the building in which they had been accustomed to meet had become too small for both. As a church, however, both remained one, but a new edifice was erected for the French, the Walloons retaining possession of the old one. This occurred in 1686, and the friendly separation remained in force until 1712, when Walloons and French forming in reality but one congre-
gation, again mingled with each other in their attendance at the services of both churches, and once more performed their religious duties as one united body.

Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Leyden, Middelburg, Flushing, Arnheim, Nymegen, Utrecht, Zwol, Leeuwaarden, Groningen, and many other towns received the Huguenots with open arms. Groningen alone subscribed above £2000 sterling for them, a very large sum indeed for that town and in those days. It is not possible to state their exact number. That of their ministers was about 200. Not knowing the Dutch language, it was but natural that the majority should select such places as their residence where many Walloons dwelt, in order to be able to join the churches of the latter. In places, however, where no Walloon congregations existed, like Bommel, Hattem, Harderwyk, Harlingen, Sneek, Bolsward, &c., and in large villages like Balk in Friesland, and Dwingeloo in Drenthe, purely French congregations were established; but whether a portion of the Walloon churches, or purely French, all went by the name of Walloons, and with the exception of Groningen, belonged to one synod, known from the earliest times as the Walloon Synod. The latter having never altered any of its institutions after its churches had spread themselves over the seven provinces, it naturally had the full right to retain the name. In 1688 more than fifty Walloon congregations existed, but no addition was made to the number after that time.

A large portion of the fugitive ministers at once received appointments in the land of refuge. In January, 1686, the Estates of Holland decided to give both the Walloon and French churches at Amsterdam sixteen ministers together. Leyden and Rotterdam received each eight; Dordrecht and Haarlem, seven each; Delft, six; Gouda, five; the Hague, three; and Schoonhoven and the Briel, two each.

The ministers for whom there were no vacancies received an annual salary from the public chest. Some received £400, others again £250, according to their needs and circumstances. The widows of the fugitive ministers were likewise pensioned for life, and in all the provinces an
annual amount was, moreover, granted for the support of respectable female fugitives of the Reformed faith. At all times the exiles showed themselves deeply grateful for this affectionate care and protection.

Among the fugitive divines who took refuge in Holland, the following made themselves renowned:—Basnage, J. Saurin, La Placeette, D. Martin, Jurieu, De Superville, De Chaufepie, Huët, Boullier, Benoit, and especially Pierre Bayle.

From the very commencement of its existence the Walloon Church had required that all its ministers should subscribe to the Netherland Confession of Faith, drawn up by Guido de Bres. In 1619 the well-known doctrinal rules of the Synod of Dordrecht were added. Finally, in 1686, the Walloon Church drew up a sixth article containing certain definitions regarding the doctrine of predestination and the depravity of human nature, which all its ministers were obliged to sign; but as it is a long story, involving only dogmatical points, virtually emanating from a difference of opinion which arose in the Church of France, and something similar to that which so severely exercised the minds of theologians in Holland regarding Predestination and Arminianism, I merely mention it and pass it by as a subject foreign to my purpose. Those who care to know more about it, I refer to the authors from whom I have drawn the above, and other comprehensive works on Church and Dogmatical History, of which there are many.

I cannot, however, conclude this chapter without reminding the reader that the name of Walloon has not been forgotten in Cape Town, one of the streets bearing it and keeping its memory green. May—whatever the changes that so often take place—*Wale Straat*, or *Walloon Street*, ever retain its appellation, and the Huguenot Memorial be erected near it!
CHAPTER XI.

HITHERTO I have only mentioned two distinct classes of fugitives driven from their country; the one by the tyranny of an infatuated king, the other by an imperial edict which made it impossible for either to remain in their native land, or with safety to themselves serve their God according to their conscience. But there is a third not yet referred to, whose history is closely connected with our own, although they finally refused, or more correctly speaking, had always persistently declined to leave Europe for our far-away country. I mean the Waldensians or Vaudois—the Dal-luiden, as the Archives call them—the "men of the valleys"—the men and women who at the instigation of Louis XIV. were driven from house and home by a prince who ought to have loved and defended them—Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy.

But in order to introduce them in regular form, it will be necessary, first, to let the Archives inform us why their presence at the Cape was considered desirable; and then allow them briefly to tell their own story as far as it is connected with ourselves, and give the reason why they did not come.

Among the Commissioners who visited the Cape from time to time, and inspected its affairs, not many years after its settlement, the two Van Goenses and the Lord of Mydregt take a prominent position. Each of them had in his report, dated respectively 1681, 1682, and 1685, laid the alternative before the Seventeen, either to let the residency remain as it was, entirely in the hands of the Company, or to convert it into a Colony. But Mauritius having, as advised by Van Riebeeck, been placed under the direct administration of the Cape Commanders, the Seventeen had already, on the 21st of June, 1684, and before receiving the report of the Lord of Mydregt, decided to colonise
that island with some married peasants from the neighbourhood of Amersfoort and the Veluwt, as well as some exiled Flemish farmers (Walloons) who were skilled in the cultivation and preparation of tobacco.

A year later, however, on the 3rd of October, 1685, the alternative was fully considered, and the decision arrived at that, because the agricultural prospects at the Cape were steadily becoming more favourable, and it was necessary to curtail the heavy expenses, especially those caused by the importation of rice, more colonists should be sent out to earn a living here by agriculture, trade, and other industries; that the different Chambers should make terms with those willing to go, according to the conditions laid down, so that French fugitives of the Reformed faith should likewise be accepted, especially such as could make vinegar and distil brandy, provided that they produced certificates from their consistories that they were honest people; that all such, when accepted as settlers, should be considered as native-born Netherlanders; and, finally, that likewise forty-eight young women, well trained in farming pursuits, should be sent out—viz., twenty-four by Amsterdam, twelve by Zealand, and four by each of the other Chambers.

The regulations were that the emigrants would be conveyed to the Cape free of expense, and that, before their departure, they were to take the oath of allegiance to the Company. That they would be allowed to take such luggage only as was absolutely indispensable, but on the other hand, as much specie as they liked. That at the Cape they would settle as agriculturists, or otherwise, according to their abilities or profession. That as agriculturists they would receive as much land in freehold as they could manage, and also such implements and cattle as they would require; and that in return they were to undertake to refund all advances made by the Company in corn or otherwise, in the best way they could. That every one, married or single, would be bound to remain fifteen years, but should he die within that period, and his widow remarry, the latter would not be obliged to remain longer than five years, reckoned from the day of her re-marriage;
that is, if five years or more were still wanting to complete the term of fifteen years. That the daughters marrying would likewise not be bound for more than five years, calculating from the day of marriage. That those who had served their time would on their return to Europe have to pay for their passage according to the Indian scale—that is, f.300 if older than twelve years, and f.150 if younger. That they would be charged for their board in the saloon, thirty stivers; in the cabin, eighteen stivers; and among the sailors, nine stivers daily; that the women were to be charged at the rate of one guilder, twelve, and nine stivers for the same purpose; and that the whole amount would be calculated for four months, and no longer. That a pro rata portion of the passage-money of any emigrant dying at sea would be refunded to his heirs; that no one would be allowed to take home with him any merchandize, but only what he absolutely required for his person on board; and that such wealth as any homeward-bound colonist might have obtained in the East, was to be converted into cash, and transferred to Europe by bills on the Company with the ordinary commission of four per cent.

On the 1st of October, 1687, a General Committee was appointed by the Seventeen to report specially on the question, whether it would be for the interest of the Company to convey to the Cape, or elsewhere within its jurisdiction, also some French and Piedmontese fugitives professing the Reformed religion, and if so, on what footing and conditions it should take place.

Five days later it was decided to adhere to the original resolution amended as follows:—

"(1) That among the French fugitives should be included the Vaudois exiles, or 'men of the valleys,' our fellow-believers; and should any present themselves to the Amsterdam or Zealand Chambers, that as many should be accepted as could be conveniently accommodated on the outgoing ships; and should any more vessels be equipped, that then more should be engaged with the promise that they would be accommodated with a French minister."
“(2) That the regulations were to be translated into the French language—just as they had been accepted on the 3rd of October, 1685—for the information of the French and Vaudois, and likewise the oath, with the amendment that, instead of fifteen, the term of contract would only last five years, and if any one found even that period too long, that he would have the liberty to request the Seventeen to make it shorter, and that the latter would be bound to do so, should the request be found reasonable.

“The oath to be taken by all freemen, without exception, was as follows:—‘I promise and swear that I will be true and faithful to the High Mighty Lords, the States-General of the United Netherlands, as our Highest and Sovereign Government; to His Highness the Lord Prince of Orange, as Governor, Captain, and Admiral-General, and to the Directors of the General Chartered East India Company in the said lands; likewise to the Governor-General and Councillors of India; and finally to all Governors, Commanders, and Commanding Officers, who may be placed over me during the sea voyage and afterwards on land. That I shall faithfully in every respect, and according to my ability, maintain and carry out all the Laws, Placcaten, and Ordinances issued, or still to be issued by the Lords Directors, the Governor-General, and the Councillors of India, or the Governor or Commander at the place of my future residence; and further, in every sense, conduct and behave myself as a good and faithful subject ought and is bound to do. So truly must God Almighty help me.’

“No passage was to be allowed to such as were of the Roman Catholic religion.”

On the 20th of October of the same year (1685), all
these conditions were finally confirmed and adopted by the Seventeen, with the further amendment that the passage-money for an adult was reduced from f.300 to f.150, and for children below twelve years from f.150 to f.75. The oath remained unchanged.

Eight days later, the Rev. Pierre Simond, a fugitive Huguenot minister at Zierikzee, was appointed French minister at the Cape, with a salary of f.90 per month.

As they had now positively decided to enlarge their Colony at the Cape, the Seventeen directed the various Chambers on the 5th of November, 1687: (1) to send out thither with the first departing ships as many colonists—including French refugees and Piedmontese—as might be inclined to go, whether agriculturists or tradesmen; to supply those having families with f.60 or f.100 each, to enable them to fit themselves out for the voyage; and the unmarried with f.30 or f.50; and (2) to report at the next meeting the names of those who had already left, and what each emigrant intended to take in hand after arrival.

The matter was further considered on the 22nd of March, 1688, when the Seventeen received a letter from the States-General, dated the 19th of February of the same year, and addressed to the Amsterdam Chamber:

"It stated that a portion of the poor fugitives from the Valleys of Piedmont had taken temporary refuge in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg—about 200 families, comprising nearly 1000 souls: men, women, and children; that all were trained agriculturists, and in addition experienced masons, carpenters, locksmiths, and coopers; that they had among them four ministers; that all were inclined to proceed to one or other Colony under the dominion of the East or West India Companies, on the one condition that they might be allowed, as far as was practicable, to settle close to each other, in order to practise their religion together to the Glory of God, and its further future extension; and that therefore their High Mighti-
nesses desired the Seventeen to say whether they could not find a suitable locality for a large number of these poor people in one or other of the Company's districts."

As desired in the preceding session, lists were likewise laid on the table of all the persons who had already been sent to the Cape during the winter, both of the Dutch emigrants and of the French fugitives; whilst Commissioners were appointed to inquire into everything connected with the subject, especially the condition of the Piedmontese fugitives or Vaudois, and advise the Board accordingly. The chief promoters of the scheme added one of their own number to this Committee, viz., Mons. Schorer. The names of the other members were: Messrs. de Munq and Van Domburgh, of Zealand; De Vries, Corver, Decquer, and Bernard, of Amsterdam; and Advocate Van Dam. The names of the representatives of the other Chambers are not mentioned.

On the following day (23rd of March, 1688), the French and Vaudois presented a petition, that certain extra conditions might be allowed them, besides those already agreed to. Their spokesman and representative was Jean Pastre Marchand, who stated that he had been deputed by the French fugitives near Erlagh, and the Vaudois near Nuremberg—about 1700 in number—to plead their cause.

It was referred to the Committee above mentioned, which brought up their report two days later. The result was, that it was decided to (1) despatch to the Cape about six or seven hundred of the fugitives who were near Nuremberg—the number that would be left if all who had lately died, all the lame, halt and old were deducted,—on condition that the States-General fitted out these people on their arrival in the Netherlands, from the collections made for them, without burdening the Company in that respect; sent them on board the Company's ship at Government expense, and presented each with a small amount of money, paid into the Company's chest, and which on their arrival at the Cape would be required for their temporary support; (2) to depute Messrs. Van Zuit Polsbroek, Van de Bloquery,
and Advocate Van Dam, to the Hague, in order to confer on the subject with the Government there; and (3) to grant full powers to the Committee annually investigating the Company's affairs at the Hague, to arrange about the ships required for the service, the time of departure and every-

thing else that would be found necessary.

On the 1st of April, 1688, the Seventeen considered the report of these Commissioners, to which was annexed the lists of the French and Piedmontese fugitives already sent to the Cape as colonists by the last ships. It was found that the number consisted of fifty-six men, twenty-nine women, and forty-one children; and that eleven men, four women, and ten children were ready to leave in the Zuider Beveland, so that the grand total would be 151 persons.

I have already said that the Amsterdam Chamber had on the 22nd of March, 1688, received a letter from the States-General, dated the 19th of February, previously, regarding the Piedmontese fugitives. That letter had been written after the Committee appointed by their High Mightinesses had reported that, notwithstanding the general notice given to all the officials throughout the country, no portion of the collection made for the destitute fugitives, had as yet been received by the Receiver-General, Magister Cornelis Van Aarssen: and that they had received a letter from the Evangelical Swiss Cantons addressed to them from Zurich, dated the 9th of January last, informing them—

"That the Elector of Brandenburg would receive 2000 of the Piedmontese in his domains, and that accordingly the Cantons had decided to send thither in the following spring a large number of fugitives; that a proper statement would be drawn up of the pecuniary subsidies which would fall to their share, and be paid out to them as soon as they left for their destination; that the rest of these poor people who would remain behind to be sent elsewhere by God's Providence, would likewise receive their portion for their support and con-
solation; and finally that the Cantons would like to be informed of the intentions of the States-General. That the Commissioners had likewise heard and seen two persons named Jean Pastre and Jacques Guiot, deputed on the 9th of November last year by a portion of the poor Piedmontese in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, as shown by a deed signed by two of their ministers, in order to request aid from the States-General, and that those persons had informed them that the number of these unfortunates consisted of about 200 families, or 1000 souls, having amongst them four ministers, &c. (see above), but that on account of the winter season they could not come down to Holland; that the majority were in very great poverty, and had received no assistance whatever; that it would be necessary for the States-General to render them some assistance, provisionally, in their dire necessity, and that the money which the Government might decide to send, could be divided among them by the two deputies, the ministers, and others who might be further appointed for the purpose, so that each might receive a fair proportion, and according to his necessities," &c.

But I fear that I am being tempted to give more extracts than the space at my disposal will allow, although the importance of the subject requires that even the smallest details should be known. Let it suffice for our present purpose however, to state that large sums of money were collected throughout the United Provinces for the exiled Vaudois or Waldensians; that the question was considered whether they could not be settled in any of the Netherland districts; that the East and West India Companies were requested to inform the States-General whether they could not accommodate any of the unfortunates in one or more of their Colonies: that through Jean Pastre and Jacques Guiot—their representatives in Holland—their number was given as about 700 or 800
souls; that a long correspondence took place between the States-General and the Council of Seventeen, and that it was finally agreed that the latter would receive the exiles, on condition that the States paid the Company the sum of £250 for each family of five persons, or £50 for each individual, and that the Company would at that rate bear the expenses of the fugitives from the time of their departure from Nuremberg until their arrival at the Cape; that at the latter place they were to be provided with wheat and other necessaries of life for seven or eight months, on condition of refunding these advances afterwards with their own produce; that they were likewise to be provided with deals and spars for building their cottages, treated in every sense like native-born Netherlanders, and secured every benefit of the regulations as drawn up and agreed to; that the fugitives were at once to be informed of the steps taken, by means of Jean Pastre or otherwise, in order to submit an exact list of those willing to proceed to the Cape on the conditions stated, and that the necessary steps might be taken for their conveyance to their destination; that should the Vaudois around Nuremberg refuse to emigrate on the conditions offered them, the same proposals were to be made to others elsewhere, without making the slightest distinction between those of the valleys of the Duke of Savoy, or the natives of such parts as the King of France had acquired for himself by treaty; but always with the understanding that the number was not to exceed eight hundred; and finally that the Commissioners appointed for the purpose by the States-General were requested and instructed to pay to the East India Company out of the collections in the hands of the Receiver-General, the sum of £40,000 for the benefit of 800 Piedmontese fugitives, and to take the necessary steps to have all the money collected in the Provinces and not yet paid in, at once transmitted to the Receiver-General, to enable him to draw up an exact list for the information of the States-General, that a further distribution might be effected in the best manner possible among the poor natives of the Piedmontese valleys.

At the same time the Seventeen appeared to have been
very careful in their selection of emigrants; for the Amsterdam Chamber declined, on the 18th of January, 1688, to entertain the request of the Rev. Simond to appoint a Committee to take down the names and condition of those who had presented themselves in large numbers in order to proceed to the Cape, provided that they received a little support until the time of their departure.

But the negotiations proceeded uninterruptedly in the case of the Vaudois, and, as both the Company and the States-General believed, in accordance with the expressed wish of the fugitives. Suddenly, however, after all the arrangements had been satisfactorily completed, and the ship Alkmaar prepared for the reception of 200 exiles, the Amsterdam Chamber was compelled, on the 28th of June, 1688, to minute as follows:—

"The Equipment Committee laid before the meeting an extract from the journal of the Commissioners for business affairs at the Hague, dated the 25th of June, 1688, regarding the voyage of the Vaudois. It mentioned that the latter had declined to go, and accordingly the Commissioners advised that the plan should be abandoned. This advice was adopted, and the Committee instructed to despatch the Alkmaar at once, that vessel having hitherto been delayed for the purpose."
CHAPTER XII.

But why did the Vaudois so suddenly make up their minds not to proceed to the Cape? A writer, already quoted,* says, that "whilst the arrangements were being concluded, the Vaudois obtained employment in Europe, and then declined to go so far away." But is this the fact? 'Tis true that the Archives abruptly end with the bare statement that they had declined to go; but as they have told their own story through one of their most illustrious representatives and leaders, their great Pastor and Colonel, Henri Arnaud, it is indispensable to listen to him for a while, and hear from his lips that the Vaudois had never intended to live elsewhere than in their native valleys, and had always but one determined purpose, to return thither, or die in the attempt. Twice they failed, the third time they succeeded; a handful of men, barely 800 in number, performing feats of arms and obtaining decisive victories such as have never been surpassed in history. That was the kind of work those men of Nuremberg, or a portion of them, had been employed upon, astonishing the whole of Europe, and compelling the Duke of Savoy to join the grand alliance, and likewise turn his arms against France.

But let Arnaud tell his own story, of which we give as much as is necessary for the proper comprehension of this period of the Archives:—

"The Vaudois inhabit three valleys at the northern extremity of Piedmont, viz., those of Lucern, St. Martin, and Perouse, under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy. Their proper name Vallenses is derived from the Latin word vallis, and not, as has been insinuated, from Valdo, a merchant of Lyons. The Valley of Prajelas, or the

* Chronicles of Cape Commanders, p. 289.
the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

Clusone, is also inhabited by Vaudois, but subject to the King of France.”

This being so, we can clearly see why, when the States-General and the Seventeen spoke of the fugitives, they mentioned the French and Vaudois as interchangeable terms, expressing the same idea. But let us proceed:

“After Louis XIV. had driven the Protestants out of his kingdom, it was but natural for him to endeavour to persuade the young Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II., to follow his example. The latter, however, persistently refused, until he was informed that the French King would undertake the work himself with 14,000 men. Urged by fear, he thereupon commanded the Vaudois, on pain of death, to demolish their churches, and submit their children to the Roman Church for baptism. Having in vain endeavoured to induce their Prince to cancel the cruel order, they prepared for defence, and were attacked on the 23rd of April, 1686. On the first and second day they vanquished the French troops, and arrested the progress of the Duke’s army on the heights of Angrogna: but on the third day, by some unaccountable fatality, and unmindful of the thirty-two wars in which their fathers had engaged for the sake of their religion, they suddenly laid down their arms. Fourteen thousand of them were at once thrown into thirteen prisons, and 11,000 died in them from cold and heat, hunger and thirst. Only 3000 were again restored to liberty, but only to be banished from their property and country. They took refuge in Switzerland and elsewhere, being assisted by liberal collections made for them in England, Holland, Germany, and Geneva.* Colonies were formed in the Duchy of

* The Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II., after having made peace with the Vaudois, once said to Mons. Arnaud and some of his com-
Wurtemberg, the States of the Margraves of Durlach (Baden), and Hesse-Darmstadt, and the Count of Hanau. Like moving skeletons, the survivors had arrived at Geneva. The Swiss afforded them sustenance. A large number were spread through the Canton of Berne, but not valuing life, unless spent where it was received, they resolved, whatever might be the penalty, to return to their valleys. Twice they made the attempt, and twice they failed. But this determined conduct provoked the indignation of the Bernois and the citizens of Zurich, who convened an assembly of the Evangelical Cantons at Aarau. The Vaudois of the greatest consideration were invited to attend, and there told that they would no longer be borne with, and were to withdraw with the rest of their people from the cantons in which they resided. Though surprised at this order, for since the failure of their last enterprise the Swiss had continued to provide them with subsistence, they steadfastly refused to emigrate to Brandenburg, and had but one reply, that they only wished to return to their own country. Upon that they were ordered to leave Berne within a fixed period. They obeyed, but discovered to their amazement that they rades who had captured a French courier with despatches, “You have only one God and one Prince; serve them faithfully. Hitherto we have been foes; henceforward we must be friends. To strangers (Louis XIV.), your misfortunes are to be attributed; but if, as is your duty, you expose your lives for me, I also will expose mine for you, and as long as I have a morsel of bread, you shall have your share.”

All this sounded very well, but it is a pity that he had such a short memory. However, Arnaud’s comment on it is as follows: “With what justice the fate of the Vaudois was thus subjected to the feuds or friendships of these princes, I shall not discuss. I will simply remark that God not only disunited these two powers, but permitted them to turn against each other those arms which had been united to destroy the Vaudois at the very moment when, after many and severe toils and disappointments, they were at the point of overwhelming the Vaudois nation, and exterminating it for ever.”
were everywhere affectionately treated, that the harsh tone adopted towards them was the result only of State policy, and that the secretary of the city had been instructed to provide them with a sum of money as soon as they embarked on the Aar to proceed to Zurich and Schaffhausen, and ultimately to spots still more remote. They had likewise objected to proceed to Wurtemberg; notwithstanding the most favourable offers made to them by the Duke Frederick Charles; they wished to keep united as one body, and finally obtained permission to pass the winter in the Cantons of Zurich and Schaffhausen. Large sums were in the meanwhile being collected for them in England and Holland; and again they were urged to emigrate to Brandenburg, but they persisted in their declaration that they would not. The Swiss were now really scandalized, and accordingly treated them without ceremony, compelling them to sign an instrument by which they promised to go wherever they were ordered. M. Arnaud himself signed it, but at the same time protested against it as extorted by violence.

After this, "the necessity of departure for Brandenburg was so adroitly insinuated that 800 men, women, children, and servants determined to comply, but it would seem that Providence, who preserved this little flock for an example of wonders, was unwilling to lead it to a country where it could remain. For scarcely were they beginning to be settled, before the train of proceedings between the Dukes of Orleans and Neubourg compelled them to seek their safety in flight, lest they should fall victims to the French, from whose fury they had already too severely suffered. They at once resigned the estates and privileges granted them by the Elector Palatine, and the offers of the Duke of Wurtemberg, who would
have employed the effective, and supported the remainder; and determined to seek their former asylum in Switzerland, where they were once more kindly received. But though earning a living among the peasantry, the thought of returning to their own valleys never left them; hence, when the spies whom they had sent out the year before, had raised their hopes, and also informed them that the Duke of Savoy had recalled his troops from the mountains, they resolved forthwith to return, cost what it might."

That they came together in a large forest in the Pays de Vaud; that they were hardly 600 or 700 in number; that they formed themselves into nineteen companies, six of which were composed of Protestant exiles from France; that they started from their place of rendezvous on the 16th of August, 1689; that they were thirty days on the march; and that, to the world's astonishment, they gained their object*—is a chapter of history that reads like a romance. They did an immense service to the cause of the Grand Alliance and its chief promoter, William III. of England—"who having learnt, in an audience granted to M. Arnaud, that the Vaudois persisted in their design to re-enter their valleys, commended their zeal and piety, and exhorted their pastor to keep them together that so ancient a church might not be lost by separation." All this and more is graphically described by the minister, who, in recognition of his genius and the great ability

* Arnaud speaks of himself as follows:—"Your attention, reader, has been directed to events scarcely to be imagined. But with the Vaudois you will impute them only to the Providence of God, Who, to render His presence more visible, chose for his chief instrument in this wonderful struggle a man ignorant of arms or of war, excepting with Satan. Is it not wonderful that such a person, after escaping the pursuit of those who sought to deliver him to the flames at Constance, should have been able to effect a passage through Savoy, taking as his prisoners the nobles and gentry of the land to be witnesses of the valour and discipline of the Vaudois? Was the victory of Salabert-raun less than miraculous, where 800 men, most of whom had never handled a musket, routed 2500 regular troops, killing 600, with a loss on their own side of only fifteen?"
displayed by him in the conduct of the expedition, so successfully and gloriously terminated, received a Colonel's Commission from William and Mary, the King and Queen of England.

A little of their history as a church, and of their sufferings will not be deemed out of place here:

"The Vaudois believe that they deserve the name of Apostolical, and give their reasons. They do not, however, deem it necessary to go higher than when they formed a part of the diocese of the Apostolic Claude, Bishop of Turin, in the commencement of the 9th century, one of the bishops who, with many distinguished Romanists, disclaimed the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Born in Spain, and famous for his talents, he was appointed Metropolitan of the See of Turin by Lewis the Meek, who had become alarmed at the progress of iconolatry in Italy. It was only in the middle of the 11th century that Pope Nicolas II. persuaded the Sees of Aquileia, Milan, and Turin—all Metropolitan—to resign their independence, and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Rome in the West; whilst much later Gregory VII. decreed that princes should kiss his feet, and that he had the power to release subjects from their allegiance. This spiritual and temporal power having been obtained, it was, as usual in those times, directed against those who still remained to question its lawfulness, and denounce the errors introduced and upheld by it, especially those in the Valleys of Piedmont; who accordingly suffered ceaseless persecution during centuries."

I pass by the manner in which the Vaudois became subjects of the Duke of Savoy, and those of Prajelas or Clusone were annexed to France, nor do I care to give an exhaustive narrative of the horrible persecutions which

* Arnaud's Narrative, edited by H. D. Acland.
they endured. The Vaudois had no better friend than Oliver Cromwell; and it will be sufficient for me to lay before the reader the peroration of his Ambassador, Sir Samuel Morland, when he addressed the Duke of Savoy on behalf of the unfortunates, and with which he wound up his frightful chapter of horrors:

"If all the tyrants of all times and ages were alive again, they would doubtless be ashamed to find that nothing barbarous or inhuman, in comparison of these deeds, had ever been invented by them. In the meantime the angels are stricken with horror. Men are dizzy with amazement. Heaven itself appears astonished by the cries of the dying, and the very earth to blush with the gore of so many innocent persons. Avenge not Thyself, O God! for this mighty wickedness, this parricidal slaughter. Let Thy blood, O Christ! wash out this blood!"

Milton, however, is not of the same forgiving and prayerful disposition; for, in a strain so like to some of the Psalms of Holy Writ, he sings:

"Avenge, O Lord! Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
Ev'n them, who kept Thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not: in Thy book record their groans,
Who were Thy sheep, and in their ancient fold,
Slain by the bloody Piemontese, that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant, that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who having learned Thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

But lest it be supposed that the picture is immensely overdrawn, because emanating from two Protestants who could see no good in the Roman Church or Roman rulers, I likewise copy the following, which is from a work
entitled *Abrégé de l'Histoire de ce Siècle de Fer*, published at Brussels in 1660, and written, as Leger * says, by a Romanist:—

"I hold in abhorrence all enmities on account of difference in religion, and all those who by the violence of their prejudices disturb the public repose. Those who love God with all their souls do not foment hatreds, nor delight in carnage. Joshua in the Old Testament was conducted in his bloody executions by the God of armies; we, in the present day, must listen to and obey the same God of peace and mercy, otherwise we cannot be His disciples. Those who, in the blindness of their zeal, would follow the example of Joshua reject the New Covenant.

"The persecutions of the Irish (massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, A.D. 1641) and the Vaudois who inhabit some valleys under the Duke of Savoy, appear to result from the hatred I have mentioned. The Cross of the Vaudois remained fixed only for five or six months, when it was pulled down under the influence of powerful intercessions, menaces, and arms. In the beginning of 1655 a terrible order was issued that they and their families should quit, within a few days, their native valleys. The only alternatives were conversion to the Roman Catholic Apostolic faith, or the sale of their inheritance to those professing it. This order compelled a journey, in the depth of winter, over high mountains and through deep snow, the hardships of which might have moved the rocks to compassion—a feeling foreign to the hearts of those who were to enforce the order. Robbers, secretly instigated, plundered the houses, and thus compelled the exiles to return and defend

*Jean Leger, author of the most valuable *History of the Vaudois*, himself a "Man of the Valleys."
their property, while waiting for the effect of their remonstrances. Those who returned were termed rebellious, and were surprised by a Piedmontese army, commanded by the Marquis of Pianessa, and five French regiments under Count de Quinsey. Four thousand victims suffered death under cruelties too horrible to be heard. I will not speak of the feelings of those who saw them. Ah! Great God! if Thy justice were not checked by mercy, this age would not have run half its career. The eye could see in these valleys nothing but flames; the ear heard only pitiable cries and their lamentable echoes. The Vaudois being driven in this manner from the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogna, the horrible process was repeated in that of St. Martin. This carnage drove to arms those who found no refuge in humility or supplications. Despair provides weapons in abundance. Four hundred Vaudois descended to St. Secondo, cut to pieces 150 soldiers, burnt several places, &c. The news of these commotions alarmed all the neighbouring Protestants, who wrote to the Protector and the States-General. The English, when informed of these massacres, were so moved with compassion for *their elder brethren* (*frères aînés*) that they implored the Protector seriously to interfere. In the meantime the Vaudois were in constant conflict with the Savoyards, burning their towns, as their own had been burnt, and giving as little quarter as they had received. All Protestants had at heart the peaceful re-establishment of the Vaudois. For when they want to prove the antiquity of their doctrine, they refer to that of the Vaudois, in the pure preservation of which their own is necessarily involved.”

But why say more? The book from which I have
quoted will tell much of the whole story, though I fear that copies are rare in South Africa. Hence I give the title of the one in the Public Library in Cape Town:—
"The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of their Valleys, from the original by Henri Arnaud, their commander and pastor, with a compendious History of that People, previous and subsequent to that event, by Hugh Dyke Acland. London, 1827." See also "A Historical Defence of the Waldenses or Vaudois, &c., by Jean Rudolphe Peyran, late Pastor of Pomaret, and Moderator of the Waldensian Church. With an introduction and appendix by the Rev. Thomas Sims, M.A. London, 1826."
CHAPTER XIII.

Let us now again examine for a while the European despatches after news had been received that war* had broken out. On the 20th of December, 1689, the Seventeen wrote that—

"Fears were entertained that the French King would take vengeance for the insult offered him by the capture of his two ships, *La Normande* and *Le Coche*, and send out war ships to the Cape to seize some of the Company's vessels, capture the fort, ravage the country, and burn the Colony. The Secret Committee had accordingly been authorised to prepare and commission an extra number of ships for India and the Cape, and enlist a large number of sailors and soldiers. Some time, however, would elapse before everything could be ready; therefore it sent out orders that in the meanwhile a sharp look-out should be kept at the Cape, and the bearer of the despatch, *De Goede Hoop*—formerly *La Normande*—and two of her consorts detained here until further notice, whilst as many soldiers were to be landed for the defence of the Castle as the Governor might deem necessary."

From an annexed extract from the resolutions of the Chamber of Seventeen, dated the 13th of December of the same year, it appears that sixteen vessels were fitted out, carrying 3385 men, and that at the same meeting Abraham van Riebeeck was raised to the rank of Councillor-Extraordinary of India, he serving the board at the time as its Secretary.

It is interesting to peruse the letters received from

* The War of Orleans.
France on the subject of the heavy armaments which were taking place there for India, and the conjectures and fears which naturally resulted. It was known that France had great plans in Siam, but until the revolution there had been fairly successful, such enterprises could not be contemplated by the Company without dread. On the 7th of January, 1690, the Seventeen wrote to the Cape "that the French had obtained many advantages over the English in the Caribbee Islands, and that it was therefore clear that they would endeavour to strengthen themselves there more and more every day, in order not to lose what they had already secured."

They were therefore supposed to be gaining ground immensely both in the East and West Indies; hence one of the suppositions naturally was that the ships that were being fitted out at Brest and elsewhere might be intended for the West, as well as the East.

Three weeks later, however, the Directors had more definite information, and they wrote to the Cape that—

"The design of the French is to cripple us as much as possible at the Cape and in India; and, as it is likewise said, to settle on the Island Mascarens which they intend to fortify, that it may serve them as a refreshment station. They intend to proceed thither in ten ships. We do not know whether they have already left or not. It is, however, openly stated that they intend to take revenge for the loss sustained by them in the capture of the Normande and Coche. The squadron will be commanded by a Du Quesne, one of the same name as those already mentioned, and a very near relative of theirs (i.e., of the Marquis and his brother), namely, their first cousin. He has been before this in Siam, and likewise at the Cape and elsewhere. He knows all the circumstances and places there. For the present we can only recommend you to
be on your guard and do as much mischief as you can to the enemy."

On the 18th of March, 1690, the Seventeen advised the Governor of the departure of six well-armed French ships from Port Louis on the 2nd of February preceding:—

"But that they had no design on the Cape, and it would be only natural that on their return after their long voyage, as they intended to proceed to Siam, they would have no wish to delay at the Cape. As, however, their sudden arrival at Surat, after leaving Siam, might cause serious disaster to the Dutch and English likewise—to say nothing of the Moors—every scrap of information received at the Cape was at once to be transmitted to Batavia."

A few days before, information had likewise been received from Paris by the Seventeen, that the squadron consisted of Le Gaillard (castle), commanded by Admiral du Quesne, as flagship, carrying 50 guns and 300 men; L'Oiseau (bird), under the Chevalier d'Herez, with 44 pieces and 250 men; L'Escueil (rock), armed with 42 guns and 200 men; La Florisante (prosperous), mounting 42 guns and carrying 230 men; Le Dragon, with 40 guns and 200 men; and Le Lion, having 38 pieces and 176 men.

All the vessels only carried what they required. No extra troops were on board; and only some merchandise, bales of goods, and luggage belonging to the missionaries were stowed in the hold.

Father Tachard was, however, on board, and had been ordered to proceed to Siam alone and there present to the new King some letters from His French Majesty demanding an account of the officers and soldiers sent thither for the service of the young King, and, if the latter would not act reasonably, then to detain on board all the Mandarin ambassadors who had been sent to France and were now returning home; and to do so by way of reprisal.

On the 18th of March, 1690, the Seventeen wrote, for the information of some of their outgoing vessels lying at
Bergen in Norway, that not only was the Père Tachard to demand from the King the Frenchmen still there, and the squadron ordered to lie off the Cape for a month and cruise for the ships that might arrive there, in order to capture some if possible, but that there would be found some armed vessels of the Company in Table Bay, in order to lie in wait for the hostile ships and protect the place and the roadstead.

On the 22nd of April, 1690, they were, however, able to write—

“That the very severe reverses and disasters suffered by the French in the East made it unnecessary for so many armed vessels to be detained in Table Bay, and hence only one vessel of war—the Zwarte Leeuw—was sent out and stationed here permanently.”

But of her more anon. The despatch further mentioned that the French, who had been obliged to leave the Indies, were said to have proceeded to the Island Mascarenhas to settle there.

The instructions given to Admiral du Quesne were, that he should set out for Siam, and take with him the three Siamese ambassadors, Père Tachard and Mons. Blondel, inspector and agent of the Company, who was to present the King with some letters from the Directors, and an elephant richly caparisoned, &c., which had been destined for the late King; at the same time demanding of him the repayment of 400,000 livres, which the Company has advanced by order of the late King, both for the ambassadors and the Siamese whom he had sent to France, to serve them in their travels. . . . Mons. du Quesne, the Commander of the six vessels, was in the meantime to proceed with letters to the Grand Mogul from the King and the Company, and with similar presents to those destined for the late King of Siam . . . and to beg the said Mogul’s protection against the Dutch, to acquaint him with the dethronement of King Jacques, and in short to offer him some assistance for placing him in possession of Madraspatnam, which he was besieging in spite of the English.
The two embassies were to complete their work whilst all the effects at Surat and Masulepatnam were being shipped. Two vessels were also to proceed to Hoogly on the Ganges, to take away the return cargoes which were there. After that sail was to be made for Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel, to embark Messrs. des Farges and du Bruaut and some soldiers, as it had been ordered that the latter were to be withdrawn after the surrender of the forts of Bancock and Merguy in the land of Siam. After that, and the return of the ships L'Escueil and Le Lion, which would join them there, some pieces of cannon were to be landed at all the residencies, with such munitions of war as might be still collected of the troops which had been sent to Siam two years previously.

After that they were to make sail and return by the Isle of Bourbon, and disembark there also some munitions of war, inquiring at the same time into the progress which the managers and the missionaries, conveyed thither last year, had made. . . .

The affairs of the Company were likewise to be carefully examined, that their condition might be fully known after the disorders which had been caused by the death of the King of Siam. . . .
CHAPTER XIV.

Continuing our extracts, we now come to the plans of the Marquis Henri du Quesne and his brother Abraham, sons of the brave old admiral. As already mentioned, they also had decided with some of their associates to take possession of the Island Mascarenhas, and colonise it with Huguenot families, partly consisting of Piedmontese or Vaudois. The proposal appears to have been favourably entertained by the Dutch East India Company, evidently on the same grounds on which it had despatched fugitives to the Cape, as it feared no bad results from the proximity of such a new settlement to Mauritius, which island had likewise a small Colony of its own, as we have already seen, being under the dominion of the Company and forming part of the Cape domain. Matters, however, assumed a different aspect when the French had settled on Mascarenhas, and the Seventeen seriously discussed the question whether they should not be expelled, but finally found that it was hardly worth their while to do so.

On the 13th of December, 1689, therefore, the Directors wrote, saying:—

"Our agreement with the Marquis du Quesne, his brother, and associates, who intend to assure themselves of the Island Bourbon or Mascarenhas, in order to settle there, has been approved of by the States-General, as you will see from the annexed contract and the subsequent approbation in authentic copy, also appended. As they are now ready to proceed thither in one or two ships, you shall, when they arrive at the Cape, receive and treat them as expressed in that agreement, and conduct yourselves accordingly.

"And if it could be done with propriety, and no
hindrance or delay in the voyage would result, we would not mind it, if, when they leave the Cape, one or two of the Ceylon ships were sent to keep them company, that they may be able to appear there with the greater ostenta-
tion and authority. Our ships, however, must not tarry there, but continue their voyage at once.”

Ten days later the Secret Committee ordered that—

“Until the arrival of the return ships three or four of the best outward-bound vessels were to be detained at the Cape, to be relieved and despatched as soon as others arrived to take their place. (Sixteen had been fitted out.) The Castle was likewise to be placed in such a state of defence as to be able to ward off the enemy. For that purpose as many soldiers were to be taken out of the ships as were urgently required.”

Nor were all these precautions superfluous. Some of the Company’s ships which had been obliged to call at St. Jago, had on their arrival at the Cape, as mentioned in the despatch to the Seventeen, dated the 2nd of August, 1689, reported that five heavily-armed French ships had been there shortly before them,—that is, in the month of April of the same year—and intended to cruise off the Cape in order to capture the Company’s return ships. We now know the reason why this intention was not carried out: but at that time it was impossible for the Seventeen, or even those at the Cape to know how completely the French had been paralyzed in the East, and how literally the statements made by Admiral du Quesne to the Commander before the war, had been verified, that the French who had escaped the massacre, were rapidly dying off, and the prospect was that not one would survive. Disease and misfortune had almost virtually driven them from India, and the survivors were only too glad to search for health and security on the Island Mascarenhas. But of this arrangement, although aware of it, they could know
nothing definite in Holland when the despatch of the 7th of January, 1690, was written.

Hence we find the Secret Committee saying:—

"On the 13th of December, 1689, the Directors informed you of the designs of the Marquis du Quesne, his brother, and associates, regarding the Island Mascarenhas (Bourbon), and authorised you to have them accompanied thither by the two ships Goudesteyn and Meydrecht, both bound to Ceylon. Mons. du Quesne is now lying ready in Texel with two ships, in order to proceed thither. The one is a very large and strong vessel and a fast sailer, taken by our countrymen from the French. We are, however, not able to tell you whether, as the wind is favourable, they have left with the Ceylon ships, or will follow them shortly afterwards; but be this as it may, our intention is, that, should the four vessels arrive at the Cape, you shall with all discreetness so manage it, that the Marquis du Quesne be delayed there until the Ceylon ships are ready to leave, so that they all may leave together. It is not likely that, according to the news received from that quarter and found in the two French prizes—which news you forwarded to us—they will find much resistance there, unless they have since received some reinforcements from France, which is not probable."

On the 28th of January, 1690, the same Committee again wrote regarding the intention of the Du Quesnes and their associates, to make a settlement on the Island Bourbon, or Eden, as they had re-named it, and urged the Commander to do his best to persuade the expedition to remain at the Cape as long as possible, for the better security of the latter place. They were, however, disappointed that the two vessels which had been equipped—the Droite, and another, the Hirondelle—were not ready in time to accompany the Company's outward-bound ships. But as it was
now supposed that they were ready to leave, the Committee were very anxious to know what their fate would be, and also that of the Cape, if the information which it had received proved to be correct. The despatch, therefore, continues as follows:

"We are getting more and more confirmed in our opinions regarding the designs of the French to cripple us as much as possible at the Cape and India, and make a settlement on the Island Mascarenhas, to serve as a refreshment station. They intend, it seems, to proceed thither in ten ships, but we do not know whether they have left or not. Their design is to take revenge for the loss sustained by the capture of their two ships. The squadron will be commanded by a Du Quesne—one of the same name as those mentioned above, and a very near relation of theirs, in fact, their first cousin—thoroughly acquainted with the Cape and the whole of India. Should this squadron arrive at Mascarenhas before the Messrs. du Quesne, the latter will hardly be able, and only at extreme peril to carry out their intentions. But even should they arrive before the French, it will likewise be very doubtful whether they would have time enough to place themselves in a satisfactory state of defence, in order to withstand such a force, and ward it off. The enterprise is therefore connected with no little danger and anxiety. Hence, you will oblige us by endeavouring to discover whether the French force intends to call at the Cape or pass it, that you may take your measures accordingly, and send all the information gained at once to India. . . .

"As the Messrs. du Quesne are now on the point of leaving, it will be necessary to inform you that we have had a further conference with them, which resulted in a contract or agreement, an exact copy of which we annex to this despatch."
"As things are now, the Hottentots should not be allowed to squat with their cattle in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay, but advised to go further inland, that the French, calling there, may be prevented from obtaining any supplies from that source."

In a postscript, nine days later, the following was added:—

"The frost has been setting in so severely, that the vessels of the Du Quesnes have been necessarily delayed. They are now considering, whether they or others of their Company, shall not leave with the largest of the two, and let the smaller one follow when the roads are again open. The French are very angry with us, and determined to have their revenge for what we did to them. Should the means not fail them, they will endeavour to give us, in one way or another, an unexpected pinch."

But before proceeding further, I here insert the contract referred to above:—

"In the name of God, Amen.

"This day, the 28th of the month of January, 1690, appeared before me, François Tixerandet, notary public, admitted by the Court of Holland, and resident in Amsterdam, and in the presence of the witnesses here below named, M. Gerard Groot, ex-Alderman and Councillor of the said town, and M. Salomon de Blocquerie, both directors of the Noble Company's East India Chamber of the said town, and M. Pierre van Dam, advocate of the said Company—the said Messieurs representing the said Company and authorised to that effect by the same—on the one part; and M. Henri du Quesne, Marquis, resident in the same place mentioned, M. Abraham du Quesne, Comte de Moures, &c., and the Sieur Charles de Sailly, on the other
part; who have made an agreement in the following manner, that is to say—

"That the said Messieurs du Quesne and associates are getting ready for immediate departure, leaving to-morrow, the 29th instant, for Texel or the Vlie, where there are two vessels ready to make sail, equipped by the said Messieurs for a sea voyage, in order to proceed to sea in them, as they have promised to do as soon as the weather and the wind permit it, and to sail away towards the Cape of Good Hope, and thence towards the Island Mascarenhas, now called Eden.

"That the said Messieurs du Quesne will be obliged, as they have promised by these, to sojourn two months at the said Cape of Good Hope, reckoned from the day after their arrival; or longer, if they agree with the Commander of the said Cape to do so. And during the stay which they shall make there, in case that their services shall be deemed necessary to the Messieurs of the Company, they shall be detained for employment there, themselves, their vessels, and their people as auxiliary troops, according as they shall be required by the said Commander and said Council of the said Cape, with whom they shall come to an understanding to this effect; on condition that the said Company shall be bound to take the control of and maintain the people which the said Messieurs du Quesne shall have brought over, both the sailors and the others consisting of various families; and, during their residence at the said Cape, shall defray the cost of their living and other refreshments, in proportion to the amounts which would under ordinary circumstances be due to the servants and soldiers of the Company; and as long as they remain at the said Cape. Moreover, the said Messieurs who appear in this agreement as representing the Honourable
East India Company, promise, when the said Messieurs du Quesne shall depart from the said Cape to proceed to the Isle of Eden, that they will have them escorted by two or three of their vessels or even more, as the time and necessity may require. And the contracting parties representing the Company further promise to pay at once to the said Messieurs du Quesne the sum of 5000 guilders, which the said Messieurs confess and acknowledge to have received in silver currency in deduction of what the said Noble Company should pay them during their sojourn at the said Cape in the manner as stated above. And, finally, for the fulfilment of what has been said above, the representatives of the Company, Messrs. Hooft, de Blocquerie, and Van Dam, pledge all the goods of the Company and its effects, and Messrs. du Quesne and Sailly, specially the said two ships, their fittings and cargoes, and generally also their persons and goods, submitting them respectively to the attachment of all the judges and courts of justice.

"Done and passed at Amsterdam aforesaid in the presence of Jean de Dunquerque and Daniel Metz, witnesses, required for this.

"Concordat cum originalibus,
"(Quod attestor),
(Signed) "F. Tixerandet,
"Notary public."

But although the large ship had succeeded in forcing a passage through the ice, she was still so badly supplied that the Marquis was obliged to put back into Hellevoetsluys, whilst, to add to his distress, the smaller vessel lost all her sailors at the Nieuwe Diep by desertion. He was accordingly obliged to lay her up there, and, seeing for the present no chance of carrying out his intentions, he felt himself compelled to offer his large vessel for sale to the Company. She was named La Droite, was 130 feet
long, a fast sailer, and had been taken by the Dutch from the French. Being built as a war ship, the Company readily agreed to take her over and station her at the Cape for defensive purposes, and so relieve the large ships which were lying here for the protection of the Residency. She was accordingly refitted and renamed, and sent out as the Zwaarte Leeuw. But, notwithstanding her sailing powers, she appears to have been a leaky and unseaworthy vessel, hence on the 21st of December, 1696, the Council decided, as she had become altogether unfit for use, to sink her off the jetty, fill her with stones, and so form a mole for sheltering the boats, and in case of a hostile attack to serve as a foundation on which to place some heavy artillery to assist the Castle in its defence. Perhaps portions of this old Huguenot ship may still be found off the spot where once the old South Wharf stood.*

Her arrival here, however, caused the Commander a great deal of trouble, as some of the officers complained to the directors that they were being badly supplied at the Cape, especially with white bread, and that the men were almost starved. This gave the Seventeen an opportunity of severely censuring him for his great kindness to foreigners, especially the French, and in the following terms (despatch, the 21st of April, 1690):—

"If Commander Van der Stel had read and obeyed our instructions regarding the treatment of European nations, especially the French, as laid down in our letters of the 21st of November, 1679, the 20th of June, 1680, the 23rd of January, 1681, the 8th of June, 1682, the 10th of March,

* She arrived here on the 19th of September, 1690, with 130 men and thirty-four guns, and only had arms and ammunition on board. She had left Goeree on the 6th of June previously, and brought news of the great successes obtained by William III. in Ireland, who consequently kept the French fleet helplessly confined. But she likewise brought the disquieting news that the squadron under Admiral du Quesne had left Brest with orders to cruise for a month off the Cape, and endeavour to capture such ships of the Company as might arrive there; and finally that the French had settled on the Island Mascar- enhas, so that the directors had deemed it necessary to take steps for the safety of Mauritius.
and 22nd of June, 1683, he would have refrained from so liberally giving the French who called there, what they asked for, and affording them all conceivable accommodation, also giving them presents, and receiving others in return, as we find from the letters from the Cape and the Journal.

"We touched upon the subject in our letter of the 10th of October, 1688, but did not for a moment suppose that he would in this matter forget himself so far and go to such extremes as we found when more carefully examining the matter.

"We cannot understand what excuse there is (1) for allowing the French to land in such numbers, so that, after the watch had been set, there had been found on shore 245 invalids and 333 sick, who were lying in their beds, and that they had seven firelocks and most likely more arms which they might have stowed away; (2) that he allowed General des Farges, with his sons and noblemen, to go out hunting, invited them to dinner in the Fort or Castle, and so given them an opportunity of spying into everything; for, from the narratives which have been published by them,* it can be seen how and with what accuracy they observed everything and made careful notes; of all which they would not have refrained to have made use if they had not been burdened with this heavy war, and their forces drawn away and distributed elsewhere, especially as they were still able, in spite of that war, to equip such a costly squadron for India, as we informed you of in former letters.

"(3) Under the pretext of courting the good feeling of

* This evidently refers to the book published by Admiral du Quesne, or those of the two officers belonging to his fleet, of none of which, however, have I been able to obtain a copy.
the King of France more successfully, they were, besides all other comforts, presented with 801 lbs. rice, 600 lbs. flour, a young ox and six sheep for the officers of each ship, and a calf for the Envoy de la Loubert. Moreover, many other kinds of refreshments were sent on board for Admiral du Quesne, by which means, instead of keeping them away from the Cape, they have been the more tempted towards it, contrary to our so often-repeated orders.

"Often complaints are laid before us that our own ships obtain such poor refreshments, and that most of the skippers are obliged to go to market with their own money in order to provide themselves with what they require. In the meanwhile other nations are so abundantly supplied!

"(4) On the other hand, a present has been received in return, viz., the portrait of the King of France in a gold medallion attached to a gold chain. All this we have so much disapproved of, that we would not have refrained from showing our deepest dissatisfaction and resentment, if we had not, on the other hand, borne in mind the vigilance displayed by the Commander and his prudent conduct in capturing the two French ships, Le Coche and La Normande, regarding which we shall explain ourselves at the proper time. In the meanwhile you will be able to conclude from what has been said and what has been more fully stated in our despatches referred to, what you have to do and to refrain from on the arrival of any foreigners, and during their stay at the Cape. Everything is to be done economically, whilst it is understood that you shall in every way refrain from making any presents to them or receiving any.

"Re-reading your letters, we find that you ordered the Portuguese vessel Nostra Senhora de los Milagros, wrecked
to the east of the Cape, to be burnt. We do not understand what moved you to do so, and why it was not left as it was. No doubt, something or other might have been found in it, which would have been of value.

"It is said that there has likewise been saved out of the said ship, and placed in the hands of the Commander, a golden crown mounted with jewels; also a kris in a golden sheath. What the truth is, His Honour will best know, and inform us of; also why the ship was burnt."

Already two years previously (the 24th of May, 1688), he had refuted the charges brought against him that he had robbed the Siamese ambassadors, and shown that when they arrived at the Cape, he had been obliged to lend them f.5000, and that, if any robbery had been committed, the culprit was a certain officer, whom he mentioned, and for that reason still kept in confinement.

Now, when again called upon for an explanation, he wrote (the 24th of June, 1691):

"Your orders will ever be the highest ambition of the Commander; but he humbly requests that you may be pleased to put no faith in the rumours imputing to him that there had come into his hands a golden crown, studded with jewels, and a kris with a golden scabbard. In defence of his honour he is bound to declare that he has never seen such a crown or kris, and much less possessed them."

He acknowledges that in 1686, when the Nostra Senhora de los Milagros had been wrecked here, one of the Siamese ambassadors gave him as a keepsake, when on the point of returning to Batavia, a kris with a wooden scabbard and golden handle, of the value of about Rds. 40 or 50, and also a Siamese girdle, to show his good feeling and affection for the Commander. Courtesy forbade him to refuse this small present, and the respect which he owed
the directors likewise forbade him to give them notice of such trifles.

He had given no orders to burn the vessel mentioned, and as far as his information went, she was still lying where she had struck, gradually being broken up by the sea and hitherto untouched by fire.

Referring to the charge brought against him by those of the Zwarte Leeuw, he replied that her men were continually being drafted into other ships to take the place of the sick, and that this could not have been done, if the crew had been treated as described. He wished the skipper who brought her out—Pieter Andries Goedland, who returned home in the Faam, the year before—to testify on this subject, and felt very grateful that he had received from India the regulations regarding the provisioning of ships, and added:

"You may be sure that this is no land in which anyone need suffer hunger or distress, as those who are industrious have, from year to year, by God's grace, seen their cellars well filled with wine, their lofts with corn, and their chimneys and barrels with flesh and fish. The neighbouring bays produce excellent fish, the land splendid game and tame animals, and the air an abundance of birds for the maintenance of man. Hence, for many years now, no one has been heard to complain of want of food. We therefore fear, that because these people and others, whose complaints have come to your ears, have greatly angered Heaven by their ill-nature, last year the heavy rains drowned a large quantity of corn; but, notwithstanding this warning, they have steeled their hearts so effectually that the earth has by the drought been made as hard as rock, and the grass burnt away. No large exports of grain can therefore take place this year."

His promotion to the rank of Governor, for which he returns thanks in this same despatch, no doubt went far
to convince him that he still enjoyed the confidence of his superiors, but as he said elsewhere, each moment a hostile fleet might enter the Bay, and destroy or capture the whole settlement. Nor was he quite satisfied with the movements and conversations of certain English officers who had visited the Cape, for in June, 1691, he mentioned the arrival, on the 4th and 12th of March preceding, of the English frigates Success and Josias, both from London; and added that he could not refrain “from humbly informing you of the great anxiety which the conversation of the officers caused us, and the zeal with which they endeavoured to obtain some knowledge of the surrounding regions. They hinted likewise that they had vessels on board which they intended to put together at the places where they might be required, in order to examine coasts and rivers, and that five or six similar ships were on the point of coming hither from England. We fear that they may have their eye on some of the neighbouring regions, the more so as a certain skipper, Guillaume de Bouw, who has often been here and is known to us as having been in the service of private merchants, has for more than twenty years navigated on Mascareñas and the Eastern Coast of Africa, and accordingly learned to know the country and the languages. He has lately entered the service of the English Company, and called here as Captain of the Josias. It is therefore likely that he has given information to the English Company regarding the countries so often visited by him, especially Terra de Natal, Rio de la Goa or Madagascar, and made the affair so delicious to his new masters that they may have decided, against your interests, to make a settlement in our neighbourhood. Especially to Governor Simon van der Stel, he secretly and privately revealed that his masters had ordered him to call at the coast of Sofala, and remain there about half-a-year, trading for gold, ivory, &c., all along the coast, also most carefully to examine into everything, and employ the boats and canoes with which he has been provided for the purpose.”
CHAPTER XV.

I have so often mentioned the young Admiral du Quesne, and the squadron under his command, that the reader may perhaps wish to know some of his adventures in India. Not having his book to refer to, I insert here what I have found among the Archives. On the 17th of October, 1690, news was received from Nagapatnam at Batavia, that his squadron consisting of six ships had been at Niwlwelle Bay, and taken out of it the flute Montfoort. The Dutch, accordingly, descended down to Madraspatnam to join the English there at the Fort. Both nations at once actively prepared for defence. The Southern offices also reported that two French ships had been passed far at sea on the 9th of August, and six more seen on the following day—among them one very small. Their approach compelled the fluits 't Huis te Spycck, &c., to run into shore as near as possible, but the French passed them within range without doing anything, evidently fearing the shallow water. The three ships of the Danes before Tranquebar they likewise left unmolested, as that nation is neutral in the war in Europe. The two first mentioned vessels passed Tegenapatnam on the 10th. The other six passed the next day; all anchored before Pondicherry, refreshed there, and landed munitions of war, specie, &c., as will be seen from the statement of the boatswain of the Montfoort, * who had escaped after being captured by the enemy:

"This delay enabled us to put our three ships in a proper state of defence, and likewise the large English ship lying in Madras harbour. On the 16th, in the

* The Montfoort had on board f.11,500 in silver ducatons (see letter from Hoogly, vol. 1691, p. 3). Her cargo was valued at f.219,473 (see letter from Colombo, 1691, p. 48). She was therefore a rich prize to the enemy; hence the capture of the Normande and Coche was a good "set off" against her loss.
morning we sighted a vessel proceeding to the north. A Catamaran was sent out to spy her. She was the Bombay, sent by your Honours (at Batavia) to Masulipatnam. Fortunately she did not arrive sooner, and hence escaped the enemy. She brought your letters for North Coromandel. Having drawn our ships in a line near the shore, three Dutch and three English, the Bombay was employed, as she was a fast sailer, to reconnoitre. On the 25th, between 8 and 9 a.m., the French ships were sighted. They consisted of seven sail, and having approached as near as St. Thome, could see our line of battle. They signalled for a council to be held, which lasted about one hour and a half; and then the two smallest approached in near the shore, the others also coming on but not quite so near. When the latter were before the Salland, the very smallest, named Huiberts, sailed right in front of her, the second right by her side, three others on the side of the Dregterland and Schoondyk, and the largest to the side of the Englishman, casting anchor at the same time. They then commenced to fire, which lasted about an hour. Then we saw the Mydregt, which had lain before the French Admiral, who was lying alongside the Dregterland, coming down to us. We likewise clearly observed that she was a fire-ship, and although she struck the Dregterland, the wind being from the starboard, and the fire not bursting forth at once, she was shoved off with little trouble. For this we thank the great God heartily. For as they had before most furiously cannonaded us, we believe that that move was the one they depended on, as after the loss of the fire-ship their fire gradually slackened, until after two hours, when the Admiral and afterwards the others retired; most of them by cutting their cables; but they anchored again a good half mile (Dutch) above us towards
the south-east. The following day they proceeded to the north, where they captured a small merchant vessel. In the evening they were before Palicata, but were not seen on the following morning. God visibly protected us in this encounter, as we had but a few killed and wounded. . . . Our rigging was very much cut up, and we refitted in the best way we could. Of the French, we heard on the following day that during the night their Admiral and eight officers had been brought on shore at St. Thome, and buried there, and that many men had been killed. Some had also been washed up below Madras, and buried by order of the English. The English cannon on the Fort could do very little, as we were too far from shore. For that reason they were obliged to shoot very high.”

Later news, dated the 4th of February, 1691, received from Governor Lourens Pith, mentioned that:—

“The French cut their cables, &c., and went along shore towards Bengal, and thence to Ilha de Grayla for repairs, arriving at Pondicherry on the 12th of January, 1691, where they took in some cargo. Two of the Dutch prisoners, taken in the Mydregt, stated that the enemy intended to proceed direct to Martinico, in order to obtain information regarding the European war, and take steps accordingly. . . . We have never been able exactly to ascertain the number of their losses, so it is evident that they have kept them very secret (although some of ours were on board as prisoners). The English were glad of our arrival on their roadstead, and acknowledged that we saved them and their helpless ships by our assistance and timely notice. The French vessels had been fitted out with the prospect of obtaining heavy booty. All they got was the Montfoort and Mydregt. They tried to take
an English ship and fought it for six hours, when the captain, finding most of his men dead, decided to blow his vessel up. This we heard from a few that saved themselves in a boat, and arrived at Galle.”

The story of the death of Admiral du Quesne was, however, contrary to fact, and shortly afterwards contradicted from Paris, as follows:

“31st of August, 1691.

“It is not the case that Admiral du Quesne was killed in the engagement before Madras. He arrived here last night, and his six ships are at Port Louis. He has arrived purposely to report what he has done, and it is said that he will be appointed to another squadron which will leave in February next.”
CHAPTER XVI.

Let us now return to the Marquis Henri du Quesne and his brother Abraham. Having sold their large vessel to the Company, they had still retained the small one, L'Hirondelle (the Swallow), adhering to their plan of proceeding to Mascarenhas. Hence, in June, 1690, the Seventeen informed the Council here "that she was placed under the command of Sieur Valot (Valleau?) and would call at the Cape; that the Marquis had likewise requested them to provide him with a letter of introduction to the Cape Government, which they were loathe to refuse; that therefore one had been written in which the Council here was further reminded of the orders sent on this subject previously; and that as long as the vessel remained at the Cape, the conduct of those on board was to be carefully watched, and information sent to Holland accordingly." She left Texel on the 4th of September, 1690, and arrived here on the 15th of January, 1691, carrying eight guns and twenty men, and according to orders was well received. She left again on the 5th of February, stating her intention to be to visit the neighbouring islands Martin Vaas, Diego Rodrigues, and Mascarenhas, and be back here in time to proceed home in company of the return fleet. The Council gave the officers a letter of introduction to Commander Lamotius at Mauritius, and warned him likewise to keep his eye on them and report. In the general despatch of the 29th of June, 1691, the Commander and Council wrote regarding them as follows (to the Seventeen):

"What will become of their enterprise, time alone will show. It is strange that these people, who have suffered so much for their faith, and abandoned everything for its
sake, are so little accommodating and reasonable, that to the great pain of the Cape residents, they have not been able to control their stubborn and angry natures here, without letting them burst forth so violently. Hence to prevent further coolness between them and loss to their employers, we had great trouble to pacify them, as will be seen from the annexures, should you care to look into them."

According to a despatch of the 23rd of October, 1691, written to Batavia, she returned to the Cape on the 7th of that month, and brought with them a black, a native of Mascarenhas. She had left that island on the 2nd of September, after having nearly circumnavigated it, keeping as near the shore as possible; but no one dared to land, as the natives were, with their wives and children, continually following them. She had also called at St. Augustine Bay in Madagascar for rice and other supplies, and likewise a cargo of slaves; but hearing that, two days before her arrival, the pirates had been there, and were still in the neighbourhood, one carrying one hundred and the other sixty men, she left two days after for the Cape, having accomplished virtually nothing. To the directors the Council wrote that M. Valleeau had stated, that after his departure from the Cape he had first called at Diego Rodrigues, and there left seven of the twenty men he had on board, providing them abundantly with all necessaries, and that he had done so as proof of his having taken possession of that island. That after that he had called at Mauritius and thence steered for Mascarenhas, which he had sailed almost quite round; that a native had swum from shore through the surf and come on board, and been detained by the captain, who had on the other hand ordered one of his own sailors to swim to shore, with orders to return, after having carefully observed everything; that the sailor, however, had not returned, and that the probability was that he had remained voluntarily, or been kept there against his will,
after he had thoroughly explored the island and laid down everything in a chart;* and that in consequence of his detention he had concluded that his plot had been discovered. He had therefore at once made sail for Madagascar.

The native having been examined, told the following story, written down by order of Governor Van der Stel:

"My name is Athanas Garel, a native Kaffir of the Island Mascarensahas. I am now on board the little frigate L'Hirondelle, belonging to the Marquis du Quesne. I am twenty-five years old, and was born and baptized on the island mentioned, where I left alive on the 2nd of September last, my wife, son and daughter, my father and my mother, having been detained by Captain Valleau of the Hirondelle, in order to make one voyage in her to Holland.

"On the said island, six servants of the French King are stationed, viz., M. Vaublon, the Governor, and M. Tierling, first Commissioner. The four others are book-keepers and overseers of the stores.

"The first Commissioner had, five months before, and assisted by the natives, imprisoned the Governor and put him in irons, pretending that he had allowed them to perish from hunger and anxiety.

"There were only about thirty-five or thirty-six fighting men, white and black, on the island, also thirty women, ten of whom were white.

"Among the men were six or seven Dutchmen, taken some years ago by an English pirate at Madagascar, and landed on Mascarensahas with a little money. They had

* One of hundreds of proofs to show that a heavy percentage of the sailors and soldiers in the Company's service were men of education and learning, but without means or influence, and hence obliged to rise from the lowest rung of the ladder. See Appendix C.
the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

changed their faith, had married, built houses for themselves, and were earning their living by agriculture.

"Two Capucins administered religion there. The church stands outside of the Fort, and the distance of a pistol-shot away from it.

"The Fort is named St. Denis, and is situated on the north-eastern portion of the island and on the beach. It consists of hurriedly-collected stones, thrown one upon the other, and is enclosed with palisades. The house of the Governor and the stores, however, are built of brick and lime. They have eight guns, six- and eight-pounders, of iron, which they fished up from the ship St. John about a year ago, which vessel had been cast on shore there in a hurricane. She had conveyed thither the Governor Vaublon. Six of her crew were drowned, and the rest had returned a month later to France in the ship Le Jeu.

"The island is about fifty Dutch miles in circumference, very fruitful, and has a healthy climate. It is watered by many rivers and rivulets. There are also many standing pools, in which eels of twenty-three and twenty-four feet long are caught. They are often as much as five feet thick, but on account of their too great fatness inedible. Those about the thickness of a man’s arm are, however, nice and of a good flavour.

"Rice grows luxuriantly on the island. They plant their wheat in the wild, uncultivated ground, without ploughing it beforehand. Fine and large crops are generally gathered, and from these they make their daily bread.

"The people likewise plant sugar-cane, tobacco, vines, and cocoa-nuts. Everything grows luxuriantly there. On the beach “Amber de Nord” is found.

"Oxen, cows, goats, and pigs are in abundance there.
From the residue of their milk they make good cheese. They have, likewise, beautiful and strong horses, both tame and wild; also wild grapes and numbers of turkeys, fowls, ducks, geese, parrots, and other Indian birds.

"The island contains large forests of various kinds of beautiful ebony-trees, which are so near each other that one is continually in the shade underneath them. No sun shines through them. No underwood, thistles, or thorns are there to cause the least hindrance to the pedestrian. The ground is green, smooth, and nice.

"The seashore is rich in turtle, and the sea in all kinds of fish."

What became of the narrator, or whether any of the remarkable eels mentioned by him were ever afterwards seen by the eye of a European, or caught with a piscatorial rod or otherwise, we are not told. I only mention the fact to those inclined to try their hand at a good bag. The fun will be all the more enjoyable as it entails a pleasant voyage to Mascarenhas, or L’Isle d’Eden.

In their despatch of the 10th of December, 1692, the directors mention that the Hirondelle, as they had heard, had been captured by the French on her way to Holland. Nor have I succeeded in finding any further mention made of her, or of those who sent her, although a good deal is said of some of the men whom she had left on the Island Diego Rodrigo. On the 22nd of February, 1695, the High Government at Batavia instructed the Cape Council to despatch a small vessel to Mauritius to take in the supplies left there for the Cape, and also four men belonging to the Marquis du Quesne, who were to be sent to Europe. How they arrived at that island is described in a despatch from Mauritius to the Cape, dated the 30th of September, 1695, and as follows:—

"Some Frenchmen belonging to the Hirondelle—the little frigate of Mons. the Marquis du Quesne—who were left behind on the Island Diego Rodrigo, arrived here in
1693 with a boat made by themselves. At their request we allowed them to remain here until the arrival of the first vessel, providing them likewise with a house and food near the Lodge, in order to prevent them from wandering about and becoming acquainted with the island. They had already attempted to do this, and therefore we forbade them from going out of sight of the Lodge without permission. These traitors, however, could not bear their easy days; but with Jan Fameurs, a soldier of the Company, determined to steal our boat, and with it proceed to Mascarenhas and the French settled there. But Fameurs having betrayed them to the Commander, they were at once arrested. Two confessed, and added that they had intended to bind the sailors on board the vessel to a tree; but two would not, saying that they knew nothing of the conspiracy. Not having the least doubt of their guilt, we had those who confessed placed in irons, and their comrades on an islet distant about an hour from the Fort, on which they have a house and their daily food. There we intend that they shall remain until we can send them over to you.”

Further particulars are given in a letter from Mauritius to Batavia, a copy of which arrived at the Cape in 1696, the despatch from Batavia already quoted being a reply to it. After mentioning what could be done at Mauritius, if the Commander only had the power and the means, it continues as follows:—

“The prisoner Jan Fameurs will be sent over to you as soon as his time has expired. The charges are annexed, and likewise two interrogatories replied to by the two Frenchmen, Jean Tettait and Jacques la Case, with five inventories of the personal effects of the latter. Everything was seized in payment of expenses, and to prevent
them from doing further mischief, as they had a lot of ironwork, smith's tools, files, &c., with which the two who were in irons might have been liberated. All these things (excepting what could not be burnt) have, however, perished in the flames which destroyed the Lodge. The cash owned by J. Tettait was paid into the Treasury, as we had run out of all money. It is to be refunded to him either at the Cape or Batavia. Whatever else has escaped the fire we have transmitted to you. The two who had been ironed, after a time broke their chains, and escaped into the forests. Jacques la Case was captured, but Jean Tettait is still at large. The names of the others sent over by the Swaag are Paul Bennelle, Jean de la Haye, and Le Guage (? Leguat). Robert Anslyn, from Picardy, also leaves in the same vessel. He came over with them from Diego Rodrigo as a servant or boy, and we enlisted him here as a soldier at 8 f. per month. He gave satisfaction, and will be able to tell you how tyrannically and inhumanly they treated him. On his arrival here, he begged us on his knees to deliver him from their tyranny, and take him into our service.

"When the Standvastigheid was lying here, Tettait and La Case presented a petition to her officers, very much blaming the Commander of the island. The latter, therefore, requested the said officers to deliver the petition to you; for it contained, amongst other matters, the statement that they had been deprived of their vessel in which they had arrived here, and which had been burnt by the Commander. But the truth is that they gave it away themselves to one of their comrades, and personally helped to burn it, no Company's servant having had a hand in that proceeding. This will be seen from two sworn declarations of their mates, who during the time of their stay
always behaved as honest people. For that reason they were allowed to leave in the *Standvastigheid*.

"The time-expired servants of the Company, who leave in this vessel—the *Swaag*—will, if you wish it, give you full information regarding the life and conduct of these Frenchmen during their stay here.

"As Jean Tettait, who is still at large, did not hesitate to say that Commander Deodati had compelled him by torture to confess that he intended to seize the sloop, and for that act of cruelty he should be punished as his predecessor, Commander Lamotius, had been; and as this statement is utterly false, we enclose a letter written by the said Tettait to Commander Deodati regarding the sum of 300 f. and a piece of ambergris which he professed to have entrusted to the keeping of the junior surgeon, Hugo van Heel, who was then stationed here. The latter, however, denied that he had ever received anything of the sort, and as Tettait could not prove his plaint by evidence, whilst Van Heel offered to purify himself by oath, we could take no further steps.

"The same letter likewise contains his voluntary confession that he intended to seize the sloop, so that it is self-evident that he had not been forced by torture to say so. It would have been a very wicked thing, if it had been done. But Van Heel was one of the Commissioners appointed to examine Tettait, and he will, no doubt, be willing to give you further information, should he still be, as we believe, at Batavia.

"It will be also necessary to inform you of what occurred between the freeman Claas Jansz. van Wieringe and the Frenchman Jean de la Haye shortly after the arrival of the latter and his fellow-countrymen. One of these, a former mate of the *Hirondelle*, who was one of the party
put on shore at Diego Rodrigo, and who left in 1694 with the Standvastigheid, informed the Secunde Johannes Maurits, and a few days later the Commander Deodati, that his mates were a lot of rogues, who were not to be trusted, at the same time begging that he might be separated from them, and allowed to live alone. At first we thought that he merely spoke in anger, as they were always quarrelling among themselves; but seeing how matters stood, we kept a closer eye on them, and forbade the freemen to buy anything from them without taking a receipt. For instance, when the French were leaving the Zwarte Rivier in their sloop, on their way to the Lodge, they were detained at the north-west point of the island by contrary winds, and accordingly decided to carry some of their goods overland to the outpost known as Noordwyk Vlakte. On the way the freeman Claas passed them, and Jean de la Haye offered him for sale some silversmith's tools and gum brought by him from Diego Rodrigo. Having agreed upon the price, Claas paid the amount, but forgot to take a receipt. At the Lodge he showed the articles to the Commander, saying that one piece of gum had been given him as a present. It looked very scabby and like a rotten piece of bark. He then went away. The same day, however, De la Haye came to the Commander, and asked for payment of the amount due on a piece of ambergris which, as he said, he had unwittingly sold to Claas, stating at the same time how the sale took place. There having been no witnesses, we took his evidence in presence of his mates; but in the meanwhile, Claas, requiring the gum, melted a portion, and found that it contained a piece of ambergris. He at once went to De la Haye, and offered him Rds. 50, if he would not tell the Commander anything about it, and also to pay for the bits
which had been mixed up with the rest of the gum. The Commander, however, heard of it, and seized the whole for the Company. The fire, however, consumed everything. The reason why he made the seizure was because, when the French arrived here, we carefully questioned them about the condition of the island Diego Rodrigo, and whether it produced any ambergris. They had replied that it did not, and we concluded from that, that they had picked it up on the beach here, having wandered about eight or ten days before they found any human beings, and that our own safety required it under any circumstances that they should be prevented from wandering along the shore or in the forest, in order not to spy out everything, as they had always been endeavouring to do. Moreover, it will be found from the petition of De la Haye to the officers of the Standvastigheid that he made a present of the ambergris to Claas van Wieringe."

This is the last narrative connected with the exploring party sent out by the Marquis du Quesne and his brother. Though seemingly of no great interest, I have added it, not only to make the collection as complete as possible by placing before the readers in a few consecutive pages what lies scattered through the Archives in many volumes, but also to show, that there were some undesirable characters among those professing to be refugees; that this may have been one of the reasons why the plans of the Marquis du Quesne and his brother collapsed (see Appendix D.); that the Amsterdam Chamber was fully justified in not complying with the wish of the Rev. Pierre Simond to take down indiscriminately the names of all applicants for a passage, without knowing something definite about their character and ability; that, this rule not having always been rigidly adhered to, a percentage of the fugitives was found not to be of the class required here, and which class caused much trouble to the Van der Stels, both to father and son; and that, as agriculture was the
chief object to be attended to by them here, in order to make the young Colony not only self-supporting, but also an exporter of all kinds of grain, so that naturally viticulture, although brought to such perfection by the father at Constantia, and equally so by the son at Vergelegen—although the latter had but little time left him to show what he could do with the Cape grape—was considered of merely secondary importance; it is not surprising that Willem van der Stel wrote to the directors on the 2nd of July, 1699:—

"We shall set upon their legs the French Refugees who have arrived in the Westhoven, in order to settle here as agriculturists. But as we have already so many of that sort, and some are conducting themselves so badly, and besides do not possess much knowledge of agriculture, and pay very little attention to it, so that already much poverty has been caused among them, and the poor-fund will in the end have to provide for some of them; and the more so, as there are among them old and decrepit people who will be able to do little or nothing here, we would rather see, if you pleased, that for the future we are no longer burdened with such a class of fugitives, but that some Zealand farmers may be sent, who are of an industrious nature and well versed in agricultural pursuits,—should any of them feel inclined to come over to further agriculture here. Such people would be much more suitable, serviceable, and useful."

And if we refer to Arnaud, we find the same class attaching themselves to the second body of Vaudois who, having heard of Arnaud's success, decided to follow his example:—

"On landing at Savoy, the force was also divided into nineteen companies, of which two only were composed of Vaudois, three were Swiss, and the remainder French
Refugees. . . . Dissensions soon arose between the French and Swiss, and at the end of a week, from the time of disembarkation, general confusion was followed by abandonment of the enterprise."

"Their leader, Bourgeois, was charged with rebellion, and being found guilty, was beheaded on the gates of Nion."

Arnaud, while mentioning it, deprecates the whole affair, as "emanating from irritated vanity on the part of the chief, and a lust for plunder on the part of his followers, instead of the patriotic and religious feeling which had actuated the body which he had himself so successfully commanded."
CHAPTER XVII.

I trust that the reader has hitherto willingly followed me through the labyrinth of manuscripts, through which I invited him to accompany me, and that I have, to some extent, succeeded in making him see, as he went along, people who have long passed away, brought back to life again.

He has with me rambled far from the spot from which we started, and the path which we originally intended to follow—although we have never lost sight of either; but as we proceed we shall find that we have gained much, and lost nothing by having done so, and that our zigzag course has served to make us thoroughly informed of matters whose knowledge is simply indispensable if we wish to grasp the period of which Willem van der Stel is the central figure, and which was succeeded by an almost unbroken series of misery, until, in 1795, the arrival of a British squadron in False Bay for ever put an end to an iniquitous mercantile system of oppression and cruelty, and enabled the Colony gradually but surely to advance on the lines laid down for it, when still in its infancy, by its able administrator, Simon van der Stel.*

* I cannot refrain from inserting here the following remarks of Commissioner-General de Mist, taken from his exhaustive report on Cape affairs, when he had been deputed to advise on the course to be pursued after the Colony had been restored to the Dutch by virtue of one of the Articles of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. He says: "A commercial government (pardon the expression) whose primary object is to make money and contribute the most to the general profits of a trading company whose interests it serves (that the annual dividends, and, consequently, the prices of the shares may rise as high as possible); a government which views the prosperity or adversity of the colonists only with a distant and indifferent eye; a government that takes only so much interest in the colonists, as would result from the calculation that they can bring profits to the company, in the same way as the partners in a postal route look upon the prosperity of an innkeeper, in
the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

And to everyone who loves South Africa as his native land, or adopted home, it must especially in these days of great depression and dependence on the resources of other countries, be a source of comfort and of pride to remember that one man at least, no matter how long ago, did set himself to work to make the Colony for its supplies totally independent of the whole world, and that he succeeded.* That by his persistent efforts he converted the barren hills and dales of this Peninsula and of the Paarl and Stellenbosch into fruitful cornfields and vineyards; that everywhere he planted forests and avenues of oaks, which at the present day still testify to his indefatigable efforts and complete success. No one, therefore, when casting his eyes on all these things, the fruits of his genius, and the work of his hands so abundantly blessed by a gracious Prov-

whose stables the postillions refresh themselves and their horses on the way, whilst resting awhile; such a government, we say, may in the beginning be considered as adequate when the number of colonists is small; when they were in reality considered—and it was not necessary then to consider them otherwise—as the 'HOSTS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN TAVERN,' whom it was necessary to patronise for personal convenience; when it was not thought that this fruitful promontory might in course of time, such as it was, and independent of all connections with the East India Company, become a rich portion and possession of the State; when perhaps it would have been ridiculed, if the building of an important town on that promontory had been prophesied, populated by wealthy citizens and surrounded by extensive villages and farms yielding abundance of corn, wine, cattle, sheep, &c. But now that this condition of affairs has in the course of 150 years been altogether changed; now that we have before us a well-established society or societies of more than 20,000 souls, exclusive of the serving classes or natives, the principles of such a government can no longer be applicable. The Inn, formerly of slight estimation, has been converted into an important town, and equally important villages. The citizens have likewise become citizens of the Batavian Republic, and have the right of demanding a government for themselves which does not always rule them only for the profit of a third one, but especially, and in the first place, according to fixed written and fair laws, and on reasonable conditions to be sanctioned by the Sovereign Power, so that their own prosperity may be promoted, and mutual happiness realised.”

* In a placereaat issued on the 16th of June, 1681, he notified that no more rice would be imported, and that, therefore, he warned every agriculturist to sow as much grain as possible.
dence, can refrain from paying a grateful tribute to his memory, for they surround him on all sides and urge him to follow a noble example.

Writing as I now do, beneath the shadow of some of the noble oaks planted by his orders—perhaps by his own hands, but certainly under his own eyes—I think of Stellenbosch, to which he gave his name and which he converted from a lair of wild beasts into a lovely dwelling-place for man, at present with its giant oaks—each softly murmuring his name to the gentle breeze, or loudly sounding it to its fellows in the wild music of the storms—and with its schools of learning, worthy to represent in South Africa—

"The olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic Bird
Trills her thick warbled notes the summer long."

I remember his letters, and find him no stranger to arts and science, or unfamiliar with the language of ancient Rome. I think of the Paarl, and similar impressions are created. I remember Constantia, and feel that he has placed that spot before the world unrivalled for its nectar, which would have gladdened the hearts of the Olympic gods. I think of St. Helena Bay, and find him there discovering and exploring the mouth of the Berg River, one of the loveliest and most fruitful spots in my native land. I think of Namaqualand, and find his name engraved on every bit of ore taken from its mines. I turn my face towards the east, and behold him as the explorer of the coast and country from Table Bay to Port Natal and further on to Delagoa Bay. In False Bay he discovered one of the finest harbours of the world, and called it after himself—Simon's Bay. In Drakenstein a noble mountain likewise bears it, lifting itself on high above the lovely homesteads that cluster at its base, or are scattered over hills and valleys as far as the eye can see. It throws its lights and shadows over meadows, forests, vines, "cornfields green, and sunny vales," seen by the traveller in the open country beneath his feet, or slyly peeping forth from numerous kloofs, even as a child would gaze, half-curious
and half-timid, at a stranger from the shelter of its mother’s arms.

Everywhere I find his footsteps, I find the work of his hands, I find the fruits of his restless brain, his fertile genius. No one has as yet thought of erecting a monument to his memory. Will it be necessary to do so? Has he not erected it himself? One, more “lasting than brass,” of which the voices in the air and the rustling of the leaves all whisper “Look around!”
CHAPTER XVIII.

His son and successor, Willem Adriaan, shared his fancies and his aims. Arrived at the Cape on the 23rd of January (1699), the south-east wind for a while prevented him from communicating with the ship which had brought him, but early in the morning of the 26th, when the wild spirit of the grand old mountain had for a time been laid, he was on the jetty superintending the landing of the many boxes containing the young trees and large collection of various kinds of plants brought by him from Holland, and now carefully conveyed to the Company’s gardens.

On the 13th of February the return fleet arrived in Table Bay, having on board as Admiral and Commissioner for the inspection of Cape affairs the Councillor Extraordinary of India, Daniel Heyns, appointed as such by the Board of Seventeen, no appointment of the nature having been made during the last ten years.

Having laid his papers before the Council on the 21st of February, he mentioned that the Batavian Board had also wished him to examine False Bay, in order to discover whether it would not be safer than Table Bay. It was accordingly decided that he, the Governor, two Councillors, and two of the most experienced skippers of the fleet would on the 26th proceed thither overland, whilst a small vessel would be sent round for service there.

He mentioned that the Indian Government had received information from various sources, and lately from the men on board the fleet under Commander Pronck, regarding the safe anchorage to be found in that bay during the whole year, and not only during March, April, September, and October, when Table Bay is very dangerous for vessels. That Commander Claas Bichon, however, had not carried out his instructions last year (November 30th, 1697), to examine, sound and make an exact chart of that
bay, and likewise draw up a full report on the subject, and that therefore he had been appointed to do so now.

Leaving on the 26th of February, the party returned on the 1st of March, and consisted of Commissioner D. Heyns, Governor W. A. van der Stel, Rear-Admiral Govert Van Vlierden, Skippers Joost Cлаarbout and Evert Doetes, and the Councillors Willem Corssenaar and Jacobus Cruse.

On the first day they went as far as the great circuits caused by the high mountains and the tired condition of their cattle permitted. But on the following day, as soon as they had reached the end of the Sand Valley, they found it necessary to proceed along the foot of a very steep mountain-range, where the roads were so unserviceable and perilous that they were obliged to walk nearly the whole distance, and could only get the wagons over the rocks with the greatest danger and very heavy labour. In the afternoon they were compelled to halt and pitch their tents at the base of those steep hills and below a sand creek. The south-east wind prevented the boat from reaching them, and as it continued blowing as heavily on the 28th, they decided to confine their inspection to a valley extending about three leagues from their camp to beyond Houtbay in a westerly direction, in order to find out whether, in case of need, it would not be better suited for cultivation and fuel, and whether water would be obtainable there.

They found that in the chart of Table Bay various streams had been laid down and marked as fresh or red water, but that they were mere percolations, which would hardly produce a leaguer of water in spite of the best efforts, and that then even it would be necessary to carry the whole over a distance of fully a league.

They found no fuel sufficient to stock one good-sized return ship, and no suitable soil in which to raise vegetables for the sick. Hence they returned to their tents, finding it impossible to do more, and on the 1st of March wended their way back to the Castle. They considered the bay capable of harbouring a few ships, but not a whole fleet. The anchorage was found to be foul, often covered with sand, and as often not, and therefore they
believed that heavy ships, like those of the Company, would not be able to anchor there in perfect security. A report in this sense was accordingly adopted. The reader, however, will hardly recognise False Bay, and more particularly Simon's Bay, from the description given here. It is evident that the party did not proceed much further than Kalk Bay, and were obliged to turn back thence, as there lay before them a steep mountain-range with no level soil between it and the sea, and through which only long afterwards a roadway was cut at great cost and with heavy labour.* Had this not been the case, they would most certainly have discovered the bay whose existence Simon van der Stel had already reported eleven years previously—on the 26th of May, 1688, to the directors—and to which he had given his own name.

But the Commissioner had many other things besides to do. The chief source of colonial revenue at that time was derived from the farming of the liquor-licenses, especially that of Cape wine. Before his time the conditions had been often changed, because so often infringed by the lessees themselves and the smugglers, so that severe losses were incurred by the revenue. In order, therefore, to prevent all fraud and its injurious results, the Commissioner drew up certain new conditions of sale for the wine-licenses which he believed would check all abuses. The license or lease was to be offered to public competition in four parts, each to be bought by a different person, and the four lessees, before being allowed to tap, were to declare that they had not entered into any partnership or contract with each other, but that each had leased for himself alone. They were, moreover, permitted to sell by retail, and for their protection all the existing statutes against smuggling would remain in force. They were

* What must cause the greatest surprise, however, is that, as no boat could reach them, and they evidently never entered one during the whole time of their wanderings in the neighbourhood, that they believed themselves able to judge with any degree of exactness of the capabilities of the bay, or its anchorage, and that the Commissioner could draw up the report which he did. He had no excuse for doing so, or the directors for pretending ignorance of the information communicated to them eleven years previously.
likewise at liberty to buy their wines from whom they liked, and no longer from the Company exclusively, whilst the producers would have the right of conveying their wines from their farms and selling them without let or hindrance.

In accordance with these conditions, although the regular time for doing so—the end of August—had not yet arrived, and in order to see whether his expectations would be verified, the wine-licenses were publicly offered for sale in the presence of the Commissioner, and for the period of twelve months realised the considerable amount of £23,300, Cape valuation, or calculating each guilder as light money and at sixteen pence, £1553 6s. 8d. sterling, or £625 13s. 4d. more than the year before.*

But that the lessees might secure a satisfactory profit after the payment of such a heavy sum, it was above all necessary that they should sell a large quantity of wine, although the ordinary price had been fixed at 1s. 8d. per bottle. For it must be borne in mind that at that time no licenses were issued elsewhere than at the Cape, and accordingly wine could be obtained beyond the Castle limits and in the country districts for very little money and from the producers themselves, all placaten against smuggling notwithstanding; and in spite of the order promulgated in 1693 that the producer was allowed only to sell to the Company and to no one else at the fixed price of Rds. 30, the Company again selling to the wine lessees as much as the latter required for Rds. 100, thus making a clear profit on each leaguer of Rds. 70. No wonder that afterwards—25th of August, 1699—the lessees complained of serious losses caused by their being undersold by the smugglers, who did not hesitate to convey their contraband liquor even into the Castle itself, and sell it there to the garrison and others. To suppress this evil, severe ordinances were enacted (Journal, September 17, 1699).†

* On the 2nd of July, 1699, the Council informed the Rotterdam Chamber that each Rixdollar realised at the Cape forty-eight stivers heavy, and sixty stivers light money, and that it passed current at that.

† In the instructions of Governor S. van der Stel, above quoted, mention is made of the habits of some settlers abandoning their grants,
The garrison, including many stationed in the country and on the vessels, consisted of only 751 men, who never had much to spend, or advances to depend upon, although some of them were so the slaves of drink that they even sold the clothing off their backs to satisfy their ruling passion, thus compelling the Council to issue an ordinance on the 31st of July, 1699, forbidding all under heavy penalties to buy any clothing* from servants of the Company and from slaves, unless they were provided with a written permission; whilst at the same time it was enacted that sellers of liquor were not allowed to give credit, and that sailors and soldiers were not bound to pay any debts so incurred.

The whole adult European population, not servants of the Company, at this period consisted of 414 men and 207 women, the number of male slaves being 536, and of vine stocks 1,654,100.

A large quantity of wine was certainly consumed by the passing ships, but considering the amount paid for the licenses, and the flourishing trade of the smugglers, the consumption must have been enormous in order to leave a margin of profit to the lessees; especially when it is borne

and asking for others. If we refer to the instructions of the Lord of Mydrecht, it will be found that he considered the very large number of small tenements built near the beach and Castle, and occupied by persons selling wine and spirituous liquors, as neither useful nor ornamental, and wished not only that they should be removed, as no buildings were to be allowed on that spot—though no effect seems to have been given to that order—but that the occupants should be sent to Stellenbosch to earn a respectable living there by becoming agriculturists. No satisfactory results, however, seem to have been secured by him, as Cape wine had its attractions and smuggling its great advantages; for on the 17th of April, 1696, the Council decided to inflict a fine of £1000 on every convicted smuggler of Cape wine, and compel him to sell his landed property and proceed to Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, to farm on ground to be given him there; and should he be unable to pay the fine, to condem him to work at the public works for the amount.

* The seller, if found guilty, to be a convict for a year, and the buyer to forfeit Rds. 200 for each offence, and likewise the clothing bought by him. Any officer convicted of this crime would be cashiered, declared unworthy of holding any position whatever in the service, and in addition would forfeit the sum of Rds. 200.
in mind that an entirely separate license was required, and held by a different lessee for the sale of all spirits, such license being likewise annually offered to public competition. This year (1699) it had realised £1027, whilst an additional sum of £459 6s. 8d. had also been paid for the sole privilege of selling European and Cape beer.

But the licensed victualler of that period had, independently of his legitimate profits, also adopted a convenient, if not very honest, method of adding to them, and so covering every conceivable loss. This had already been commented on in 1685 by Commissioner R. van Goens, junior, who, by the promulgation of an edict, endeavoured to remove the evil, but evidently without success, for Commissioner Heyns now felt himself likewise called upon to combat it by the renewal of the same ordinance, and by drawing attention to its heavy penalties.

He says that the Hon. Ryckloff van Goens had to his great annoyance discovered that tappers and other selfish people had adopted the nefarious practice of appraising the coin imported here from the Fatherland far below its value, and only accepted it at a heavy discount, so that the ships' crews and the general public were forced to lose from 17 to 20 per cent. on exchange; that this not only caused bitter complaints, but was directly contrary to the well-established laws of the land; and that, therefore, to prevent the fraud, notice was given to every one calling at the Cape, that all coin which had been issued from the mint of the mother-country had and retained the same value here as in India, viz.:

The golden sovereign was equal to 15 heavy guilders.
The half ditto ditto 7½ ditto.
The golden ducat ditto 5 ditto.
The double ditto ditto 10 ditto.

The silver ducatoon was equal to 10 sk. and 3 st. heavy money.
The three-guilder piece ditto 10 ditto ditto.
The half ditto ditto 5 ditto ditto.
The dollar ditto ditto 5 ditto ditto.
The guilder ditto ditto 20 stivers ditto.
The eight-stiver piece ditto 8 ditto ditto.
The twenty-eight ditto ditto 28 ditto ditto.
The three-stiver piece ditto 3 ditto ditto.
And that all, henceforth offending against this placcaat, would be fined Rds. 25 for the first, Rds. 50 for the second, and Rds. 100 for the third offence, in addition to arbitrary punishment; the Fiscal being at the same time advised to keep his eyes open.

The object which the Commissioner had in view with the new conditions of lease was, as stated in his report to the directors, to establish a permanent revenue equally borne by all for the protection and security of the whole community. He was convinced in his own mind that the Company had the right of levying a tax of some sort to meet its heavy expenses at the Cape, and also that very many irregularities had crept into the leasing system, which required immediate attention in order to benefit the revenue. This object, he thought, could be attained by no longer leaving the wine-license in the hands of one person alone, but by subdividing it into four parts. On the 31st of August, 1698, it had been given to Steven Vermey, freeman, for f.13,875 Cape currency (or £925), with the condition that he alone would have the right to tap and sell; but this arrangement had been found to be a great hardship and injustice to the other citizens; and therefore the Commissioner introduced his plan, which had fully answered his expectations, and, as he believed, would every year produce more favourable results.

It is to be regretted that these too sanguine hopes were never again realised, as means were, as usual found by those interested, to frustrate his object, notwithstanding every effort of the Governor to provide for all contingencies; whilst the conditions themselves finally became a fruitful source of evil to Governor Willem A. van der Stel, and especially to his successor, Louis van Assenburgh, as we shall see further on.

The junior members of the Civil Service at that time

* In July and August of the same year the Town Council of Amsterdam and the States-General issued notices warning the public against the light coin which was circulating in Holland, and was similar to that of the mints of Nymegen, Zutphen, and Deventer, of the years 1690 and 1691. The skillings, supposed to be worth five-and-a-half stivers, really had only the value of three stivers and four penningen.
consisted of sixteen young clerks, who were always busily employed, but unfortunately without a caterer to provide for them, as was the custom in India. Every one therefore had to do the best he could by finding board and lodging with private families. This system, however, was found to be so expensive that the four reals paid them for board were totally inadequate for the purpose, food being very dear, and they having no means of their own to make up the deficiency. The consequence was that they ran into debt in spite of themselves; that some had accordingly no home, and often only a piece of dry bread to eat and a little water to drink, and hence too weak and ill-fed to do the work properly which was required of them. This evil the Commissioner determined to remedy by the appointment of a caterer. He was to be a married man, residing within the Fort, and his first duty was to prevent the young men from running out, and keep them at hand as much as possible, when a great deal of work required their presence at their desks. He was also to lay the table for them twice daily, and provide it with good nourishing burgher food, and at least three times weekly with mutton or beef, viz., at 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. The table was to last half-an-hour.

The young men were to be punctual and to proceed to the table together. Those arriving after the hour the caterer was not bound to serve; they would be obliged to wait till the next meal. The caterer alone would be allowed to draw their board-money, and no unmarried clerks would be permitted to board outside the Fort with any freeman, unless he was the member of a family resident in the town.

They were likewise to behave themselves properly at table, and before and after dinner proper prayers were to be said. Those misbehaving, or taking the Lord's name in vain, uttering abusive speech, or fighting at table, were to be severely reprimanded by the caterer, and if deaf to his admonitions, reported to the Governor through the Political Secretary.

They were likewise not to lodge with any freemen, but in their rooms, and according to their rank, above the
apothecary's warehouse, until the Governor deemed it necessary to make other arrangements.

Twice weekly—on Sundays and Thursdays—they were to receive their rations either of ordinary or Canary wine at dinner, and at the rate of one tankard (liter) of Cape wine, or half-a-tankard of Canary for three persons (Instructions, 1686-1722).

Having performed the duties entrusted to him, the Commissioner embarked in state, and left with the fleet for Europe on the 20th of March (1699).
On Thursday, the 16th of December, 1677, the Rev. Petrus Hulsenaar, who had for less than two years been a beloved minister of religion to the Cape congregation, a man of gentle ways and unassuming habits, departed this life, to the great sorrow of the community, "which," as the chronicler adds, "truly lost a great deal by his death." But as it had already become absolutely necessary to remove the old church within the Castle, its site being required for other purposes, and to transfer to another spot the dead—all of them during their lives persons of quality and position, and buried in the surrounding graveyard, which was much higher than the church itself—the Governor and Council decided that no dead should henceforth be buried there; but that a new site for a church and churchyard should be marked off in the old abandoned garden, originally laid out by Commander van Riebeeck, and for the present merely enclosed with a wall; and that afterwards a neat little church should be built in its centre. For the present, however, it was merely to serve as a burial-ground for persons of position and Europeans of humbler grades, who would be allowed to buy at fixed rates such graves as they required for themselves or their families.

The first person buried there was the deceased minister mentioned, and from that date it became and remained a graveyard for the burial of Europeans until the other adjoining Somerset Road was laid out in the time of Governor Ryk Tulbagh (Resolutions, 21st of June, 1755).*

* The awful number of deaths caused by the small-pox had so filled the graveyard around the church that the Council found it necessary to cover the whole with a very thick layer of fresh earth. Bureau Street, and the portion of Grave Street between Parliament House and the lower end of the square are situated on portions of the old cemetery. Hence the name of Grave Street.
During the stay here of the Commissioner it was brought to his notice by the Rev. Kalden and the Cape Consistory that the old garden had been converted into a graveyard.

The same minister and church officers shortly afterwards, in a memorial dated the 8th of June, 1699, and addressed to the Governor and Council, mentioned that the Rev. Kalden had personally and very strongly represented to the Commissioner the urgent necessity of building a new church, and that the Hon. Mr. Heyns had given the Consistory full authority to do so, the Governor and Council having been strongly urged by him to render the fullest assistance possible, without which any effort of the Consistory would prove futile. The Consistory therefore prayed for the Council's permission to commence the work, at least the wall around the graveyard, and also that they might be declared entitled to the proceeds derivable from graves, bier, and pall. Their request was granted, and not only were they permitted to begin the building, but, as the graveyard was lying open, they were authorised to enclose it with a wall, receiving at the same time the promise of the Company's cordial co-operation.

Hence we read in the Journal of the 28th of December, 1700:

"The foundations of the church (the churchyard being already provided with a good wall) having on examination been found to be very bad and too confined, new foundations were marked off by the Consistory, of a proper depth and width, that a suitable edifice might be raised on them in the form of an octagon; and in order to further this pious work, the Governor (W. A. van der Stel) this day laid the first stone, some of the Councillors following his example."

In the general despatch of the 13th of March, 1699, which accompanied the Commissioner on his homeward voyage, and briefly enumerated the most important events during the preceding twelve months, mention is made of
the wreck of the Company's new ship, Het Huis te Crayenstein, beyond Camp's Bay, near Oude Kraal.

A few years ago a late resident of this Peninsula recovered some of the brass guns and other curiosities, but I am not aware that hitherto much has been known of that vessel or the causes of her misfortune.

On the 28th of May, 1698, the Council wrote to Amsterdam as follows:

"To our great sorrow the Huis te Crayenstein, which left Holland on the 1st of February last, after a quick voyage and without any sick or dead, ran yesterday (27th of May) on the rocks behind the Lion's Head, just below the 'red sand' (Oude Kraal), as the skipper, in consequence of the heavy mist, did not know that he was so near the land. Information of the disaster was brought to the Cape by a French vessel which had picked up the boat with the skipper on board, and was making for Table Bay in company of the Crayenstein. Becalmed during the day, a heavy mist enshrouded her at nightfall, and in spite of every effort to prevent it by casting anchor, the strong current gradually but surely carried her towards the rocks on which she finally struck. Measures were at once taken to send the required assistance, and save the specie and cargo. Out of nineteen chests of money sixteen were recovered, the rest had evidently been broken open and the contents hurriedly abstracted, as was evident from the few pieces found lying about in the saloon and others picked up on shore, showing that the thieves must have carried their booty up the mountain and hidden it there. Tired and exhausted the Commissioners—Secunde Elsevier being one of them—returned, and, having told their disheartening tale, the Governor S. van der Stel decided to pay a personal visit to the wreck. He left on the morning of the 29th of May, but
as the road behind the kloof was impassable to him either on foot or on horseback, and he was already advanced in years, he was obliged to turn back to the Castle, unable to do more than issue the necessary orders."

Regarding the missing money-chests he wrote—

"That two of them were supposed to have been torn from their cleats, and, in consequence of the bumping of the ship, thrown into the gunner's room, and so had slid through the ports into the sea.* The third had been broken open and plundered by some wicked persons, who likewise hacked open the drawers of the saloon tables and threw overboard the ship's pay-books, which were afterwards with great difficulty recovered by the skipper and junior merchant."

The frigate Soldaat stationed here at the time, and fitted out for a slave expedition to Madagascar, was at once made ready to proceed to Batavia instead, with as many of the crew of the Crayenstein as she could accommodate, and with such remnants of the cargo as had been saved. As usual, an investigation was held and the papers were sent to Batavia; but the High Government there evidently did not share the lenient views of the Cape Council, for the following severe verdict was given by its Court of Justice on the 30th of November, 1698:

"Jan van de Vyver, skipper; Jacob Brun, chief mate; François Mortier, junior mate; and Joost van Breen, third watch—all in the service of the Company, and appointed to the Crayenstein, lost through their carelessness at the Cape, are sentenced as follows: The skipper and chief mate are deprived of office, rank, and pay, declared unfit henceforth to serve the Company in any employment whatever, and are condemned each one in solidum to refund

* If this has really been the case, they are most likely lying there still.
the loss of the vessel and its cargo; both to be valued by trustworthy appraisers.

"And should any one of them singly pay the whole amount, the other shall be discharged.

"Jacob Brun (?François Mortier) is suspended from office, rank, and pay for a year from this day.

"All the defendants are further declared to have earned no salary from the 1st of February this year, the day on which they sailed away.

"The other claims of the Prosecutor are not entertained, and the defendants are condemned to pay all the costs.

(Signed by) "Wouter Valckenier, President of the Court of Justice; Daniel Heyns, Vice-President; and W. Ten Rhyne, Isaac Hochepied, Theod. Zas, Johan van Keulen, and Ryckloff Michael van Goens, Members."

Since the establishment of the Colony, the hospital had always been situated near the beach, to the north-west of the Castle, and hence not only in consequence of its unhealthy position, jeopardising the lives of the unfortunate patients, but in times of war presenting a favourable rampart for the enemy during an attack on the Fort. A new hospital, described as a square cross, was accordingly built on the most approved principles of the time; and, judging from the description given by Valentyn, not only one of the most imposing buildings of the little town, but, even according to the testimony of such an unwilling witness as Kolbe, most carefully attended to by the Governor in person.

The regulations for its management drawn up by his father were approved of by the Seventeen, as good and to the purpose (see Instructions, 1686–1722), although some years later considered too cumbrous for practical
purposes by Commissioner C. J. Simons, ex-Governor of Ceylon, who had served here as Fiscal Independent from 1690 to 1694, and who wished them to be simplified. (See his Instructions, 19th of April, 1708.)

But whatever imperfections characterised these rules, both father and son endeavoured by their strict observance to secure the proper care and comfort of the sick, and such a superintendence as would effectually prevent the sufferers from being robbed of their daily sustenance and luxuries. This labour of love Willem van der Stel took upon himself personally, and the testimony that he did so, is the more valuable, because it proceeds from an ungrateful enemy, hostile to him without the slightest cause, and one who had received nought but favours from his generous hands.

One of the grievances against Governor Simon van der Stel a few years later, when the clouds were thickly gathering around the head of his devoted son, was, that he had endeavoured to alter the outlet of the Salt River. It is remarkable that such a charge could have been noticed for a moment, for even if the effort had been completely unsuccessful, or the work intended to be accomplished, impracticable—a question which has hitherto not been settled, because never again considered by competent judges—no serious loss could have resulted to the Company, as he always had labour at his disposal, and liked neither sailor, soldier, nor slave to idle away his time. But in the despatch of the 18th of March, 1699, he gives the reasons for making the attempt, and if he did not succeed, it will be readily granted that he deserved to do so. Many years before his appointment, the elder Van Goens had already started the idea of cutting a canal from Table to False Bay, utilising for that purpose the rivulets on the Isthmus as far as possible. The undertaking, however, was finally abandoned, not because of its impracticability, but because the returns expected would not cover the heavy outlay.

Table Bay has had until lately, and unfortunately so, the world-wide celebrity of being a most dangerous harbour during the winter months. The sad stories of
the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

the shipwrecks and losses of life, as the Archives tell them, are fearful and heartrending; whilst many of those who are alive this day will still remember scenes witnessed by them, as heartrending as any of those contained in the old manuscripts. Without a dock for sheltering the ships, without any funds to build one, with the prospect every winter day before his eyes that suddenly in one moment of time the whole East India fleet, with its precious cargoes, and still more precious lives, might be hurled on the treacherous sands of the Salt River beach—the Company losing its wealth, and its servants their lives, a sight which, to use his own words, "had been often seen ere now"—the idea struck him, because the mouth of the Salt River had been suddenly blocked up with sand—the stream discharging itself into the sea over a rocky ridge—to visit the spot with some of the Councillors (10th of May, 1698) and search for a convenient place for a new outlet, a quarter of an hour beyond the old mouth, and in a line with the wreck of the Hooger Geest. Soon he had the cutting deep enough to enable the boats to sail out and in, and reach a large and shallow land-locked pool, in which light vessels could be easily repaired; and judging from the results achieved, he expected that in times of storms the canal itself would not only prove to be a safe place of shelter for such boats as passed between the ships and the shore, and which, if cast on the beach at the Salt River in a north-western gale, would perish with their occupants; but he was likewise of opinion that heavy floods would eventually so deepen and clear out the cutting that it would become capable of affording shelter to the biggest ships. On the 30th of July, 1698, the Council, at the suggestion of the Governor, considered the necessity of making provision for the protection of all kinds of game, which, as the number of colonists was increasing rapidly, were being indiscriminately slaughtered, wasted, or given away to foreigners. Accordingly a very stringent placcaat on the subject was issued.

Agriculture being now more diligently pursued by the farmers, and more lands sown than ever before, the
Governor naturally concluded that the raising of crops would develop in steady proportion to the increase of the population. But though the seeds sprang forth abundantly and healthily, as soon as the ear developed in the stalk, and the grain was commencing to ripen, they were fatally injured by the many plagues to which the Cape lands are subject; the hard, barren, and parching south-east winds, continuous droughts, scorching heat, caterpillar and smut. (Despatch to Batavia, September, 1699.) Many farmers were therefore unable in 1699 to produce enough grain for bread and seed, for what the wind and drought had spared in the low-lying lands and valleys was later on washed away or drowned by the cold rains which fell towards the end of the year, “when the drought broke up.” About 690 muids of wheat had been sown and 4226 muids reaped, or little more than six fold. The yield of rye had been the same, whilst barley returned about nine fold.

It had therefore become of the utmost importance that the newly-arrived Governor should at once, with his Council, take decisive measures to prevent a possible bread famine.

The returns showed that 3000 muids of wheat had been raised less than the year before, whilst annually 2400 were required exclusively for the garrison and hospital, independent of the quantity necessary for the ships, the people, and their slaves.

The first step taken in Council was to instruct its Commissioners entrusted with the collection of the returns, that they should earnestly advise the producers to rectify the errors made by them, and so spare the Council the pain of adopting measures to compel them to do so. For those times were not like the present, when, in cases of necessity, bread stuffs could be ordered at once from the furthest ends of the earth, and be here in good season. At that time the failure of the harvest meant the failure of the bread supply, and the certainty of a bread famine, without the slightest prospect of being able to meet the emergency by importations from abroad.

It was therefore natural that the Governor and Council,
in order to be sure of a supply on which to fall back in case of necessity, decided to detain all corn passing the Fort, and to distribute two or three muids at a time among such burghers as required them, and further, to prevent fraud, to order that a list of the latter should be framed, and likewise of the quantities brought by them to the mill, that both might be checked, and the wheat on hand economised in the best possible manner, until the following harvest.

But to do so effectively, it was also necessary to forbid by edict the custom which had been imperceptibly growing among some farmers, of distilling brandy from their corn, without previously inquiring whether the harvest had produced enough for the wants of the public. And the Governor was at the time the more justified in doing so, because no corn had as yet been brought from the country, and the granaries at the Cape were empty, whilst the heavy vine-crop, though injured by locusts and other insects, had produced sufficient grape-juice to satisfy even the most unreasonable.

All these precautions fully answered the Governor's expectations, and on the 16th of March, 1699, he was able to inform the directors that—

"He trusted that he would be able to get along with the year's harvest, as according to the (corrected) returns a fair quantity of corn had been reported, and that he hoped that it would be found even larger when the whole had been threshed."

Nor were the directors backward in approving of the course that had been pursued. The placcaat forbidding distillation from grain they called a useful measure, as more grain would in consequence be saved for ships' biscuits, especially when the harvest proved a failure. It seemed to them that the comparatively small quantity of wheat raised, was not to be ascribed to natural causes, but mainly to the small number of agriculturists, and therefore, after having requested the Governor to communicate to them his opinion of the new conditions of
the wine-lease introduced by Commissioner Heyns, they wished him to say also—

"Whether he would like to have more freemen, in order the better to further the work of the Colony; what number would for the present be required, or could find a living there and prosper; what kind of people would be most serviceable, and further to mention any other matter that might favourably affect the Colony and be of advantage to the Company, that they might consider the matter, and make arrangements accordingly."

In January, 1694, the ship Ridderschap had left the Cape for Batavia, having on board Cornelis van der Stel, a son of the Governor. Not being heard of in due course of time, it was at first supposed that, like the Gouden Draak and other vessels, she might have been lost on the shores of the Southland (Australia). Later on, information was received from two slaves who arrived at the Cape in the English brigantine Swift, that she had been wrecked at Madagascar and pillaged by pirates, who, during their stay on that island, had spent a large sum in Zealand dollars. It was also said that a portion of these pirates were Dutchmen, but the majority French and English; and that at the time their number was supposed to have been about 500 or 600 (a few years later, in 1705, it had increased to the formidable figure of 1500 able-bodied men) who had fortified themselves in three different localities. The captain of the Swift also reported that for three years no Arab (slave) dealers had been at Manengare or Magelase, and that therefore the Company might do a good business there, but that firelocks, powder, and flints were required. That Captain Kidd (see Howell's State Trials, 1701, No. 416) was lying with his ship, carrying thirty guns and fully 200 men, in St. Augustin Bay, where he had beached his vessel, having found her unseaworthy, and that he was longing for an opportunity to get away.

Every attempt, however, to obtain trustworthy in-
formation regarding young Van der Stel had failed. One report stated that he was alive and at the court of one of the Malagasy kings, Cin-Cive, * "whose father or kingdom was known as Amosse, or Murosse, the place where the English obtained their slaves;" hence when the frigate Soldaat was despatched thither in 1697 for a cargo of slaves, the officers were instructed to make a diligent search, and to bring back the survivors, whether they were willing to come or not. Another, and a similarly fruitless attempt was made in 1699, when the yacht Tamboer was sent on a slave expedition to the same island, and whose captain, Jan Coin, on his return, gave an interesting narrative of his adventures, a portion of which may well be adduced to prove the adage that "truth is always strange; stranger than fiction."

We give it here briefly:

"Having been ordered to proceed in search of the missing ship De Ridderschap, and obtain information regarding the New Netherland pirates, we left Table Bay on the 2nd of May, 1699, and on the 27th of June following anchored

* The following letter was written to him by Governor W. A. van der Stel:—"Whereas two of your slaves, who arrived here in the English ship Swift on the 11th of January last year, and which again left on the 28th of the same month for New York, informed us that the Dutch ship De Ridderschap had been wrecked on your coasts, and that the English had taken out and transferred the cargo to their own ships, and that my brother Cornelis van der Stel and his slave Damon had been adopted by you, and had the good fortune of daily going in and out of your palace, guarded with nine or ten musketeers of our own nation; and that you were pleased to write twice to my father here—the English ship Swift having taken the last letter;—and whereas neither letter has arrived here, and the news has, therefore, surprised us; and whereas we do not believe it to be a mere fabrication of the slaves; we have, therefore, in order to know the whole truth, sent this vessel to you with the kind request, that, should the case be as stated by the two slaves, and my brother and any of the people be still alive, to send all back to us in this vessel. By doing so a particular favour will be shown to the directors of the Hon. East India Company and ourselves, and we shall ever endeavour to repay you for your kind treatment of our brother as a friend and neighbour.

(Signed) "W. A. VAN DER STEL.

"June 18th, 1699."
about three-and-a-half leagues below the bay Tollinare, where a Frenchman and seven blacks informed us that they had been sent to us by their king, Captain Sannich or Samuel. On the 3rd of July we reached, and anchored in that bay, before the demolished French fort The Dauphin, a pistol-shot away from the shore. I at once sent a letter, written in English, to the king, informing him of the reason of my visit. From information received from various Europeans who had long wandered about in the neighbourhood, I discovered that I was on the right spot as regarded the pirates. Four years ago heavy pieces of wreckage had been washed up on the south side of Madagascar, near the island St. Mary, but no human beings had been seen; whilst about seven or eight leagues to the north of Tollinare Bay, heavy masts had been thrown on the beach, where also fourteen graves had been found; but no one could tell who made or occupied them. This was all that I could discover about the Ridderschap.

"We found the principal rendezvous of the pirates who frequented the Indian seas to be at the island St. Mary, before the bay of Antongil, in about 17° south latitude, and where they could winter and repair their ships. Various Europeans lived there, and were driving a big trade with the ships coming from New York and New Netherland, New England and the Bermudas. On the inner side of the island there is a good harbour, hardly a musket-shot broad at the entrance, with a sandy bottom, and a depth of about six fathoms. There is no fort on it, but forty or fifty guns lie scattered about on the ground.

"In this harbour lay various wrecks of pirate ships, among them those of the Moorish vessels which these free-booters had captured. One was a large ship brought
hither by Captain Colvert, and captured by him on the coast of Malabar, near St. John, about eight or ten months ago. He had beached and scuttled her. She was hardly three years old, and still lay with her masts and yards on high, but with no one to look after her.

"Then there was also the wreck of the ship commanded by the notorious pirate, William Kidd, who had visited the place more than ten months ago, with a Moorish prize laden with piece goods, in order to take in supplies, and buy slaves for the West Indies. He arrived here with a Royal Commission to capture the pirates, but instead of doing so, he adopted the same trade. I had seen him two years ago on the Malabar coast, during a voyage from Persia to Batavia, cruising off Capo de Porcos. He then had two Moorish prizes with him.

"The distance of St. Mary from the mainland is hardly two leagues. Everywhere the anchorage is good. The channel can be entered from both sides of the island without any danger, and just as the wind is at the time. The natives are very quick and daring with their arms, and number about 500. They have an Englishman among them named Edward Welch, whom they call their little king, and who, when the real king falls short in his supply of slaves to the ships, proceeds to the mainland with a number of his black subjects, and there seizes as many natives as he requires, the latter offering but little resistance. Hence he generally returns with a large booty.

"For his own protection, the king has near his house on a hillock, about a mile away from the harbour, a fort enclosed with palisades, and mounted with eighteen guns.

"Six miles south of this island runs the river Bona Walla, whither many so-called privateers, or, if called by
their right name, pirates, proceed to refit, if dismasted in the hurricanes of January and February. It is said that masts suitable for the largest European ships can be obtained there. They are tough, light, and durable, without any knots.

"There are no harbours between this river and Tolli-nare, and there is no protection whatever for any vessel on that part of the coast, which is very rocky, with a dead lee-shore the whole year through.

"I received, in reply to mine, three letters successively from King Samuel, permitting me to take as much water and fuel as I required, and whatever more I might want. The rest he would bring personally when he came down to the coast. He also sent two good oxen for our refreshment, and apologised for not coming at once, as he had to call his great men together in order to take charge of the Government until his return.

"I, however, suspected his delays and excuses, seeing and daily hearing of—as I did—their manner of life; and this distrust was confirmed by two Englishmen who lived here apart, the one named Samuel Wilmot, and the other Thomas Daniels. The latter had requested to speak to me alone. I consented, and followed him to his hut. He there told me to be careful, because there was a conspiracy among the Europeans, of whom King Samuel was the chief, to seize our ship in any way possible. They had taken a solemn oath to be true to one another, and the king was at the moment not so far from us as we supposed. He had 300 armed natives with him, well provided with fire-arms, and many more armed with assegays, &c. He also had twenty Europeans near his person, and fifteen canoes lying ready in a branch of the river Imoer, and not a quarter of a Dutch mile distant from our ship, in
order to surprise us during the night (I did not suspect as much as all this), and if they failed in this, they intended to cut our cables and let the ship drift on shore. The natives would receive as their share everything in the vessel, but the latter itself would become the property of the Europeans.

"We saw the result of these tactics in a ship named the Jacob, commanded by Captain Francis. Her cables had been cut during the night, and she had accordingly drifted on shore, where most of the crew had been murdered.

"In the meanwhile I made the utmost haste to get my fuel and water on board, as quietly as possible, working day and night. And in order to delay the king a little longer, I sent him a present, consisting of a good fire-lock, sword, and umbrella (sammereel) as I did not expect much good from a speedy arrival of himself. At that time I had already heard that he had been captain of a pirate, and still had many of his old crew around him. Three days before our arrival he had been informed that two privateers (pirates) might every moment be expected from St. Mary.

"The two Englishmen further stated that they were not sure of their own lives a single moment, and therefore requested me to take them with me to Batavia. Having so generously informed me of the treason that was being hatched against us, we readily complied with their request, that you also might be able to hear from their own mouths, full particulars of the whole affair. Samuel Wilmot, however, died eight days after our departure.

"This king, or Captain Samuel, only arrived here twenty-two months ago in a vessel called the John and Rebecca,
which had been taken from the French in the West Indies, and brought to New York by a person named Captain Orr, who commanded a ship from New York to the Red Sea, whence he brought a rich prize to St. Mary. Shortly after his arrival there, he died; but whilst still alive, he had transferred the command of his own vessel to Captain Samuel, who shortly afterwards arrived here at Tollinare, but being badly provided with anchors and cables, the vessel was stranded, and the wreck is still to be seen. Now it must be borne in mind that whilst the French were still in possession of the place, many years ago, a Frenchman had a son by the king's daughter, but when they left they took the boy with them.

"This Captain Samuel being well versed in both the French and English languages; a mistix (half-breed) by birth, and from the island Martinico in the West Indies, was washing himself one day when he was seen by some of the natives who noticed certain marks on his body which were supposed to have been on that of the boy who had been taken away. His mother was still alive, although aged. When she heard of it, he was summoned to her, and having been examined, she declared him to be her own son and the true and only heir to the throne. He was easily induced to accept the situation, considering the position in which he was. The great men of the kingdom rallied round him, and commenced a war against the reigning king whom they overthrew. Samuel retained about twenty or thirty of his old comrades as his bodyguard, and was still daily carrying on war against the ex-king, whom he called his younger brother Dimarung Dimera.

"Being now already, as it seemed, tired of his kingly office, having made good use of his good fortune when it
fell in his way, he was now endeavouring to retire thence with a muffled drum* and his trusty followers. No better opportunity offered itself to him than the drum (Tamboer) on his roadstead, which would have served his purpose remarkably well. But during the night of the 8th instant, at 10 o'clock, we quietly weighed anchor and warped ourselves out of the bay, having on board as much fuel and water as would last us for more than two and a half months, so that we silently departed with muffled drum (Stillen trom) long before his arrival.†

“When fairly outside, we decided in Council that nothing more could be done along the coast, as far as our instructions went, and having only two months provisions on board, to sail for Batavia.

“As the life is here of these Messieurs, so is their death. The money and chattels of the deceased are divided pro rata among the community (de gemeynne) of which the king considers himself one for the time being. When the body has been placed in the grave, three volleys are fired over it by the whole community, and even more, should they be well provided with powder and lead.

“The natives in these parts are a very bold and robust people, inhabiting a very pleasant and fruitful country, overflowing, as it may well be said, with milk and honey. We received oxen on board weighing more than five and six hundred pounds. Before this they could be obtained for very little, but the pirates spoilt the price, as now fifteen Spanish dollars are asked for a bullock, which they

* It must be remembered that Coin’s vessel was named the Tamboer, which is Dutch for Drum; he is therefore punning when he speaks of a muffled drum.
† This same king, Samuel, is also mentioned in the narrative of the son of Admiral Benbow, brought from Madagascar to the Cape shortly afterwards.
sell among themselves for little or nothing. It is the same with sheep, for they know of no money less than a piece of eight or a vopya in payment for the least thing which they might be requested to do for Your Honours.

"What a pity it is that such a blessed land should be inhabited by such barbarous nations and subjected to the government of such villains!

(Signed) "J. Coin.

"Batavia, in the Castle.

"November 20, 1699."

He had, however, obtained no tidings of Cornelis van der Stel, and finally, when in 1705 the yacht Ter Aa was sent to the same island for the same purpose, the Governor mentioned in the instructions given to the officers, that various reports had confirmed him in the opinion that the Ridderschap had been lost somewhere on the coast of Madagascar, and that the last piece of information received by him had been obtained from one of the Mauritius garrison, who had heard from one of the pirates that had called at that island that Cornelis van der Stel who had left the Cape in the Ridderschap, with the rank of merchant, had died four years ago—that is, in 1701—having until his death always been near the king, and that the Honourable Councillor Extraordinary of India, Jacobus Couper, who was likewise on board at the time, had been killed by the natives.

No one, however, could describe the place where, or the king in whose dominion the vessel had been wrecked, but all presumption pointed to Antandona, ruled over by king Andian Maits, and situated in 13° south latitude. The yacht was therefore ordered to be sure to proceed thither, the Governor adding that one of the men on board—Jan de Wit—was well acquainted with the locality and its neighbourhood, and would be a trustworthy guide. But the king was not to be trusted, as neither he nor his people wished to trade with Europeans or Christians, but had a decided aversion to them. Every information ob-
tained was to be carefully noted down, and every effort made to discover whether there were still any survivors from the ill-fated vessel, who—if found—were to be brought to the Cape, whether voluntarily or otherwise.

Nothing further, however, was heard about the matter, as with the sudden and unexpected recall of the Governor this mournful episode abruptly ends.
CHAPTER XX.

On the 7th of March, 1699, the Committee of the Seventeen informed the Political Council here that the sheep-wool grown at the Cape was of such a good quality that the Council would do well by sending over a large quantity whenever it had an opportunity, and in the June following the Directors themselves wrote that they had received from the Cape three pieces of sheepskin with the wool attached. One they supposed to have belonged to a Dutch sheep sent to the Cape. The wool on it was fairly soft and serviceable, and of good marketable value. The Directors believed that it might be obtained at 4 stivers the pound, and that there would always be room enough in the return fleet for 1000 or 1500 lbs. They therefore advised the Governor and Council to send home as much as they could obtain on condition that the wool was shorn from the sheep, properly cleaned and well washed, dried and pressed in bales of 200 lbs. each. And they further believed that the price obtainable in Holland would be about 18 stivers per pound, and therefore expected a fair profit from the venture, adding that—

"It was very remarkable that the wool of the Fatherland sheep, sent to the Cape, improved so perceptibly by the change of climate, and that therefore it stood to reason that the wool of the Spanish sheep, should any of that breed be sent, would likewise proportionately improve in quality and value."

In reply, the Governor wrote on the 1st of November, 1699:—

"We shall send you the Cape wool asked for, in as large a quantity as we can obtain. The necessary steps
have been taken for the purpose, and the well-disposed citizens induced to collect as much as possible and sell it at a reasonable price to the Company; although the quantity will not be large at present, as the freemen have hitherto paid no attention to it, because it was never required, and the sheep here do not produce heavy fleeces."

We shall have occasion to refer to this matter more fully further on. For the present it will be sufficient to mention that the Governor used his best endeavours to induce the people to breed wool-bearing sheep, but with hardly any success.

Most of the animals obtainable were bastards, or a cross-breed between the European and Cape sheep, and, as is well known, for slaughtering purposes, preferred to every other kind. It paid the breeder well always to have a large stock of this sort on hand, especially as they suffered less from drought and other afflictions, and were more easily kept in good condition. But they were unfit for shearing; hence it is not surprising that most of the so-called wool sent to Europe at that time, came from their backs, and was rejected as useless and unsaleable, whilst the little real wool shorn from a few pure-bred animals, realised 14½ stivers per pound in Holland. So that the Seventeen were emboldened to authorise their representatives here to buy at 8 stivers.

It proved, however, after every effort had been made by the Governor, to create another condition of affairs, that the farmer's chief ambition was centred in raising slaughtering sheep, and that of the three kinds he found the wool-bearing animal the least suited to his purpose. It was of no avail to tell him that a permanent and comfortable revenue would be derivable from the merino; on that point, like so many others, he clung to his own opinion, and was impervious to conviction. Nor were his prejudices confined to his own times, as it is just possible that they may still exist in more portions of South Africa and to a greater extent than is imagined; for, speaking from my own expe-
rience in the north-western districts not twenty years ago, the prejudice against wool-bearing sheep was so great, that nothing could induce a large number of sheep-owners to exchange their fat-tailed favourites for the hideous-looking mofj, which they professed not even to be able to bear the sight of.

Under such circumstances, the Governor believed that he would act according to the wishes of the Directors, especially after he had received the plot of ground, named by him "Vergelegen," in freehold from Commissioner Wouter Valckenier, by buying up at a certain rate, from such farmers as were willing to part with the few which they had, all the wool-sheep that he could get, and form them gradually into a breeding stock, so that in course of time the Colony might export a large quantity of wool, and a permanent and large additional income be secured to the agriculturist.

He accordingly agreed to pay £.4 for every sheep so obtained; but some owners were only too glad to assist him without stipulating any conditions, except the one, that should his venture be successful, they were to receive the number back again which they had lent. It is immaterial for our present purpose to refer to the number so obtained by him, but that it was his intention to add to the wine and corn industries of the country the growth of wool, is proved by his frequent requests transmitted to Holland for Spanish sheep, and to India for goats from different parts of Asia.*

His requests were partly complied with, some of the animals sent out arrived safely; but when everything was in order to add to the wealth of the community, by the addition of a new source of prosperity, he was disgraced and recalled.

It may be said that his administration was of such a tyrannical type that his recall might fairly be considered to have been of far greater importance and benefit to the community than the advantages which were derivable from systematic wool-growing. Very few, however, would

* See letters received from Batavia, 25th of January, 1706; and letters despatched 10th of August, 1708.
subscribe to this doctrine, even could the charges brought against him be substantiated, as it is the verdict of History that even a tyrannical act is forgiven and often emphatically approved of, when it has been found to be one that purposed to secure, or virtually did secure, a permanent and great benefit to the commonwealth.

Whether he was a tyrant or not will be a subject to be discussed later on—should discussion be found necessary, after the impartial evidence of the Archives has been completely laid before the reader. For our present purposes, however, and in order to show how blind some of the farmers at the time were to their own interests, in spite of every well-meant effort to open their eyes, I copy a portion of a despatch from the Cape to the Chamber of Seventeen, dated the 10th of August, 1708, and written about seven months after the arrival of Governor Louis van Assenburgh, the successor of Governor W. A. van der Stel. It says:—

"Regarding Cape wool, and your opinion of it, you refer us to your despatches of the 3rd of November, 1703, and the 24th of July, 1704, and regarding the result and prices realised by what was sent from the Cape in the Hoedekens-kerke in 1706, to an extract from your auction list, which, however, we did not receive. But from the printed ones of 1706 and 1707 it appears that Cape wool realised in 1706, 24½ stivers, and in 1707, 21½ ditto per pound. We therefore consider the profit to be excellent if compared with 14½ stivers, the price originally obtained in 1702, and which encouraged you to write on the 3rd of November, 1703, that, if wool could be obtained for 8 stivers per pound from the freemen (the price which we charged you), we might send over a large quantity with the return fleet. We would gladly comply, if we could only see that the inclination of the people to sheár was greater than it really is at present. They do not appear to be very easily induced to do so, partly because they
profess that they see no great benefit from it for themselves, and partly because the wool-sheep have been so crossed with Cape, that it will be absolutely necessary to obtain quite a new stock of the former, which must, moreover, be kept separate from the rest. And although it is not very probable that this will be done, unless the people are ordered to do so by placcaat, we shall, nevertheless, endeavour to urge them on in every possible way, as it is so very plain that large profits are derivable from this source for the Company."

The writers might have added "for the producers likewise," but the fact is so self-evident that no comment is necessary. Moreover, we have the evidence of the present day to show that Governor Willem van der Stel was right in using his best efforts to take advantage of the hint thrown out to him by his superiors, to add wool to the few existing sources of colonial revenue, and not sacrifice the public interest in order to protect those of a butcher contractor, his family, or friends.

In the despatch of the 27th of June, 1699, we likewise find that Fiscal Blesius's conduct was approved of for having prosecuted the officers of the Ysselmonde and two other vessels, because they had not kept their consumption books according to the instructions promulgated on the subject. The Court here had condemned them each to forfeit two months pay, a verdict disapproved of by the High Government at Batavia, which had advised the Cape administration henceforth not to interfere in these matters.

It now and then happened that foreign ships, being in want of specie to pay necessary accounts when in port, applied to the Council for a loan or draft on their owners. This request had often been complied with, especially in the case of English vessels, the Council sending the bills home for collection. But on this subject the directors wrote:—

"That you assisted the English ship King William with
f. 1308 light money (£87 4s.), in order to buy refreshments, we do not find fault with; but when we send such obligations to England for collection, they let us run after them for months before they pay, as was the case also with this ship. You should, therefore, as much as possible, avoid making such advances."

The efforts of the Mauritius settlers to produce tobacco, butter, soap, and sugar, and export them to the Cape, were taken as well meant, but evidently not appreciated at the Cape, the producers being informed that a far better quality was needed. But this did not disconcert the freemen there, who had good customers and friends in their English visitors, who made it a rule to anchor in the North-West Harbour, contending, and evidently with justice, that the south-east anchorage, above which the Dutch Lodge was situated, was too dangerous to enter, and seldom afforded a favourable breeze to take a vessel out.

They often, however, made it rather lively for the garrison, whose commander evidently differed from the freemen in their estimation of the good qualities of their visitors. As soon as an English vessel arrived, every one was on the qui vive, and told off somewhere in order to prevent any irregularity from taking place. Some were sent to protect the game and prevent the visitors from shooting any of the harts or wild cattle abounding on the island; others had other things to attend to, and no one was allowed to be idle. But it was labour which produced no fruit, and retarded whatever necessary works were urgently required. It was a happy day for the fidgety commander when he had convinced himself that no trespass had been committed, and he could not suppress his delight at the good conduct of his visitors; but it is most amusing to the reader to witness his disgust and hear his lamentations when, at the end, he found that the departed vessel had carried off a number of freemen and slaves, or unaccountably forgotten to settle a refreshment account. As far as the carrying off of the men was concerned, there
was no reason to grumble, as it was an act of courtesy which for some inscrutable reason one nationality invariably indulged in at the cost of another whenever it had a chance of doing so, especially in the eastern seas, where men were always scarce.

All these, however, were mere minor matters, when compared with the real anxiety caused by the visits of pirates at the Zwarte Rivier, their usual place of call, and where two English freemen, Retson and Roberts, lived. Once a large pirate was wrecked on the island, and in order to get rid of them as soon as possible the commander was compelled to sell them a small vessel, which they enlarged in order to carry them away to Madagascar.

I trust one day to be able to devote a separate chapter exclusively to the affairs of that island; should space and time allow me; for they are well worth reading. In the meantime I proceed to other matters.

Those who are not unacquainted with the farm Zandvliet "at the mouth of the Eerste Rivier"—a farm which, at the time I am writing of, belonged to the Reverend Petrus Kalden, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape, will remember the sepulchre built there by the faithful Moslim, and called the Kramat, or resting-place of a holy man. Every one, however, does not know who he was or why he came here.

His name was Tuanse. He was generally known as Sheik Joseph. Valentyn describes him as a Galeran or Macassar nobleman of very high rank, and commanding influence in Java, Macassar, and the whole Archipelago. He was related to the Royal House of Bantam—having married the sister of the former king—and also to that of Goa, which was the reason why the latter had so earnestly begged the Company that he might be allowed to return from exile with his wives and children, and afterwards, when he died, that his bones might be conveyed to Macassar for burial. Both requests, however, were refused, as the Indian Council feared that if sent back alive he would be a most dangerous enemy, and if his bones were sent to India they would be converted into objects of worship. It was only long after-
wards, when, after repeated and many fruitless applications, his family and friends had been allowed to return to India, that the High Government there wrote that if before their departure they did exhume, and carry the body away with them, no notice was to be taken of it. Hence it is by no means certain that he is buried there still. One of his daughters had been married to the exiled King of Tambora, and remained here with her husband until his recall.

In the Bantam war of 1683, in which the Dutch had sided with the young king, and placed him on the throne—deposing his father—Sheik Joseph had taken the part of the old king, and when the forces of the latter had been dispersed, endeavoured to escape from his victorious enemies and their powerful allies. He was, however, captured by the clever and daring stratagem of a Dutch officer, Captain Ruis, who, ingratiating himself into his favour and professing likewise to be a Mohammedan, and a prisoner in the hands of the Dutch, persuaded him to surrender. Until the year 1694 he had been kept a prisoner at Ceylon—evidently not a very close one—when he was sent away to the Cape, in the Voetboog, with forty-nine of his followers, as the Dutch feared that he might again cause them much trouble; for, as soon as he had arrived at Batavia, he was worshipped as a saint by the natives, who even “most reverentially picked up as a holy relic his Sapa or the pinang which he spat out, after having chewed it dry;” and likewise looked upon him as a man in every sense far above his fellow-creatures. His wives—the name of the chief of whom was Karakonta—his children and retinue, all accompanied him to Zandvliet, and were kept there at the Company’s expense.

But the Council here, having to advance the money for his maintenance, was by no means pleased with the heavy outlay. Hence they wrote on the 1st of July, 1699, to the High Government at Batavia:

“On the 23rd of May, this year, the Mohammedan priest, Sheik Joseph, who had by your orders been sent hither in
1694, with forty-nine followers, in the flute Voetboog from Ceylon, departed this life. Until the end of August they and others of their kind have cost the Government in pay and maintenance f. 24,421: 12 sk: 12 st.; or, including this year's outlay, f. 26,221: 12 sk: 12 st., a heavy burden indeed on our revenue. Besides, these Mohammedans are multiplying rapidly, and increasing in numbers. However, as Joseph is now dead, we beg you to find a proper method by which to release us from his adherents and their heavy expense, and also that we may in future be exempted from such people."

This request was but a reasonable one, considering the small number of European residents in comparison with that of their slaves—a danger forcibly pointed out by Simon van der Stel, as we have already seen. It was again and again made, and especially by Governor Ryk Tulbagh; but although orders were in consequence sent out to India by the Seventeen no longer to burden the Cape with political and other prisoners to the extent to which it had been usual to do so, and, if possible, to send none at all, it does not appear that practically they were ever carried out; and hence the Colony continued to receive a large number of undesirable residents from Batavia and Ceylon until the Cape fell away in the year 1795 from the East India Company. But, evidently according to the rule that a "fair exchange is no robbery," the Cape had likewise the right of sending to India such of its population as had either been convicted of crimes or whose removal was considered necessary or expedient by the authorities.

* The statement that the first Malay arrived in the Colony in the yacht Haes, as mentioned in the Chronicles of Cape Commanders, pp. 54-55, is incorrect. The prisoner there referred to, as exiled to the Colony, was a Chinaman who had been convicted of the crime of murder, but whose sentence had been commuted by the High Government at Batavia into penal servitude and exile at the Cape for life.
But here I pause awhile. I find that I have already exceeded the space allowed me for this first series, but should what I have written be kindly received, and considered of sufficient interest, I shall be prepared with a second. In the meanwhile I thank the reader for his company so far.
APPENDIX.
(Page 4.)

Extract from Resolution of the Council of Policy, dated Tuesday, 12th November, 1782.

"The Governor submits the following Memorial from the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, dated 4th November, 1782: 'That already more than fifty years ago the request had been made that the old burial-ground surrounding the old church might be appropriated for a garden for the minister—that, however, in consequence of a wrong conception of some of the residents (who, however, have long since departed this life, but at the time prayed that whereas their ancestors and blood-relations were buried there, their bones might be left untouched), the Governor and Council had been pleased for the reason adduced by them, and likewise, because at that time there was still sufficient ground in the village independent of the graveyard, for Erven and Gardens; to order that the said graveyard should be left untouched—that however present necessities require it that, in order to promote the prosperity of the village by increasing the number of its residents settled here for the purpose of making a living, more Erven should be given out or sold; that no more suitable ground for the purpose could be selected than the old graveyard, which, if left uncovered with buildings, would remain of little or no use to the district and the Church—that therefore the Memorialists, after having communicated with the Church Council on the subject, had considered it advisable (best geacht) to divide (subject to Your Honour's approval) the said old graveyard, which is at present no longer used, into separate Erven for the purposes aforesaid, and to sell them for the benefit of the Treasuries of the district and the Church; with the exception, however, of the site on which the old church stood, on which there may perhaps still be some private or hereditary rights (Erfjaven), in order to avoid all disputes that may result therefrom, and further to enclose that old site with a wall to be built on the foundations of the old church, in order to separate it from the Erven
Appendix.

mentioned; that Memorialists had likewise decided to notify by advertisement to all those who might have vested rights in, or lay claim to any family vaults, that they were to report themselves to the Landdrost with proper evidence in support of their claims, within six weeks after the publication of the notice; but that no one had within that time submitted any claim or proofs in support of any, and that therefore Memorialists humbly requested that it might please the Governor and Council to authorize them to subdivide the aforesaid old graveyard into building allotments, and sell it in that manner to the highest bidder for the benefit of the District's Treasury and the Church.

"The Council having considered this Memorial decided to comply with its contents, expressly stipulating however that the wall, as mentioned in the Memorial, shall be built up, in order to keep the site of the old church intact."

When I was very young indeed, and people delighted in ghost-stories, and, what is more, sincerely believed in them; I could not—as I saw, in my boyish mind, no reason why I likewise should not believe what the old people then told me—conceive why "in the witching hour of night" a certain Landdrost (dead, of course) was said always to ride around the church at night on his white horse, surrounded by his pack of hounds, and why he did not select a more convenient and less confined spot for himself and his hunting-pack. It was said that he could not rest in his grave, because of something or other that he had done, and that he had, one day or night, I am not quite sure, communicated what it was to the minister, who, however, had positively refused to reveal the secret. Grown older, however, and fully appreciating the important bearings of a legend among what was a hundred years ago a simple, and, for the greater part, unlettered community, but, at the same time, one imbued with deeply religious principles, and the conviction accordingly, that the desecration of the graves of the dead, as effected by the sale of the old graveyard, could not but be looked upon by God, as it was looked upon by the community, which had no power to prevent the sacrilege, otherwise than as a sin of the deepest dye; I came to the conclusion that that nightly ride took place because it was supposed that the Landdrost, having disturbed the resting-place of the dead, was not allowed to rest himself, and that accordingly his nocturnal ride around and among the tombstones of the churchyard was certainly not one which he might be considered to have at any time enjoyed with any degree of satisfaction to himself. And I have purposely made reference to this subject here, because the graveyards of the metropolis having been closed, the question at once arises, what will one day be done with them, and the corpses which they contain—many of the latter being enclosed in imperishable teak-wood coffins?
An act of gross Vandalism was committed when the old Dutch Reformed Church was broken down some fifty years ago, and all the graves within and around it levelled like a threshing-floor—when all the tombstones were removed and carried off or thrown away—when all the hatchments and other interesting monuments of the past similar to those still preserved in the old Wolvendal church at Colombo, were pitched aside as so much useless lumber, and of which I succeeded in saving merely a few of the less important ones. It was likewise an act of Vandalism when the old graveyard of Stellenbosch was converted into building sites and sold; and therefore it is a pertinent question to ask, whether the same fate is awaiting the graveyards adjoining Somerset Road? Should no timely steps be taken, the same results may be confidently expected; and those who have a proper reverence for the "Acres of God," will again be grieved by the deplorable sight of further desecrations in the capital of South Africa, of the resting-places of the dead.
APPENDIX.
(Pages 45 and 47.)

Admiral du Quesne, Jun.

After I had already placed my manuscript in the hands of the publishers, I received an important communication from the venerable keeper of the Archives at the Hague, for which, and for other pieces of valuable information so kindly and readily sent me, I am sincerely grateful. Mr. Van der Berg informs me that there is no evidence among the Archives to show that a number of fugitives—eighty families—arrived here under the leadership of young Admiral du Quesne, so that his reply settles the question as I submitted it to him. At once, however, another arises, namely, whether, although Du Quesne did not personally conduct the fugitives to the Cape, he might not have been one of the originators of the scheme, and, although taking a deep interest in it, have purposely kept himself as much as possible in the background, in consequence of the very delicate position in which he was placed as an officer in the service of Louis XIV., from whom no friendly relations with the Netherlands could ever be expected? It must be borne in mind that he was well acquainted with the Cape, and could supply the fugitives with most important information, and, as the Archives mention, he had always been on the most intimate terms with Commander Simon van der Stel. The fugitives wanted a home; the Colony required agriculturists, viticulturists, mechanics, and other useful kinds of emigrants, and could suit itself famously with the homeless French. Hence it is not improbable that a French Protestant, who knew India so well, would suggest the Cape as a suitable home for his fellow-religionists who had been expelled from their own country. Moreover, when we consult the circular, published by the Marquis, regarding the capabilities of Mascarenhas for colonization, it becomes very evident that he must have obtained his information from some person fully acquainted with the place, and one able to judge of its superior advantages. And why might not that person have been Admiral du Quesne, the cousin of the Marquis?
Last year there were published at St. Helena copious extracts from the records of that Island, compiled by the late Hudson Ralph Janisch, Esq., C.M.G., and Governor of St. Helena, a copy of which has been kindly placed at my disposal by W. Rawbone, Esq., of this city, and from which I have taken the liberty to extract the following:

"After divers attempts to make some profitable productions on the Island, we have at length fixed upon the planting of vines and the making of wine and brandy, which all men, of whatsoever quality, that ever were upon the Island that we have conversed with, do unanimously agree to be a feasible attempt. We have agreed with Captain Poiryer upon terms contained in his instructions. He is an honest man, and lived formerly in great plenty upon his own land in France, where he made 200 or 300 hogsheads of wine and brandy per annum. But being a Protestant, he was driven from all he had in France by that violent persecution which hath caused us to make the conditions of his entertainment the more reputable as to his own person. All the Vineroons that go with him are likewise French Protestants, but we must tell you the French are excellent servants if you keep them under and hold them sharply to their duty, but are apt to grow insolent and negligent if they be not held to their work as they are in France—and if you give them ear, they will not leave craving and asking, against which troublesome humour you must arm yourselves irresistibly if you expect to have any quietness with them.

"Mons. Poirier, as you will see in our instructions, is for his great reputation to have place at our Council, when he is at the Fort, and to have the appealacon (appellation) of Captain, though under the pay of a sergeant. He speaks little English yet, but we hope he may learn more in his passage, and that by the time he comes
to St. Helena, his sons may be perfect in our language."—Letter
from the Court of the Directors of the English East India Company
to the Governor and Council at St. Helena, 15th April, 1689.

"Captain Stephen Poirier, three sons and five daughters, Samuel
de Fountain (?de la Fontaine) and nine other French Vineroons
landed from the ship Benjamin."—Journal, 6th January, 1690.

"Matthew Pouncey availing himself of the permission to go to
Bombay (being one of the condemned) offered his land called
Pounces to the Government, which they gladly buy, being con-
tiguous and abounding on part of the Company's great plantations,
and there being a good quantity of provisions on it, a good supply
towards the maintenance of Captain Porryr and family."—Journal,
16th January, 1690.

"Governor Kelingie died this day, Tuesday. Captain Poirier
(having previously been Deputy-Governor by succession, and not
only placed in the Council by the Company, but elected to succeed
to the post of Governor of the place) in a private Council meeting
held on the 26th June, 1694, at which meeting there were present
Governor Kelingie, Poirier, and three Commanders of ships—in case
Kelingie should die—and the said meeting having beforehand con-
ferred with all the officers of the garrison, acknowledges that it has
been the pleasure of Providence to order things so as to bring the said
Governor Stephen Poirier unto a station which he doth acknowl-
dedge is far beyond is desert, and considering that the said place is
of a weighty and great moment for one person only he hath desired
Mr. Thomas Goodwin to be his assistant."—Journal and Resolution,
30th November, 1697.

"Governor Poirier records a complaint against Captain Bright for
giving him many ill words in presence of Sergeant Field and
Corporal Maxwell. Notwithstanding the good character the Com-
pany is pleased to give me by their instructions brought with me,
likewise the commission they have honoured me with, he told me
when I came here I was but a Vineroon, and that I have been
hunged in France in effigies, and that it was not for Religion's sake,
but for Treason or Rebellion—of which slanderous words I do
appeal to my Right Honourable Masters to do me justice—such
words tending only to contempt and to slight me, and to withdraw the
people's hearts of this Island from me, and so consequently to come
to dangerous consequences, and to combine with the French, whom
all Europe knows, they boldly both in words and writing do what
they can to hide such horrid persecutions (if they could) from all
good men."—Council Minute, 29th April, 1700.

"Captain Bright refuses to come into the Fort after the Governor
had set the watch and Centreys within and without the Fort, being
nigh 11 at night. At 12 o'clock Captain Bright came to the
Fort, but I would not lend the keys to humour him. When I went the grand rounds he did not fail to stop me, drew his sword, set ye point to my breast, swearing and cursing me, said he would have the word—I did answer him that I did not know him at that post, and that I ordered one Captain Bright at 11 o'clock to come to his lodging within the Fort, but refusing to come I could not know him then: after many flourishings of his sword, cursing me, he went away—so submit to my Honourable Masters whether such proceedings are lawful or no."—Council Minute, 12th May, 1700.

"Mr. Goodwin refuses flatly to obey the Governor's order, to reckon with three soldiers who had been enlisted by the Governor, but finally consents on finding the Governor would borrow the money under protest at 8 per cent."—Council Minute, 7th July, 1700.

"Captain Bright dismissed by the Company and Captain John Fowlis sent out as Deputy Governor in the hope that he and Mr. Goodwin will co-operate with our Governor."—Letter from the Court of Directors, 6th October, 1701.

"Great increase of drunkenness—Governor Poirier's Proclamation—said vices have brought and will bring again on this Island the judgment of God Almighty. We forbid all assemblies upon what account soever to be held at any house whatsoever past 10 o'clock in the evening, whether it be shipping time or not. Every inhabitant to repair to their own House immediately after Taptoo, which shall be henceforth beaten, but at tenn of ye clock."
—Council Minute, 26th August, 1701.

"Our present Governor's continued care for discountenancing vice, and promoting virtue we very well approve and earnestly recommend to all of you to lay your shoulders heartily to so good a work, as you expect the Divine protection and blessing, and our favour. When those in authority set a good example the reformation of their inferiors is therefore rendered much more facile. Your care for keeping the Lord's Day we approve, but you must at the same time remember that works of necessity and mercy are allowed at all times, so that when any ships are in danger of losing their passage, or otherwise straightened in want of time, they should not be restrained from fetching water or other refreshments on ye Lord's Day, nor on ye other hand ought they be allowed to do any service work on that day which can without prejudice be deferred to the next."—Letter from the Court of Directors, 16th April, 1701.

"Doctor John Kerr, the chaplain, a most dangerous man, and was always getting people by the ears worse than ever Mr. Humphrey was—had boasted that he came here on purpose to ruin the French Rogue and Refugee—meaning the Governor.

"Mr. John Alexander, Clerk of Council, informs the Council that
drinking Punch with Doctor Kerr, in company with the Sergeant and Corporal, Dr. Kerr abused the Governor, saying that he stood up in church, in time of Divine Service, like a French Hogonot proud fool (and, I think, Rogue too), when he ought to have kneeled down to make his confession. Moreover said, he had gotten the copy of a letter that the Governor wrote to the late Deputy-Governor deceased; and that he had sent one copy to the Archbishop of Canterbury and another copy to the Bishop of London, for he had wrote very reflectingly of them, especially of the Bishop of London, and said further that he had done the Governor's business for him and was sure he would be turned out when the next ship comes from England.

"Dr. Kerr accuses the Governor of disloyall words in having said 'that the Royal race of Stuarts were an unfortunate family and never did any good for England.' 2nd. 'That the Parliament of England did very ill in choosing Queen Ann to be Queen of England, for she, being a woman, could not head the Army or Confederacy, and the Parliament had better chose the Prince of Hanover to head the Army and Confederacy.' 3rd. This deponent also swears that the said Governor said, 'If I were as Prince George, if they did not make me King, I would go over to Denmark and never see the Queen again.'

"Dr. Kerr calls John Oswald for proof. Oswald says that in a conversation about Oliver Cromwell, where the said Cromwell was called Usurper and Traitor, the Governor said, 'that those things might be let alone, for when he was alive no man durst say so.'"—

_Council Minute, 10th February, 1703._

Dr. Kerr made everything as uncomfortable as possible for the Governor, who had the further misfortune of not long afterwards beholding two French vessels under Dutch colours cutting out from the roadstead about 10 o'clock in the morning two valuable English East Indiamen, the _Queen_ and the _Dover_, and afterwards being severely censured for the loss by the Directors, who write as follows: "We must say that you are infinitely to blame in your management, and we wonder you can have the assurance to write to us that had not Mr. Dolben told you that there was no French ship in India, you had not been so secure. Is that an excuse, think you, to be given to us? We think rather it deserves the severest censure. We are also told that our Governor has been unaccountably careless about the Fortifications; that the spunges are not fit for the guns, that there is scarce rods for the guns, and when the Governor has been friendly told (by) us to remedy such things he abuses people for their kindness. What satisfaction can be given us for his miscarriage; does he think it enough to throw the blame on others which so probably is his own?" &c.—_See Despatch, 20th December, 1706._
On the 26th August, 1707, the following is minuted: "The Governor indisposed in the country since the 12th August. On the following day the Journal mentions that he was taken speechless, and continued so almost to the very hour he died, which was on Monday night, the 8th September, 1707, having lingered a long time of a dropsical distemper."

"Governor Poirier’s will, after the usual preamble, begins thus: ‘I give thanks to my God for the miraculous means of which He made use to withdraw me out of my house in France. Protesting that there was no human means in it, and that I heard His only voice, when the Judges sent to take me (in allusion to his troubles in France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes), saying, Come out hence, come out hence—which I did to their confusion, and so I came out from under the slavery of Babylon. I give Him also my most humble thanks for having provided me an Azile protection and entertainment under good and auspicious Masters, the Right Honourable English East India Company, although loaded perpetually of trouble and vexations by traitors and unjust enemies, only because I never sought but the good and advantage of my illustrious masters. God grant he lay not their sins to their charge.’"

His successor, Governor Roberts, does not appear to have had a very high opinion of him—although it strikes the reader of these records that there were never at the same time more than about two people on friendly terms with one another on the Island—for he says in his despatch of the 1st December, 1710: "Had Governor Poirier done anything to prevent the Island going to Rack and Ruine, we should have the less need of hands, and our labour and time been employed to much better service. Whatever service that gentleman had done is a secret to every soul upon the Island."

The Venerable Bishop of St. Helena, whose extracts from the Records I have embodied in the preceding lines, further mentions that he has been unable to find any account of Governor Poirier’s family, and thinks that it is probable that they left the Island after his death, and likewise that the cultivation of the vine was soon discontinued as unsuccessful.

This Collection of Records is a most valuable publication, and throws a broad stream of light on the character and proceedings of the English East India Company which cannot be read without great benefit.

Regarding the condition of affairs at the Cape in 1795, it says, 20th May (1795): “Detail of proceedings relative to an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Pringle, the Agent from the Secret Committee, lately come down from the Cape, gives information that the garrison of the Cape consisted of about 1000 regular troops; that Colonel Gordon, the Commander-in-Chief, was well disposed.
That if the Dutch at the Cape had received information of the French having overrun Holland, they would turn out Gordon, and put in Democrats in command. But if Colonel Gordon was supported in time, the garrison might be got to join us, and so save the place, and get possession of the Dutch East Indiamen at the Cape (14 in number). Arranged that H.M.S. Sceptre and some of the Indiamen here, with a reinforcement from the garrison, should proceed at once to the Cape, viz.: 300 men from the garrison, two field-pieces, and two chests of Treasure, about £10,000. On the 1st June the Expedition embarked and [was] ready to sail for the Cape, when the Swallow arrived from the Cape, and gave information of the despatch of a fleet of Dutch Indiamen from the Cape for Europe. Captain Essington, of H.M.S. Sceptre, proposed to delay the departure for the Cape, and to cruize to windward for a few days for the Dutch fleet, which was agreed to. At the close of the consultation, a signal was made for the arrival of the store-ship, and the Governor, by her, received intelligence from Admiral Elphinstone, who, with Commodore Blankett, were gone on an expedition to the Cape. Orders were then given for disembarking the Treasure, the two field-pieces, and the Regimental Band of Music. On 10th June the Dutch ship Hushley was brought in as a prize by the Swallow. On 16th and 17th June the Sceptre and the other ships returned, viz.: General, Goddard, Asia, Busbridge, and Swallow, with seven large Dutch ships seized to windward, which were all that had yet been seen of the Dutch fleet.

July 6.—Arrived, H.M.S. Sphynx, from Cape, with letters from Admiral Elphinstone, requesting as many men and artillery as Governor Brooks could spare, with a supply of silver; also one from General Craig to same effect, observing that, as "I have no more troops with me than could be brought on board H.M. ships in addition to their complement, the number is so small that no augmentation of it can be so inconsiderable as not to be acceptable. I have not a single gun or artilleryman with me. I shall be very much obliged if you can spare me a couple [of] six-pounders and a howitzer, with the necessary ammunition and artillerymen."

July 11.—Troops sent to [the] Cape in the Armiston, 11 officers, 400 men, two 12-pounders, two 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, one howitzer, and two chests of treasure, £10,000. Captain Francis Seale, senior.

July 13.—[The] Orpheus returned to the Cape with a further sum of £5006.

July 20.—The Malays taken in the Dutch prizes formed into two companies of artillery, to do duty on the Line.

September 12.—Admiral Elphinstone to Governor Brooks. "Had received the reinforcements by Orpheus on the 5th August, and by
the Armiston on the 9th August. On the 7th we attacked the Dutch camp at Myseemerg (Muizenburg); the enemy fled immediately. General Craig will proceed to Cape Town as soon as may be prudent."

October 12.—From Admiral Elphinstone. "Cape had surrendered on the 16th September. Thanks to Governor Brooks, Captain Seale, and officers and men of the St. Helena Corps."

From General Craig. "Your St. Helena friends have had their share of our fatigues and hardships, and have acquitted themselves as you would have wished. Captain Den Taafe has been wounded."

November 2.—Cape detachment returned in the Earl Howe on [the] 29th October, Captain Greentree in command.
APPENDIX.
(Page 128, note.)

Life on Board a Dutch East Indiaman two hundred years ago, and the Class of Men taken into the Service of the Company.—From Christophorus Frikius's Voyages to and through the East Indies (1680).

"Before the ship leaves Holland a general muster takes place, when every one on board and in the service receives two months' pay. Full pay, however, only commences when the buoys are passed, and which are about the distance of a German mile from the land. From that moment the Company is obliged to pay all salaries, and cannot recover the two months' pay advanced to the men, whether the Fleet proceeds to Sea, or is driven back by contrary winds. It often happens that the ships not only return into Port, but should the wind remain unfavourable, are detained there a long while. Yea! in winter the waters are frozen over completely, so that no vessel can move for many weeks. Under such circumstances the crews are dismissed, in order to reduce the daily increasing expenditure.

"Should however the wind be favourable and the Fleet two or three days at sea, everyone on board receives as a present from the Company five Dutch cheeses. After that all the men doing sailors' or soldiers' duty are mustered on the quarter-deck, excepting the boys who clean the ship and mind the fowls and pigs, and all those who are exempt from mounting guard or sharing in the watch. Both officers and men are bound to appear. They are then divided into two companies, or so-called Quarters, that each one may know his place in the ship, in order to be of service in case of necessity. The one is called the Prince's Quarter [Watch], and the other, Count Maurice's Quarter. The names of the persons belonging to these two watches are written on two separate lists, which are affixed to the Mizen mast, that everyone may be able to see to which he belongs, and be at hand when it is his turn to take part in the watch."
"The Prince's Quarter takes the first turn, and is therefore often likewise called the First Watch. It is summoned and set by the Provost. Each watch lasts fully four hours, and always consists of different persons, so that whoever has been on the watch remains free for a time, whilst another bears the burden.

"The Count Maurice's Quarter has the second watch. It is also called the Dog Watch. On the vessels there are small bells, which can be rung or made to strike the time. They are rung for the first time after the first watch has been set, and which has been summoned by the Provost, who forbids all from appearing drunk, and reminds them of the punishments enacted for that offence. There are likewise Sand-glasses of half an hour. Both the sentries and the watch can easily see them. As soon as the glass has run out, or the first half-hour elapsed, the bell is struck once; when it has done so a second time, the bell is struck twice, and so on, until the glass has run out eight times, or four hours have elapsed. Then the bell is rung, and another officer at once appears with his Quarter. All are awakened by the Quarter Master, who goes below and loudly calls out the names of those who are to go on watch, and after that he relieves the previous one.

"One or two men are likewise to keep watch on the mast; but the soldiers proceeding to India are exempt from this duty. When, however, they return home from India they are bound likewise to take their share in this duty, equally with the sailors; but should they be prepared to expend the half of Rs. 25 for the purpose, they may buy themselves off, no matter how long the Return Voyage may last.

"When there are many sick on board, the healthiest Quarter is subdivided into watches in the best way possible.

"Should a storm arise, and it become necessary to shorten sail or to tack, so that the ship must turn every two hours, every hand must be stretched forth to help.

"Should any one neglect his watch, or fail to keep it at the right time, he receives as a punishment a hundred blows with a thick rope on his posterior. Whoever stays away from the morning and evening prayer, must by way of a fine leave his wine and brandy to others. Prayers are read regularly every morning and evening, when likewise one of the Psalms of David is sung in the Dutch language. For that purpose everyone on board receives a Psalm-book as a present from the Company.

"Every one is likewise admonished, and forbidden to smoke below during the night or unseasonable hours, as a spark might easily fall into a hammock—which is always made of fine cotton—and a fire be caused. Otherwise smoking is allowed. On deck there is always a square box (Bak), having in the middle a wooden bar,
around which ten or twelve fathoms of match are continually rolled. Everyone, therefore, can always find fire to light his pipe.

"When the third watch is set, one of the number is obliged to awaken the cook, who is bound to have the victuals ready when it has become daylight, and morning prayers have been said. Food is supplied thrice daily—in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. In the morning, when the ship's company meet for prayers, the bell is always rung, and everyone receives the tenth part of a measure (kan = litre) of brandy. The Dutch call it a **Mutsje**, and it contains as much as a small wineglass.

"Every Saturday every man likewise receives five pounds of biscuit; a **mutsje** of sweet-oil, two **mutsjes** of vinegar, and half a pound of butter. With this he must be satisfied during the following week. For the rest he has every eight days three times meat and pork for food; viz. on Saturdays and Sundays, three-quarters of a pound, but often it is stuff that has been lying in the salt for four or six years already, and when boiled hardly weighs half a pound.

"After the vessel has left Europe, beer is distributed among the crew, as long as it lasts. But when the casks are empty, every person merely receives a litre of water daily, and this distribution is very liberal, compared to what one receives at some places after his arrival in India. He receives no other drink than water, and in much smaller quantities. For that reason water is so carefully treasured that it would be more tolerable to rob a person of a hundred guilders than of his allowance of water.

"Strict justice is likewise maintained on board. When one has wounded another with a knife or other instrument, he is obliged to hold his hand against the mast. Upon that the barber (surgeon) takes a small or large knife, as the case may be, and fixes the hand with it to the mast; sometimes through the flesh just at the top of the finger, and sometimes right through the hand, according to the magnitude or otherwise of the offence. Then the culprit is obliged himself to pull his hand through the knife. Whoever has struck an officer or the commander-in-chief of a vessel, is without mercy keel-hauled three times. He is let down on one side, and drawn up on the other. Should no care be taken to let him sink sufficiently deep, he would inevitably strike with his head against the keel or the bottom of the vessel and be killed. This is called keel-hauling. Moreover, the Provost possesses great authority. Whoever lays violent hands on him on shore, loses his hand, whilst at sea he is keel-hauled. A few heavy weights are attached to his feet, and a sponge filled with oil is bound to his one arm, in order to enable him to obtain some air. The depth of the vessel in the water being known, he is let down on one side of the ship, pulled
through beneath the keel, and hauled up on the other side. This is done two or three times, as I have seen myself.

"Playing for money is very rigidly suppressed. By day the games of back-gammon and draughts are allowed, but cards and gambling for money are strictly forbidden, and the Provost looks after this very particularly. On their voyage to the Indies the soldiers are daily exercised in arms by those who have already been in India, or are practised drill-masters.

"I will add here how a voyage to East India may be conveniently effected, and without great expense. Whoever desires to proceed thither, will find sufficient opportunities by the Dutch, English, French, and Portuguese ships. The Dutch vessels are, however, the most suitable for a German, who accordingly proceeds straight to Amsterdam, a town justly deserving the name of being the proper High School for all, and especially the East India voyages. The Dutch proceed annually to the East Indies at three different times, viz. in April, September, and December. No one, however, who is not in their service will easily succeed in obtaining a passage. He is, at any rate, bound to be subject to the Company during the outward voyage. When once arrived at Batavia, he may obtain his discharge certainly, and likewise his free-papers; but such a liberty differs very little from servitude, as he must bind himself to remain ten years in India. Nor is he allowed to trade in such articles as he likes, and to convey merchandise to places which please him best; he is only allowed to proceed to unimportant localities like the Moluccas, &c., where he is likewise bound down within very narrow limits. Should he dare to overstep his conditions in the least, he not only forfeits all his goods, but likewise suffers no little loss in honour and reputation.

"Whoever, then, decides to enter the service of the Dutch East India Company, must, exclusively of the time required for the out and homeward passage, bind himself down for a period of five years, and stand his chance whether he will be sent to a healthy or unhealthy locality, where he may find some profit for himself or the reverse. It rarely happens that anyone is removed or promoted from his first station during the period of his contract. Those who are bound to remain all their time on board have the hardest lot, and are considered not quite so respectable, but then they have greater advantages for making something. On the voyage to India no one is able to obtain an appointment of distinction (aansien) unless he is well versed in the Dutch language and the methods of trade, and has besides good friends who are capable of promoting him. For when the Dutch advertise for men for the different services in India, about three times the number required generally offer themselves, and from these applicants those who are the most
suitable, and have the best recommendations, are selected. Accordingly a stranger who wishes to visit Dutch India, whatever good qualities and abilities he may possess, has no other course than to enter the service as a soldier at £d. 4 per month and his rations. But the supplies both in food and drink, whether on board or on shore, are so bad, that it becomes a very hard task to a child of respectable and moneyed parents to content himself with them. Moreover he receives the half of his pay twice every year, but not in cash, only in clothing and other things, charged to him at a sufficiently high rate. The rest runs up, and is paid out to him when he again arrives in Holland. For the rest he receives monthly for his subsistence, besides his pay, not more than forty pounds of raw rice instead of biscuit rations (communitie brood), and likewise three-quarters of a rixdollar in money.

"Besides, all the territories where the Company has possessions, are unhealthy places and not worthy of a visit, excepting of course Coromandel, Batavia, and a few other spots. Mostly all are very badly provided with everything that is so indispensably necessary for the support and the enjoyment of human life.

"The soldiers who are obliged to serve on board have even a much harder life than those on shore. They are subjected to a much closer atmosphere and consequently more liable to disease. Add to this that military discipline and justice in India are much more strictly carried out than in Europe. For a trifling offence a person in India may very easily be brought to public shame.

"It is certainly true, that many persons, strangers as well as Dutch, have from insignificant appointments, and with the assistance and Providence of God, risen to very important offices in consequence of their extraordinary zeal and good behaviour, and that they have done so in the course of ten or more years; but over against such examples there may be placed those of others who were not wanting in common sense and the right use of the same, but who never enjoyed that good fortune, and were always obliged to remain in their inferior appointments without ever rising higher. The consequence has been that many, grown impatient and desperate, have fallen, to their own loss and shame, into many irregularities and evil deeds.

"When what I have said is carefully considered, it naturally follows that no one will lightly or voluntarily take service as a soldier for the Indies under the Dutch, unless he is urged by the want of indispensable means for a livelihood, or by improper conduct, of which he has been guilty. On the contrary, if he has a proper desire to visit foreign countries, he will endeavour to obtain a passage by an English vessel, and without the necessity of entering the service. In that manner he will not fail, with the help of God and good
health, in obtaining a desirable opportunity for visiting important kingdoms and foreign nations, with little expense and less loss of time, for his own personal satisfaction and renown. All this I have written down from personal experience and at the request of some good friends, and those of my countrymen who may be inclined to travel may make the best use of it. . . ."

Regarding the watch on board, Christophorus Schweitzer, whose voyages occurred between the years 1675 and 1683, mentions the following: "During the night, when the one watch had to relieve the other, two persons sang, in order to awaken the sleepers; "Here we sail with God on High! May God forgive us our sins; all our sins and offences! May God preserve our good ship, and all the people who sail in her, from sea, from shoal, from fire and sword! From the hellish evil enemy! From all evil may He guard us!" ("Hier Zeylen wy met God verheven, God wil ons onse Sonden vergeven, Al onse Sonden en Misdaed. God wil ons goede Schip bewaeren, Met al de Lieden die daerin vaeren, Voor Zee, voor Sand, Voor Vyer en Brand, Voor de Helsche boose Vyand, Voor alle quaed ons God bewaere!")"

ADDENDA.

The following are the geographical divisions of Germany, of which the Netherlands formed a portion in the year 1680, according to the "Dictionarium Geographicum" by Johannes de Raey, junior, Amsterdam 1680:

THE NETHERLANDS.

The Netherlands are a country in the lower or western portion of Germany, situated between the North Sea, Germany proper, or High Germany, and France. They contain seventeen Provinces or States, nine of which belong to the Spanish, and eight to the United Netherlands.

The Spanish Netherlands are situated between the North Sea, the United Netherlands, Germany and France.

Their chief Towns are Antwerp, Malines, Brussels, Louvain, Limburg, Luxemburg, Ghent, Bruges, Sluys, Dunkirk, Yperen, Lisle, Douay, Tournay, Arras, Arlon, St. Omer, Mous, Valenciennes, Cambray, Namur, and Dinant.

Their chief Universities are Louvain and Douay.

Their chief Rivers are the Scheldt, Leye, Scharpe, Demer and Sambre.
The United Netherlands are situated between the North Sea, Germany, and the Spanish Netherlands. Their chief towns are Amsterdam, Leyden, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Gouda, Delft, Haarlem, Alkmaer, Hoorn, Enckhuysen, Middleburg, Flushing, Utrecht, Arnhem, Nymegen, Zutphen, Deventer, Zwol, Leeuwarden, Harlingen, Franeker and Groningen. Their chief universities are Leyden, Utrecht and Franeker. The chief rivers are the Rhine, Meuse, Waal, Linge, and Yssel.

Germany.—(The Holy Roman Empire.)—

And the territories under its jurisdiction, viz., Valesia, Switzerland, Rhetia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia.

Germany, often likewise called High Germany, is situated inland, but towards the South-Western portion of Europe, between the Duchy of Sleswick, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Baltic Sea, the Kingdom of Poland, the States of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Italy, France, the Netherlands and the North Sea. It has been conveniently subdivided into ten circles, viz:—

1. The Austrian Circle, whose chief towns are Vienna, Grätz, Lainbach, Villach, and Innsbruck.
2. The Bavarian Circle, containing the towns Munich, Ratisbon, Ingoldstadt, Passau, Salzburg, Landshut, Straubing, Freising, and Amberg.
3. The Franconian Circle, having as its chief towns, Nuremberg, Würzburg, Bamberg, and Schweinfurt.
5. The Burgundian Circle, having as its chief towns, Dôle, and Besançon. Within this circle were likewise, ere this, comprised the seventeen Netherland Provinces, already described.
7. The lower Rhenish Circle, having as its chief towns, Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Bonn, Coblenz, Heidelberg, Manheim, Frankenthal, Oppenheim, and Bacharach.
8. The Westphalian Circle, in which there are Charlemon, Liége, Aix-la-Chapelle, Gulick, Dusseldorf, Duisburg, Wesel, Emmerich, Dorsten, Dortmund, Aresberg, Soest, Bielefeld, Lippstadt, Paderborn, Minden, Osnaburg, Oldenburg, Emden, Meppen, Haselunne, Linge, Bentheim, Munster, and Coesfeldt.
9. The lower Saxon Circle, where we have Brunswick, Göttingen,
Appendix.


Besides these ten Circles there likewise belong to Germany the countries Valesia, Switzerland, Rhetia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia.

Valesia or Walesland is a country situated in the South and to the West of Germany, between the Duchies of Milan, Aosta, and Savoy.

Its chief Towns are Sitten or Sion, and Martinach.

Switzerland is a country situated in the South-Western portion of Germany, between the Upper Elsas, the Swabian and Rhetian territories, the Duchy of Milan, Valesia, the Duchy of Savoy, the Lake of Geneva and Franche Comté.

Its chief Towns are Zurich, Bern, Basle, Lucerne, Unterwalden, Glarus, Freyburg, Soleure, and Schaffhausen.

Rhetia is a country situated in the Southern part of Germany, between Switzerland, Swabia, the county of Tyrol, the dominion of Venice, and the Duchy of Milan.

Its chief Towns are Chur, and Chiavenna.

Bohemia is a country situated in the Eastern portion of and within Germany, between the territories Meissen, Lusatia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, the Bavarian or Upper Palatinate, and the Voightlandt.

Its chief Towns are Prague, Budweis, Pilsen, Tabor, Leutmeritz, and Egra.

Moravia is a territory in the Eastern portion of Germany, between Silesia, Hungaria, Austria, and Bohemia.

Its chief Towns are Olmütz, Brinn, Znaym and Hradisch.

Silesia is a Duchy in the East of Germany, between the Kingdom of Poland, the provinces of Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia, Lusatia, and the Electorate of Brandenburg.

Its chief Cities are Breslau, Glogau, Liegnitz, Schweidnitz, Brieg, Jauer, Wohlau, Crossen, and Sagan.

Lusatia, also called Lausnitz, is a country situated in the Eastern portion of Germany towards the North, between the Electorate of Brandenburg, the Duchy of Silesia, and the provinces of Bohemia, Misnia, and Upper Saxony.

Its chief Towns are Görlitz, Cottbus, Sorau, and Guben. The
chief Universities in the whole of Germany are, Basle, Heidelberg, Jena, Marburg, Giessen, Erfurt, Altorf, Frankfort on the Oder, Freiburg, Wurtzburg, Ingoldstadt, Helmstedt, Leipsic, Siegen, Prague, Tübingen, Breslau, Wittenberg, and Rostock.

The chief Rivers are the Meuse, the Rhine, the Moselle, the Maine, the Ems, the Weser, the Elbe, the Oder and the Spree.

Note.—The French Fugitives are generally known and spoken of as Huguenots, a name supposed to be a French corruption of the German *eidgenosz* = oath-comrade, confederate, associate, or ally. By referring to that beautiful work of art and stupendous compilation of historical and geographical data, the Atlas of Joan Blaeu, the second volume (Amsterdam 1664) containing the maps and the history of Germany, we read that “It is probable that Switzerland is called after the village of Switz; it is also called the Confederated or United Country, and in German ‘die Eydgnotschafft,’ in consequence of the bond with which they are united together.”

Should it therefore be true that the word *Huguenot* is a corruption of the German *Eidgenosz*, then it follows that the name must have been borne in the first place by the Vaudois, as natives of Switzerland, or members of “die Eydgnotschaft,” and that in course of time it was likewise applied to the Protestants of France, whose religious views were identical with those held by the “people of the valleys.”

The French certainly have a remarkable talent for manipulating, and finally absorbing a foreign word, so that even its most intimate friend fails to recognise it. Take, for instance, the Dutch word *buitenwacht* = the advanced guard, or picket. Of this they have made *bivouac*, i. e., “passing the night in the open air.” But this is not all. By referring to a Dutch dictionary, the reader will find that the same word in its altered form has likewise found a home in colloquial Dutch in the Netherlands, and is certainly not looked upon as a stranger there!
APPENDIX.

(Page 135.)

THE MARQUIS DU QUESNE AND FRANÇOIS LEGRAT.

The paper received by me from Mr. Van den Berg, the Royal Archivist at the Hague, likewise contains some interesting communications regarding the Marquis Du Quesne and his brother, and their intentions regarding the colonization of the Island Mascareñas. What he prominently brings forward as the reason why the expedition was abandoned, viz.: "That when all had been embarked, and only waited for a favourable wind, the rumour spread that the King of France had sent a squadron of seven ships to Bourbon, and because there were so many women and helpless children on the two vessels, Du Quesne decided not to expose them to imminent danger from that quarter, and therefore temporarily abandoned his project," &c., when compared with such portions of the Archives as I have given in the text, will show a slight difference, but if carefully considered, will be found to be in reality in harmony with the latter, as it is very natural that Du Quesne was not only compelled by the troubles which overtook his two vessels to abandon the enterprise, but also because he justly feared—as did the Board of Seventeen—that the responsibility would be too great to expose so many women and children to the guns of seven war-ships on an island which they would not have had time to put into a proper state of defence before the arrival there of the enemy, unfortunately under the command of his own cousin.

C. A. Fairbridge, Esq., kindly lent me the narrative of the Voyages of François Leguat, a French nobleman and Huguenot, who with seven companions was left by Captain Vailleau, of the Hironnelle, on the Island Diego Rodriguez, and a portion of whose adventures I have embodied in the text. The whole narrative is intensely interesting, and reveals a writer of great ability and a most genial disposition. One small page I give here. Having been confined for two long weary years on the Island whose beauty he describes in powerful language, he mentions their attempt to make a boat and
with it endeavour to reach Mauritius; their success, although they were neither carpenters nor smiths; their first attempt to leave; the overturning of their boat on a reef near the shore, and the fatal result to one of them named Isaac Boyer, who died three weeks afterwards. After that he states that he could not persuade the others from abandoning a second attempt, and that, though comparatively an old man, he was obliged to submit to the ruling of the majority and make up his mind to depart likewise. But he did not like to leave the grave of his departed companion without a line upon it; hence he says: “Worthy reader! that a memento of this new world may be fixed in your memory, read, if you please, the following epitaph:—

**Beneath the Shadow**

**Of these immortal palms**

**In the bosom of a faithful and virgin earth,**

**Have been piously laid**

**The bones of**

**Isaac Boyer.**

**Honest and sincere Gascon, descended from Adam**

**As much of noble blood as any one of the children of man**

**His brethren**

**Who can all clearly compute to have had among their ancestors**

**Bishops and millers.**

* * * *

If all men lived as he has lived
Dancing, lace, statesmen, castles,
Cannons, prisons, tax-gatherers and monarchs
Would have been useless things in the world.

* * * *

More philosopher than the philosophers he was wise.
More theologian than the theologians, he was Christian.
More learned than the doctors, he was aware of his ignorance.
More independent than princes
He neither suffered from the pest of flatterers, nor the
Yearnings after political life.

And

Richer than potentates, he felt no want
But that of

A wife.

During the times, dreadful to think of
And whose horrors make my pen tremble
He was compelled
TO FORSAKE HIS FATHERLAND
AND EVERYTHING WITH IT
In Order To Flee From
THE FURIOUS MINISTERS OF THE GREAT OPPRESSION.
He Crossed Whilst Fleeing, Both Mountains And Seas,
And Being Wrecked On This Island
Found Here The Right Haven Of Blessedness.

He And Seven Sharers Of The Same Fate
Were Two Years Here
THE PEOPLE AND ITS RULERS.
He Might Have Enjoyed The Pleasures Of This New World
Much Longer
If The Inner Longing Of His Heart
FOR THE MOST ADORABLE SEX
Had Not Goaded Him On To An Enterprise
Which Caused His Death.

He Struggled Manfully With This Dreadful Enemy
And Conquered
For At The Same Time When He Surrendered Earth To Earth
And Obtained The Honour For The Island Rodrigue
To Be Able To Present To His Lord
A Blessed Resurrection,
HIS SOUL ASCENDED
GLORIOUSLY ON HIGH
TO THE PALACE OF IMMORTALITY.
HIS DAYS BRIEF AND FULL OF TROUBLE
WERE NO MORE THAN
TEN THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED;
And
That Of His Last Farewell To This World
Was The Eighth Of The Month Of May. The Year Of Our Redemption

Who ever Thou Mayest Be, As Thou Passest Bye And Readest This
Remember That
Thou Also Shalt Erelong Die
And Therefore
Employ Time Well.
A * Ω."
Appendix.

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His farewell address to the Island is a beautiful specimen of elocution, to say nothing of the matter of which it treats, but it is too long to insert it here.

Regarding the Huguenots here he writes as follows: “When these poor brethren at the Cape had made up their minds in Holland to settle in this country, they were presented with a considerable sum of money in order to be able to undertake the voyage. They were brought out free of expense, and when they arrived here each one received as much land as he wanted. They were also provided with all kinds of building material, provisions and clothing; and all that, without an annual tax and without interest; but on the condition, however, to pay back all advances whenever they were able to do so. A large collection was likewise made for them at Batavia, and the amount was distributed among them, each one receiving according to his necessities. Their produce is taken off their hands, and in the manner already mentioned by me; a fair price, indeed, especially here where everything is so abundant. It is greatly in their favour that the slaves are not so dear here. They have likewise great service from the Aborigines, whom the Dutch have given the name of Hottentots, because these people are often heard uttering that name. For similar reasons the Spaniards called that portion of the New World conquered by them, Peru. And it is very probable that in the same manner the Heavenly Bread, formerly given by God to His people (Exodus 16, v. 17), was called Man or Manna. This in passing.

“Our fugitives let the Hottentots work in the corn-fields, vineyards, and wherever they want them, for a little piece of tobacco, or some bread. And as they are allowed to hunt, the other food hardly costs them anything. Wood alone is a little scarce, but that does not matter much, because the air is warm, and they require no fire except to prepare their food. For the same reason they need not spend much money on clothes, the lightest and thinnest stuffs are good enough. They likewise buy a good many things from the sailors cheaply, and who continually arrive at the Cape from all quarters of the globe. It is true that, in order to sell their produce, they must bring it to the Cape, which is about ten Dutch miles distant; but that inconvenience is very slight, because the road is uncommonly good, and their oxen, which can step out well, do the journey in a day.

“Everyone can conceive that, as all beginnings are not without difficulties, these good people likewise have theirs. But they have been generously and charitably assisted, and God has in the end blessed their labours so well, that at present they are all in easy circumstances; yea! that there are even some among them who are already rich.
"In many portions of the Cape, especially where our new residents dwell, the country is remarkably beautiful, and the air very good. The large and deep rivulets add much to the fruitfulness of the soil, which produces wine and all kinds of grain in abundance. The hillocks planted with vines are sheltered from the destructive winds, and bask in the sunshine! The fountain streams meander below them, and irrigate the vegetable and pleasure gardens, which are filled with all kinds of fruits and edible wares growing in Europe as well as in India.

"One of these fugitives, named (? Isaac) Taillefer, a very honest and industrious man, and very diligent in investigating all kinds of things, has a garden which may certainly be called a beautiful one. Nothing is wanting in it; everything is in order, and as it ought to be. He has likewise an inner yard, with all kinds of aviaries and birds; also a multitude of oxen, sheep, and horses, which according to the nature of the country, have to graze the whole year through without ever being in want of food, and without the necessity on his part of being provided with hay; certainly a great convenience. This noble baas receives those excellently well who visit him, and treats them grandly. His wine is the best that is obtained there, and as nearly as possible like our inferior Champagne.

"To sum up everything, it is certain that the Cape is a pleasant shelter for the miserable French Protestants. There they possess and peacefully enjoy their good fortune, living on exceptionally friendly terms with the Hollanders, who, as everyone knows, are of a hospitable and charitable nature."

It is not to be supposed, however, that no better wine was produced at the Cape than what Leguat drank at Taillefer's table, and compared by him to the inferior champagne of France; for in a private letter to Governor Simon van der Stel dated the 28th April, 1698, Advocate Willem Ten Dam says, "With the Cape red wine I drank your health, but the white or Frontignac has more reputation."

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The following short lists of fugitives, which I have not yet seen in print, I extract from the Despatch from Delft to the Cape, dated 7th May, 1698. "With this ship—the Driebergen—we have permitted the following French fugitives to proceed to the Cape, passage free, and to earn a living there as freemen—

Louwys De Ryck, alias Louis Le Riche.
Pieter Cronier, do. Pierre Crosnier.
Stephen Cronier, do. Estienne Crosnier.
Jan van het tichelje, do. Jean du Tuilet.
Philip van Rouan, do. Philip Drouin.

You are to assist them according to the instructions of the year 1687."
Delft, 5th April, 1700. "We have allowed a passage to the following freemen, viz.—

Paul Couvret and Anna Valet his wife,—born at Bazoze, near Orleans—with a little child named Anna, Elisabeth Couvret. He is an agriculturist and vine grower, and also a shoemaker.
Josue Selljer and Elisabeth Couvret his wife, agriculturist and vine grower, and also a carpenter.
Anna van Ameyden, 34 years old, and
Cornelia Huyssen, of Delft, spinster, 20 years old.
Elisabeth Pogeau, spinster, of Paris, 18 years old.
We are sure that you will provide these people with every convenience and assistance, that they will be properly sheltered and obtain work, each according to his ability."
Leibbrandt, Hendrik Carel Vos
Rambles through the archives of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700