



**Moodie** (Lieut. Donald) *The Record; or Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa*, 4to. *Cape Town* 1838-39

Lieut. Moodie's object in this publication was to present an English translation of the whole of the Dutch Records relating to the Cape from the date of its first Settlement to 1834. Owing to lack of support, he had to relinquish the work long before it was completed. He published it in sections and in 'periods' simultaneously, so that there are large omissions in the middle as well as at the end, and the whole (valuable as it is) is thus a collection of fragments. An analysis of the contents, with comments, is given in SUTHERLAND'S Memoir (q. v.)

2589 — Copy complete, as far as published, containing Part I., 1649-1690, pp. 1 to 446; Part III., 1769-87, pp. 1 to 112; Part V., 1809, pp. 1 to 60, 1 vol, 4to, cloth £10.

\* \* COPIES HAVE BEEN FREQUENTLY ADVERTISED FOR, IN VAIN !

Part I. Instructions to Jan van Riebeeck on Establishing a Fort and Garden at the Cape (1649-51) Extracts from his Journal and Despatches, with copy of Memorandum left for guidance of his Successor (1652-62); Transactions of Commander Wagenaar (1662-66); Proclamations, Despatches, Journals, Memoranda, etc., of Van Quaelbergh, Van der Stell and others, with the latter's Journey to Amaqua's Land (1685-86); Journey of Ensign Schryver to the Inquahase Hottentots (1689).

Part III. Reports of Landdrosts, Despatches of Gov. Plettenburg, Opperman, and others (1769-81); Report of Expeditions against the Bushman Hottentots (1774-77); Commandant A. Van Jarsveld's Report on the Expulsion of the Kafirs (1781).

The names of Kruger, de Wet, Joubert, and Marais already appear in these Early Records, as Field Cornets, Landdrosts, etc.

Part V. Contains Collins's Journals and Reports of his Journey into the Bosjesmen and Caffre Country, and across the Orange River (1809).

J. du Plessis  
1905

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UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA.  
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MOODIE

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# THE RECORD;

OR,

A SERIES OF OFFICIAL PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE

CONDITION AND TREATMENT

OF THE

**NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA.**

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COMPILED, TRANSLATED, AND EDITED, BY

D. MOODIE, LIEUT. R. N.

AND LATE PROTECTOR OF SLAVES FOR THE EASTERN DIVISION OF THE COLONY  
OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

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PART 1. 1649—1720.

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CAPE TOWN:  
PUBLISHED BY A. S. ROBERTSON.

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1838.

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SUCH Official Papers—not enumerated in the Printed List—as may be furnished to the Editor in due time, during the progress of this Publication, will, if authentic and relevant, be inserted in their proper place with respect to date. Such admissible papers as may be procured too late for this purpose, will be published as Supplementary to the ensuing number, or introduced as foot notes to the first papers to which the new matter appears to have reference.

All such Papers will occupy their proper place in the English Edition, which, for the greater convenience and accuracy of translation, will be preceded by the Dutch.

 The ensuing number of this Series will contain such Papers as have been procured for the years 1653—54—55.

D. M.

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THE Design of this Compilation is to render generally accessible, by publication in the words of the original Dutch, and in duly attested translations, the rapidly decaying materials necessary to the formation of a correct knowledge of the History of Colonization in South Africa, in as far as relates to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes, from the date of the first European Settlement to the end of the year 1834.

For this purpose it is intended to print—as nearly as possible in Chronological order—the Official Papers or Extracts which have been collected from the Public Records, and which purport to convey, without unnecessarily encreasing the bulk of the work, the whole of the matter deemed to be relevant to the subject, which has been discovered in the volumes or papers from which they have respectively been taken.

Independently of the papers already prepared, the work will also comprise such other authentic and relevant matter, as may be supplied during the progress of publication.

The previous accumulation of materials has enabled the Editor to commence the publication with the papers of two periods, 1649, and 1769; the frequency of the periodical issue, and consequently the time necessary for the completion of the work, must however depend upon the degree of support and assistance which it may receive.

The Design of the work, together with the nature of its proposed contents, being thus stated, the annexed Documents will best explain the Means employed by Authority, for the compilation of the Papers now in the course of publication, and the Principles prescribed for the conduct of the work.

The additional Stipulations under which the publication has been sanctioned, are set forth in the subjoined Affidavit, which constitutes *one* of the Obligations, by which the Editor is bound, to employ every available means of rendering this Compilation a True, and thus a satisfactory Record of the events to which it relates.

D. MOODIE.

*Cape Town, September 22, 1838.*

(CIRCULAR.)

TO THE CIVIL COMMISSIONERS AND CLERKS OF THE PEACE OF THE RESPECTIVE  
COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

*Cape Town, 27th January 1837.*

SIR,

In transmitting the enclosed List of Official papers, I beg leave to state, for your information, that His Excellency the Governor was pleased, some months ago, to direct me, to collect and arrange—from the Records preserved in the several Country Districts—“ Documentary Evidence regarding the Treatment of the Tribes beyond the Boundaries of the Colony, by the Government—the Local Functionaries—and the Colonists, as well as the Treatment of the latter by those Tribes, the provocation given, and received, on either side.”

The enclosed List will show, in how far I have hitherto succeeded, in collecting the materials essential to a proper understanding of the subject—and you will perceive, that it is with a view to its satisfactory completion, in a condensed, but more explanatory form—that His Excellency has been pleased to order this List to be printed.

With the same view, the Government have authorized me, “ to apply to any of the Country Functionaries, for such Information as they may possess, relative to the subject.”

In order to render the intended *Precis* as correct and explanatory as possible, it is evident, that the series of Documents should be authentic and complete—and that all acts and proceedings, upon either side, tending to create dissatisfaction, or cause for dissatisfaction, and to afford either a ground or a pretext for unfriendly relations, should be fully set forth.

It is, therefore, to such deficiencies in the enclosed List of Official Papers, as may be supplied in the Country Districts, that it now becomes necessary to request your attention.

I have further the honor to state, that the mode, in which the information and assistance sought, can, at present, be rendered most available, would be, by your furnishing an Index, of such relevant Documents, as are to be found in your Office,—and as are not included in the present List,—arranged, as near as may be, in the order of date, and accompanied by a short statement of their subject.

I have only to add, that any information which you may be pleased to afford, with a view to the increased completeness of the work with which I have been charged, may, by the permission of His Excellency the Governor, be addressed to me, through the Colonial Office.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

DONALD MOODIE.

N.B.—The portions of the List which do not accompany this Letter, will be transmitted to your address from time to time—as they pass through the Press.

*Cape Town, 15th May 1838.*

SIR,

I have the honor to transmit for the information of His Excellency the Governor, a Copy of the Oath taken by me, on the 11th instant, in compliance with the desire expressed in your Letter of the 20th March, communicated to me by the Committee to whom His Excellency was pleased to give access to the papers which I have been engaged in collecting.

I trust that the additions which I have made to the terms of that Oath, as conveyed in your Letter, and which additions are in accordance with the Instructions hitherto issued for my guidance, may meet with the approval of His Excellency the Governor, and that they may be deemed to afford the best guarantee which it is in my power to offer, that the materials which have been collected, shall, in as far as may be dependent on me, be published with the fidelity desired by His Excellency.

I beg, at the same time, to state my anxiety to comply with any further directions which His Excellency may deem necessary to the due exercise of the discretion which must necessarily rest with me, in the prosecution of the work in question.

His Excellency will readily perceive, that—unless in the impossible case, of the conduct of the successive “Governments and Local Functionaries,” as well as that of the “Colonists and Native Tribes,” during a series of years, having been such, that full disclosure would be desirable to all the parties—the proceedings of the Agent through whom disclosure is effected, must, in the nature of things, be liable to animosities and misrepresentation, from one or other quarter, an inconvenience to which, while conforming himself to instructions from higher authority, it is the duty of a public servant to submit.

These are the considerations which render it desirable, that I should be informed, whether, in the terms of the enclosed Oath, I have succeeded in defining the mode of the publication in such a manner, that it may not be applicable to party purposes, but meet, as far as possible, the views of His Excellency in authorizing the publication.

The last sheets of the original Lists, relating to the Kafirs, having just been received from the Press, I beg leave to enclose that List.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

THE HON. THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

D. MOODIE.

*I, Donald Moodie, do solemnly swear, that in conducting the publication of the Documentary Evidence, relating to the Native Tribes of South Africa, I will fairly, and faithfully, publish, the whole of “the Documentary Evidence regarding the treatment of the Tribes beyond the boundary of the Colony, by the Government, the Local Functionaries, and the Colonists, as well as the treatment of the latter by those Tribes, the provocation given, and received, on either side,” which is to be found in the papers enumerated in the printed List: without mutilation or partial extracts:—and also upon being thereto duly authorized, that I will in like manner publish, all such relevant and authenticated Documents as either have been, or may hereafter be, furnished to me, towards the full development of the Truth; and I further swear, that I will not, in making extracts from Official Documents, which bear relation to subjects, not within the scope of my inquiries, omit any thing whatever, which relates to that subject; but that I will, honestly and impartially, give the contents of such Documents, without regard to the character of the facts therein stated, or the inferences which may be drawn from them, whether for, or against, the Colonists, or the Colonial Government.*

D. MOODIE.

*Sworn before me, at Cape Town, this 11th May 1838,*

*T. H. BOWLES, Registrar Supreme Court.*

COLONIAL OFFICE, 31st May 1838.

SIR,

Having brought under the Governor’s notice the letter which you addressed to me on the 15th inst. transmitting Copy of an Oath taken by you, on the 11th inst. in compliance with the desire expressed by His Excellency, in my letter of the 20th March, to the Committee to whom he was pleased to grant access to certain papers, in making a collection of which you have been engaged, I am now directed by His Excellency, to inform you, that the Oath appears to him, to be as full and explicit as the occasion demands, and that he entertains no doubt, from the perusal of your letter, that every thing connected with the subject to which it refers, will, in so far as you shall be officially concerned, be conducted to his satisfaction, and he would hope, to that of Lord GLENELG.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

TO DONALD MOODIE, Esq.

JOHN BELL.



# THE RECORD;

OR,

## A SERIES OF OFFICIAL PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE CONDITION AND TREATMENT OF THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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PART I. 1649—1720.]

[No. 1. 1649—1652.

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1649. July 26. REMONSTRANCE, in which is briefly set forth and explained, the service, advantage, and profit, which will accrue to the United Chartered East India Company, from making a Fort and Garden, at the *Cabo de Boa Esperance*.

Notwithstanding, Honorable Sirs, that it is well known to us, that many and divers persons, even among those who have several times frequented the *Cabo de Boa Esperance*, without, however, taking any notice of the situation or fitness of the country—will pretend and say, some, that the place is unsuitable, and consequently, that the cost—seeing that there is nothing to be had there, except water and a little scurvy grass—would be needless and thrown away; others, that the Honorable Company has Forts and places enough, aye, more than too many to provide for, and therefore ought not to establish any more; we shall, however, point out to your Honors, as briefly and simply as our poor ability will permit, not only how useful and necessary the formation of the said Fort and Garden will be, for the preservation of the Company's ships and people, but that the same may be effected, without expense, and with profit and gain.

We say, therefore, Honorable Sirs, that the Honorable Company, by the formation of a Fort or Redoubt, and also of a Garden of such size as may be practicable or necessary at the above-mentioned *Cabo de Boa Esperance*, upon a suitable spot in the Table Valley—stationing there, according to your pleasure, sixty to seventy, as well soldiers as sailors, and a few persons acquainted with gardening and horticulture—could raise, as well for the ships and people bound to India, as for those returning thence, many kinds of fruit, as will hereafter be more particularly demonstrated.

In which Garden—seeing that the soil in the said Valley is very good and productive, and that, in the dry season, the water may be guided at will, and led around, and into the Garden, to irrigate all that may be planted—every thing will grow as well as in any other place in the world, particularly pumpkins, watermelons, cabbages, carrots, radishes, turnips, onions, leeks, and every other kind of vegetables, as we, of the wrecked ship *Haarlem*, have experienced and can testify.

It is evident and beyond doubt, that all kinds of fruit trees, such as orange, lemon, citron, shaddock, apple, pear, plum, cherry, currant, and gooseberry, will thrive well, and may be propagated, which fruits will long keep good on ship board.

Daily experience teaches us the advantage derived by the sick, as well as the healthy, from the little scurvy grass, and sometimes two or three cattle, now procured at the Cape by the ships bound for India.

Be pleased then to consider for a moment, Honorable Sirs, the multitude of sick, who, with God's blessing, might be restored to health, if all the fruits above-mentioned were to be had there in abundance and superfluity, especially if we previously procured, by barter from the natives, a great quantity of cattle and sheep, which are to be had at a sufficiently cheap rate, and from which we could also procure cheese, butter, and milk, for refreshment.

So that while the ships, both outward bound and homeward bound, were taking in their water, they might be daily furnished with three or four cattle and sheep, and with all sorts of vegetables; and also upon their sailing, they might be supplied according to circumstances, with live stock, cabbages, carrots, turnips, onions, leeks, watermelons, pumpkins, which, if ripe, will keep good seven or eight months; as also, oranges, lemons, and shaddocks—so that we could always supply the sick, to the end of the voyage, with refreshments on shipboard—a most desirable thing for all during a long protracted voyage.

Hogs also might be very easily fed there and fattened with cabbages, carrots, and turnips; and, being well supplied with these, each ship might take on board, according to circumstances, a sow or two, either in pig or not, which after being well fed on board for a month or two, would afford no small refreshment.

The water—now procured there with much trouble by the crews, who, however cold it may be, must wade in the sea up to the neck—which often causes great sickness—might then, whether by means of wooden pipes, or by making a pier, be got into the boats dry, and with one half the men and trouble.

That the Island of St. Helena has been hitherto a very convenient place of refreshment for the homeward-bound ships, cannot be denied; but it has become so destroyed—partly from the carelessness of the ship captains, and partly from that of the common sailors, (who are more disposed when they touch there, to ruin every thing they can get at, than to plant, or to leave any thing for those who come after them,) that from henceforward neither hogs nor goats will be procurable.

For, heretofore the homeward-bound ships, when they sailed from St. Helena, each carried with them—besides what was consumed while they were there—some 70 or 80, aye, more than 100, alive; whereas, last year, the fleet under the flag of Wollebrant Geleijnsen, (consisting of 12 ships) could catch in all, in spite of all the trouble they took, no more than 200 hogs; and it will be found, that year after year, less and less will be caught, until, in a short time, nothing whatever can be had there. Thus we shall find, that the return fleet of this year has caught fewer than the year before.

The cause of this is above noticed,—the negligence of the captains, and the mischievous disposition of the common sailors, who consist of the people of all nations, and who, if they take care of themselves, do not think of those who come after them, as your Honors have often heard them say “What do I care about a profitable voyage, so long as I come back here alive.” Thus they destroy all they can reach.

Therefore it is, that they will not take the slightest trouble, as long as they get hogs enough for themselves, to carry on board again, or to kill the dogs with which they have caught them, to which the several captains, in particular, and the commander of the fleet in general, ought to have paid some attention, which, however, has not been the case, so that some dogs of both sexes have been left on the Island, which have so multiplied, that in a short time all the stock—as these dogs have no other food—will be destroyed and extirpated by them.

So that henceforward nothing will be found for our ships at St. Helena, except a few herbs, and sometimes a few apples and lemons, which are often plucked before they are ripe by the English (who touch there earlier than we do) as happened last year.

From this your Honors will be enabled to perceive, how necessary is the establishment of the said fort or garden at the said Cape; and how severely it will be felt by the crews, to come home without touching at any place of refreshment, is sufficiently known to you and to the whole world, and thus the Company's ships, in the event of great sickness and many deaths, would encounter no small danger; and this place will not only be very useful to the return fleet, but also to that bound for India, more particularly should your Honors be pleased to order and direct the Commanders of the ships thither bound, when practicable, not to pass the Cape, but to put in there, and procure proper refreshments. For this purpose, the premium fixed for such as can reach Batavia roads within six months, might be altered, and the half or the third, as might be deemed fit, extended to those who, within a certain time, should arrive at the Cape, and the residue of the premium for the voyage thence to Batavia.

For, the Commanders of the ships bound thither, who are often well supplied with every comfort for the cabin (to say nothing to the prejudice of the good) rather through solicitude for the appointed premium, than for the promotion of the Company's service, when they do not hit upon the Cape as they intended, forthwith resolve to push right on to Batavia, in which case, from scarcity of water, only four or five *mutskins* daily can be issued to the men; and the cook, also, for a month or a month and a half, can serve out nothing but salt beef and pork, which causes no little sickness, so that the hospital at Batavia, to the great cost and injury of the Company, is crowded with invalids, who often lie there for months without doing any work, but drawing wages notwithstanding.

All which could be prevented by the formation of the said fort and garden at the Cape before-named; for the crews, being there well refreshed and well supplied besides, as above described, with sheep, cattle, and vegetables of all kinds, as also with abundance of water, so that the cook could always serve out to the men their full allowance, the greater number of the crews (with God's help) would arrive strong and healthy in the mother country, and in Batavia, and could immediately be of service, and put the Company to no expense; and in case of any of the sick being unable to go to sea, they could remain there without expense to the Company, until convalescent, in order to follow with the next ships.

Some one may ask, by whom this garden is to be cultivated? We reply, that if three or four gardeners are brought from Holland, enough can be found among the sailors and soldiers who can

dig and delve; some Chinese might also be brought from Batavia; they are an industrious people, most of them understand gardening, and there are always enough of them in irons.

Should it happen (which God forbid) that a ship should again (as has twice happened recently) chance to be stranded, I leave your Honors to consider the service and profit which the Company, in such a case, would derive from the people on shore; but in order (with God's help) to prevent all accidents and difficulties, two or three boats might be kept to pilot the ships, in darkness or in calms, and to bring them to the best anchorage, with the assistance of fires and beacons, for many captains and mates of ships (as few touch there) are inexperienced.

Having thus pointed out the advantage which would accrue to the Company, from the establishment of a Fort and Garden at the Cape, let us for a moment balance the expenses which the Company must incur, against the expected and evident profits.

The said Fort, then, being provided with from 60 to 70 men, the yearly pay may be guessed at the sum of 10,000 gls.; the provisions we shall estimate at 3,500 gls.; and the munitions of war at 500 gls. amounting in all to 14,000 gls.: to provide the Fort with cannon, enough may probably be had from the wreck of the *Haarlem*, so that in this respect no expense is required except for the necessary apparatus.

We shall now, on the other hand, proceed to specify the profits which will accrue to the Hon'ble Company:

In the first place, 200 *ra.* of 8, has hitherto been issued to the purser of each ship, about to sail from Batavia, for the purchase of refreshments, which could then be reduced to 50, but let us say 100, this would amount, for 10 ships, to the sum of 2,500 gls.

Having arrived at the Cape, the crews would be better refreshed, during the 7 or 8 days employed in taking in water, than at St. Helena in half a month; for catching hogs there, costs much trouble and labour, and severely fatigues the sailors, while on the contrary, all may be had in abundance at the Cape, without trouble, and the ships may be so supplied, that refreshments may be issued to all hands 8 or 10 days after sailing, besides constant fresh provisions for the sick.

Being thus refreshed, the ships will not require to touch at St. Helena, to be, as heretofore, detained for a long time, so that the Company will derive a perceptible advantage in wages, for the time saved, and from the earlier arrival of the valuable return ships, which the mature judgment of your Honors will duly estimate.

After the Fort has been a year or two established, the Company will have to provide nothing for the garrison except bread or rice, oil, and vinegar,—salt enough is to be got there—which we will guess at 1000 gls. so that the expenses will be again 2,500 gls. less, and the profits will increase.

For enough of every thing may be had there: fish in super-abundance, so that the ships may be provided with them when dried; there are, besides, elands and stein-bucks in abundance, the skins of which will, in time, fetch money; there are, also, all kinds of birds by thousands, which by availing ourselves of circumstances, and proper instruments, may be caught, or shot, by which, and by occasionally slaughtering a beast, the people may be maintained.

A good quantity of oil might be annually prepared there, for at some seasons of the year there are a great quantity of whales in Table Bay; and upon the Robben and other Islands, there are, at all times, hundreds of seals, so that one kettle may be kept constantly going.

But we shall here have, from ignorance, some objectors, who will pretend, that at the Cape there is no wood to be had for the boiling of oil, and therefore, that the importation of the wood would cost more than the value of the oil; to such, we reply, that perhaps they have never been any further than Salt River, and when there, have paid more attention to their fishing than to the nature of the country; for behind, and on the acclivity of Table Mountain, wood enough is to be had, though in the first instance it will require trouble to fetch it.

Others will say, that the natives are savages and cannibals, and that no good is to be expected from them, but that we must be always on our guard; this is, however, only a popular error, (*Jan Hagel's praetjen*) as the contrary shall be fully shown, but that they are without laws and civil policy, such as many Indians have, is not denied; that some of our soldiers and sailors have also been beaten to death by them, is indeed true; but the reasons why, are, for the exculpation of our people who give them cause, always concealed; for we firmly believe, that the farmers in this country, were we to shoot their cattle or take them away without payment, if they had no justice to fear, would not be one hair better than these natives.

We, of the said ship *Haarlem*, testify wholly to the contrary, for the natives, after we had lain there five months, came daily to the Fort which we had thrown up for our defence, to trade, with perfect amity, and brought cattle and sheep in quantities; for when the ship the *Princesse Royale*

arrived there with 80 or 90 sick, we of the *Haarlem* so supplied them with cattle and sheep, which we had on hand, and with birds which we daily shot, that the greater part of their sick were restored to health, so that, next to God, the preservation of the *Princesse Royale* and her crew, were owing to this refreshment.

The chief mate, carpenter, and corporal, of the said ship *Haarlem*, having once also gone so far as to the houses of the natives, and where they at that time resided, they were received and treated in a friendly manner by the said natives, who, as they were in their hands, could easily have beaten them to death, had they been inclined (as is maintained by some) to cannibalism; so that beyond all doubt their killing our people, happens more out of revenge for taking their cattle, than for the purpose of eating them.

So that we have not the natives, but the rude unthankfulness of our own people, to blame; for last year, when the fleet under the command of Wollebrandt Geleijnsen, before named, lay at the Cape, instead of making to the natives any recompense for their good treatment of those of the *Haarlem*, they shot seven or eight of their cattle, and took them away without payment, which may likely cost some of our people their lives if opportunity offers, and whether they have not cause, your Honors will be pleased to consider.

The said Fort then, being provided with a good commander, who would treat the natives kindly, and pay them thankfully for all that was bought of them, treating some of them with a belly full of food, of peas, beans, or (being very fond thereof) [of bread?] we would not have the slightest cause to fear them, but in time they would learn the Dutch language, and even the natives of the Bay of Saldania, and of the interior, might through them be brought to some kind of intercourse, of which, however, we cannot speak with certainty.

The refreshments procured at the Cape by the passing ships, would also cause a material saving to the Company in the issue of provisions.

That the said natives would easily learn the Dutch language is evident, for while the chief mate, Jacob Claes, lay there, about six or eight weeks with the sick, they came daily to fetch wood and to cook, and learnt to say—first, fetch wood, (hout halen); then, eat, (eten); and they could call almost all the people of the *Haarlem* by their names, and speak some words, so that beyond doubt they will learn our language.

By maintaining a good correspondence with them, we shall be able in time to employ some of their children as boys and servants, and to educate them in the Christian Religion, by which means, if it pleases God Almighty to bless this good cause, as at Tayouan and Formosa, many souls will be brought to God, and to the Christian Reformed Religion, so that the formation of the said Fort and Garden, will not only tend to the gain and profit of the Honorable Company, but to the preservation and saving of many men's lives, and what is more, to the magnifying of God's holy name, and to the propagation of his gospel, whereby, beyond all doubt, your Honors' trade over all India will be more and more blessed.

It is much to be wondered at, that our public enemies, the Spaniards and Portuguese, have never made any attempt against our return ships, for which purpose no fitter place could be found in the world than the Cape, as our ships frequently sail from Batavia in two or three divisions, and even if they sail in company, as happened last year, they do not keep together after they have passed the *Prince Eylanden*, when each does his best to be first at the Cape, so that one arrives there to-day, the others to-morrow and at different times; if our enemy were lying there, with eight or ten ships, well on the watch, and ready for action, our ships being incumbered, they could easily, with slight trouble, and without danger, capture and carry off ship for ship, (even although two or three arrived together, which seldom happens), and the same thing might also be attempted by the Turk.

We therefore think, under correction, that your Honors ought to order and direct that all the return ships should sail from Batavia together, and touch at the Cape in company, so that if an enemy lay there, they might resist with their united force.

This is briefly what we had to propose and to remonstrate to your Honors, for the benefit of the Honorable Company: if we have in any respect digressed from the subject, you will be pleased to excuse it, and to believe that all has been dictated by an upright zeal for your service, to which we shall always continue to be inclined; meanwhile, heartily praying that the Almighty will be pleased to bless your Honors with wisdom and understanding, so that you may direct, not this alone, but all the Company's affairs in such a manner that it may tend to the glorifying of God's holy name, the establishment of the church of Christ, and your individual honor and reputation, &c. &c.

LEENDERT JANZ.  
N. PROOT.

Amsterdam, 26th July 1649.

1651. June. Further considerations and reflections upon some points of the Remonstrance presented by Mr. Leendert Janz, upon the project of establishing, at the *Cabo de Boa Esperance*, a Fortress and Plantation, and whatever more may be there in due time expected to contribute most to the service of the Company.

To the Honorable the Directors, &c. &c. &c. of the Chamber Amsterdam.

GENTLEMEN,

Having perused with attention the Remonstrance presented to your Honors by Mr. Leendert Janz, of date 26th July 1649, and finding the same to embrace various points of importance to the service of the Honorable Company, to which I can add little more, as he passed a whole season at the Cape, and has learnt, by personal inquiry, the nature of the soil, and the humours of the natives: however, as your present obedient servant was also about three weeks on shore at the Cape, in the year 1648, when the return fleet, under Wollebrandt Geleijnsen, lay there, and was employed in embarking the goods saved from the wreck of the *Haarlem*, (which had been conveyed in cars to the Salt River), I shall add (under the correction of persons of greater experience) these few remarks, upon some points; and especially as to the situation in which the Fortification and Plantation may be most advantageously placed, not in the way of advice, as your Honors, instructed by various reports, probably know more upon the subject than can be taught by me; but to show of what study and reflection upon the subject I am capable, and thus what service I can there render to the Company upon receiving their orders.

Coming to the point, then, it were not amiss, in my opinion, (in place of a better), that the projected Fort (of such dimensions as you may deem proper) were placed close to the Fresh River, in order that the water might be conducted into the Fort, or, at least, into the outward ditch; but, in that case, it would, perhaps, lie somewhat low, and in time would be confined and deprived of an open prospect by the growth of trees, which will be planted; and also as the skirt of the Leuwenberg (to the best of my recollection approaching close to the river) would, in some degree, command the Fort;—therefore, according to my poor opinion, (under correction, as before observed,) it would be more advisable, and more serviceable to the Honorable Company, that the Fort were placed upon the ascent of the said mountain, where, according to my recollection, there is a suitable elevation, and a firm foundation, where we should not only maintain the command, and the view over the one, or the lower side of the river, but also over its whole course, as the Fort would then not be more than a pistol shot from the river; indeed, if so laid out, one angle would approach close to the rivulet; besides which, it would have a view of the sea, and over all the plantations and trees which will in time grow there, to whatever height they may attain: thus, also, the Fort would have a better appearance, without any increase of the expense of construction; although we cannot so fully and minutely specify the exact spot on which the Fort could be most advantageously placed, as we can when *in loco*, to which end I thus respectfully offer my services.

And although Mr. Leendert Janz does not appear to entertain much apprehension of any interruption from the natives, provided they are well treated, I say, notwithstanding, that they are by no means to be trusted, but are a savage set, living without conscience, and therefore the Fort should be rendered tolerably defensible, for I have frequently heard, from divers persons equally deserving of credit (who have also been there) that our people have been beaten to death by them, without having given the slightest cause: we should, therefore, act cautiously with them, and not put much trust in them; and the same in regard of the English, French, Danes, and particularly the Portuguese, who are always envious of the increase and extension of the Company's power, and constantly endeavor, when they can perceive any prospect of success, to obstruct the same as far as lies in their power.

For our greater security there, we might with little, or possibly with no expense, fence the plantations and pasture grounds, as well as the Fort, on the side next to the shore, with close *Erchel Bosch* or hooked thorns, (which apparently will also grow there), as I have noticed (when I was in the Caribes Islands) is done by those of Barbadoes, and which constitutes their chief defence, between which they have broad passages, and can see all that approaches from without, while those without cannot distinguish them, nor approach them through the close *erchel* thicket, so that no one can land, without those who are on the inside of the enclosure being easily able, with their muskets, to clear the beach, which is a very pretty practice, and which might also be followed at the Cape.

To fetch water more conveniently than has been hitherto the ease, the modes proposed by Leendert Janz, can be easily adopted; nor would it be amiss to keep boats or packets there, to pilot the Company's ships, and it would be well that a signal were appointed for the ships, and made known to the people at the Cape, so that it might be always known whether vessels approaching were Company's ships or others, and that our pilots might not, one day or other, through ignorance, get on board of strange ships, and so fall into the hands of some of our pretended friends or enemies.

The cannon, which it is supposed may be got out of the wreck of the *Haarlem*, are probably buried under the sand, by the heavy surf, and therefore will scarcely be available for placing in the Fort; but it would not be amiss that the Fort were provided with one or two long brass guns, or culverins, which could throw a shot to a good distance, so as to reach the Salt River, and protect at once the roadstead and the boats kept afloat.

Coming now to the consideration of the advantage which the said Fortress would draw from the cultivation of the ground, and from other things thereon dependant, I am also of opinion, that all kinds of trees, fruit, and vegetables, seeing that the soil is suitable, will thrive well there, to the great advantage of your Honors' passing ships—the rather, as I am of opinion, that the climate of the Cape, in a great measure, resembles that of Japan and the northern parts of China, countries which abound in all kinds of fruit and cattle, as every one knows well enough, and as your present servant (having been there also) has experienced; it would therefore be of service, if some persons, having a knowledge of farming and gardening, were employed there.

As to the hogs which Leendert Janz also suggests, could be bred at the Cape, and fed upon vegetables; if it could be managed to distil arrack there, the hogs could be much easier fed and fattened with the wash of the arrack, as at Batavia; for what he states as to the diminution of the supply of hogs at St. Helena, is certainly true, and no less important: besides, the water there, from its sulphureous quality, is far from being so good as that at the Cape—where also, if the cocoa-nut tree will grow, from the sap? (*te tyfferen tauacq of saqueer*) as well as from the arrack above mentioned, vinegar (*edick*) enough may be had; the cocoa-nut tree itself gives great refreshment, and produces many other necessary articles, for making oil, &c.; it is also no less to be hoped, if we can get into familiar correspondence with the natives, that in time we may buy of them, cattle, sheep, and other live stock, in abundance, and cheaper than we could breed them, besides keeping some, to try whether milk might not be had from them:—of all which matters, a trial may, by good husbandry, be easily made, with little expense.

Should your Honors, according to the proposal of Leendert Janz, think proper to direct that the ships, as well on the outward as the homeward voyage, should touch at the Cape, I also think that on the outward voyage much salt beef, and pork, and wine also, could be saved, for when they pass the Cape without touching, which Leendert Janz well observes is chiefly done that they may earn the premium, the water becomes scarce, and consequently to economise it, the beef and pork are boiled in salt water, and but little fresh water served out for drinking; by way of compensating for this deficiency, one or two *Mutskins* of wine are issued, and although wine acts as a cordial, and strengthens, the seamen are not the less subject to scurvy, and other such complaints (arising from debility); but having refreshed at the Cape, they may (if it pleases God to bestow his blessing) enjoy their ordinary allowance of meat and wine, with abundance of water, during the voyage thence to Batavia, and be kept in health, to the greater service of the Company, inasmuch as the *durable* provisions will be of greater use to your several establishments and ships in India, than by being thus expended to the slight benefit of the sailors.

It is also easily to be conceived, that your Honors will feel a considerable relief in the amount of wages, if, by the above-mentioned saving of provisions at this place of refreshment, the ships shorten their homeward voyage by not staying at St. Helena.

Some profit may also be derived by making up clothing at the Cape to be issued to the people there, to account.

I observe also from said Remonstrance, fol. 14, art. 28, that, besides the horned cattle and sheep, there are also said to be at the Cape, quantities of elands, stein-bucks, and other animals—should this be true, and should we succeed according to our wish, in getting into familiar intercourse with the natives—besides the refreshments for the Company—we might in time derive great profit from hides, which, if got in abundance, well dried, rolled tightly together, as is done in Siam, and sent on to Batavia in the outward-bound ships, which, from the consumption of victuals, firewood, &c. on the way out, have stowage enough—they might be exported thence to Japan, where they, (particularly the stein-bucks' skins, which are the least bulky) are in good demand, and afford a great return, for in my time they were sold in Japan at 18 to 20 *thail*, per hundred, the elands' hides, from 56 to

58 thail, per hundred, and cattle hides, for 130 thail, Japan silver; consequently the hides would be useful at Japan, and if they are to be had in such abundance as Leendert Janz appears to maintain, they might in time be purchased very cheap from the natives, to the relief of the expenses incurred there.

There are also to be had there, rabbits and other small animals, with soft skins or peltries; we could in time ascertain on the spot, what could be done with these also for the benefit of the Company.

As to oil, or catching whales and seals, were this resolved upon, I can therein also do your Honors very good service, as I have been formerly in Greenland and have observed the process; the difficulty that might be made as to procuring fire-wood for the purpose is a small matter, for after a single kettle is boiled, the whale always finds his own fuel from the boiled blubber or fritters.

With regard to what L. Janz writes of the natives or their children learning our language, is deserving of notice, and no less a good thing, and consequently the propagation of our Reformed Christian Religion, which he seems to hope, is still better—wherein a good teacher would do the best service, if your Honors were pleased to consent to an expense, which is calculated also to tend to the better edification of your servants to be stationed there. But whatever your Honors may be pleased to do, or to direct in this or other respects, we shall, (having been admitted into your praiseworthy service at our humble request) conform ourselves with all possible pains and industry, and we will hope and pray God Almighty to grace us with foresight and understanding, so that we may become capable of conducting your affairs there, for the best service and profit of the Honorable Company—in order that your Honors, being satisfied in every respect, may, in due time, find an opportunity of thinking about our further promotion—in particular when, after having executed the duties above detailed, at the *Cabo de Boa Esperance*, I shall have been, with your concurrence, sent on to India, and have there given more proofs of more important services, in such other and further employments, as your Honors, or your subordinate authority, in compliance with your order, may then see fit to confer upon me—for all which ends, your Honors may firmly rely that we shall not neglect, through God's sustaining help, to contribute all possible exertion towards the service of the Company, and the individual honor of

Your Honors, &c.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

Amsterdam, June, 1651.

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1651. March 25. Instructions for the Commanders proceeding for the service of the said Company, with their ships *Drommedaris*, *Reijger*, and the yacht the *Hoop*, to the *Cabo de Bona Esperance*, in order, upon arriving there, to execute as follows:

Whereas it has been thought fit, by Resolution of the Assembly of Seventeen, representing the said &c. Company, that—in order to provide that the passing and re-passing East India ships, to and from Batavia respectively, may, without accident, touch at the said Cape or Bay, and also upon arriving there, may find the means of procuring herbs, flesh, water, and other needful refreshments—and by this means restore the health of their sick—it is necessary that a general rendezvous be formed near the shore of the said Cape.

You shall, having arrived with your ship, and the people under your command, at the before-named place, in the first place go on shore with a portion of your people, taking with you as many materials as you require, in order hastily to erect for your defence, against attacks of the inhabitants—being a rude (*rouwe*) people—a fitting wooden Lodge, as well for the people to lodge therein, as for storing all the implements you take with you.

And as, after deliberation, it is also thought proper, that, in order to take possession at the said Cape, and to hold it as a place of refreshment, a small defensive Fort shall be made there, which (as it is understood) can be no where better situated than at the Fresh (*Soete*) River.

You will, therefore, construct the said Lodge close by or near to the Soete River, as you shall deem to be most convenient.

The said Lodge being brought into a proper state of defence, you will proceed to inspect the situation of the said Soete River, and deliberate where such small Fort, according to the plan reduced

to paper, may be most conveniently placed, provided that, (in order always to have fresh water within said Fort) the said river may be conducted around, or through the middle of the Fort—as specified in the plan; and give to the said Fort the name of *The Goede Hoop*.

And, as it is necessary that all the people be lodged and accommodated within the Fort, you will arrange accordingly for proper lodging for 70 to 80 persons.

So soon as you, and the people who have landed with you, are in such a state of defence, that you cannot be surprised by any one,<sup>(1)</sup> you will proceed to select a proper place to be appropriated as Gardens, taking for this purpose all the best and richest ground, where whatever is sown or planted can thrive well, which Gardens (according to circumstances and situation) ought to be fenced round, upon which we can give no precise order.

You will also make inspection near the Fort for the land best suited for depasturing and breeding cattle, for which purpose a good correspondence and intelligence with the natives will be very necessary, in order to reconcile them in time to your customs, and to attach them to you, which must be effected with discretion, above all, taking care that you do not injure them in person, or in the cattle which they keep or bring to you, by which they may be rendered averse from our people, as has appeared in various instances.

And as the cattle may not at first remain in the fields at night, without great danger of being taken away, you will have them early in the evening driven into the Fort, and in the morning driven again into the fields, for which purpose proper stalls must also be made in the Fort—until in time the natives may be trusted; unless you can adopt other means of keeping the cattle in perfect security without the Fort; which is left to your care and vigilance.

And as the Fort is established chiefly that, as well the outward-bound ships may be provided with all kinds of refreshments, as that those homeward-bound may thus be enabled to pass *St. Helena* without touching there, you will sedulously attend to the rearing of all kinds of fruits, which are most suitable to the climate, and in what seasons of the year each species must be sown and planted, of which you will acquire a correct knowledge by experience.

And that good order may be maintained among the people, they have been sworn to the General Articles of the Company, according to which, you will therefore have to regulate them in the performance of all that is ordered by the commanders, employing, in whatever is exacted of them, each according to his capacity, without keeping any one unemployed, but giving them daily occupation.

Of all that occurs in your neighbourhood, you will keep accurate notes and a diary, and shall not fail in this point; and further, you will from time to time inquire if any thing can be attempted there for the profit of the Company, to repay these expenses, for which purpose you will avail yourself of the annexed copy of the Remonstrance submitted to the Assembly of the Seventeen.

The before-named Fort being rendered defensible, and supplied with the necessary stores, you will allow the ship before-named to prosecute her voyage to *Batavia*, with 40 men, keeping there 70, with the boats sent in frame in the said ship, in order to their being put together on shore, and afterwards to be employed as you may require, particularly in discovering the passing ships, and conducting them to the best anchorage, for which purpose you will also erect a beacon on the land, or adopt some other device for their warning and guidance.

That you may be the better enabled to defend yourselves against the attacks of all enemies, you will place on each angle of the Fort four iron cannon, which together with their appurtenances you will bring to land.

And as, with regard to all the minuter details, with which we are unacquainted—and which must chiefly depend upon your experience and industry—no instruction can now be issued; what is above laid down will suffice in the first instance for the execution of the intentions of the General Company in this respect; and further, directing you to correspond with the Company upon all subjects, we will wish you much good fortune and success in your voyage, and in the execution of your instructions, and shall in due time expect a fortunate result.

Thus done and resolved by the Assembly of the Seventeen, in *Amsterdam*, the 25th of March, sixteen hundred and fifty-one.

&c. &c.

D. PRUYS.

<sup>(1)</sup> The English Navigation Act, passed by the Parliament in 1651, particularly affected the Dutch; intelligence of the war which soon after broke out between the two Republics reached the Cape on the 18th January 1653. Where the mutual jealousies and injuries which were displayed at the Cape between the European powers, influenced the policy pursued towards the natives, or serve as illustrations of that policy—they will be adverted to in these papers.

1651. Dec. 12 Extract from additional Particular Instructions to the Commanders,  
&c. &c. *Cabo de Bona Esperance.*

. . . . . The said Commanders shall, above all, take care to be constantly upon their guard, and to maintain always an attitude of preparation for defence and offence, in order that they may not be unexpectedly overpowered by any one whomsoever.

With this understanding, however, that the before-named Commanders do not be the first to give any offence or obstruction to any nation touching there to refresh, who are in friendship, alliance, or neutrality with their High Mightinesses The States General, the Portuguese excepted, whom the Company has declared to be enemies by sea and by land, and against whom war will be prosecuted in all places within the limits of the East India Charter, in pursuance of a Resolution of the Assembly of the Seventeen.

Should any foreign nation, with whom the States General of the United Provinces are in alliance or neutrality, come to the Cape, &c. after your arrival there, in order to form an establishment, you will remain passive, provided that they keep beyond the jurisdiction of such places as you shall think proper to take possession of, and to protect, for your security and for the rearing of all kinds of cattle and fruits.

For which end you will, upon your arrival, immediately make inspection of the fields and arable ground most suitable and serviceable to the Company, and will there erect marks of occupation—making also a map of the same, as a proof that such arable ground and fields have been taken possession of by you for the Company. . . . .

Thus done, &c.

12th December, Anno 1651.

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Extracts from the Journal of Commander JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

1652. April 5. About the 5th glass of the afternoon watch, we got sight, God be praised, of the land of the *Cabo de Boa Esperance.*

In the night, the ships *Reijger* and *Hoop* closed with the *Drommedaris*, and early in the morning of the 6th April, we were about to steer for Table Bay, but deemed it advisable first to examine whether any enemies' ships lay in the road, as it was suspected that *Prince Robert* lay in wait here for the return fleet. . . . . About 2 o'clock in the afternoon they returned, reporting that there were no ships there, we therefore stood on, and notwithstanding the calm, by the aid of a fine southerly breeze which we got at last, our ship, and the yacht *Goede Hoop*, thanks to God, safely anchored after sun-set in the Table Bay, in 5 fathoms, sandy ground. . . . .

This evening we directed our Captain, David de Konink, to go on shore early in the morning with six armed soldiers, in addition to the boat's crew, to search whether there were any letters buried by any of the ships that had touched here, and at the same time to bring some herbs for refreshment, as we had now been more than 4½ months at sea without having put in at any place of refreshment, whereby the people were somewhat debilitated—desiring him also to take the seine with him and quickly to take a cast or two for a fresh meal. . . . .

7th. . . . . Soon after the Captain, Konink, returned with the boat, having caught a good quantity of fish, and bringing with him a box with letters, of date 25th February, addressed by Jan van Teylingen, Commander of the return fleet, two to the General and Council of India, and one to the Captains of the ships . . . . . then expected to touch here.

By the latter we learnt that he had brought here some horses for the people to be stationed in the Fort, and that, notwithstanding our absence, they would be landed, and placed in charge of the *Ottentoo* who speaks English. (1) We went on shore together this evening to take a hasty view of whercabouts the Fort should be placed, this evening we also got two savages on board, one of them was him who speaks English; we filled their bellies with meat and drink, but from what we could then elicit from them, there are no cattle to be had from them, as they gave us to understand by

(1) Extract of the letter referred to.

We got here only one cow and one sheep for refreshment, the crew saw great numbers inland, but the wild unreasonable men would bring us no more. God grant that you may be more fortunate, &c. &c. You may land the horses which you have on board, and desire the *Ottentoo* who speaks English to deliver them to the people who will come to establish the Fort, promising him a good reward, &c. &c.

25th Feb. 1652.

words of broken English and by signs, that they were only fishers, and that the cattle were always kept by those of Saldania, this indeed we had understood before from some of the survivors from the ship *Haarlem*.

8th April. . . . About noon, a party of about 9 or 10 savages of Saldania approached, against whom the *strand-lopers* (frequenters of the sea shore)—who daily sat by us at the tents, with their wives and children—placed themselves in an attitude of defence, running towards them with such courage and fury with *hassagaayes* and bows and arrows, that we had enough to do to stop them, their wives having run away to the mountain, we therefore let our captain Jan Jansen Hoogsaat, with our corporal and some armed soldiers interpose between them, who at about a half paterero shot from us, while the natives stood close together in battle array, brought them to a truce, so that they remained all day peaceably together about our tents, and those of Saldania intimated to us by signs, and many broken Dutch and English words (apparently picked up from the crew of the wrecked ship *Haarlem*) that within a few days they would bring cattle and sheep, for copper and tobacco, to which we encouraged them by good and liberal treatment.

The captain, David Konink, with two assistants and two soldiers, with fowling pieces and muskets, having gone out fishing in the Salt River, were met by the said 9 savages of Saldania, and treated by them in a very amiable and handsome manner, so as to excite wonder—clasping the captain, as soon as they learnt that he commanded one of the ships, around the neck with great joy, with intimations, that if we had copper and tobacco they would bring us cattle enough. They were very handsome active men, of particularly good stature, dressed however in a cow (or ox) hide tolerably prepared, which they carried gracefully upon one arm, with an air as courageous as any bravo in Holland can carry his cloak on arm or shoulder. Captain Konink came home with 4 sacks of mustard leaves and sorrel, besides a draught of 750 fine *steenbrassen*, among which were 4 other delicate fish, better in flavour than any fish in the mother country can be, one nearly resembling haddock, but larger and of a fat taste.

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#### 1652. April 9. Extract of Proclamation.

Jan van Riebeeck, Senior Merchant, and, on behalf of the Directors of the &c. Company, Commander over their Fortress to be constructed, Ships, and concerns, also over their possessions to be selected, at the *Cabo de Boa Esperance*, and his Council—make known :

That as we have been ordered by the said Directors, with the help of the ships *Drommedaris*, *Reijger*, and *Hoop*, thereto employed, to build at the said Cape, such Fortress and Fortifications as shall be found necessary for the protection of the possessions to be taken.

And as such new undertakings should be conducted with great caution, particularly as regards the wild people of that country, (they being very impudent), and especially great care be taken that we be in every respect on our guard and in a posture of defence, also, that no cause of offence may be given by us or our men to that people, but on the contrary, that all kindness and friendship be shown to them, in order that by our amicable conduct they may become inclined to an intercourse with us, so that by this means we may have the greater supply of all kinds of cattle, and suffer the less molestation from them in the plantations &c. which we are there to cultivate and to rear for the supply of the Company's passing and re-passing ships, the chief object, in the first instance, of our Honorable masters—and what further may in time be sought for the service of the Company.

So it is that we—for the prevention of all mischief in the promotion of the said affairs, as well as for the maintenance of good order and discipline among the common people, who think little of remote consequences—have deemed it highly necessary, as by Resolution 8th April 1652, to enact the following Articles for that purpose, and after consideration and approval of the Council, to publish them, together with some portions of the General Articles, at the proper place.

In the first place, &c. . . . .

And as these wild tribes are somewhat bold, thievish, and not at all to be trusted, each shall take good care that his arms and working tools, or whatever he be placed in charge of, be well taken care of, that they may not be stolen from him by the savages, as we by no means nor upon any consideration desire, that they should, on account of such theft, excepting with our previous knowledge and consent, be pursued, beaten, aye, even be looked upon with anger—but each shall have his stolen arms or tools charged against his wages, as a penalty, and for his carelessness receive 50 lashes at the whipping post, and forfeit his rations of wine for 8 days, or such other severer punishment as the exigency of the case may demand.

And accordingly, whoever ill uses, beats, or pushes, any of the natives, be he in the right or in the wrong, shall in their presence be punished with 50 lashes, that they may thus see that such is against our will, and that we are disposed to correspond with them in all kindness and friendship, in accordance with the orders and the object of our employers.

Wherefore the sentries and other guards are thus expressly ordered to assist in this; or otherwise, upon their suffering any injury to be done to the savages in their sight, they shall be liable to the same punishment as the actual offenders.

To this end all persons whomsoever are seriously exhorted and ordered, to show them every friendship and kindness, that they may, in time, through our courteous behaviour, become the sooner accustomed to us, and attached to us, so that we may thus attain the object of our employers; provided at the same time, that every one be well on his guard, without going so far among them, or trusting them so far, that they may get any of our people into their power, and massacre or carry them off.

For which purpose, &c. . . . .

All persons, of whatsoever quality, are furthermore expressly forbidden and prohibited from carrying on any traffic or barter with the natives or savages, except with the knowledge and consent of the commander and council above-named, whether in cattle, refreshments, or any other article whatsoever, in order that they may not, by the eagerness and thoughtlessness of the common people or others, become proud and dear with their cattle and other articles—and thus the Company's wares be brought into disesteem;—and whoever shall contravene our interdict in this respect, shall be proceeded against according to the General Articles—in the severest and most rigorous manner, by mulct of wages and rank—and be deported to Holland without pay or employment, and the cattle which may have been bought or bartered, confiscated to the Company; as we conceive such to be highly essential to the interests of the Company.

We order therefore . . . . .

Whoever transgresses in other particulars not herein inserted, shall be punished according to the General Articles, and the exigency of the case.

And that no one may have cause to pretend ignorance, we have caused these, and some sections of the General Articles to be read to the people on board of all the ships of the squadron, and also caused the same to be affixed at the proper place, upon a post erected for the purpose.

Thus done in full Council, in the ship *Drommedaris*, 9th April 1652.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

### Extracts from the Journal of Commander RIEBEECK.

† 1652. April 13. . . . Bartered this day—for four pieces of flat copper, and three pieces of copper wire, each half a fathom long—a cow and a young calf, which we divided fairly with the ships.

April 14. We let the people, for their refreshment, be served with the fresh meat and greens, and after performing the Sunday's Divine Service, went with all the boats to the Salt River to fish, when with three casts we got from 900 to 1000 fine steenbrass, harders, and other fish. . . . .

† April 21. . . . Ascended to-day the Kloof of Table Mountain about 2 *mylen*,<sup>(1)</sup> found everywhere the finest and flattest clay and other fertile soils—as wide and broad as in any part of the world—but with our small number of people, not the hundredth part can be ploughed or cultivated, therefore it would be well that some industrious Chinese came hither for that purpose, with all kinds of seeds and plants, as much better fruit is to be expected here than at Formosa, as the ground is much richer in various marshy spots.

† April 24. Went on shore with all our families and baggage, to lodge there in a loose plank shed hastily put together, that the work might proceed somewhat faster. Last night the people on shore caught a great sea-cow, fully as heavy as two ordinary fat oxen, having a very frightful monstrous head. . . . . Given as food to the people as it was well tasted.

† April 28. From the shore of Table Bay to that of Little Table Hill, behind the Great Mountain, we estimated it 10 *mylen* broad, watered by streams as fine as could be desired, and had we it occupied by thousands of Chinese, or other farmers, they could not cultivate the tenth part of it—it is so rich that nothing can equal it, neither Formosa, which I have seen, nor New Netherlands, which I have heard of.

† Papers or Extracts procured subsequently to the publication of the Dutch Edition, are thus distinguished.

(1) In the Instructions of 1657, the *myl* is defined to be “2000 Rynland Roods; or 15 *mylen* to a Degree of Latitude.”

April 29. Saw nothing of any natives from the land of Saldania or anywhere else, except sometimes 4 or 5 of the *strandloopers*, who brought with them nothing but lean bodies and hungry bellies, which we filled with some pearl barley and bread, and sometimes a drink of wine, wherefore we should also have some more rice, *item* arrack, wherewith to treat them and others from the interior, now and then, so as to make them the more attached to us. . . . .

May 6. . . . Returned about 8 a. m. having walked through the Kloof between the Table and Lion Mountains quite round behind, to about the distance of 6 *milen*, where they saw a large fine forest with tall straight trees, also a great quantity of harts, steen-bucks, and other game, among them civet cats, which are apparently very abundant here, as these *strandloopers* carry some tokens of them about their necks, and perhaps if those of Saldania come to visit us with their cattle, in the growing season of the year, more may be found among them: that they exist is certain, how abundant they may be time will show, and if we had people who knew how to take the civet from the cats, we could keep civet cats for the Company, the natives show us by signs that they catch them in snares, when they would get civet for sale. . . . .

May 8. . . . The captains of those ships came on shore to amuse themselves, and to look at our works, as natives to get water and herbs for the refreshment of their crews, as up to this date we have seen no natives from the interior with cattle, these *strandloopers* being provided with nothing but lean hungry stomachs, to fill which they are daily begging for bread and other food, and we often give them food in order to make them better accustomed to us, and in time to get, for the Company, our profit out of them as far as may be possible.

May 11. This day an Ottentoo was brought to our surgeon (*barbier*) who was severely wounded; we understood from him that he had been fighting with those of Saldania, and that they had 2 killed.

† June 3. The sickness increases daily, so that out of 116 we have no more than 60 tolerably fit for labour.

† June 6. The chaplain's wife delivered of the first child born within the Fort the Good Hope.

June 10. Kept close at work with barely 50 men, and those in only tolerable health—the rest lying sick with dysentery, *persing*, and severe fevers, for whom very little can be done as to regimen, except with a little wine and vegetables, which begin to grow from our Dutch seed—as up to this date, since our arrival here, we have not been able to procure from these natives any more than one cow and a calf, and that on our first arrival, therefore at present we have here a poor miserable life of it, as daily one after another is attacked by that complaint, and many die of it, and unless it pleases the Almighty to relieve us of this scourge, we see little chance of completing our work, as many of our people have died, and most of the others lie sick in bed.

June 11. Although we have found reeds for thatch, we want people who know how to lay them on, for what has been already done has been done in such a slovenly and insufficient manner that it must be taken off again—we are sitting still meanwhile, in very close tents, where we with the rest suffer great cold and discomfort, which contributes in no small degree to the continued and daily increasing sickness, as from the constant rain and the weakness of the people no more work is done, to the great sorrow of every one. . . . .

June 19. We have however advanced so far with our Dutch vegetables, that we can daily use for our own table, and for the sick, radishes, lettuce, and cress, having found besides asparagus and Dutch sorrel, (*zuring*); we can also sometimes make a dish of greens, but we want cattle and sheep, which the people of Saldania, in consequence of the cold and the unsuitable season of the year, have not as yet brought; these *strandloopers*, who are daily with us and live under the protection of our cannon, having for themselves nothing to eat but muscles and wild plants, and whenever those of Saldania come, they instantly fly, with exception of one who speaks a little broken English, who has promised to stay to interpret between us and the Saldania people; what will come of it, and whether they will be of any use to us time will show.

June 26. As we returned from the beach we saw a great quantity of harders, straight before our door, swimming close to the beach; we let the seine be drawn, which was so filled that the purse of the net was completely torn out, but we got fully 10,000 fish notwithstanding, of which we gave the Ottentoo 2,000; had we been able to draw the net whole to land, we should apparently have caught more than 20,000 fish with this single cast. It is frequently thus here, that we catch more fish than we want, it were to be wished that the cows, sheep, and other cattle, could be had in equal abundance, to refresh and strengthen those engaged in hard labour, as well as those lying sick, who must still make shift with *old* food and sometimes a little fish—and upon this they must perform their hard work.

July 14 & 15. We saw again many whales in the bay; went to the *Zoete Rivier*, lying about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *myl* from this, along Table Mountain, beyond the *Zoute Rivier*, where we saw many harts and

elands, as we had before noticed—we therefore determined to fix snares to try if we could catch them in this manner, as from their shyness they were not to be approached with our guns.

† July 17. So cold to-night that we had ice—set 16 snares of strong line at the Fresh River, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  myl off, over deep holes dug on purpose, in hopes of catching some of the elands, harts, or steen-bucks—which could hardly approach to drink without falling in, as appeared on the morning of

† July 18. When we found 9 of the snares broken and gone, thus it appeared the lines were not of sufficient strength.

† July 19. Set snares of twice the strength of the former, but it was as before, for in the morning we found 4 broken, the rest overflowed by the river, which had risen from the rain during the night.

† July 20. It is delightful to see how finely the peas, beans, radishes, sallad, beet, and spinach, and other vegetables advance in growth, as also the wheat and turnips close to the Fort. . . .

† July 22. Hard gale from W. N. W. with rain and hail.

† July 23. All our hard labour in the new garden entirely thrown away, all we had sown drowned and destroyed. . . . So much rain had fallen, that in some places the land resembled the sea. . . . Half a foot of water in our store, &c.

† July 24. Saw many baboons on the mountain, but they were too nimble to let us approach.

† July 25 & 26. Stormy cold bleak weather, into which one could scarcely drive out a dog.

† July 27. The mountain on several places white with snow.

July 28, 29, & 30. With the last bad weather, 8 or 10 more are confined with sickness, to whom we can apply no other or better regimen than a little warm wine, as up to this day we have not seen a single cow or sheep, but we hope that in next month those of Saldania will come down, and that we may then be able to buy from them a good number of cattle, for the refreshment, as well of our people now on shore, as of those soon expected with the ships, who may now be tolerably supplied with vegetables, as notwithstanding the bad weather we are like to have a tolerable supply fit for use.

Aug. 12. Saw the harts and elands in moderate numbers, about a cannon shot from our Fort, but so wild that we could not approach them, which is very annoying to us, for in spite of all our efforts we can by no means get at them, and besides up to this date we have procured nothing from the natives, except as before-said, on our first arrival in the beginning of April, a lean cow and calf, thus we must still continue the hard work upon the old food, and sometimes some Cape herbs, with a little Dutch radish and salad, until it may please the Lord God to permit us to be provided with something else and with more of it.

Aug. 22, 23, & 24. As our stock-fish is exhausted we have resolved henceforth to catch fresh fish, and to issue them instead of stock-fish, so as to keep up three meals a day as long as this hard work continues, for which purpose, having yesterday gone out fishing, we again caught and salted 400 large steenbrass, and about 2,000 harders: it were to be wished that the cattle and sheep could also be had in equal abundance, as the fresh meat would give the people more heart than the fish gives; but we will hope that those of Saldania, as the summer season is approaching, will soon heave in sight (*opdonderen*) and may be inclined to trade with us, by which time also we hope to be in a tolerable state of defence.

Sept. 13. The yacht returned from Robben Island, bringing about an hundred black birds, called *duikers*, (cormorants) of a good flavour, also a few penguins, with about 1,000 cormorants' eggs, all of which were divided among the people as some sort of refreshment or change; these did not come too soon, as the stock-fish is exhausted, and we had now made several casts with the seine with little success.

Sept. 14. The said yacht sailed for Robben Island with a fine S. W. wind, taking both the boats, and some tubs and buckets, to fetch penguin and other eggs for the people, as the stock of pearl barley and peas begins to get low, and as the Saldania people have not yet appeared with any cattle. . . . In the afternoon, anchoring at Robben Island, went on shore and found that all the eggs on the Northern point of the Island (as the cormorants had been on the previous day driven from their nests) were carried off and eaten by the sea gulls, went therefore to the South point, which was found full of eggs, but as it was becoming late we took on board only 500 or 600 and 25 birds, leaving 6 men on the Island.

Sept. 15. Early in the morning, the S. E. wind blowing hard, we endeavoured first to collect the remainder of the eggs, but as before, found all the nests emptied by the sea gulls, as we, landing ourselves, personally ascertained, so that we could get nothing but about 600 penguins, which allowed themselves to be driven before us to the boats, as if they had been sheep. . . .

## † 1652. Sept. 24. Resolution of Council in the Fort the Good Hope.

Having, by God's help, so far advanced with the works of the Company's fortification, that we are now in a tolerable state of defence against attacks from the natives of this land, and as it therefore begins to be time to look about for some profits for our masters, towards solace for the costs already incurred, or still to be borne, for which purpose the yacht the Good Hope is a fitting vessel, (which now lies with her people unemployed and can do little service) and can be conveniently spared for a voyage to the Island *Elizabeth*, about 7 or 8 *mylen* to the North, which is full of seals and rabbits, and a good place for the collection of peltries and oil—thence to the bay of St. Helena, lying in South latitude  $32\frac{3}{4}$ , and Saldania in  $33\frac{3}{4}$ , for the further discovery of those places, and the intervening coast; and also chiefly to examine, whether any traffic is there to be held for the Company, as we have learnt by an extract of a letter from *Benquela*, written by Capt. *Davit Claes*, in 1651, and which was brought to Holland by the *Reijger*—that a certain Portuguese vessel (*hurche*) had some years ago touched in passing, and had bartered for old copper, gold, ambergris, and ivory; also from General Van der Lyn, at Amsterdam, that last year, a French vessel joined him at St. Helena, which had brought from the places mentioned, a cargo of oil and skins, worth, as he understood, 100,000 guilders, (*een tonne gouts*) as Capt. *Turver* also knew;—as it also appears from the journal of *Joris Spilbergen*, that in November, 1601, he had been there, and had seen many fires in the interior, whence it is certain that people are to be found, having probably civet or musk, and ivory, as we have seen some *Hottentoots* or savages wear such round their necks, and can sufficiently understand from *Herry*, who speaks some broken English, that those of Saldania are possessed of that article, as well as of ivory, in tolerable abundance, &c. *Item* from *Spilbergen's* journal, that the said Island *Elizabeth* is a good place for collecting oil and skins, worth, as that captain was informed in Holland, fully 1 rix-dollar or 3 guilders; as also, that the numerous rabbits had fine and valuable skins, which would sufficiently pay the costs of the voyage, even should no means of traffic be found.—It is therefore after full deliberation deemed to be for the best service of the Company, and resolved accordingly, to despatch the said yacht thither in the ensuing month, in the name of the Lord—with ample instructions and as many casks as can be spared to hold seal blubber—and a *Hottentoo* boy, with consent of his parents—that he may learn our language and in time be employed as interpreter, also two brave soldiers for greater security and defence, hoping that the Almighty will bless the undertaking for the service and profit of our masters, amen!

Thus done, &c.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

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Extracts from the Journal of Commander RIEBEECK.

1652. Sept. 26. Stormy weather with rain, wind N. W. during the night, little to the advancement of our work, and the people already begin to murmur about the constant laborious work upon the fortification, and in digging the ground, as also about the food, as the stock-fish is exhausted; and as such murmuring must necessarily have an instigator, we did our best to bring him to light, and for this purpose promised the informer two cans of wine and to conceal his name, so that this instigator may be punished as he deserves; *Item*, we will hope that the Almighty will send us succour, whether by ship from *Patria*, or cattle &c. from the natives, as the crop of carrots, turnips, cabbages, &c. has not been long enough in the ground to let us enjoy the fruit as food, meanwhile daily doing our best to take fish with the seine.

Sept. 29. Our assistants, with 9 others, and the *Ottentoo* who speaks a little English,<sup>(1)</sup> ascended Table Mountain, and lit a fire to show that they had succeeded, it was very toilsome to ascend and descend, flat on the top with very few herbs—as broad and about three times as long as the Dam at Amsterdam, with some small pools of fresh water.

Sept. 30. This day the people presumed to propose to His Honor Van Riebeeck, that as it was fine weather they were disposed to go out to fish, but that he must promise them, that their pork should not be withheld from them on that account; on which they got for answer, that they should indeed be sent to fish if there was time, and were such His Honor's pleasure, but as to withholding or economising the beef, pork, or other food, that should be arranged according to circumstances. . . .

(1) *Herry*, who soon becomes a prominent character, had made a voyage to Bantam in an English ship.

## † 1652. Oct. 2. Extract of Resolution of Council.

. . . . It is further resolved, in order that the Fort may not be inconvenienced by the smell of the oil, to set up the boilers at Salt River, and, for the security of the boilers and other implements, to place a small Redoubt of sods, three roods square, upon a certain high sand hill, at this side of the mouth of that River, armed with 2 four-pounders, to be occupied by the whale fishers, &c. &c. and also for the greater strength and security of this Table Bay and the Rivers, which can be thus everywhere defended, so that no boat can well land against our will, and our boats can lie in the River, under the protection of a good Redoubt, more securely than before the Fort.<sup>(1)</sup> . . . .

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

Oct. 3. About noon, the gunner and two of the yacht's men, who had been at Salt River to fetch reeds, came flying to us, stating that they had seen a great number of natives, and had been chased (there being five of them) over the river by seven or eight natives, leaving behind them their two companions, who could not swim, and the boat—we therefore sent thither 12 or 14 armed soldiers, to rescue and bring to us the 2 men and the boat, but upon their coming to Salt River, they found that it was 7 or 8 of the wives of the Ottentoots who lived with us, who had been scraping up some small roots for their food, and who, on seeing our people, ran dancing towards them, to show their friendship and to ask for some tobacco or bread. . . . .

† Meanwhile one of the men who had deserted upon the 24th September, made his appearance out of a little thicket—begging to be allowed to come into the Fort, with safety to life and person, and soon after the other three appeared, and the whole four came in before evening of their own accord. . . . Jan Blank said that he had some time ago dreamed of a mountain of gold, which he had hoped to find—and such like childish pretences.

† Oct. 4. Again examined the runaways, who freely confessed that it was their intention to go by land to Mozambique, and thence to Holland. . . . We found upon them also a journal, written with red chalk by Jan Blank, . . . . which ran word for word as follows :

“ In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Sept. 24. In the evening set out from the *Kaap de Boa Esperance*, directing our course to Mozambique, four of us, Jan Verdonk, of Vlaanderen, Willem Huytgens, of Maastricht, Gerrit Dirkse, of Maastricht, and Jan Blank, of Mechelen, having with us four biscuits and fish, God grant us success on the journey,<sup>(2)</sup> also four swords, two pistols, and the dog.

Sept. 25. This evening marched seven *mylen*; saw two rhinoceroses, which advanced upon us intending to destroy us, Jan Verdonk was obliged to leave behind his hat and sword; a little before our dog ran at a porcupine, by which he was so wounded in the neck that we thought he would die; took our rest to-night by a rivulet, in God's name; saw also two ostriches; obliged to leave *ditto* again because of two rhinoceroses that came towards us, then we chose the beach; after we had gone two *mylen* we made our camp in the first of the sand hills.

Sept. 26. This morning again set out on our journey, chose the coast to the *Kaap Aquillas*, marched about seven *mylen*, our first food was four young birds who lay in the nest, and three eggs; encamped on the beach where we got some limpets.

Sept. 27. Went along the beach about seven *mylen*, came in the evening to a very high mountain close to the sea, which we must over, therefore rested at the foot until

Sept. 28. And provided ourselves with limpets to take with us over the mountain, which we prepared, strung on lines and dried, and also with calabashes to carry water.

Sept. 29. Setting out in the morning intending to get over this corner, but not being well able to do so, Jan Verdonk and Willem Huytgens begun to repent, but went on—

Sept. 30.—notwithstanding until the afternoon of next day, when Gerrit also was knocked up, and, for me, I could not make a dance of it alone, therefore resolved to return to the Fort, in hopes of mercy and grace in God's name.”

(1) This appears to have been the first extension of territory. Children are still taught in Cape Town, from elementary books, that the first settlement was at Salt River.

(2) The probable meaning of the journalist. The diction of the journal of the *first* Cape traveller—and to which its preservation may be owing—cannot be conveyed in English: “God laat ons de reis wel *vergaan*”—*i. e.* perish. It will be seen—Oct. 9—that Jan Blank was flogged and keelhauled.

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1652. Oct. 9. . . . In the evening some of the Saldania Ottentoes came to the Fort—in consequence of which some alarm was given by the sentries, the Ottentoo Herry, who speaks some broken English and who has his houses on the other side of the river, below the northern angle, the Reyger, under our guns, coming with two *Saldaniers* before the gate, and requesting to be admitted, we allowed them, and on their appearing before us, we treated them with some wine and tobacco, so that in about two hours they set out much elated, having affirmed that within a few days their companions would come with abundance of cattle, if we had copper (by them called *bras*) enough, therefore we showed some to them, for which they seemed to be eager; these two *Saldaniers* were much bolder and livelier men than the *Strandlopers* who daily live with us, but still having the same language and clothing; on their arms they wore rings of elephants' tusks, and plaited into their hair small bits of horn, just like *cauris de madilba*, for ornament, as also copper rings and plates round the neck, and had with them nothing else, except some ostrich egg-shells, and a sort of wild leek or onion, which we also had found growing in tolerable abundance, and intend to collect and cultivate at the Fort, as we have already begun to do with the asparagus, sorrel, and mustard. . . .

† Oct. 9. This day the deserters were sentenced by the court, Jan van Leyden as first instigator—who, together with Jan Blank, by dint of supplication, had the capital punishment remitted—to be bound to a post and a ball fired over their heads—Jan Blank, the guide, to be keelhauled with 150 lashes—and 2 years work as slaves, in irons, &c.

## 1652. Oct. 14. Extract of Proclamation.

Whereas some inhabitants of Saldania are now beginning to appear hereabouts, who are somewhat bold, thievish, and not at all to be trusted, and are besides very covetous of iron and copper, every one is therefore warned by these presents, and expressly ordered to keep a good watch upon his arms and tools, as spades, shovels, picks, hoes, &c. so that they be not stolen or carried off from him, on pain of their being charged to his account, and 100 lashes besides, or heavier punishment according to the exigency of the case, as we by no means, nor for any consideration in the world, desire that any harm be done to these tribes by any of our people, or that, upon their stealing or carrying away any thing, they are on that account to be pursued, or looked upon angrily, but by every friendly behaviour rendered familiar and well inclined towards us, in order by this means the better to come into a more intimate acquaintance and intercourse with them, as also to find an opportunity of asking and inquiring what may in time be found among or near them whether by way of traffic or otherwise, for the advantage of our masters.

Therefore every one whomsoever, whether officer or common soldier or sailor, whatever his rank or quality, and whether belonging to the ships or to the land force, is expressly ordered not to cause to the said inhabitants any the slightest molestation, annoyance, or provocation, or he shall be punished for the same in their presence.

And also that no one shall, without our knowledge and consent, purchase or barter any thing, but every article found among them, be it musk, civet, ivory, cattle, sheep, or whatever it may, shall be brought to us, in order to be by us purchased for the Company, on pain of forfeiture of the article purchased, and arbitrary punishment according to the exigency of the case, &c. &c.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

1652. Oct. 14. Extracts of Instructions for the yacht the *Good Hope*, proceeding hence to the Bays of St. Helena, Saldania, &c. (1)

. . . . You will make close inquiry for every thing, and in particular be careful to be always on your guard, in order that you be not unexpectedly surprised by the said savages or other enemies or pretended friends,(2) wherefore for your greater security we have reinforced you with two brave

(1) See Resol. Sept. 24, p. 14.—The Resolution of Oct. 15, directs this vessel to make a minute survey of Hout Bay, previous to proceeding to fulfil these Instructions.

(2) Intelligence of the Declaration of War against the Dutch by the "new Republic of England," reached the Cape on the 18th Jan. 1653. See Resol. 19th Jan.

soldiers, whom as well as your other people you will take care to keep in every respect in good discipline and obedience, that the savages may sustain no injury or any the least annoyance, but your best done in every manner to make them more and more accustomed and attached to our nation, in order thus to procure a better opportunity of inquiring and learning what may in time be found among them, for the service and profit of our masters. . . .

In negotiating for the sale of said wares for the goods of the inhabitants, you must not be too free and liberal, as frequently our worst merchandize is by them esteemed the most valuable, thus you will take particular notice of what is most agreeable to them. . . .

A cow is usually bought here for two small plates of copper, or one large plate, such as the pieces you have been supplied with, and in like manner in proportion with the copper wire; to allure them however, you may at first be something more liberal, that is, provided you cannot succeed otherwise. . . .

Sheep are usually bought for as much tobacco or thin copper wire as the sheep, tail included, measures in length. . . .

Elephants' teeth, about 1 or 1½ span? of tobacco, more or less, according to their size. . . .

The musk also may apparently be got for tobacco, but if they will have copper for it you may buy notwithstanding, taking care to see that it is of good quality, for which purpose a description of a mode of testing it accompanies this. . . .

The ambergris may in the same manner be bought for copper, if not to be had for any worse description of merchandise. . . .

Should you find gold among them, you must not display an over covetousness for it, as it is very possible that they deem copper of equal value; to this, particular attention should be paid. . . .

If ostrich feathers are to be had, you may see to get a few of them also, particularly of those with very fine points, which Herry, the Ottentoo (he who speaks broken English) would persuade us are to be had for a bit of bread or common tobacco. . . .

You will also sometimes let them see what merchandize you have, so as to observe which kind they are most desirous of, that the information may be of use hereafter for the service of the Hon. Company. . . .

*Item* you will also wherever you touch, place marks of possession and property on account of the Company, more especially where you can perceive that any kind of profit is to be derived.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

In the Fort, &c 14th Oct. 1652.

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### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1652. Oct. 20. In the morning *Herry* came into the Fort with about 12 or 14 Saldaniers, whom we presented with a drink or two of wine and some tobacco, and they gave us some young onions and leeks, and promised in a few days to come with a quantity of cattle, saying they would now go and apprise their friends, that we were provided with copper and tobacco to trade with them, they would also bring some elephants' tusks, and musk or civet—which we let them look at and smell—to barter to us for tobacco and copper, to which we encouraged them by every friendship and good treatment—meanwhile we are doing our best to render the Fort more capable of defence, in which we are again much impeded by new sickness, which we hope—if we procure cattle—will then, through God's mercy, be removed, amen!

Nov. 14. This day some Saldaniers came again to the Fort, bringing intelligence that many of their people, with wives, children, and cattle, were close by, requesting a drop of arrack for their news, which we gave them, and treated them well to allure them the more, showed them also some copper and tobacco, for which they seemed very eager, and could not sufficiently express their surprise at the great quantity—they gave us hopes that in two or three days we should see hereabouts such a quantity of sheep, cattle, &c. so that our stock of copper and tobacco would not suffice to buy them.

Nov. 17. This morning 5 or 6 of the said Saldaniers, went away with a bit of tobacco as a present, upon their customary beggarly request, promising not to return hither again, except with all their people and cattle, to which we kindly encouraged them; and as they had already said so frequently, it seems somewhat doubtful, and not to be relied on—we will however pray the Almighty to incline

their hearts to us, and allow us soon to witness its accomplishment—which on account of the daily increasing sickness among the people, and to strengthen and restore them, is in the last degree needful.

Nov. 19. Sent the captain of the yacht with his men to the salt-pan to fetch salt, with which we were ill provided, they returned in the evening, bringing each a good load of very fine white salt—and reporting that there was still a good quantity to be had, as also that they had seen thereabouts 40 or 50 Saldaniers, with fully 1000 cattle and sheep together, which they would to-morrow bring to the Fort to barter for copper, having treated our people very kindly and smoked and drank with them in all friendship.

Nov. 21. This day we sent a party of our people to fetch some cow dung, which lay in abundance about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mylen from the Fort, who returned with a good load each towards midday, accompanied by a Saldania captain, and reporting that they had seen a great quantity of cattle and sheep about the *Versche* River, and that a Saldania captain, who had been at the Fort the day before, had sent by one of our people a *delicaat* sheep, as a present to the commander, because he had yesterday treated him nobly with tobacco and other food (*spijzen*), as he this day also did again to the captain and his wife, and the Ottentoo Herry, and provided the female with beads for the neck, and copper wire for the arms, as also a piece of tobacco in return for the sheep, thus to make them the more accustomed and attached to us; they brought with them their own food, namely, milk in large leathern bags, which they sucked up with a small brush or swab made of a species of hemp, very strange to see.

Nov. 22. Some Saldaniers came before the Fort with three sheep, of which we bought two, each for scarce the sheep's length of thin wire, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. with  $\frac{1}{8}$  lb. of tobacco to boot, amounting together to 6 stivers for each sheep; the third being somewhat larger than the other, they wanted double their price, we therefore did not accede to their demand, that they might not acquire bad habits; meanwhile the assistants Helm and Verburg, with 4 or 5 others, went with our leave to the Saldania captain, who was here yesterday, taking with them a good wooden box full of cut tobacco and some pipes, as a treat, and also a piece of thick copper wire, to be carried in the hand of each man by way of a walking stick, in order to observe the degree of their eagerness for such wire, without however showing any wish to barter cattle; upon their arriving at the residence of the said chief or captain, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mylen from this, where the mustard seed stands, they found him very polite, he welcomed and led them round to see his riches in, huts—15 in number—and in cattle and sheep, in all 1,500 or 1,600 in number, after which he let them come and sit in his house of mats, very handsomely made and rather large—and having desired some women to milk, entertained them therewith in a kind and friendly manner; our people on their side liberally dispensing tobacco—given them for that purpose, as before noticed, together with clean pipes; our people also took with them a little tin can, with which to drink milk, this the captain and his wives also desired to use, and on being permitted, esteemed it a great honor, they seemed very eager for the thick wire—given to our people by way of walking sticks, which weighed each about 4 lbs., for each of which they offered a very fine fat calf, but our people carried themselves as if that wire was not to be sold—but intimated that if they came to the Fort they would find enough of it in the possession of the Dutch commander, who was disposed to trade with them in the most friendly manner; on this the chief promised that he would to-morrow visit the commander, and bring his cattle with him to the Fort.

This chief of the Saldaniers was much respected by his people, and much ado made about him; understanding also very well how to maintain his dignity; they were, including women and children, about 250 in number, the children sucked at the udders of the sheep, which the mothers gave them through between the hind legs, very pleasing and curious to behold—the huts stood neatly in a circle, within which the cattle were kept; and they gave our people to understand, that they would stay at that place until their cattle had eaten up the grass, when they would bring their cattle and their houses to the Fort, and remain there as long as there was any grass.

They pointed out to our people many fires in the interior, stating that they were the fires of numerous people coming in this direction, with quantities of cattle, who would also be disposed to trade with us: in the evening we saw from the Fort many fires on the hills, on the opposite side of the bay, which the Ottentoo Herry told us were all Saldaniers, with such abundance of cattle, that our copper would soon fall short, which God grant, amen!

Nov. 23. This day a party of Saldaniers again came to the Fort with a sheep, which they bartered for a small plate of copper, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an ell of tobacco, also a fine large young ox for the value of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  guilders in flat copper wire and tobacco, from the Saldania captain, he having come according to his promise; we showed to him, his wife, and 6 or 7 of his chief people, much friendship, and entertained them well, to incline them the more to us, and allure them with all their cattle to the Fort, they went away in the evening well contented. . . .

Nov. 24. In the afternoon the bookkeepers Helm and Verburg, with 15 or 16 others well armed, went again with our consent to the Saldaniers with cut tobacco and pipes, in hopes to induce them to come with all their cattle to the Fort—thus to procure a better opportunity for barter, as up to this date only 11 or 12 head of cattle and sheep together, have been brought to us, and it is very necessary that we should get something more for the sick, for they have cattle in abundance—on arriving our people were received and welcomed as before, also presented with milk—called by the natives *bies*—but which our people, as their pots were very filthy, and unfit to drink from, declined as civilly as possible; giving to the chief and some of his men, pipes and tobacco, as an acknowledgement of their courtesy; and also, as before said, the more to induce them to come with their cattle to the Fort; but in the course of conversation they learnt from signs and broken English words, that they were not inclined to come to the Fort, but to remove to the great thicket, about 7 mylen off, which had been first found and discovered by the said bookkeepers; our people displayed to them meanwhile some bars of copper, carried in the hand like a stick, but they evinced no desire whatever for it, and looked at it with as much coolness as if they had never before seen copper, and were quite indisposed to barter, which causes us the greatest surprise, not knowing what to think of it, as they had only yesterday evening promised (after they, together with Herry—whom we employ as interpreter in bartering—had been well entertained) that in a few days they would come to the Fort with all their cattle to trade, wherefore we half suspect that said Herry, as he is now good friends with the Saldaniers, whom he always before used to call his enemies, incites to mischief—which we hope by care and attention to find out in time, and should such be the case, it were not amiss that we should contrive to coax him with wife and children, as well as all the water people (*i. e.* strand-loopers?) to Robben Island, and leave them there, that we might thus be able to trade the more securely, and to our contentment, with the Saldaniers, who appear to be a good sort of people—as to all which matters time will give us further information.

Nov. 25. The yacht's crew, having gone to the bush to fetch cudgels and a spar for killing seals, stated in the evening, upon their return with the wood, that the Saldaniers were busied in decamping, in order to remove to the great thicket behind Table Mountain.

Nov. 26. Some Saldaniers came again with an old and a young sheep, which we purchased for a piece of wire as long as the sheep, and some tobacco for the lamb; while we were bargaining they saw and spoke with Herry, who, as we observed, taught them to demand more copper, so that we could hardly agree upon the price, although we offered rather a high price for the sheep, which heretofore, without his assistance, we were in the habit of buying for its length of tobacco, and to expend copper only for cows. According to the statement of the mate of the yacht, and the corporal of the soldiers—who had been here before, and had bartered with the Saldaniers—they had never seen Herry present on those occasions, and that without him they had attained their object very easily and kindly, so that we observe from all Herry's proceedings, that he causes us hindrance rather than any service, for the good entertainment he has met with from us, from the day of our arrival to this date; wherefore seeing so plainly his roguery and falsehood, we intimated to him our dissatisfaction, and that he was in a great measure the cause of our not being able to come to any barter of consequence, and that they must conduct themselves otherwise if they wished us to continue their friends, &c. trying him further whether he would accompany our people to the Saldaniers, which he scarce dared to do, as we thought out of fear of them; not daring however to refuse, he went with them to the spot where the Saldaniers had lain, whom they found to have removed to the great thicket, with their huts and cattle; we firmly believe that Herry was aware of their departure, as he now went boldly and willingly, whereas a day or two before he did not dare to go when

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The following Extracts were accidentally omitted to be inserted in their proper place, in this Edition, as well as in the Dutch.

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1652. Oct. 12. About 20 Saldaniers came to us, stating that they were about to go to tell their countrymen about us, that they might return together with their cattle, and elephants' teeth, requesting as a fee a bit of tobacco each, which we gave them, as also a drink of wine, with a friendly exhortation to come to us quickly, with their cattle and all they possessed, as we had copper and tobacco enough for them, if they would only come without fear; to this they seemed to be disposed, and we will therefore hope for success:—They seemed very desirous of bread, with which we had willingly treated them, and which may be the means of leading to much friendship; but as our stock begins to run low, and the allowance must soon be reduced—as we can expect no supply for 4 months, the ships of the year having apparently passed—we gave them rather more tobacco in lieu of bread: but we should have here more bread, as well as rice and arrack, to treat the natives, as we can see that they are thus allured and made attached to us; we make this remark the more particularly, from their constantly exclaiming, that the English give them whole bags full of bread, and much tobacco, with whole bottles of arrack and wine, therefore, to get the better of the English in this, and to become more popular among the natives, and if we would attract them to us out of the interior—for otherwise not

requested; meanwhile our people saw fires on the mountain side, where they supposed there were people, but having ascended some distance, they saw none, because it was too far up the mountain; on this occasion Herry dared not go with them out of fear that he would be beaten to death by the Saldaniers, but turning back he waited for our people at the Salt River: so that we observe from all his behaviour, that he tries to incite the Saldaniers to ask much more copper for their cattle, than they would themselves desire, in order to preserve their favor, which causes a great impediment in the trade, and that he does more mischief, is not beyond suspicion.

Nov. 27. This day there came some new Saldaniers, with 27 sheep, of which we bought 19, for copper wire and tobacco, each costing between 6 and 7 stivers, which trade went on briskly as long as Herry kept away, but as soon as he came it took a turn, so that we fully perceive that he is the chief obstacle, therefore other measures must in due time be adopted with regard to him.

Nov. 28. Some Saldaniers came again with sheep, among them were some of our former visitors, with whom Herry's instructions had so far prevailed, that we could not to-day come to any decent barter, seeing however that we also showed some reluctance, we purchased 9 sheep at yesterday's prices, they also asked for them flat copper, which we meant to reserve for buying cows, giving for the sheep only wire, &c.

Nov. 29. The N. W. wind still detained the yacht, meanwhile the old Saldania captain came to us promising to bring cattle to-morrow, but whether he will keep his word time must show, however, to allure him the more, we entertained him well, and bartered from his people 4 sheep, great and small, for about  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. copper wire and 1 lb. tobacco each; it seems that they will not willingly part with their cows.

Nov. 30. Some Saldaniers, who were lying on the opposite side of the bay, about 3 mylen from this, came with a fine flock of sheep, of which we bartered from them 17, young and old, for about 7 lbs. of copper wire, 6 lbs. of tobacco, and some pipes, amounting altogether to about 6 guilders, or upon an average 7 stivers for each sheep; they also promised to bring some cows with them to-morrow, for which we intimated that we would give them flat copper, all their cry was for that article; we had enough to do to induce them to sell their sheep for wire, always asking for the flat copper, which we reserved for the purchase of the cows, and as they appear to be somewhat dear with their horned cattle, we do the same with the copper, seeing that they hold it in higher esteem; if we parted with it for sheep, we can easily perceive they would not bring us a single cow, nor any thing but sheep, thus we show them the flat copper, but let them know at the same time that we want cows for it.

Dec. 1. In the forenoon some new Saldaniers came with 7 or 8 cattle, young and old, of which we bartered 4, namely 1 old and 3 fine young calves, for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. wire and 6 lbs. flat copper, with 2 lbs. tobacco and pipes, amounting in all to about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  guilders, as also 6 sheep, young and old, for 2 lbs. tobacco and pipes, each sheep costing scarcely 6 stivers; bought also 2 elephant's teeth for  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. tobacco.

Dec. 2. At noon came a party of Saldaniers, among whom were many strangers, with 6 or 7 cows and a lot of fine fat sheep, of which we bought 28 head, viz. 24 fine sheep, for copper wire and tobacco, to the value of between 7 or 8 stivers per head; as also 2 old and 2 young cattle for about the value of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  guilders in flat copper, tobacco, and pipes; so that we only now begin to trade properly, but have much trouble with the cows, as they part with them reluctantly, as we pretend to do with the flat copper, to all appearance we should not otherwise get a single cow. In the evening we perceived the whole country covered with fires, from which, as well as from Herry, we learnt that there are thousands of people hereabouts, we must therefore keep good watch, although the inhabit-

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a head of cattle will be procurable—we require bread, tobacco, and wine or arrack, by which means cattle will probably be got at a cheap rate.

Oct. 13. Gave this day a parting dinner to the officers of the yacht, entirely of chickens reared at the Cape, shell-less peas, spinach, chervil, pot herbs, asparagus as thick as the finger, and sallad, as compact as a cabbage, and each head weighing fully  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. &c.

Oct. 14 & 15. Issued to the yacht the instructions to be seen in our copy book: it began to rain and blow, which increased in the night.

Oct. 16. It blew so hard from the West, that the yacht could not sail, and had enough to do to ride it out against the N. W. wind, to which this bay lies exposed, this the more determined us to examine the bay behind Table Mountain . . . where there is good timber to be had, &c.

Oct. 19. . . . Returned in the evening, and after prayers were over, and the gate of our scarcely half finished Fort was closed, some natives of Saldanha came before the gate, and asked to speak to the captain—meaning the commander,—we therefore went out to them, and learnt, that 12 of them had come before the rest, with 3 cows and 4 sheep, showing us also some ostrich feathers and 3 elephant's tusks, which they would barter to us on the morrow for copper and tobacco, asking a little tobacco for their news, and for the notice, that in 4 of 5 days, all the Saldaniers would come with wives and children,

ants display towards us, and we to them, nothing but kindness and friendship; we bartered this day, also, 12 ducks and 42 other fine birds for about 1 lb. of tobacco in all, which, as they could not be tamed, we had cooked for the people and they were very well tasted.

Dec. 3. Bartered 8 cows and 2 sheep from the Saldaniers, for about 30 lbs. of flat copper and wire, and 8 lbs. of tobacco into the bargain, with some pipes; each sheep costing  $6\frac{1}{2}$  stivers and each cow about 6 skillings.

Dec. 4. Began early in the morning to barter with the inhabitants for the cattle brought by them, and having bought one heifer, one calf, and 9 sheep, young and old, they departed hastily.

Dec. 5. This day we bartered only one cow and 11 sheep, the Saldaniers coming daily nearer to us with their dwellings in great numbers, wherefore there is the greater need to be on our guard, and as many of our people, in spite of our repeated warnings and orders, do not scruple to sleep upon their night watch, and to commit great thefts, not merely from each other, but even from the Company's goods and implements, and also in the gardens upon the young fruit, we have therefore deemed it necessary to appoint a provost marshal, who may also, as occasion may require, act as executioner, in order to impress more fear upon the common people, to perform which duties Michael Gleve, of Straalsond, a fitting person, has volunteered to be engaged, upon a salary of 15 guilders monthly, with the emoluments appertaining to that office, according to the custom of India, as per special resolution of this date.

Dec. 6. A good number of Saldaniers came rather early with good young cattle, which we bought of them, together with 21 sheep and lambs, for copper and tobacco, which must always form part of the price, and were we without tobacco, there would be hardly any trade, for the purchase of a whole cow often depends upon a fingers length of tobacco or a pipe; therefore we should be annually supplied with 1,000 lbs., which must also be quite good, for if at all unsound, they immediately taste and reject it, exclaiming, "Stinking tabak." Among those called Saldaniers were two new captains, who requesting to see our house, we assented, and entertained them with three or four glasses of wine, and with tobacco, to make them the more attached to us:—meanwhile observed that on the ascent of Table Mountain the pasture was every where crowded with cattle and sheep like grass on the fields, which the said captains gave us to understand were theirs, and that they intended to bring their houses close by and reside here, and that they would to-morrow bring their wives, that they also might see our houses and our wives; we said that was good, that we should be glad to see them, although we would rather that they should not live so close to us, as their numbers are countless, and we are not as yet so very secure, however we will hope that there may be no necessity, and that the Almighty will protect us, and that the Saldaniers may be at heart as friendly as they appear outwardly, one thing is certain, if an animal escapes from us, they instantly fetch it back for a fingers length of tobacco, but where they can get hold of a piece of copper, they do not fail to do so, which was proved to us to-day also, at the same time, if, after having bought a beast, it escapes from us, they restore the copper until they have brought the same beast back to our pasture, but they require to be treated in a manner at once civil, friendly, resolute, and uncomplying<sup>(1)</sup> which may be easily accomplished without expense.

Dec. 7. During the night the carpenters' work shop without the Fort, and the chests of the carpenters standing therein, were broken open and plundered of various articles . . . which was presumed to have been done by Martinus de Hase, who had not yet shown himself; a corporal and 6 musketeers, were therefore sent out to seek him, but they could not find him, nor learn that he

(1) The full meaning of the word *weigerachtig* is not here conveyed. This Dutch adjective is translated by Wernick "unwilling to grant," by Sewel "ready to refuse."

thousands of cattle, ivory, and musk—this we gave them, and they went away to take their rest quite happy—returning on—

Oct. 20.—before the Fort, with 3 horned cattle and 4 sheep, 2 old and 2 young, which we bought, to wit: the three cows for 9 pieces of flat copper of about 3 pounds weight each, and about a pound of tobacco given to boot, each animal thus costing 21 stivers and 12 *penningen*, the old sheep for 2 pieces of copper and  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. tobacco, each costing 10 stivers and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  *penningen*, and two fine young delicate lambs for  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. copper wire and  $\frac{1}{8}$  lb. tobacco—or together 11 stivers 4 *penningen*, so that each lamb cost 5 stivers 10 *penningen*, less than 2 *ponden* of Dutch money, and we think they may be had still cheaper in time, as also elephant's tusks, of which we bought 3 for about  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. tobacco or 2 stivers 8 *penningen*—also for  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of tobacco 2 young ostriches, that we may try to rear them.

Oct. 21. The said Saldaniers went away with a little tobacco upon their begging petition, promising in a few days to return with more cattle and teeth—they were scarce gone when another came, saying, he was sent before to apprise us of the approach of a multitude of Saldaniers with their families, and all their cattle, who were close at hand, wanting to trade with us, requesting some tobacco for his news, which we gladly gave him; meanwhile Herry, the Ottentoo, who speaks some broken English—and who pretends, contrary to our opinion, that he is the cause of the Saldaniers coming to trade with us—went with some of his Strandloopers to meet the Saldaniers, which excited in us some strange speculations, although we had constantly treated him well, the rather that he represents that he should have a piece of copper, of a pound weight, for each cow we barter, and seems

was among the Saldaniers, who lay in thousands about Salt River with their cattle in countless numbers, having indeed grazed 2,000 sheep and cattle within half a cannon-shot of our Fort;—we bought 24 head, one cow, two heifers and 18 sheep for copper and tobacco, they were still very reluctant to part with their horned cattle, preferring to sell us sheep, we however received all we could get for copper and tobacco; we bought also three sheep, giving for each an old marking iron with a bit of tobacco—the irons they used as cold-chisels and we therefore wish we had more of them, as once before we got a calf for one, and they seem very eager for them. This day a young ox escaped from our grazing ground, and got quite out of sight among the cattle of the Saldaniers, whose captain, after we had sought it everywhere and almost forgotten it, brought it to us again; we gave him therefore a royal entertainment of food, drink, and—to them the most pleasing banquet—of tobacco, in order to make them the more attached to us.

Dec. 8. The Saldaniers came again to us early and we bought 11 cattle, young and old, and 29 very fine sheep, for copper and tobacco, among them were some of the captains of whom we had yesterday entertained one, and we again gave them a kind and friendly reception. To-day some Saldaniers set fire to the grass all round, and as it approached near to our side, we requested them not to come so near with their fires, on which they instantly, with all hands, set to work and quickly put out the fire, for which we presented each with a fingers length of tobacco; to appearance they endeavour to do us no injury, but to show every friendship, where they have it in their power, as we in reciprocity do to them, keeping, however, not the less upon our guard, and holding a good watch over every thing.—Said Saldaniers were to-day with thousands of cattle and sheep close to and about our Fort, avoiding only the pasture which we occupied; they appear to have great confidence in us; we got to-day two fine partridges for a finger length of tobacco, it were to be wished that they would bring us more, for they are delicate eating.

Dec. 9. The Saldaniers came again, quite freely with cattle, near to us, of which we bartered 6 cows and 32 sheep, at a very cheap rate—a cow, and a very fine one, at 35 to 36 stivers, and the sheep not above 6 stivers each—M. de Hase was this morning apprehended at the river side and brought in by the sentry, with the carpenter's clothes upon him, (which he had with other things stolen out of the carpenter's shop the night before last); the other things were all fetched out of a bush, where he had concealed them; having examined him in the afternoon, he partly acknowledged, that on the night of the 5th he left his post when on sentry, had plucked out of the garden a good number of turnips, which he had thrown at the gate, where they were also found, and that, being detected in the theft, he had, from dread of punishment, run away, but had staid hard by in the bushes; and also, that the night before last, he had entered the carpenter's shop through the window, broken open the chest, and taken the articles before specified, intending to barter them to the Saldaniers for some kind of food; but that on showing to them the rings of the wheelbarrows, they, perceiving he was alone, took them from him, together with four knives; saying further, that he had not committed these thefts out of a thievish disposition, but to give cause for his being put to death by the hands of justice, requesting instead of the gallows, a bullet through the head; he openly confessed that he had often before taken turnips, carrots, and other vegetables, out of the garden, also eggs out of the hens' nests, praying no other mercy than a bullet through the head; he appeared to be quite desperate, on which account it was thought proper to postpone consideration of the case, to keep him in confinement until the arrival of the return ships from India, and then to deliver him into the hands of the Commander—We begun this day, for the first time, to drink of the milk of the cows, and to eat the sheep, upon which the sick are partly victualled, and will daily have more.

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to lay claim to brokerage, and though the price may be thus somewhat raised (*te duren courtage zoude vallen*) we still should try to please him as far as can be done without much loss, thus the better to ascertain his drift; we will hope that—being now in communication with the Saldaniers—our best will be done to induce them to care little for him; we can hardly think that they (seeing that we treat them well and trade fairly with them) will pay much regard to any mischievous suggestions from Herry—for we have also remarked that they would rather trade without his intervention; however, it is as yet by no means certain how they stand with each other, therefore we are on our watch, and have this day begun to have double guards, and to set all the carpenters and masons, and every one who can handle a spoon, to work with the wheelbarrows, to see to get the walls somewhat higher—being now only 7 feet—for which purpose each man has daily to fetch 130 barrows full, and we have added 20 more to this task, paying them with a fathom of tobacco, for which, as they have none among themselves, they are very desirous, we gave each half the quantity now or about  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb.—and the rest when the fortnight is expired—giving them also, for greater encouragement, a pint of wine each, and slaughtering for them some of the bartered cattle, &c.

Oct. 23. This day Herry, and 3 or 4 more of the Ottentoots who live with us—after having been absent for some nights with some of the Saldaniers—returned to the Fort, bringing 2 elands' heads, ornamented with large handsome horns, which they gave us as a present, telling us in broken English, that the elands had been killed, and the flesh eaten by the Saldaniers.

Oct. 28. In the evening some of the Saldaniers came to the Fort again, with news that they had some sheep at Salt River,

Dec. 10. Bought 10 cattle and 18 sheep, old and young, very cheap, for less than yesterday, the cattle averaging 26 stivers, the sheep  $5\frac{1}{2}$ .

Dec. 11. In consequence of the wet weather few Saldaniers were with us—so we bought only 5 sheep at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  stivers. The Saldaniers lay in great force at Salt River, we therefore begun to-day, that we might not be unexpectedly surprised, to take the soldiers off the work, to mount guard day and night—and to let the sailors work under the protection of the soldiers, and to let those have some rest at night, as while all hands continue at work by day, they are at night too much tired to keep proper watch—while at present it is necessary to use some caution, and our whole force amounts in all to 125 men in pay, of which number some are constantly sick in bed, and many are lazy skulkers, from whom little work is to be had, and whom it were better to discharge.

Dec. 12. This day bartered only 2 cows, 5 sheep, and an elephant's tooth, although the Saldaniers lie by thousands near Salt River; we imagine this may be caused by yesterday's wet weather, which only now begins to clear up.

Dec. 13. The Saldaniers came with thousands of cattle and sheep close up to the Fort, so that their cattle almost mixed with ours, yet we could not come to any trade, they bringing now and then a lean bad beast and a sheep or two to the market, so that there was bartered no more than 20 sheep, 2 cows, and 5 calves, they being no longer at all willing to part with their cattle; it is therefore very vexing to see such fine herds of cattle, and to be unable to purchase out of them any thing to speak of; and although, to allure them, and to excite their cupidity, we offered fully one half more copper for each beast than we had before paid for them, and treated them besides with all possible kindness, still we could not prevail upon them; whether they are already fully supplied with copper, as perhaps there is no consumption of that article among them, or whether it arises from dislike, or mischievous instigation, we cannot well guess, for it would be a pity to be obliged to witness the departure of these herds without being able to purchase more of them; although, were it permitted, we had this day opportunity enough to take from them 10,000 head, which may hereafter, upon our receiving orders to that effect, be done at any time, and indeed better than now, as they will trust us more; and if we were once in the possession of stock, we could always keep up a sufficient number by breeding, and should not then have to apprehend that the English touching here would destroy this cattle trade with the inhabitants:—their people give us daily sufficient cause for this course, by stealing and carrying away the property of our people, and thus—having cause enough for revenge—to indemnify ourselves upon them or their cattle; and if we cannot, by any friendly trade, get the cattle from them, why should we suffer their stealing and carrying away without taking vengeance; which would be necessary only once, and with 150 men, ten or eleven thousand cattle are to be had, without danger of losing a single man, and we might make prisoners, without a blow, of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India, as they still constantly come to us without weapons: upon this point, however, are required rather more consultation, and wiser consideration than ours, the idea only offering itself cursorily at present, and hereafter to be further thought of and deliberated upon by greater experience, awaiting moreover orders from higher authority.

Dec. 14. The Saldaniers came again with their cattle, grazing in great numbers, close to the Fort, we procured however no more than 15 cows and calves, and 31 sheep, notwithstanding that we gave more copper and tobacco than before, the cattle averaging 6 skillings, and the sheep 7 stivers, which we were previously in the habit of buying at 5 and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  stivers for the sheep, and 26, 28, to 30 stivers for the cattle, which leads us to presume that they are over stocked with copper, or at least consume little of that article, how this may be time will disclose, it is always so, the more we offer, the more they try to get—towards evening they returned to the Salt River with their cattle.

which they would barter, and that some of their companions would follow in a few days, with their families, and many cattle, but asking tobacco for the news, which we gave them.

Oct. 29. Busy making a kraal for the bartered cattle, encircling it with a ditch 8 feet broad and 4 deep, and also strengthening our fortification, but the ground in the ditch is as hard as brick.

Oct. 30. Hard wind from the S. E. so that we could not work at the fortification, as the people could not stand on the walls with their barrows, without being blown over.

Oct. 31. Still blowing so hard that all our beans, peas, and barley in the ear, are blown down, so that it is to be feared we shall get hardly any crop, the S. E. wind blows so hard nothing can stand, we must therefore do our best with the turnips and carrots;—to-day some Saldaniers went away again after begging tobacco and giving us hopes of many people and cattle heaving in sight, which is to be desired, as our provisions are well nigh exhausted.

Nov. 2. Still blowing equally hard, reduced the rations of bread  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. (weekly?) at which rate we calculate that our stock will barely last 4 months, so gave each above his allowance  $\frac{1}{4}$  fathom of tobacco.

Nov. 3. Thought that our whole dwelling-house would be blown down in spite of 8 or 9 strong props.

Nov. 4. Much of the crops above ground totally destroyed. . . . The new *corps de garde*, which is thatched and but 12 feet high, and fully 2 feet lower than the breast works, blown entirely to one side. . . .

Dec. 15. The Ottentoes of Saldania came again with their cattle grazing them near ours, but we could not barter from them any more than 4 cows, a calf, and 11 sheep, they asking more and more copper for them, so that perceiving that the more we offered and gave, the more they would have, we held somewhat back to-day; but if this course will not avail, we must give prices still higher, in order that we may once get a tolerable stock, so that we may in time maintain ourselves by breeding from our own stock, having this day still 88 cattle and 269 sheep, young and old, in the pasture, besides what has been from day to day slaughtered for the people. This day a Saldanier stole from us a small piece of flat copper, which a soldier perceiving, seized him by the neck before we noticed it, which caused a great commotion, and all the Saldaniers took to flight, but on Herry calling them back they gave him to understand that they were not alarmed on that account, well knowing that it had not happened with his consent, thus we again renewed the trade, but it still appeared as if they continued somewhat scared; as they had at first driven away all their cattle, and shortly after, their eows being driven by a Ottentoo close by our herd, which were supposed to be ours, 3 or 4 men were therefore sent after them, and upon their trying to intercept them, close to the great assemblage of the Saldaniers and their cattle—they all fled to the bush or up the hill, leaving their cattle in the hands of our people, until these called to them, and gave them to understand, that their intention was only to see whether the said cattle belonged to us, and seeing this not to be the case, that we did not covet their cattle, but only wished them to barter them to us for copper, on which a new friendship instantly commenced, and in the evening some of them came again to the Fort with sheep, but if our four men—who had only their side arms—had been so disposed, they could have driven 40 or 50 cattle to the Fort without hindrance, for, as before noticed, all the Saldaniers ran away, and left all that cattle to take their chance; from this it may be perceived that they are naturally timid, and we therefore explained to a certain captain or principal person—who came to us in the evening somewhat alarmed—our good intentions, and that we had not the least inclination to do them any harm, but on the contrary all possible friendship, and to trade with them like brethren, and also to give them as much copper and tobacco for their cattle as they would agree to as reasonable, begging that they would only be pleased to bring us some cattle, for which end we showed them some copper, which we told them we had brought with us, more being expected in the ships, to barter to them for cattle and sheep; also, that we were not persons who sought to take any thing from them by force, but were disposed to give them all they desired of us, for what they possessed that was useful to us, entertaining him the while with food, drink, a bit of tobacco, and humorous conversation, so that he went away after dark, promising to return to-morrow with their cattle.

Dec. 16. The Saldaniers came again grazing their cattle within sight of our Fort, but kept about a half hours distance off, bringing to the market only 1 eow and 4 sheep, of which last they drove 3 back, though we gave and offered more copper than before, so that we are more and more persuaded that there is no consumption of copper among them, and that they merely use it for ornament—if so it is likely that we shall get little more from them, unless other means are employed, which would now be premature.

The Ottentoo Herry, who, as before said, we employ as interpreter, again told us that when these Saldaniers were gone, another people called Vischman, would come with cattle only, and without sheep, and that if we desired to do him and the Saldaniers a friendship, we must kill them and take their cattle for ourselves, which was easy to be done, because, according to his statement, they were weak in people; on which we replied, that we received as friends all who would trade with us, without distinction, Vischman, Waterman, and Saldanhaman, we were come with copper and tobacco, to give for cattle, and not to hurt any one or do any harm, but live in friendship with one

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Nov. 11. 24 persons again confined to bed, complaining mostly of severe pains in the limbs, which felt as if they had been severely beaten, which is not to be wondered at, considering the constant hard work, and the staleness of the European provisions, which has become so much diminished, that henceforth we can by no means supply their wants, still less alleviate their sufferings, and if the weather is at all unfavorable—as often happens—there is not a fish to be had—our seine begins to be quite worn out, and we have enough to do, with mending and patching, to make it hang together; unless the Lord be pleased to send us relief speedily, either by means of the arrival of natives with cattle, or by ship from Holland, of which last there is now little hope, it is probable that we shall soon have to stop the work for a time, in consequence of the debility of the people; for our stock of peas and pearl barley, as well as of beef and pork, is nearly exhausted—a good haul of fish has hitherto helped us out with the other provisions, which had else been exhausted before this time; for, up to this date, we have got only 3 cows and 4 sheep from the natives, whose fires we see in the hills on the further side of the bay, we will hope that the Lord God may grant, that they may soon come to us, with abundance of cattle—of which Herry appears to hold out good hopes, saying, on pointing to the fires, that “Saldanhaman” with all his cattle, wife, and children is coming hither—which God grant.—Amen.

Nov. 13. Sitting at table in the afternoon, and conversing with Herry—who speaks some broken English, and whom we daily feed from our table, to make him the more attached—and questioning him closely, as we have often done before, about the situation (*gelegenheid*) of the inhabitants of this country, he contrived by signs, and half English words to intimate, and

as well as with the other—which seemed to please him as far as concerned the Saldanliers, but not as to our not ruining *Vishman*, which would be still too soon, and it ought previously to be inquired what profit could be had from them for the Company.

Dec. 17. The Saldaniers came to the market with some sheep, a cow and calf, of which we could scarce buy one, notwithstanding that we always gave more, they constantly drove away the rest as soon as they had sold one; what it can mean, we cannot imagine, and though we to-day, as before, treated their chiefs with food and drink, we could not prevail on them to bring more cattle—they are a wonderful people, when we fancy we have gained them over, and that the trade will go on, they hold stupidly off, driving away their cattle, as if they were frightened for something, though we do all in our power to satisfy them, so that to-day we got only 1 cow, 1 calf, and 11 sheep for more copper and tobacco than we had given before. In the evening, between 9 and 10, we saw in the E. S. E. to the South of the head of the Giant, and about 80 degrees above the horizon, a strange star with a tail, which stretched northwards, right to the knee of the Giant.

Dec. 18. The Saldaniers came again, with thousands of cattle, close to the Fort, aye, almost into the gate, out of which, as well as the garden, we could scarce keep them, but still unwilling to trade, so that we only got 2 cows and 7 sheep; Herry also told us that henceforth we should get nothing more than now and then a cow or a sheep or two, as they had now got much copper from us, which they were busy making into rings and chains, for ornament; and if no further trade is to be looked for with them, what would it much matter if we took at once from them 6000 or 8000 cattle, there is opportunity enough for it, as we do not perceive that they are very strong in number, but indeed very timorous, coming often only 2 or 3 men, driving 1000 cattle under our guns, which might be very easily intercepted, and as we perceive that they place every confidence in us, and come with their cattle to graze so undauntedly close to the Fort, we encourage them more and more with friendly looks and treatment, to make them still bolder, as well that we may see whether perhaps something good in the way of trade, or otherwise, may still in due time be done for the profit of the Company, as also to have, through their full confidence, the better opportunity one day or another—on receiving orders so to do—to deprive them of their cattle easily, and without a blow, and take them for the Hon. Company, for it is vexatious to see such an immense quantity of cattle, which it is so necessary for us to have, for the refreshment of the Company's ships, and of which we can get nothing of consequence for merchandize and friendly treatment. Saw the star with the tail, in the same place as yesterday.

Dec. 19. . . . Their eagerness for copper appears to have entirely ceased. . . .

Dec. 20. The Saldaniers brought only 4 sheep to the market, which they sold, chiefly for tobacco, asking very little for copper. . . . had we no tobacco we should not get another sheep or cow; it is a good thing, however, that they are so desirous of tobacco, it were to be wished we had more of it, for to-day we got a fine milch ewe for about its length of tobacco, or about  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. of the value of 11 duyts<sup>(1)</sup>—which is cheaper for the Company than copper.

Dec. 21. This being our first year, it is wonderful how well every thing thrives that has been sown—it is only to be wished that cattle could be had in some abundance from the natives, so that we might keep milch cows—but their desire for copper seems entirely passed away: we entertained one of the chiefs this day in our house, showed and offered more copper than before—but there are little hopes of more cattle. They asked, as they do daily, for the English, whence we half suspect that Herry, the interpreter, whom we have employed, holds them off, awaiting the English out of a greater liking for them than for us, as he has been to Bantam in their ships, and we can perceive by

(1) See table of value of coins, April 1657.

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give us to understand, that this Table Valley was annually visited by three tribes of people, similar in dress and manner (*manieren*) namely, themselves, the Strandloopers, or as they call themselves in the broken English they have learned, *Waterman* because they live on muscles, which they find on the rocks, and some roots out of the ground, without always having cattle—and who, as far as we have yet ascertained, are not above 40 or 50 in number. (Note.—See on this point Riebeeck's *Memior*, 1662—and that of his successor, Wagenaar, 1666.) The second sort were those of *Saldanhaman*, who came hither every year with innumerable cattle and sheep; the third sort was called by them *Vishman*, who after the departure of *Saldanhaman*, comes here with cows only, and without sheep, and who subsist by fishing, without boats, by lines from the rocks—who are from 400 to 500 in number; these *Watermans* and *Saldanhamans*, according to Herry's account, are at constant war, and endeavour to injure each other as much as possible; if we would try by means of decoying and alluring them, as if for the purpose of bartering cattle for copper—according to their annual custom—to get this *Vishman* with wife and children into our hands, to destroy them, and take their cattle to ourselves, in which all the *Waterman* and *Saldanhaman* would be disposed to assist with all their power, upon which we would not as yet allow our favorable inclination to be seen, but replied that if that people came, we should see what they were, meanwhile we amused him with fair appearances and fine words, thus to acquire in time more knowledge and experience upon those matters; he told us that those *Vishman* always travelled secretly, concealing themselves from *Saldanhaman*, and not like them lighting fires, for if the *Saldaniers*, who are of countless numbers,

all his proceedings, that he is attached to them; we may therefore have some trouble with their coming here to establish themselves; but hope to find out means of preventing this; it were to be wished that we had orders speedily whether or not we are to prevent them from trading with the natives.

Dec. 22. Bartered 5 sheep.—Dec. 23. This day we saw not a single Saldanier, with or without cattle, near our Fort, but our people at the Salt Redoubt—when out fishing—saw them with thousands of sheep and cattle moving off towards the interior; Herry gives hopes however, that they will soon return, when the grass, which they have everywhere burned, shall have sprung out again. Meanwhile, here we stand with only 89 cattle and 284 sheep, young and old, from which we must daily slaughter for the people, as the Dutch provisions are nearly gone, and no fish caught for a long time back, so that the supply of fresh meat to the shipping will be very small, unless we hereafter barter more cattle, for the Saldaniers seem overstocked with copper, but we shall live in hopes of the Almighty sending us a better supply.

Dec. 24. Sent the book-keeper Helm, the Serjeant, and 6 musketeers, to the place where the Saldaniers lay, about 2 or 3 mylen off—to ascertain exactly how it was, whether they had gone or not—their numbers, and whether they preferred trading there rather than at the Fort—giving them also tobacco and pipes to treat them; they returned in the evening with some Saldaniers, having with them a cow and 5 sheep, which we bought; they reported that many of the Saldaniers had removed with their flocks, that they had seen but two encampments, consisting one of 9 and the other of 8 huts, inhabited by from 70 to 80 souls, young and old—they were much alarmed at first, but on giving them each a pipe of tobacco, they were induced as before mentioned to bring us some sheep—they seem more inclined to trade there than here, why we cannot imagine, for we have often invited them to come close to the Fort with all their stock, when they might all see that we want nothing but friendly trade, unless Herry has advised them to reserve their cattle for the English—for they seem much afraid of us, aye, more than before—Herry has made a tolerable guess at the time when the English may be expected from India, the Saldaniers also always ask for the ships, and mostly for the English, so we have told them through Herry (whose fidelity is doubtful) that the copper brought by the ships will be given to us, that we may conduct the trade with them and divide the cattle among the ships, so that they must only trade with us, as we had still copper enough for them; but we much doubt whether this has been truly interpreted to them by Herry, and we often trade better without his assistance, but if the English come, we shall understand what to make of it.

Dec. 25. This night 7 or 8 wild beasts of prey came over the ditch, 8 feet wide and with 4 feet of water, into the kraal among the cattle.

Dec. 26. Some of the Saldaniers whom we had seen at first, and whom we had not seen for a long time, came and sold us 4 sheep, so that this day we got 6—we therefore treated them well, &c. This day we churned our first butter.

Dec. 28. Bought, somewhat dearer than before, 5 sheep, 1 cow, and 2 small calves; the Saldaniers told us that they had been fighting a day or two ago with their enemy Vischman, and had beaten 4 of them to death, and taken, or plundered them of many cattle; they asked us as an act of friendship, to aid them against Vischman, as according to them they were all robbers, who would come here and try to steal our cattle; we replied that we were disposed to live on good terms with the Saldanhaman, and to trade with them, and that when Vischman came we should see what kind of people they were, but that we would always be the steadfast friends of Saldanhaman, this seemed to please them.

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perceived their fires, they always tried to catch them, for which Vischman was much afraid, residing beyond the mountains Eastward of the Cape, towards the bay of Sambras, and in that direction; while Saldanhaman lived to the West and to the North, towards the bays of Saldanha and St. Helena, whither the yacht is gone to seek for trade, &c.; that Waterman again have their constant abode in this Table Valley, and behind the Table Mountain, and this Herry alone resides with us, with his wife and children, to serve the company, as far as he can, as interpreter; his people, the Waterman, having gone to the other side of Lion Mountain, seeking food, muscles from the rocks, and roots, which they dig out of the ground with long round pieces of iron, and with much labor; this root has the flavour of *Kykwortel*, and the appearance of the Japanese *wortelnist*, for which many have mistaken it—but as we know it well, we find this to resemble it outwardly, but not to have the least of its taste and flavor, otherwise we should have tried to collect some for the Company, as at Batavia, *Tajoun toncq*, and *quinam*, is highly esteemed by the Chinese, Tonquinese, and Quinams or Cochinchinese, and usually fetched, according to its quality, 60 to 80 guilders per *katty*; thus it may be easily imagined, that had it been of the right sort, we should gladly have endeavoured to have the honor of starting a trade so profitable to the Company. But what has not as yet been found out we hope to find out through industry, in which we hope the Almighty will lend his blessing, Amen!

Dec. 29. . . . On counting the sheep we found that 18 were missing, the herds said these had been lost some days ago by their neglect, and, as after every endeavour we could not find them, they were charged, at the rate of 2 Rds. each, against the 3 herds, by way of punishment; the herds were also admonished to take better care of the cattle in future, on pain of corporal punishment.

30. Got to-day a calf, and 5 sheep young and old, from the Saldanhars. Sent 6 soldiers over the *Kloof*, between the Lion and Table Hills, to seek the sheep, with orders to go behind Table Hill, and observe at the same time the strength of the Saldanhars, for which purpose they staid out the whole night, and on

31,—returned in the afternoon, reporting that they had seen nothing of our sheep, but great numbers of sheep and cattle belonging to the Saldanhars, chiefly at Hout Bay. . . . also at the great thicket 4 or 5 mylen off—they saw in all only 6 encampments, of which the largest had 20 huts, and about 100 inhabitants, men, women, and children, the others not above 7, 8, or 9 huts each, having altogether not above 5 [MS. defaced] . . . shewed them friendship so that they guided them a good part of the way back, chiefly to earn a bit of tobacco.

Meanwhile some sheep were now and then brought to the Fort, so that we bought 12, and towards evening some new Saldanhars came with a milch cow, which we bought pretty cheap; they stated that they lay at the Salt Pan, about 4 mylen off, with many people, and cattle, which they would bring daily to barter; to this we encouraged them by every kindness and good entertainment, assuring them at the same time, that we had plenty of copper and tobacco for them; we hope that we may procure a good many more from these new comers—with this prospect we treat them liberally to attach them to us, may the Almighty contribute his blessing, Amen!

1653. Jan. 1. New year's day, the S. E. wind blowing as strong as before; the Saldanhars came rather early with sheep . . . . . bartered [MS. defaced]

2. . . . Procured 8 sheep from the Saldanhars; on the other hand there died one of the Dutch pigs, which do not seem to thrive here; also a calf and a sheep.

3. Bought 5 sheep from the natives.

4. Sent the Chaplain with a Corporal and 6 Musketeers to the Saldanhars, with some copper, tobacco, and pipes, to ascertain, as they brought so few cattle to us here at the Fort, whether they would not barter there better than here; meanwhile we bought 7 sheep; the party returned in the evening, bringing 2 cows, 1 bull, 1 ox, a heifer, a calf, and 11 sheep, which they had procured from the Saldanhars about 1½ mylen off; according to the report of the party the natives appeared more inclined to barter there than to bring their cattle to the Fort; therefore it is our intention to send a party, weather permitting, the day after to-morrow. Procured to-day altogether, God be praised, 9 cattle and 24 sheep. On the further side of the Bay, about the wreck of the *Haerlem*, the whole Coast to the Bay of Saldanha was full of fires [MS defaced] perhaps may succeed, which may God grant!: it were to be wished that we had some more tobacco, for it begins to run short, which may cause us much inconvenience, for it is easier to buy cattle for tobacco without brass than for brass without tobacco—as we have before noticed.

5. Bought 12 sheep and 5 head of cattle for copper and tobacco, of which the last roll is half gone, therefore it will be expended before the brass.

6. Sent out the Chaplain with a party to barter as many cattle as possible—it is a pity that the cattle here give us so little milk, as we can only get from 28 cows a half anker of milk; and in a whole week only 3 or 3½ lbs. of fine yellow butter, finer and better than that made at *Formosa*—we have scarcely enough to eat with our bread, giving the milk sometimes to be divided among the people.

In the evening our party returned with 13 head of cattle, (kind detailed) and 8 sheep, a good day's work; they report that the Saldanhars have removed their huts fully 2 mylen further than the day before yesterday, and that they could perceive, that if they could have seen any chance of getting the better of our people they would have willingly done so, on account of the brass—they were about 80 fighting men, and our party 20—10 of whom were musketeers; and as it has been observed before, that when our people are alone, or only 2 or 3 together, they have forcibly taken from them their knives and tobacco boxes, &c., we shall henceforth send rather stronger parties out to barter, so as to be more capable of defending themselves, even at the cost of somewhat retarding the work, so that we can but procure plenty of cattle for the refreshment of the ships' crews. Our present opportunity must be improved, as we have not the Saldanhars here all the year round, and we can perceive that we shall have to seek them, as they appear to wish us to do—for they are a very lazy people, it being sometimes too much for them to move—still less that in order to bring their cattle to the market, they should fetch them to us; but it matters little, if we can only procure them without difficulty and by fair words [MS. defaced].

Jan. 7. But for the strong wind we would have sent our people again to the Saldanhars' encampments, with brass and tobacco to barter for eattle—these winds prevent us from working at the fortification, as has frequently happened before, we got however 6 head of cattle and 4 sheep.

8. Sent the Chaplain with 29 armed men and some brass and tobacco to barter—meanwhile we bartered here an ox, a calf, and 10 sheep; our people staid out all night. This day we cut our first red eabbage, as fine and hard hearted as can be produced in Fatherland.

9. Our party returned with 1 cow, 2 calves, and 3 sheep, reporting that all the Saldanhars had removed, with their camps and cattle, proceeding Eastward, towards the Bay of *Sombras*, in which course Herry explained that they annually travelled, and thence across the country to the West, and then round hither again by Saldanha Bay. The eattle and sheep were procured from the Captain of the Saldanhars who was here first of all, and who lay alone 7 or 8 mylen off, almost on the coast—he had about 80 men capable of bearing arms, and 16 huts, they had from 5 to 6000 extraordinarily fine eattle, the best of all the Saldanhars, and about 2000 pretty good sheep, with which they were not disposed to part, either before or now, [MS. imperfect] suffered much annoyance, but bore it . . . . . as much as they could endure, as they were near enough, and also could have taken all their cattle, and brought them hither, for the corporal being close beset (*bedrongen*) by them, and having—in order to get clear of them—taken a pistol out of his pocket, and discharged it over their heads, all the Sandanhars took to flight, leaving their cattle behind them, until, on being called to by our people, and on their cattle being driven towards them, it was explained to be jest, and that no harm would be done them, or any cattle taken from them excepting by barter for brass and tobacco, and that if they were not disposed to barter, they might freely come and go without receiving any injury from our people, &c. so that, after all, they parted from our people on good terms, receiving a present of tobacco.

Speaking with Herry as to this migration of the Saldanhars—he said that they were not to be expected again until next year, when they would return (with more people from the interior upon their seeing the brass and tobacco which they brought with them) to barter with us, which remains to be ascertained then; but that when the Saldanhars (by them called ) had according to their custom of always travelling from one range of good pasture to another, got to some distance, there would come hither Visman (by them called Soaqua) with some cattle, but not many, against which people, according to his account, we must be well on our guard, as, though they would indeed bring cattle to sell, they would still try to do us all the harm in their power, under the appearance of amity, and to steal and rob as much as they could, as indeed they never had any other means of subsistence than plunder, and their stock was not their own property but plundered from the Saldanhars, who on that account pursued them on every opportunity, and on getting hold of them, put them to death without mercy, and threw them to the dogs.

10. This day not a single Saldanhar was at the Fort—many fires seen inland—[MS. imperfect] Our people here on shore have been well fed and refreshed, and there remains on hand 350 sheep and 130 cattle, young and old; among them 25 fine milch cows, a bull, and several fine young oxen and cow calves, very good for breeding from, while some may be slaughtered for the shipping: God be thanked for these blessings, and may he grant that we may get a good many from Visman also—as not above half our copper is expended, only the tobacco is nearly out; we shall require about 1000 lbs. so that we may be able to dispense it liberally, as they are very anxious for it, and as we can thus get much from them; *pro memoria*. Last night 2 sheep were killed by wild animals, apparently lions. . . . . several of our people again attacked by looseness, apparently from eating wild figs, given to them by the natives, of which our people brought whole sacks full—a most annoying thing that the common people take so little care of their own health—scarcely cured of one complaint until they are again in bed with another.

12. [MS. imperfect] driven hither fully two days' journey, we saw their fires very far off and over the hills to the Eastward, they said, however, that so long as they remained there, they would now and then bring something.

13. This day we reaped and began to thrash the first wheat grown at the Cape, the grain was tolerably large and full. It is a pity that the S. E. wind is so violent, otherwise we could rear enough of all kinds of grain and fruits here. At Salt River it is still more exposed to the wind; but behind the Table Mountain the ground could be easily cultivated by free colonists—there the soil is very rich and watered by many fine streams, as level and pleasant as can be desired. Formosa (which I have seen) cannot be compared with it.

14. To day the Saldanhars sold us a cow and calf, [MS. imperfect] entertainment, with a bit of tobacco and a drink of wine, the more to attach them to us, promising also to give more copper and tobacco for their eattle; meanwhile talking with Herry, the interpreter whom we have

engaged, as to what the Saldanhas did with the copper, he gave us to understand in broken English that they made it into such bracelets and chains as we saw them wear, which they bartered again for cattle to a certain other tribe in the interior, and then returned to get more from the Dutch and English ships, but were not accustomed to sell in one year so many cattle as they have sold this year; but that if they had disposed of their copper they would return next year to procure more in exchange for cattle.

Should it prove true that they dispose of their copper to other tribes for cattle, it will be a fortunate thing for the company, and in time they may be had in such abundance that we may even be enabled in the cold season to salt down some oxen, which are large and fat, to the no small profit and convenience of the Company, as salt enough is to be had here for nothing, and the country is covered with fine rich pasture; even in sight of the Company's Fort there is room for thousands of cattle and sheep, independent of what is required for gardens and corn fields, &c. Furthermore, beyond Table Mountain there is equally fine rich land, flat enough, for 8 or 10 *mynen*, which may be, not merely presumed, but positively maintained from the great quantity, fully twenty thousand, either sheep or cattle which the Saldanhas have since November brought to pasture in this Table Valley within a space of 7 or 8 *mynen*.

Jan. 15. Bought 6 sheep of them—they made much difficulty of parting with them; which we have always noticed, and also that they hold their cattle, which are much fatter and finer than those of other Saldanhas, in great estimation, and consequently will not so readily dispose of them. 2 cattle were to-night missed from the *kraal*.

16. Again a cow and a bull lost by the negligence of the guard. It is very vexing that the people take their duty so little to heart, and appear to care nothing for either punishment or promises, and when you fancy that you have a careful man in charge of the cattle you find yourself constantly deceived, so that one should really attend to the cattle himself both night and day.

17. On counting the cattle, instead of 138 there were no more than 126—12 were lost through the carelessness of the guard, as it appeared by their own confessions, that all were equally inattentive to the *kraal* in the night. They were therefore debited each with 2 oxen, valued each at 50 guilders, that they may take better care in future: and though we sent out the corporal with some men to seek the missing cattle, neither hoof nor horn could be found. We can therefore presume nothing else but that they have been taken from the *kraal* by night by the *Hottentots*—as the gates of the *kraal* were twice found open last night, and each time cattle found outside—our interpreter Herry was also of opinion that the cattle had been driven away by some Strandloopers—saying he would himself go and look for them, which he instantly did, &c.

The Goede Hoop returned from Saldanha Bay with 1500 seal skins. . . . they had seen no people whatever with cattle or other merchandize, and only a few naked and lean *Strandloopers*, they had indeed seen many fires in the interior, but had as yet found no means of trading there.

18. Sent some people again to the Saldanhas lying near this, to endeavour to buy some cattle, but they would scarce part with any—so that the party returned with no more than a bull and a cow. Meanwhile arrived the *Roodé Vos*, with intelligence that war had broken out between our States and England.

19. As our people, in consequence of the want of provisions from Europe, have little to eat, and as we would not willingly kill any of the cattle, but keep them for the next return fleet, it was resolved, in order the sooner to get in a condition to defend ourselves, and to encourage the people, to give them credit for a month's wages, &c.

20. Set to work, with the courage of lions, upon the Fortifications. . . . prepared the galiot to go to Robben Island, to salt penguins and young seals for the people, &c.

22. Bartered to-day a fine cow and a sheep.

23. This night it appeared as if the lions would take the Fort by storm, that they might get at the sheep—they made a fearful noise, as if they would destroy all within, but in vain, for they could not climb the walls. . . . worked lustily at raising them higher, that we may care as little for the English, &c.

26. Repairing the seines, if it may please the Almighty again to bless us with fish, which will be better for the people in the hard work than the penguins and seals.

Extract of a Journal of the Goede Hoop—Saldanha Bay.

Dec. 13—18. Some Strandloopers came to us, who we supposed wished to kill seals? (*harcas*) they would indeed have the flesh to eat, but they would take no trouble to get it.

Bartered from the Strandloopers 25 sea cow teeth, of various sizes, for 2 finger breadths of tobacco each. . . . asked him if there were not also elephants' tusks, (called by them *quabrabi*) on which, shaking his head, he signified that the elephant was too large and strong to be attacked by the few people they had.

Jan. 27. This afternoon a wolf seized a sheep within sight of the herds, and would not quit it until he had torn off a quarter, with which he ran away.

28. Bought 8 fine sheep from the Saldanhars who lie 7 or 8 mylen off, we were somewhat more liberal with the copper to attract them more, but were sparing with the tobacco, as it will be soon exhausted—it were to be wished that we had more.

29. Got a good haul of fish, 14 or 15 hundred fine harders, which come very seasonably for the people, as the Dutch provisions are nearly done, and the bread will scarcely last above 3 or 4 weeks, but we have good hopes of a supply of rice with the return fleet.

Feb. 7. 9 sheep again lost by the carelessness of the herds, it appears that punishment has little effect—charged the sheep against the account of the chief herds, at 10 guilders in place of 5—with 100 blows with the butt of the musket.

9. Having gone about 2 hours' distance behind Table Mountain, found the air full of locusts, like a fall of snow. Should they come to our gardens at the Fort, it is to be feared that they will destroy every thing, as they do the grass, which they eat bare to the ground, but hope the Lord will protect us.

11. About 20 people sick.....the hard labour and scarcity of food—only 14 days' bread, the pease quite done, and about 14 days' barley, beef, and pork; now and then killing an ox or some sheep, to keep the people the better on their legs, &c.

12. Bartered a cow and 15 sheep from the Saldanhars who lie about 5 mylen off.

13. This morning early some Saldanhars came with sheep and cattle, bought 10 sheep and 6 cattle; our people made a general complaint of the severity of the work and scarcity of food, &c.

15. The whole country and our gardens covered with locusts which do much injury to the crops—bought 13 sheep from the Saldanhars for copper and tobacco.

16. Bought 2 cattle and 8 sheep; 17th some Saldanhars came again, bought 4 sheep—our people daily becoming more sickly, &c.

19. Bought 2 cattle and 10 sheep from the Saldanhars.

21. We procured this day 24 cattle, young and old, and 4 sheep; it appears that the *Saldaniers* are coming in expectation of the ships, for which they frequently ask, perhaps hoping to get more for their cattle from them than from us; it will therefore be necessary, in order to prevent any injury (*cladde*) to the barter, to oblige all the ships to deliver their copper here, so as to preserve the character of the barter, and keep it on a good footing; for they already get 4 or 5 lbs. of copper for each head of cattle, for which price they are more willing to sell them, than for 3 to 4 lbs. as formerly. This day it was discovered that Jan Blanck and others, who had been, on promise of good behaviour, released from chains, were in the habit of slaughtering and eating the Company's sheep and cattle in the field—for which they were again put in irons.

22. Bartered 10 cattle from the Saldanhars.

28. An ox again missed in the field, apparently carried off by Hottentoots, as for 3 or 4 days several savages have been seen concealed near the cattle, who to-day had taken a sheep, which our people recovered from them; it would therefore be well that our herds had some pocket pistols for their defence against such as would try to steal, to impress them with some fear, as they are much afraid of fire-arms—*pro memoria*.

March 1. Design of J. Blanck and others to run off with one of the galliots detected. In the evening some Hottentoots brought intelligence that five ships were seen behind Table Mountain, which were soon after seen by our people on the Lion's Hill. God be thanked, for this day our last ration of bread was issued.

9. As our provisions are entirely exhausted, it was resolved that each ship should land, as a provisional supply,  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton of rice and some meat and bread; each to have weekly 3 cattle, and for the cabin, 4 sheep, with vegetables, &c.

10. The two fugitives surrendered themselves through hunger.

19. The cattle stealers very graciously sentenced: 3 to fall from the yard, with 100 lashes and 1 year in irons; and 2 to fall from the yard also, with 60 lashes and  $\frac{1}{2}$  year in irons.

[The Journal is occupied with notices regarding the fleet until]

April 15. The Commander and Captains of the Fleet took leave, having received into their charge our Despatches for our Honorable Masters.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to the Chamber XVII.

You have been already briefly apprized of our fortunate arrival here on the 6th of April last year..... The Fort has been according to your orders named the Goede Hoop..... Directly

in the middle there should be built of the stone found here and of clay a square stone house, flat on the top like a redoubt, &c. This will be our chief stronghold against attempts of these savages, as the sod walls (necessarily constructed with a slope) could, with the extraordinary agility of the natives, be easily got over, in which case, such as might get into the Fort could be driven out again from the said house, which will have a stone breastwork fully 7 feet higher than the wall; and thus we could keep possession of the Fort against all attempts of these natives; even should it happen that they got entire possession of the Fort—which with God's help we hope may never happen; still I should deem such a stone house highly necessary.....

We have particularly applied ourselves to getting into a condition to defend ourselves against all attacks, and on subsequently receiving from your Honors, intimation of the English war, we left all other work and set to work upon the Fort, so that with God's help we are now in a tolerable state of defence—which is also not amiss on account of these tribes; and although not so absolutely necessary against them, still they are little to be trusted; but from their inexperience in the European modes of warfare, they are not so much to be feared as the English.....

Salt could apparently be procured here in considerable quantities, as may be seen detailed in our Journal of the 18th and 19th November,\* if profit could be calculated upon, as hands are required to prepare the pans and to keep them in repair, slaves might be thus employed, but they would be still more useful for killing seals upon the Island, whence they could not desert—as might be feared if employed here, to the great injury and insecurity of the Company..... By the accompanying plan, your Honors may perceive the superabundant fine pastures and arable lands of this Cape, as also the situation of the Fort, for which we have chosen a spot as suitable as any in the whole country, for we have all the gardens, and extensive pastures for the cattle, as well as all the principal rivers under the protection of our cannon, so that no one can approach them without our consent; to enclose our fields and pastures with a ditch, as we have already began to do, several things are required, &c. Also 6 scythes to cut the long grass, &c..... Before relinquishing the subject of the necessary supplies for this place, I will add the Merchandize, which consists entirely of brass, tobacco, and pipes, with a few of sundry kinds of beads for the chiefs and captains of the Saldanhars and their wives, namely, 50 bars of thick stiff brass, for the Saldanhars will not look at it if so thin that it can be bent, this should be attended to, as it is much more esteemed than wire—still 18 or 20 rings of assorted brass wire, such as we brought with us, are wanted, but above all it must be sound wire, that is, not notched or rough (they will not look at it unless it is very sound, smooth, and even) like much of our present stock, otherwise perhaps we would have made more of it, *pro memoria*..... Also 1000 or more pounds of Carib tobacco, not too thin in the twist, good, smooth spun, and not rotten, like 2 of the 6 rolls we brought with us, which these people will not touch, calling it *sigin*, that is to say, stinking tobacco; though some of it was passed off now and then covered up with the good:—therefore the stronger the better, for if it is so strong that it makes the tears stream from their eyes, they esteem it good; without such tobacco we can have little trade—we could better do with tobacco without brass, than with the latter without tobacco, a most desirable circumstance that these people are so anxious for this consumable article, else it were to be feared that they would soon be fully supplied with the more durable brass; by giving these Strandloopers a little tobacco, we can also always have firewood fetched for the cooks, keeping our own people upon other work.

25 to 30 gross of pipes; (the purchase of a beast often depends upon this article,) these are very necessary, for they would go through fire for tobacco and pipes.

I mention bread here also, as almost as much bread is required for treating the Hottentoots, as for provisions for the people; they are much attracted by this means, as well as by a glass of wine or brandy.

A few, say a small keg, of all sorts of common but gaily coloured beads, for presents to them and their wives, for the sake of friendship particularly, like the sample now sent, which they wear in their ears for ornaments.

These people do not require any other merchandize or manufactures, as they use for clothing the skins of cows and deer, and lamb skins for their caps; of knives and razors, sharp on both sides, they have enough, so that they do not much care for ours in particular, which we therefore use for skinning seals, &c. But they are very desirous of cold chissels and hatchets, giving us for an old cooper's driver perhaps a sheep or a calf; therefore your Honors may be pleased to send us 50 to

\* It appears not only by this notice, but by the list of enclosures to the Annual Reports of the Cape Government, that the Journals were regularly transmitted to Holland, and although in obedience to the Instructions of April 1657, all questions of importance were brought more prominently to notice in the Despatches—several instances will be found in which statements contained in the Journal, and not in the Despatches, attracted the serious notice of the Directors.

60 old drivers with thick broad heads, and cold chissels, which would be eagerly eaught at for sheep; also some axes, that our present supply, now worn out, may be also exchanged for cattle; also some thin square bar iron, an inch or finger thick, for which they will also be desirous in exchange for cattle, the only commodity to be had from them. . . . . I forgot to mention some small brass chains, like the sample, to barter with the Hottentoots for cattle, these are much prized by them, &c.

Had the outward bound ships touched here, according to the orders given by your Honors, we might have received some assistance, particularly as respects provisions, for the want of which we have, as before mentioned, been much embarrassed, as since last May we have not seen here a single ship, except the galiot, the *Vos*, and the yaeht, the *Haes*, and, should this happen again, we may one day or other be in great distress from want of food,—and in the event of being besieged by Europeans be compelled to surrender by hunger. . . . .

Having now adverted to the chief occurrences during our residence here, and also set forth, according to our poor judgment and acquired experience, the prospects of this place, I shall, for the sake of brevity, draw towards a conclusion, referring, for whatever may have been forgotten or omitted, to the notes which have been daily made and to the annexed papers addressed to the 6 Chambers respectively, according to the practice at Batavia, where every thing will be found circumstantially detailed. . . . .

I will now, to conclude, most humbly, respectfully, and earnestly pray, that your Honors will think of removing me hence to India, and to some better and higher employment, in order that in due time, and in consideration of better services than I can render here, I may earn promotion; for, among these dull, stupid, (*botte, plompe*) lazy, stinking people, little address (*subtylteyt*) is required as among the Japanese, Tonquinese and other precise nations thereabouts, who, as I have sufficiently experienced in my ten years service, give enough to do to the brains of the cleverest Dutchman; and here there is nothing to be done, except to barter a few sheep and cattle, in which little address is required; and whether there is any thing to be done in ostrich feathers, musk, or any thing else, I shall have sufficiently ascertained between this time and the receipt of your Honors answer, and should I then see my successor, I shall be able to give him such good instructions, after the experience I shall have gained upon all points connected with your service, that he will be as well qualified to take charge as myself; and as you have done me the honor in all your letters to entitle me Commander, (for which I am very thankful) I would still respectfully request that (should my conduct have given you any satisfaction) you would be pleased to honor me with that rank, as also with the usual emolument of 150 guilders per mensem, thereto appertaining, under a written instrument in *debita forma*, in order that I may produce it on my arrival in India, for otherwise the title would tend to nothing but contempt, for being now entitled Commander, and hereafter arriving in India being looked on as only a Merchant; and, to say a few words more, I would gladly bind myself to remain in India with that quality and pay, for 3 years beyond my first engagement, and awaiting the pleasing intelligence of my removal to India, for the purpose above stated, I shall hold myself fully rewarded and satisfied for the services which I have done here to the utmost of my ability, hoping that on reaching India through your favor, I shall render you services of somewhat more importance than I have here a field for, &c.

In the Fort the Goede Hoop, 14th April, 1653.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1653. April 20. This day we bartered 12 cattle from other people, clothed like those formerly here, but residing more in the interior, they stated that they had come in consequence of seeing the Saldanhars return with so much brass, and hearing from them that people (denoting us Netherlanders) lived here, who had more brass, and wishing also to get some of it, they had brought cattle; and that other people, who lived still further off, would come on hearing of us; should it turn out so, it is likely that we shall have cattle in abundance, and shall soon be out of brass and tobacco: meanwhile bought an elephant's and a sea eow's tusk for small bits of tobacco and thin wire, with which we should be supplied, so that we may not sit still; we treated these people civilly, with sometimes a mess of rice, barley, or peas, and wine or arrack, a little liberality in this way we have observed produces much attachment.

21. The said natives came as eagerly as before, with 16 very fine cattle, all which we bartered from them; it would appear that there is some consumption of brass among them, &c.

27. This day 14 fine cattle were brought out of the interior by strangers, and all purchased for brass, tobacco, and pipes.

## Extract of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1653. May 4. A certain German priest, named Martinus Martiny, came hither from Batavia in the Oliphant, he has lived many years in China, travelled over all India, and made many maps and descriptions of countries; he has told us in German, that in the months of June, July, and August, we could easily communicate with *Rio dos Reyos*, about 280 mylen East of the Cape, on the coast of Africa, about half way to Mozambique, in  $25\frac{1}{2}$  South Latitude, on this side of Cape *Corientas*, where much gold, ivory, ebony, and naked Caffers or slaves, are to be had at a very cheap rate for guinea linen, red cotton, coarse and coloured cloathing, tobacco, iron, glass beads of all colours, small bells, and salt, of which last enough may be got here; and that the Portuguese annually procure all their gold and slaves there, and also at *Os Montos d'Uro*, in Lat.  $28\frac{1}{2}$ , and not more than 220 mylen from this; and which consequently could be navigated by us as easily as by those at Mozambique, with small yachts or galiots, with from 4 to 10 guns at the utmost; and without any danger, as, according to his account, the Portuguese have there not above 20 natives, without any fortifications—(their only place of strength being Mozambique)—who would apparently be as willing to trade with us as with the inhabitants, in particular as they are ill off for European provisions—of cheese, butter, wine, &c. which they must procure from Goa, by way of Mozambique, and are therefore very desirous of such supplies. By water they could offer no opposition whatever, for the place is frequented only by 2 or 3 vessels smaller than galiots, with 2 guns each, sent by private merchants at Mozambique to fetch the gold, which is there bartered from the natives by the Portuguese. There is also along the African Coast, as far as the Bays or Rivers called *R. de Cuama* and *R. de St. Jorge*, in Lat. 18 and  $19\frac{1}{2}$ , no less gold to be had for the goods above specified. . . . . after passing Terra de Natal there is nothing but very fine weather to be expected. . . . .

Should your Honors see fit to hear the said Padre upon this subject, I firmly believe that you will be encouraged to have that place visited, as many maintain that it is the true Ophir whence Solomon imported his gold; for which purpose a good yacht of 8, 10, or more guns, and a light galiot, would be very suitable, and I would gladly make the attempt, whether any thing of consequence is to be found there, before my departure for Batavia,\* *per adviso*. . . . .

I have received two horses from Batavia, and expect another by the *Enckhuisen*. I wish we had a dozen, when we could ride armed to some distance in the interior, to see whether any thing for the advantage of the Company is to be found there, and as I have written to Batavia for as many more horses, I request some light English saddles, with bridles, holsters, and light pistols, for the two saddles sent from Batavia are old and broken, &c.

Cabo de Boa Esperance, 4th May 1653.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

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 Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1653. May 7. Some people who had hidden themselves in the ships were found and punished—this day new people again sold us 5 cattle.

9. Some new people again came from the interior with 14 fine cattle, all of which we bought for copper, tobacco, and pipes, giving them upon their departure each a glass or two of arrack, &c.

26. Fine weather, His Honor Riebeeck went out in person, with some Hottentoots, to the wood behind Table Mountain, where our carpenters are at work cutting posts and beams for the intended spirit store, to encourage the said Hottentoots to carry the beams to the Fort, for which purpose they were first well regaled with food, drink, and tobacco, so that 6 of them took a tolerable beam on their shoulders, and towards evening brought it to the Fort, and our people brought two more on a carpenters' two-wheeled wagon—we then, the more to encourage the natives, after again filling their bellies, gave each of them a drink of arrack and a span of tobacco. Meanwhile we prepared the apparatus for *spanning* oxen before the wagon.

27. Got the same Hottentoots to the wood, but there was no work to be got from them, intimating that they were too much fatigued by their yesterday's burthen.

28. Made a trial with the oxen, 2 people from the wood reported that they had drawn pretty well going out, and before dark had dragged 11 beams out of the wood.

29. Induced 5 Hottentoots—by giving them a bowl of beans and a drink of arrack—to go again to the wood, but as before there was very little to be done with them, and therefore it is better to work with our own people.

30. Our people came with three fine beams, drawn upon the wagon by three oxen.

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\* The Resolution of June 3d, adverts to the same proposal of a voyage of discovery along the East coast, the attempt was postponed until the receipt of orders from Holland.

June 2. Arrived the long expected galiot *Roode Vos*, from Texel the 18th September last year, the captain and chief mate having died, they reported that they had wandered for three months about this Cape in consequence of being misled by the compass.

10. During the last 5 or 6 days bought 19 sheep, young and old, and to-day some natives brought 11 cattle and 2 sheep which we bought.

16. Bought 3 cattle.

July 5. We have now a stock for the ships of 80 cattle (from which we get weekly about 2 lbs. of butter) and 130 sheep. . . . . The trade with the natives has ceased as it is now cold and wet here, and they have therefore removed with their cattle and other substance, but we have good hopes of them in the season.

29. This morning early Van Riebeeck went out in person with 12 armed soldiers to the *Houtbaai* before described. . . . . found the finest forests in the world, containing as lofty thick and straight trees as can be desired. . . . . every where the finest pastures in the world, very suitable for cultivation, full of game, harts, hinds, roes, elands, mountain ducks, and geese, patridges, pheasants, &c. but all so wild, that it was impossible to catch them, &c.

Arrived the Salamander from Texel April 11, no letters from our masters, and only verbal intelligence of the continuation of war with the new government in England.

Aug. 12. Released from their irons the 5 persons convicted of killing the Company's cattle.

22. Nothing further occurred than that for several nights back 5 or 6 sheep have been taken by wild animals out of a tent within the kraal in which people were sleeping.

Sept. 3. Some Saldanhars again appeared with an ox and cow and 2 calves, which they sold rather cheap, they said that they lay with their huts and cattle only 4 or 5 mylen off, and that they would shortly come with a quantity of cattle and elephants' tusks to which we encouraged them by good entertainment, &c.

#### Extract of Resolution of Council, Oct. 1, 1653.

. . . . . And, as the time of the approach of the Saldanhars begins to draw near, and it may therefore be presumed that they may be now near Saldanha Bay with their cattle; so that some trade may be carried on there as well as here, and that they may be allured and encouraged by our people (to be sent there) to come here early with ivory and other merhandize, and to bring their cattle with them at the same time. . . . . It is therefore, after full deliberation, resolved to send the galiot *Roode Vos*, with 15 men and three months' provisions for 25 to the said Bay, in order as aforesaid, in the event of their finding the Saldanhars there, to trade with them as much as possible, and thus trade annually at two places. . . . .

Thus done, &c.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1653. Oct. 2. Some Saldanhars again come to the Fort, having nothing with them except a few ostrich eggs, and stating that their companions were on their way hither with their houses and cattle.

3. While employed despatching the galiot, our interpreter Herry came and stated in broken English, that two Saldanhars had just come to say that a large ship had arrived\* in Saldanha Bay, buying sheep, and killing seals to eat. . . . .

9. 5 Saldanhars come with news that their allies would be here in three or four days, with huts, cattle, and all their property, well inclined to trade with us, requesting for their news tobacco and arrack, which we gave them, &c.

10. 7 or 8 Saldanhars came to the Fort with 17 sheep, old and young, which on this first occasion they sold tolerably cheap—each sheep for about the value of 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  stivers in brass wire and tobacco.

11. 2 Saldanhars brought news that our galiot had joined the large vessel in Saldanha Bay, &c. for which news they were rewarded with food, tobacco, and arrack, and we desired them to carry a letter by land to the galiot; but whatever quantity of copper, bread, or tobacco we offered, they would by no means undertake it, saying it was too dangerous in consequence of the number of wild animals. . . . Towards evening 2 soldiers sent on by the junior merchant J. Reyniersz, who had set out from Saldanha Bay with 8 men on Wednesday morning. . . . . the said Reyniersz having

\* The Journal of the galiot *Roode Vos* states—Oct. 4. "The Frenchman, &c. said that they had been there above six months, and had killed between 38 and 39 thousand seals, &c." A Resolution of Oct. 3, directs 6 soldiers to be sent in the vessel—and in the event of the strange ship being no Hollander, but a French or other foreign ship, "to try to induce them to come hither, and with advice of Council to do whatever shall be deemed best for the service of the Company."

reported that many of the Frenchman's people were unwilling to return to France, because they had no food but penguins, seals' flesh, and what else they could catch, and had therefore offered to take service with the Company, and to give us information of the mode of killing seals and preparing the skins. It was resolved by Council to write to the officers of the *Roode Vos*, to accept the services of such as offered them, and also to allure as many more as possible, in order to distress the Frenchman and frustrate his homeward voyage, and thus to destroy the inclination of his masters (from apprehension of a similar result) to come here again; and at the same time to acquire from those men, as before noticed, a perfect knowledge of the mode of preparing the said skins, and of any thing else done or procured hereabouts by the Frenchman.

Oct. 13. Our letters to the Directors being closed, they were despatched over land to Saldanha Bay, by a corporal and 3 soldiers, with directions to the officers of the *Roode Vos* to deliver them to the captain of the Frenchman, and further to act as directed in our letter to them, and which may be seen in our *Copie Boek*.\*

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### Extract of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to the Chamber Amsterdam.

1653. Oct. 13. The trade with the Saldanhars here at the Fort, having the day before yesterday for the first time again bartered 17 sheep, but the thin wire received by the *Haes* is not so current as the thick and the bars which are now all expended, and we shall be much at a loss for them, as without them we can purchase no cattle; the tobacco should also be something stronger, better, and thicker spun, and not subject to decay like that hitherto received. . . . . I should much like to have 1 or 2 dozen good sure firelocks for journeys through the country, for which they would suit well, also some flints for our fire arms which are all without flints and consequently cannot be used.

J. VAN RIEBEECK, &c.

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### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

Oct. 18. 1653. This day we got 8 sheep from the Saldanhars, whom to entice the more we treated upon their departure with a dram of arrack and a bit of tobacco to each.

19. As soon as the sermon was over, we learnt that Herry, our interpreter, residing within pistol shot of the Fort, had decamped and gone away quite suddenly, with wife, children, cattle, and all his property, while we sat at prayers, we cannot conceive what this may betoken, as just before sermon, he was with us in the Fort, saying nothing of such an intention, or having evinced any design in the world, excepting that yesterday he said that he was of a mind to go to the Saldanhars, as he did last year, and therefore we paid little attention to it, as it had frequently happened before. But while sitting at table, we were informed that all the cattle were away; upon sending out to see about this, we instantly heard, that the boy, who always attends the cattle with Hendrik Wilders, and whom he had left while he went to the cook for food, lay murdered at the tail of the Lion Mountain, the cattle, which had been seen about an hour before within sight of the sentinel, and which H. Wilders had as on former occasions, left with the boy in fine green pasture, while he went to fetch food, being driven away. We instantly sent a sergeant with 4 men round behind the Lion Hill, to pursue the cattle, and 2 corporals with 15 or 16 soldiers through the Kloof of Table Mountain and Lion Hill, to meet the other party, and if possible to overtake the cattle. After evening prayers the sergeant returned, reporting that the cattle had been driven round behind Table Mountain, along the shore, over stones and rocks, and that he had left the corporal with three men to pursue them, in which they would probably succeed, for he could not go further with the horses. As we now ascertained by these reports that the Hottentoots had driven our cattle, 42 in number, towards Hout Bay, we sent 4 men to the party in the wood, to apprise them of this, and to take them along with them, so that these 10 armed men might try to intercept the savages and to meet and assist the party who were in pursuit.

20. This morning one of the corporals with 5 men returned through the Kloof, reporting that the other, Jan van Harwarden, had sent him back with 5 men to say, that he with 13 men would pursue the Hottentoots with the cattle to Hout Bay, requesting that food might be sent over to meet him, which we instantly did by 10 men, also well armed and in good order, directing them to be well on their guard. It is to be hoped that they may still join the other party to-day, when 33 will be able to oppose 2 or 300 Hottentoots, should they fall in with them. After dark in the

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\* The sentiments contained in the Journal of the 13th, 15th, and 18th Dec. 1652, did not form the subject of a distinct proposal or reference to the Directors, nor do they appear to have, in any way, influenced the conduct pursued towards the natives; the attempt upon the French ship was reported to have been actually made; it failed.

evening the corporal Jan van Harwarden returned with his 23 men, including the party sent out yesterday, he had missed the cattle in the dark along the rocky coast behind Table Mountain, he had followed them to Hout Bay, but they were already driven round the point towards Cape False, and as from his hasty departure, he was without food, (for expecting quickly to overtake the cattle he had taken none with him) and had eaten nothing since yesterday afternoon, thus he was forced to return his people, being hungry and tired, and having missed the 10 men sent out to-day with provisions, otherwise he would have pursued further; in short, we have suffered this loss somewhat suddenly, and that through the Strandloopers called Watermans, who, ever since our arrival, have always lived with us, been protected by us, and received such unusual kindness from us, always getting their bellies filled and all the skins of the cattle for their clothing, &c. in particular Herry, whom we have always maintained as the chief of the little community living with us, who has been fed from our table in the house as a great friend, and dressed in Dutch clothing, besides being frequently supplied upon the arrival of every ship with sacks of bread, rice, wine, &c. by way of recompence for his services as interpreter, &c.

All this difficulty is surmountable if only the Saldanhars do not, in consequence of this theft of the Strandloopers, be deterred from coming to us, from fear that we might revenge it upon them; which we will not hope, but firmly trust, that they will not keep away, and this must soon be ascertained.

The greatest pity is the milch cows, and the fine breeding stock, from which we were procuring such abundance of milk, butter, and cheese, as if we were in Fatherland, of which we are now so entirely and suddenly deprived, as well as of the labour of the oxen in drawing wood and stone, as also the manure so necessary for the land; but we will hope, and will not doubt that we shall soon procure others from the Saldanhars, who the day before yesterday sold us 8 sheep, and departed well pleased with their good entertainment, promising to come soon with sheep and cattle in abundance; which God grant; for we have saved nothing except between 60 and 70 sheep, one milch cow, one ox, and 4 newly dropped calves, the residue have been as before detailed, God mend it! most theivishly and faithlessly stolen from us by these said Strandloopers, as we sat at sermon.

21. Council resolved, notwithstanding of the theft and abstraction of the cattle by the Hottentoots, as they could not be overtaken in the commission of the actual offence, expressly to prohibit our people (who are much embittered against them in consequence) from doing any of these inhabitants the least injury in the world, wherever they may meet them; should they even fall in with the thieves, eye with Herry himself the chief cause; in order to make it always apparent that we are not only disposed to show them nothing but friendship, but also to forget and forgive the injury done to us, and never to think of it again: in order that the Saldanhars may henceforth entertain the less fear, and the more inclination to communicate with us, and come to us again with their cattle, which we hope soon to see, as the chief time for the barter is close at hand: for which purpose we hastily promulgated to the people a Proclamation, so that we may not by their animosity (hittigheid) and revenge against the inhabitants, be brought into any further embarrassment or hostility, but avoid the same as much as possible. Orders were also given, for the stationing of the men on the walls and at the guns, so that upon an alarm each should take his appointed post, as from this piece of roguery we can see that this tribe is by no means to be trusted.

This night our remaining ox perished in the cold rain, also a young calf and a sheep, from want of stabling, which has not yet been prepared from want of timber; thus many of the stock daily perish of cold and exposure, or are dragged away by night before the sentinels and devoured by wild animals.

### Resolution of Council.

1653. Oct. 21. Having to our great sorrow, and most unexpectedly, God mend it! suffered the misfortune that all the Company's cattle, 44 in number, were carried off during the sermon on Sunday last by the Strandloopers, (called Waterman) notwithstanding that they, from the hour of our arrival here, have lived under our protection, and daily received much kindness, in particular the Hottentoo Herry, retained as interpreter, who has been always fed from our table like a great friend, clothed with Dutch clothing, received presents of brass chains, and rods, and bars, and at the same time all the others have always had their lean hungry stomachs filled; in consequence of which they had become so active in fetching wood and water, in milking the cows and herding the young calves, &c., that it seemed they were attached to us like countrymen.

This outrage, however, showing the contrary, and finding ourselves most unexpectedly deceived in them, and as our common people (who are also thus deprived of many comforts) are individually much provoked against these native tribes, and disposed to revenge the wrong—having

therefore fully deliberated hereupon, and considering that to revenge this injury, or to attack the natives on that account, would produce great irritation, and might totally and for ever deprive us of the trade—at present the chief object of our masters at this place—with the Saldanhars, who we fear will be for some time afraid to come to the Fort with their cattle, under the idea that we might endeavour to revenge it upon them; it is therefore thought proper and resolved—notwithstanding the murder of the boy David Jans, who was tending the cattle, in addition to the robbery of the cattle, as the said thieves could not be overtaken in the commission of the act—to warn our people by proclamation, and to interdict them from doing the least injury to any of these natives who may appear at the Fort, or be met with on the roads, whether Saldanhars, Strandloopers who steal our cattle, or even the late interpreter Herry, apparently the sole cause of the theft; but on the contrary to show them as much kindness as before, indeed rather more than less, in order, if possible, thus to remove the fears of the Saldanhars, to encrease their attachment to us, and to make it appear to them that we are not at all disposed to revenge an injury, still less to injure or molest any person in the world without cause; as we are not so much interested in taking vengeance upon a parcel of thievish Strandloopers as thereby to suffer in our needful traffic with the Saldanhars, which is of great importance to the Hon. Company; and we might besides in that case injure the innocent as well as the guilty, when the last error would be worse than the first.

And that the roads to the wood, &c. may be safer, it is resolved, that the 10 men in the wood, and the 6 wood-carriers with the wagon, shall always be armed; and also that the garrison shall be divided into 4 corporal's parties, each of which shall, upon alarm, &c. proceed to their appointed posts on the walls, as also the men stationed at the cannon; and that the guards, within and without the Fort be doubled.—Thus resolved, &c.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

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Proclamation.—JAN VAN RIEBEECK, &c.

1653. Oct. 21. Whereas we have most unexpectedly and without our entertaining the least apprehension, suffered the injury and affront from the Hottentoots or Strandloopers (called Waterman) who have, during our abode here, met with no other than the kindest treatment from us, in that they, notwithstanding, during divine service on Sunday last, most execrably and cruelly murdered the young man David Jans, while attending the cattle in the pasture near the tail of the Lion Hill; and after perpetrating that act, most thievishly and faithlessly stole, took, and hastily drove away all the Company's horned cattle—among them many draught oxen and milch cows, in all 44 in number—without our having been able to overtake and recover the same, though pursued with all diligence, to our great injury and to the hinderance of many works in progress.

The Commander and Council aforesaid, have nevertheless deemed it for the service of the Company, and on many and sundry considerations, have thought fit to order and direct, as is hereby ordered and directed, under severe punishment—That no one, on meeting, here at the Fort or elsewhere, any of the inhabitants, whether Saldanhars or Waterman, the stealers of our said cattle, aye even our late interpreter Herry, apparently the chief author of the robbery, and also absent, shall do to them on that account, any the least harm or injury, but shall on the contrary show them every kindness and friendship, aye more than even heretofore, as if the late outrage had never happened, or at least was totally forgotten by us; so that the Saldanhars be not thereby frightened from coming to us again, but that, observing our good nature, they may become the more attached and accustomed to us, so that we may, not only speedily procure other cattle from those daily expected here, and trade with them, but also that we may continue the more safely to frequent the roads in all directions, and other considerations thereto moving the Commander and Council, who deem the same for the service and security of the Hon. Company, in the extension of this place.

Done in the Fort the Goede Hoop, this 21st Oct. 1653.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

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Extract of a Letter from the Officers of the Roode Vos.

1653. Oct. 22. And as no Saldanhars have hitherto appeared here, excepting a party of lean Strandloopers, from whom we have only bought 6 or 8 ostrich egg shells and a young rhebok—and whom we have not seen for the last 14 days, we shall, as before notified, start to-morrow, doing our best to touch at Dassen Island to get as many rabbits and eggs as possible.....

In the galiot Roode Vos, anchored in Saldanha Bay,  
Oct. 22, 1653.

E. C. KES,  
F. VERBURG.

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1653. Oct. 22. Fine weather with warm sunshine, sent the carpenters with some musketeers 16 in all, to the wood, to prepare the beams and wall plates for the gates, and other wood work with the wagon dragged by the 2 horses sent from Batavia, instead of our lost oxen. To-day died 2 sheep, it really seems as if they were poisoned, for no day or night passes but some sheep die, and that before any sickness or ailment has been perceived.

23. This morning a Hottentoo was seen in the bushes close to the Fort, and at noon 2 were seen, on which a corporal and 2 men with pistols concealed under their coats, that they might defend themselves if necessary, as if they were going out unarmed for pastime, were sent to see if the said Hottentoes would come to them, in which event they were by a present of tobacco to induce them to come to the Fort, that we might show them so much kindness that they would be inclined not only to come back themselves freely and openly, but might also encourage and assure others, namely the Saldanhars, to come with their cattle, notwithstanding of the murder committed upon the boy and the theft of our cattle, under the assurance that they would not be in any way molested, but that we were still inclined to be on good terms with them, as being well aware that this affront and injury had been suffered from a set of banditti and Strandloopers—or whatever further might suggest itself, and be found practicable for the service of the Company.

The said corporal returned late in the afternoon, reporting that the Hottentoes had not shewn themselves, though they, 3, (with pistols hidden below their coats) had walked about as if they were seeking flowers and plants. In the evening our people returned from the wood, to say that they had to-day seen 7 natives, armed with hassagays, going over the open country; they did not approach our men, nor our men them, but each party took their own way. About an hour later three of our musketeers came very hastily from the wood, with intelligence that 5 or 6 Saldanhars had just come to them in the wood, (among them a certain captain from whom we had last season bought many cattle, and who, when one of our cattle had run away from us and was quite given up, had himself brought it back) who signified to them that Herry, our late interpreter, was lying at Cape False, with all our stolen cattle, and had asked the Saldanhars to let him live with them; but as they knew very well that Herry had very faithlessly stolen our cattle, they would have nothing to do with him, but would gladly show us where he lay, and that we might recover the cattle if some people with fire arms would accompany them thither; on which, recollecting this Saldanha captain last year, and knowing that they have thousands of sheep and cattle, and therefore cared little for so small a drove, and having also observed that they cared little for Herry and his associates, and would much rather trade without his assistance than with it; as also that this captain, laying down his weapons, had come amicably to our people in the wood, telling them where Herry lay, and offering his services as a guide to our people, for which purpose he would stay near them that night; we therefore resolved as a special Resolution passed thereupon, to send this evening the corporal Jan van Harwarden, a person of good conduct and assiduity, with 16 of the most active soldiers, who volunteered their services, victualled for 5 or 6 days—to go round behind to the wood this evening, and after sleeping with the carpenters, to set out thence before day with or without the Saldanha captain as might be deemed best.

[The Resolution referred to, after recapitulating the details given above, thus lays down the grounds for the first hostile expedition against the natives]—

“ Having heard all this intelligence, and considering that the injury heretofore done to our people has always been committed by the Strandloopers, Herry’s companions, (called Watermans,) and that on the other hand, we have never met with any thing but friendship from the Saldanhars, who, as we have sufficiently experienced last year, have never desired any thing but an amicable trade with us, and also that, as we can well observe, they would rather trade with us without Herry’s mediation than with it; and that he never dared to trust himself among the Saldanhars when unaccompanied by us, with exception of one horde, who indeed seem to be in some degree his friends, but not so entirely that he, and still less his companions, dare to mix confidently with them; always flying when any Saldanhars came near, except Herry, who lived at the Fort under our safeguard. Consequently it may be sufficiently, or at least in some measure, perceived from all these circumstances, and entirely agrees with the opinion of every one who has ever visited the Cape, or lived here after the wreck of the ships Mauritius and Haerlem, (as some of them now living with us assert) that the Saldanhars and Watermans are always at enmity—and the latter frequently the hinderers of the traffic between the former and us; so that indeed it would not be surprising if our pursuit of Herry and his companions would be a great kindness to the Saldanhars, as they are daily in the habit of intimating to us, that we should kill Herry and Waterman, so that they could trade with us more securely. The captain above mentioned also signified to our carpenters

that we need not do this merely to please them, for that Herry and his mates had now given us cause enough for revenge, by the murder and robbery of the cattle, &c.

It was finally, after much deliberation, and upon serious consideration, resolved, to send out in that direction this very night, a party of 17 active soldiers, victualled for 4 or 5 days, under corporal Jan van Harwarden, a person of discretion and conduct—with orders to halt at the wood till towards day break, and then, on finding it safe to make the attempt, to set out for Cape False, or wherever Herry may be with our cattle, and either with or without the Saldanha captain; and on falling in with Herry, to see to get possession of the cattle, and also, if possible, by fair means or by force, to bring Herry and his people hither; keeping at the same time a good watch, so that our men be not deceived or destroyed by one or the other.

Thus resolved, &c

J. VAN RIEBEECK, &c.”

Oct. 24. Fine cloudy weather, favourable for the march of our men despatched yesterday after Herry.

25. This evening after the gate was closed 3 of the party who had been sent out returned to the Fort with one of the milch cows, reporting that they had yesterday early seen all the cattle and Herry's camp, consisting of 4 huts, near the point of Cape False, but as he kept a good watch in all directions they had all absconded before our men could come up, leaving in their haste the said huts and much of their more bulky things, which our people had taken, and pursued them all day, keeping the cattle in sight—that they were still in pursuit, and intended to follow until they had fully recovered them; this cow had been left behind tired, and sent home by the corporal, who requested that some food might be sent to meet them, which was this evening prepared, and on the

26. Sent by the said corporal and 5 men, with orders, as the Saldanhars had not dared to accompany them in pursuit of Herry, not to follow the cattle any further, but should they, when joined by the 5 men now sent, not have retaken the cattle from Herry, instantly to return to the Fort, and not to go further into the interior, where it would soon be impossible to supply them with provisions. In the evening a milch cow came to the Fort alone, from behind the Lion Hill, apparently left behind from the drove.

27. The corporal Jan van Harwarden returned, reporting that he had missed the party sent yesterday with provisions, that though he had pursued Herry with the cattle long and sharply, he could not overtake him, as he kept constantly dodging along and across the very high sand hills towards False Bay, where water was not always to be had, and that his men had endured great thirst, and were thus entirely exhausted, otherwise he would have pursued further; for they were at one time so near that one of Herry's people was within shot, and he could indeed have desired him to be shot, but that he wished to take him alive, that he might employ him as a guide; but that being prevented from getting near enough to him by bushes, he had managed to escape. As before noticed Herry always kept among the said sand hills, not once daring to venture on the flat, nor on the beach, still less in the direction whence the Saldanhars usually come with their cattle, so that we can sufficiently perceive that he is as much afraid of them as of us, which we hope soon to learn more minutely and certainly, and, should it be so, to enquire whether the Saldanhars may not be induced by presents, to deliver the said Herry and his people into our hands, or to pursue him in conjunction with us, &c.

28. The 5 men who were sent out with victuals the day before yesterday, and who had missed the corporal, returned to-day, stating, that though they had again seen the traces of the cattle, they could not overtake Herry or any of his people.

29. Corporal Muller, who was sent to Saldanha Bay on the 13th with 3 men, returned to-night, bringing a letter from the officers of the *Roode Vos*, to the effect as follows in the copy here inserted. [See page 37.] The corporal reported that on the journey thither, and about 4 days' march from hence, he had fallen in with a party of Saldanhars who were the first who last year appeared at the Fort, that they received our people well, as our men did them, entertaining them with bread, tobacco, and arrack, and parting good friends; they sent one man with our party for a day and night to show the direct road to Saldanha Bay, so that, while the journey thither had occupied 3½ days, they had returned in three days. Muller thinks that a still shorter road and with more water, may yet be found. They had met many elephants, rhinoceros, elands, harts, hinds, and other game, once a herd of 7, and again of 8 elephants, of which they were somewhat afraid, as they, like the rhinoceros, stood firm before them, and even our men were obliged to give way to those animals. . . . . The Frenchman was so careful that he would not allow his boat to land or go anywhere without some of his most trusty people provided with fire arms to prevent desertion, &c.

Nov. 4. Our people returning from the wood with a wagon load of beams, got hold of an old

Hottentoo and brought him to the Fort between 2 of them, each holding one of his hands, but without violence, whom we immediately released, and perceiving that he was a Saldanhar, as we had last year seen him among them, we filled his belly well, and also his knapsack with bread, with tobacco and a little copper wire for a present; recovering from his uneasiness in consequence of our kind treatment, he remained to sleep in the Fort of his own accord, and on showing him brass and tobacco, and telling him to inform his people that we wished to barter it for their cattle and other merchandize, as last year, he gave us to understand that many Saldanhars were on their way hither, and signified that Herry had gone far away into the interior; but we could not get any particular information from him, as he could not speak a word of Dutch or English, so that all we learnt from him was through a few words of his own language, which we have in some measure acquired by practice.

Nov. 9. Entertained this Hottentoo anew to encourage his countrymen and remove their fears of our injuring them on account of the robberies of Herry, for which we can see that they are rather apprehensive, and therefore dare not come to the Fort; therefore gave orders to all our people, that on meeting any of the natives whomsoever, they must not treat them otherwise than with the utmost kindness, as we have done to this man, in order to remove their fears, that they may willingly come with their cattle and other merchandize, of which we hope soon to experience the success, which may God grant, Amen! In the forenoon we dismissed him well contented, his sack full of bread and tobacco, and his stomach also, with a drink of wine; may we hope that through his good reception we may soon see more people, that we may also treat them well, the more to allure them, &c.

15. The galiot returned from Saldanha Bay by the Island Elizabeth.....with 7 casks of salted harders, and 5 casks of eggs from the Island, which we divided among the people.

17. The four Frenchmen stated that they had been landed on the Island for no other cause than having asked for some more food, in the toilsome and dirty work upon which they were employed, so different from the promises made to them in France, giving them nothing but seals' flesh and penguins, which they had also to kill and salt for the voyage.....on their earnest entreaties they were engaged as sailors in the service of the Company out of pure christian commiseration and compassion\*.....

18. Abundance of vegetables in the garden.....sufficient for the return fleet, excepting cattle and sheep, which we fear that we shall not procure this year from the Saldanhars, as we fear that on coming to this neighbourhood and learning the villainy of Herry in the murder of our boy and the theft of our cattle, they will not appear at the Fort, lest we should try to revenge it on them—but we hope that the Lord will incline their hearts otherwise, so that on coming hither they may perceive that we have no intention of treating them less kindly than we last year begun with.

Dec. 6. It was resolved to send the galiot to Saldanha Bay to kill seals, and to see whether the Saldanhars, apparently keeping away from fear, would enter into trade there, as may be seen by the Special Resolution and Instruction issued: In the afternoon, on coming out of Council and outside the Fort, we saw to the East about 8 or 10 mylen inland some fires rising, the first this season, we will hope that it may be the Saldanhars with their cattle and that they may come soon, which may God grant, Amen!

7. Two of our men who had been at Salt River with a gun to shoot some birds, fell in with 5 Saldanhars in that neighbourhood, who gave them the shell of an ostrich egg to bring to the Commander, asking for some tobacco, which was sent to them by the same two men, with a few pipes as a present, for which they were very thankful, and were very civil to our people, telling or giving them to understand that Herry's proceedings were known and displeasing to them, adding that a Hottentoo, to whom we had given the name of Lubbert, Herry's companion, had murdered the boy, and that they would have nothing to say to them or to any of the Watermen, but would come to us to-morrow with cattle and sheep to trade with us in amity as last year, on which our people assured them as much as they could, of our favor, and bartered from them 4 or 5 ostrich eggs.

9. The wagon returned from the wood in the evening, our people reported that some Hottentoes had been in the carpenters' tent while they were absent rather far from the tent, and deep in the wood cutting palisades; and that the Hottentoes seeing no one at the tent, had taken all their tools; we therefore thought fit that to-morrow a corporal and 4 men should be sent to the wood to take care of the carpenters and their tools.

10. Saw to the Eastward, about 2 mylen from the Fort, many fires burning, but none of the inhabitants have as yet come to the Fort.

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\* A Resolution of Council of the same date, to the same purport.

Dec. 11. Our people returning (from the wood) in the evening, stated that they had seen many fires towards the interior, but had not seen any inhabitants.

17. Towards evening, our people bringing palisades from the wood on their shoulders, brought intelligence that 6 Hottentoots had been with them, and soon after, the corporal W. Muller came alone with them to nearly within cannon shot, where they sat down, not daring to come nearer, saying that they had 2 cows beyond the river which they wished to sell to us, we therefore sent the *Domine* thither, (whom they knew, as he had been often in their camps last year,) with some copper, tobacco, pipes, and bread, also Muller and another corporal, with pistols hid under their coats, but so soon as they saw them approaching they instantly fled to a valley, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a myl out of sight of the Fort, where seeing no muskets they awaited our people, until they came up with them; they were people of the captain with whom Herry last year appeared to be allied, and the first with whom we had traded, among the 6 there were two who, upon the day on which Herry stole our cattle, were also present with him.

They often asked our people if they had fire-arms with them, sitting by our men with the greatest fear, shaking and trembling; and whatever the chaplain could do they dared not come to the Fort, but asked our people to come to the same place the next day, when they would appear with the cattle—our men therefore finding that in spite of all the fine promises they could make, the Hottentoots were not to be persuaded, presented them each with a piece of wire, tobacco, pipes, and bread, also some for their captain, and as there was one of them who was concerned in the theft of our cattle, or at least was that day present with Herry, the present to their chief was entrusted to him, without showing the least sign of recognition, in order to remove their fear as much as possible; so that they parted this evening on good terms, promising to meet each other to-morrow with the cattle; they sent, as a mark of friendship, a full ostrich egg to the Commander: according to their professions they utterly detested Herry and his evil acts. What will come of it, God best knows; but that they dread our revenge is certain, therefore we must give to them in full measure, so as to entice some of them to the Fort by kindness, thus to have an opportunity of entertaining them so that their shyness may quite leave them—for which, when we have once conversed with them, we hope an opportunity will soon be presented. They also asked the *Domine* to accompany them to their captain the day after to-morrow, that he might, as happened three or four times last year, barter with them there.

18. Notwithstanding the timidity of this people we thought it right to send 10 muskets with the 50 men who daily go to the wood,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mylen from this, to fetch palisades, so as to guard them from all inconvenience; for, although it is evident enough that the Saldanhars hesitate to renew their former intercourse with us, and from their great timidity dare not come near the Fort, still they are not to be trusted, and we have always found that our people and property must be well cared for, as they, from their thievish natural disposition, on seeing an opportunity cannot help stealing and carrying away all that they can take without obstruction; and then, fearing ill-treatment from us on that account, they dare not show themselves again—consequently to continue to live on peaceable terms with them, and to keep them out of fear, and also to allure them more and more to trade with us, it is necessary that we ourselves take great care of our own property; for if there are but two or three muskets, no hundred natives dare advance against them; but on seeing our people without arms, they cannot refrain from taking by force their tools and property, in spite of all the kindness in the world shown by us; that they are bloodthirsty has not as yet appeared, as the murder of the boy was only committed to prevent him from bringing us intelligence of the theft of the cattle, and that they might not be too soon pursued by us; if they were cannibals or bloodthirsty they might, on finding our people unarmed, and sometimes 2 or 3 together far from the Fort, have frequently killed them, as our little garrison, forbid it as you may, will not leave off the practice of going out in the fields for figs and other trash.

As the six Hottentoots who spoke yesterday with our men, had engaged to meet them at the same place to-day, our men with copper, tobacco, &c. and they with cattle, we sent the Provost Marshal in that direction alone, with a pistol concealed under his coat, that he might defend himself if necessary, so that the Saldanhars seeing no fire arms, might join him with more confidence, and if possible, accompany him to the Fort with their cattle, or if they would not, then to desire them to stay there until our people, according to their former agreement, should come to them with the said merchandize to barter. . . . .none of the inhabitants were seen to-day.

19. Our palisade carriers coming from the wood in the evening, say that the Saldanhars with their fires are retreating quite away towards the interior, and that they had seen no people whatever.

20. Mr. Van Riebeeck with the junior Merchant Reyniersz and about 20 men, soldiers and others, the least of them armed with pistols, went out to-day to inspect the wood-cutting, and at

the same time to ascertain whether it was not possible to communicate with the Saldanhars; but when we had gone about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *myl* from the Fort, on the slope of the hill, we saw several groups in the flat below us, about half a *myl* off. We immediately descended, leaving the soldiers about a musket shot behind, and advancing with 3 or 4 with pistols under their clothes, in which manner we also were provided, and sending the drummer, similarly armed, in advance, with orders to tell them that the captain was himself present, and that he wished to come to them; when the drummer joined them, and told them that we were approaching in person, and on their observing that our party of musketeers were left far behind, and that we came on with only 6 or 7 without any visible weapons, 12 or 13 of them remained, sitting with the drummer, awaiting us; as we got nearer—our party always following slowly—some of them frequently got up, and ran away from the drummer, in great fear, and then returned; this happened fully 10 or 12 times; until at last we left 4 more behind, and when our number was reduced to 3, they awaited our approach, but still they could not fully trust us, at last 8 or 10 of them, in great fear and trembling, stood still, (the rest standing at a distance to see how it would go) and on our joining them, and their instantly seeing and recognizing the Commander of the Fort, himself in person, they came up to him, extending their hands as a welcome, and as a further mark of friendship clasping us round the neck, and we them in return, over and over again with many friendly gestures, on which we immediately called our provision carriers, and opened our bags of bread, arrack, wine, tobacco, and pipes, which had been brought for them, and entertained them sumptuously, royally, they giving us to understand that they were very much displeased by the conduct of Herry, and that they had beaten him severely for it, &c. how much of this to believe, time will show; they at least expressed themselves as if his proceedings were entirely contrary to their disposition, and that they were fully inclined to correspond with us on amicable terms as before; for which we made it appear to them that we also were inclined, and spoke so fair, that at length we got them to the Fort with one cow; but before they got there they halted fully 50 times, hesitating whether they should go on, and always wishing us to bring our copper to them in the fields, and we urging them to come to the Fort with assurances of good treatment, so that they at length consented; we took them by the hands, and thus, dancing, leaping, and singing they entered the Fort; there we liberally entertained them with tobacco, arrack, and food, as well as all kinds of monkey tricks, so that to their great satisfaction we entered upon and concluded a formal renewal of alliance with them, and fairly talked them out of their fears, bartering, by way of a beginning, one cow at double the ordinary price, the more to entice them.

Dec. 21. To-day the Saldanhars again came to the Fort with their wives, which is a good sign, also, a worthless sheep which we would not buy, we treated them liberally however as before, the more to allure them, and bought from them 2 good elephant's tusks.

22. Arrived here, thank God, the ships Breda and Lam, from Texel 9th Sept., many of the crews affected with scurvy. . . . . this day some Saldanhars and their wives, came to the Fort quite fearlessly with 2 cows, which we bought at about twice the usual price, to entice them the more at first, as well as all the good treatment possible; at their request we allowed some of them also to go on board, so that the captains could there fill their bellies and their sacks with bread, make them drunk, or any thing else that might serve to entice them. In the evening when trying to milk the two newly bartered cattle, they sprung over the wall of the kraal and ran away, but were instantly brought back by the Saldanhars for a bit of tobacco and a bowl of bread, although they were half a *myl* off.

27. The galiot returned from Saldanha Bay, they had not seen the Frenchman there, or the least vestige of skins or implements, he had removed every thing. They had bartered 7 sheep from the Saldanhars and put them upon Saldanhas Robben Island. . . . .

30. There were indeed many Saldanhars at the Fort, but they brought only one cow, which we bought, so that now again we have 7, of which we gave 3 to the ships so that they might have a little fresh meat. . . . .

31. The three ships sailed for Batavia. . . . .

1654. Jan. 2. . . . . Divided among the garrison the shoes received from the Breda, scarce one man had a pair of shoes for his feet. . . . .

3. Some Hottentoes again came to the Fort, without cattle, and much bolder than heretofore, in stealing and carrying off all they could, and even on finding our people unarmed close to the Fort, taking all their things from them by force, aye even laying hold of children and boys for the brass buttons on their clothes, in spite of all our good treatment and kindness within and without the Fort, with a view to entice them. Our palisade bearers also state that a party of about 50 armed Hottentoes daily harbour about the wood and do not come hither; so that with one thing

and another we scarce know what to think of it, or what we are to trust to; resolved therefore to send daily with the carriers 20 musketeers instead of 10, and to add 2 men to the carpenters' guard, as also to station nightly 5 musketeers at the gardener's house outside the Fort, where the poultry houses stand, besides the 5 soldiers who nightly guard the kraal; also to send by day 2 musketeers with the stock, besides the herds armed with pistols, in order, as far as possible on our part, to prevent any rupture with these tribes; which can not be better prevented than by taking good care of ourselves and our property, for, when they have taken any thing—which indeed they cannot abstain from—they become instantly timid, and shy of returning to the Fort, where they are notwithstanding absolutely necessary, were it only to fetch wood for the cooks, by which our own people are again beginning to feel great relief; but in particular on account of the fine cattle trade, which has not as yet been fully renewed. We therefore intend soon to go once more in person to their hordes, to see whether they will not come to us somewhat more readily. It is much to be feared, that our late interpreter Herry causes much mischief with the Saldanhars, and perhaps one day or other he may even attempt some treachery against us, but we will always trust in God's protection.

Jan. 6. Arrived the Vrede.....with 60 sick, many of scurvy.....

10. To-day again many Hottentoes came to the Fort with their wives, among them some Strandloopers, who had assisted Herry in stealing the cattle; we would not, however, let it be seen that we were aware of their guilt, but gave them, together with other Saldanhars, all the good entertainment possible, with bread, arrack, tobacco, and pipes; they signified to us that Herry had gone far inland with our cattle, and that he had caused much alarm among the Saldanhars, by telling them that if they brought their cattle hither, we would take them out of revenge, and would kill their people; but that, finding the contrary on two or three occasions, and seeing that we had again bought 3 or 4 cattle, as last year, their scruples had vanished, and that they were disposed soon to come to us with all their houses and cattle, to barter some copper, &c. therefore, the more to entice them, and to encourage them as much as depends upon us, we treated them well, &c.; but the worst is, that we can hardly keep the ships' crews, aye some captains, discreet in other respects, make bold to say that if they do not get from us as many cattle as they like, they will go into the interior with hundreds of men, to shoot cattle, and if the Hottentoes will not barter them, they will take them, and so forth, as may be seen by the attested evidence.\*

12. This day we bartered 2 young bulls, and the inhabitants said that they would soon come with many more cattle, but we can buy no more cows unless we procure a supply of brass bars, we have wire enough to buy sheep, but cattle are better to issue to the common people.

27. Our wood-cutters reported that a certain horde of Saldanhars, with fully 1100 or 1200 cattle and sheep, had come to within a *myl* of the Fort, among which they had seen and recognized almost all our stolen cattle; and also the men who had committed the theft, with exception of Herry alone, whom they had not perceived; that the Saldanhars called out to them that if we would come to them with brass, they would sell us cattle; it is not impossible that they had some treachery in contemplation, at the instigation of Herry; it is at least certain that if they could get the better of us, they would, on account of the brass, think little of killing some of us; we are also quite out of brass bars, and of thick wire we have not more than would purchase 5 or 6 cattle at the utmost, as for thin wire they will give for it nothing but sheep, of which they have now few with them, and it would be of little use to go to them, for we must now be somewhat more liberal in barter, so as to attract them anew, and from the want of brass we are not in a condition to be liberal; we therefore judge it better to hold off a little, treating those who come to the Fort, with or without cattle, as well as possible, so that their shyness may still further diminish, and we may meanwhile receive from Europe a supply of brass, for want of which chiefly the trade is now stagnant; but for these considerations we would, upon their frequent requests, have gone to them in person, in hopes of inducing them again to come to the Fort with their cattle, which they dare not do from fear, arising out of the murder and robbery they have committed, although we do not let it appear to them that we are much concerned on that account.

28. As the Saldanhars constantly continue to beg that we would come to their chief with brass to barter cattle, and as we more and more perceive that, from fear for their cattle, they will not come so near to the Fort as last year, we sent therefore our chaplain W. Barendse, who is well known to them, with 19 well armed soldiers, with our last thick brass and some thin wire, to exchange the same for as many sheep and cattle as possible; as also some bread, wine, tobacco, and pipes, to treat them, &c..... In the evening the chaplain returned with 2 cattle, of the

\* No declaration upon the subject appears in the volume of original "Attestation," 1652—1671.

same which had been stolen from us ; those Saldanhars were not at all disposed to barter, as we remarked of them last year, and apparently from the same cause—the instigation of Herry, who is, as we last year sufficiently ascertained, allied with this captain, and now it is as clear as day ; they saw there neither Herry nor the captain, but only the captain's father, a very old and remarkably corpulent man, who lived all last year with Herry under our protection, and who now appears to be chief of this whole horde and cattle,\* among which are all our stolen cattle ; *item* all the Watermans or Strandloopers also, with one of Herry's wives, who is deaf, and all his children, among whom is a girl who lived in our house, and received the name of Eva. The said old man came to the Fort when the chaplain bought these two cattle, (rather dearer than before, to entice them) as if to bring the news, and in particular to get some brass and tobacco as a reward ; this we gave the more to gratify him, as also as much bread and wine as we could. We could learn from him only that Herry was not with them, but far inland ; but our belief is, that he and the captain were hidden behind some bushes, for fear we should seize them ; this we assured them we would not do ; although it is hard to see, and our temper has been tried as far as it can bear, that we are to have both our stolen cattle, and the thieves who stole them, before our eyes, and besides have to treat them like friends, instead of taking righteous vengeance, and exacting payment for the injury, affront, and spilling of christian blood which we have suffered ; which we could now so abundantly effect upon this guilty horde and cattle (being 12 to 1300 with 5 or 600 sheep) that it would be a pleasure, and once for all we would have enough by breeding to refresh the Company's ships that touch here, and abundantly supply the garrison, as they are not about 50 strong, whom we could get into our hands with 14 or 15 men without a blow, for which they were rather afraid when they saw 20 of our people among them, asking a hundred times if we meant to take them or their cattle, to which our people replied in the negative, but showing them brass and tobacco with which they wished to trade as before, giving them also bread and wine, &c. And as we observe that they are thus again induced to come freely, we have resolved for this time to do them no injury, although we daily suffer great annoyance from this set of people, as they never meet any one incapable of defending himself, but they plunder him bare, threatening those who resist with murder, by placing their hassagays against their breasts.

Their ill-behaviour is consequently scarcely to be put up with any longer ; and these guilty hordes once paid, it would perhaps be somewhat cheaper, taking as aforesaid their cattle for ourselves for food and refreshment, and for their persons, using them as slaves in chains, for fetching firewood and other necessary work, for the relief of our Netherlanders, who have constantly to endure the most insufferable annoyance from those rogues, and to which we are daily urged by our people. *Item*—Perceive also that there is not a single person in Council who would give his voice against it, and therefore dare not even bring the subject under consideration, as we would be immediately out voted ; although in our own opinion it would not be much amiss, as we would have at once so much cattle, that we would require few or none more ; and as to the barter of ivory or musk, we observe this—that these people are too lazy to take any trouble to get them, and all the teeth they bring, which are few enough, are picked up along the road, which we hear also from themselves. The musk and civet also, which some of them wear round their necks, they get from cats which they find dead, or sometimes catch in snares, having no skill in keeping them—nor being inclined to take any trouble about them, but using the flesh for their food. And the same may be remarked of ostrich feathers : in short we are daily more convinced, that in hundreds of years, no quantity of these articles worth mentioning will be procurable : and by taking our rightful revenge on this horde, the others—well knowing the reason—would not once think of it : it were therefore to be desired that our masters would be pleased to deliberate upon this point, for next year good opportunities for taking our rightful revenge and indemnity will be no more wanting than now : meanwhile we shall be equally forbearing until the necessary orders hereupon may be received—we have also as much to do as we can accomplish, to keep the hands of our people off this horde, on account of the annoyance aforesaid (*pro memorie*).†

Went out in person in the evening to inspect the place in the mountain where we found..... large quantities glittering ore.....

Jan. 29. Began to fortify the Redoubt at Salt River with branches, like wicker work on the Rhine .... for the better defence of the Bay.... In the afternoon sent our said chaplain again to the

\* The tribe here mentioned are afterwards distinguished as the *Caapmans*, and "the fat captain" *Gogosoa* is frequently noticed as the chief of this tribe, and as father of *Schacher*, from whom the Cape Territory, to a certain extent, and under certain conditions, was formally purchased 19th April 1672.

† See Despatch 22d April, and Rescript of Directors 6th October 1654.

Saldanhars, to try to barter some cattle as well as some pots if possible, to try to smelt the ore, which appears to contain gold and silver, God grant that it may turn out well, for the relief of the expenses of the Company here, Amen!

The chaplain returned in the evening, bringing two cows, and reporting that these said Saldanhars would not admit his party within the circle of their huts, because when here they were not admitted into the Fort; which should, notwithstanding, not be permitted to those rogues on account of their faithlessness; they could scarcely be induced to barter, pointing to the mountains, and saying that many people lay there with cattle, who would come down in a few days.

Jan. 31. Sent a party out again for salt, meanwhile some Saldanhars came to the Fort with 2 cattle, but as we had no bar brass, nor thick wire to their fancy, we could not come to terms, and they drove them away; but returned in the evening with one cow, which after much trouble we procured for thin wire.

Feb. 2. Yesterday and to-day the inhabitants and their cattle by hundreds were in sight of the Fort, about a  $\frac{1}{4}$  myl off; but as they know that we have no longer any brass bars or thick wire, they will not bring them to the market; and this horde have few sheep, and do not readily part with them; thus the barter of cattle has now entirely ceased, for want of brass, and unless we receive a supply from Holland within a few days, it may happen that we shall not have a single head for the homeward bound fleet, and the vegetables in the garden are so burnt up with the long drought, that they also will fall short.

5. Obligated by the severe S. E. wind to discontinue the work at the Batteries and to fetch wood for the cooks, which gives much trouble, and always materially hinders the work.

7. Last night some Hottentoots were at the Redoubt, supposing that no one was there, to steal the iron work from the gate, &c. but the sentry perceiving them, and the other soldiers showing themselves, they ran away. These are all Herry's allies, who have our cattle, and all Herry's band among them; we suffer so much annoyance from them that is scarce endurable, therefore it were not amiss that we disposed of this gang, that is to say, not to kill them, but to take their cattle, and to employ the people, as slaves, on the Islands, to kill seals, &c. Until this is done we cannot have any secure intercourse with the other inhabitants, (who are very simple,) these seek for nothing but to steal and plunder all they can, without choosing to sell us a single sheep or cow, of which they have the finest of all, except such as are sick or lame, or poor, (pro memorie). The galiot returned with 5373 seal skins, &c.... Placed two 12-pounders on the Redoubt at Salt River.... Our wood-cutters brought intelligence that Herry's allies had removed about a myl further with their cattle; we will hope that now these are gone others may come, like last year, who may be more anxious to barter than this faithless gang, who have only endeavoured to do us all the harm in their power.

9. After dark there came to the Fort 4 inhabitants of a different tribe to the former, with 3 sheep and lambs, which we bought of them tolerably cheap; these people were very simple, and easily to be dealt with, and we therefore filled their little sacks with bread, and gave each a drink of wine for greater allurements. This evening arrived the *Pinasse*, 't Kalf—sailed in company with the *Vrede*, *Draak*, *Haerden*, and 't *Lam*—... 8 dead and 20 sick in bed, but the *Draak*, with which ship they had parted on the 6th instant, had then more than 20 dead, and almost all the rest sick in bed.... may God help them to this place of refreshment.....

10. Upon the firing of the ship's guns many inhabitants came to the Fort, they were Herry's friends, wishing to go on board to get their bellies filled, but we intimated to them that they should bring us sheep and cattle—on this they said that other inhabitants were coming with cattle, and that they would not sell them nor part with them; when we gave them to understand that those who brought us sheep and cattle should go on board and not the others, and so forth, laughing and playing, and bandying words with one another. It is unfortunate that we have no flat copper, otherwise we should not be in want of cattle, as is now the case.

11. Some inhabitants came to-day with one cow; and some of the Watermans and Herry's friends joined them, otherwise we could have dealt on rather good terms, but now, in consequence of their mischievous instigation, we had much trouble before we got it, we procured it, however, for small wire, but with great difficulty and rather dearer than usual.

15. This day arrived the *Draak*, full of sick and scorbutic, and hardly able to manage the sails; upon information received from the captain of the galiot, they had got some penguins and eggs from Robben Island for refreshment, they reported also that the 6 sheep which were last year placed there, had increased to 11..... and so fat that they could scarcely walk; we therefore intend, as they thrive so well there, while here they rather die off than increase, to place more there and make the Island a proper sheep walk.....

Feb. 20. The chief mate of the Kalf sentenced to be dismissed and keelhauled, for stabbing, &c. . . . . despatched the galiot to Dassen Island for skins, oil, &c. . . . .

24. The galiot returned with more than 2000 seal skins. . . . . the crew of the Kalf caught half a boat full of fine herrings, of which we salted about 1000. . . . . the finest pickled herrings in the world; we had never seen so many together, though frequently 2, 3, or 4 in a shoal of *harders*, these will be a good relish for the captains of the homeward bound fleet.

March 1—2. A dead whale washed up on the sand. . . . . in size and shape like a Greenland whale. . . . .

3. Would have made some oil from the whale, but for want of casks. . . . . but the Hottentoes were eager for the blubber, burying several pieces of it in the sand.

6. Hearing from the wood-cutters that Herry's allies had returned with their cattle to the mustard leaves about a myl from the Fort, sent our chaplain thither with some copper and tobacco, and also bread and wine to entice them by giving them something to eat, and to learn whether they were disposed to barter; but on arriving he found that they had very little live stock with them, not more than 200 cattle and about 150 sheep, saying that the Vishmans, (called by them Soaqua,\*) had robbed them of all their cattle, and exhibiting on many persons several wounds, which they had received in the fight; they could not therefore spare any sheep or cattle, but if we had had any flat copper, they would still have sold some cattle, the thin wire, of which we have enough, they were not disposed to receive, except for sheep, of which they would sell none, so that we only got a fine calf for about 2 lbs. of thin wire. These Hottentoes were busy melting oil from the blubber of the dead whale, (which they preserved in the dried *trombas*, (alga marina?) which is driven up on the beach about the Cape) with which they explained that they grease themselves, and if they get bread from us, dip it in and thus eat.

7. Sent the chaplain out again with a sergeant and 15 men, to go somewhat further off, to about 3½ myl from the Fort, where we had heard there lay another horde of inhabitants with cattle, to see whether they were more willing to part with their sheep and cattle. Towards evening they returned, reporting that they could not find them or hear any thing of them.

10. Calm weather, which prevented the ships from sailing; some of the Saldanbars (Herry's allies) came to-day with a chief, whose leg had grown quite crooked, in consequence of a wound which he had received in the knee, requesting that our surgeon would cure him; the surgeon consenting, the request of this Hottentoo was granted, and the surgeon was recommended to exert his utmost skill to cure him, in order that thus they might become more accustomed, attached, and well affectioned towards us.

18. It was determined by Resolution to send all the ewes among our sheep to Robben Island . . . . . and, except 3 or 4, to keep the rams for the refreshment of the ships.

24. The galiot sailed for Robben Island with 19 ewes and 1 lamb.

30. The galiot returned, bringing as a sample a ram (under a twelve month old, having been a sucking lamb 10 months ago, and then placed with 4 ewes and an old ram on Robben Island) that was so fat as to excite our wonder, and as large as a year old calf, with a tail fully 30 lbs. weight—the whole sheep 170 lbs. . . . . in a year or two (if we can only barter some sheep) we can breed so many on that Island, that we shall have abundance for the refreshment of the Company's ships, even although we do not get another head of cattle, as the sheep there grow as large as a stout calf, and here in Table Valley they die off entirely from superabundant moisture from the rivers, besides that they are daily taken from us and devoured by lions, tigers, and jackals. . . . . including these 20, we have now 33 sheep on the Island, and 10 rams here on the main land. . . . .

April 2. We cannot get from the outward bound ships so much husked barley or peas, as will feed the tenth of our people, and we must consequently subsist them upon vegetables from the garden, and twice a day a little pork and salt beef, for upon their daily ration of bread and meat alone, and with such hard work as must be done here, they cannot be kept without suffering from hunger, and as it is a new place, this cannot be soon diminished. The seines are so worn out that hardly a fish can be taken; it would be well if we had 3 or 4 new nets yearly, which would cause a great saving in provisions, and if we had rice instead of bread—the men's stomachs would be filled much cheaper, and with Hollanders this must be done would you get any work out of them;

\* The *Soaqua* are soon after mentioned as a distinct race of "banditti," or "Bosjesmen." "Besides the subjugated Hottentots, there were other Africans of the same or of kindred tribes, who were early designated under the term Bushmen, from their disdainful to become bondsmen, and choosing rather to obtain a precarious subsistence in the fields or forests. From their fastnesses they were apt to carry on a predatory warfare against the oppressors of their race, and in return were hunted down like wild beasts."—*Report of Select Committee on Aborigines*. These papers frequently advert to the aptitude of this race to plunder the Hottentots.

but were the measure determined upon, we could carry on the agriculture, the seal killing, and all other needful work much cheaper with slaves, upon the most common food of fish and rice, or seal and penguin flesh alone, and without wages; slaves, as well as the rice, could be cheaply procured by a single trip to Madagascar; and thus we should require Netherlanders only for garrison and for taking charge on journeys and guards, who now must do both, for neither soldiers nor sailors can ever be spared from the necessary work.....

April 4. The boat returned from Robben Island, having landed the sheep and rabbits.....so that we have now 44 ewes and rams there, of which some were cut by 2 Hottentoots, (sent thither for the purpose) and also had the tails cut off, of which we make good fat for our bread, instead of butter. They brought also some penguin and seals' flesh, to try to feed the pigs with; and if the return fleet do not soon appear, we shall indeed be obliged to give this food to the people also, for the peas, beans, and rice are quite out, and the husked barley will not last above 14 days; there is also much cabbage dressed and consumed twice a day, with which we could otherwise have the more abundantly supplied the return fleet; we shall, however, have enough and rather more than last year.

6. This day more closely examined our provisions, and having found that the same, namely the rice, barley, beans, and *cadjang*, are, in consequence of the long retardment of the homeward bound fleet, entirely exhausted, excepting the bread, which will last about 2 months, and the beef and pork for 6 or 7 months, and as we are unable to give the hungry men any thing beyond their daily ration in their severe work; it was therefore this day resolved to send the galiot and decked boat to Saldanha Bay, to bring from the Islands there some birds, penguins, and fish, to salt as food for the people, who begin to get very hungry, for they cannot live upon the allowance of bread and meat, and we are therefore obliged to give them, to fill up their stomachs, what we can get, namely penguins and other birds, which, under other circumstances, they would hardly put in their mouths.....

This being the 2nd anniversary of our arrival to establish this Fort and Colony, and as it has pleased the Almighty to send us hitherto so many blessings, and so much success, we have this day resolved and also commenced to set aside this day, being the 6th April, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, to the glory of God, in order that our posterity may thus never forget the benefits we have received, but always bear them in grateful recollection, to the glory of God.

7. Went out once more in person to see if we could find any inhabitants with cattle; on advancing about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  myl from the Fort, behind the mountain, saw several herds of sheep and cattle, and a little further a whole encampment of inhabitants, with women and children, about 100 in number, and when some of them, who were out, saw us approaching along the declivity of the mountain, with so many musketeers, they ran on boldly with their assagays and bows and arrows to cut off our approach to their camp, which consisted of 16 tolerably large dwellings, neatly disposed in a circle, and enclosed with brushwood fastened together as a breastwork, with two openings or passages, for the cattle to be driven out and in, morning and evening, and to protect them from wild animals, which could not well get within the circle of houses. Coming a little nearer, we found the passage very well occupied by about 30 active fellows, their skins and cloaks thrown off, and entirely naked, without the least encumbrance in the world, well provided with assagays and bows and arrows; on coming yet nearer to take a look at their encampment, we held out the hand to them with a friendly gesture, on which some instantly knew us and came on, kissing their hands, and giving us the hand also, and we embraced each other, like the greatest friends in the world; so that we had again a suit of clothes destroyed, from the greasiness of the oil and filth with which they, and in particular the greatest among them, had so besmeared themselves, that they shone like looking glasses in the sun, the fat trickling down from their heads and along their whole bodies, which appeared to be their greatest mark of distinction.

Having thus entered the circle formed by their houses, we stood embracing and shaking hands with each other, welcoming each other with equal fervour; they seemed, however, rather afraid, for they often asked if we wanted to take their cattle, giving us to understand that they had nothing to do with the guilt of Herry, but that he had on that account been driven very far into the interior; offering to barter sheep and cattle for brass and tobacco; as we had none with us, we signified that we would send people to-morrow with some, to which they seemed to listen; we presume, however, that their offer to barter arises from fear rather than good will, and, although we knew to a certainty that they were principally concerned in the theft of our cattle, and also saw among them the wife and children of Herry, as well as some of our stolen cattle, we appeared to believe them, assuring them that we were come to make a still closer alliance with them, which was ratified by our giving

to every man, woman, and child round 2 or 3 glasses of wine; they on the other hand presenting our men with milk and honey; so that, having spent an hour or an hour and a half with each other, we parted well satisfied on both sides. . . . .

April 8. Sent our chaplain with the bookkeeper Verburg and 10 or 12 musketeers to the inhabitants above mentioned, with some brass, tobacco, and pipes, to see whether they would trade with us, according to their offer of yesterday; but when they saw our people coming with the brass and tobacco, and so few of them, they began, instead of trading, to mock them, pushing them, and intimating that they would not even suffer them to approach their houses, and notwithstanding that our people treated them with entire civility, inviting them to barter, they on the contrary affronted our party still more, pushing the chaplain violently on the breast, and giving the bookkeeper Verburg a severe thump (flonk) on the head, so that, had they not been rather patient, a new rupture might have easily taken place; but as it is our constant orders rather to endure a little than to come to blows, our party, to avoid further contention, instantly returned, without giving to any of them a bit of tobacco or any thing; from all which we can clearly see that this gang are not to be won by kindness, but at the fitting time another course must be adopted, and fair revenge must be taken for the christian blood which they have willfully shed, as before detailed; for though we have under the care of our surgeon two of their wounded men, the more kindness we show them, the more insolent they become, aye last week, close to the Fort, and when most of the garrison were inside, they had the audacity to seize a certain boy, who was taking care of 4 Dutch sheep, by the throat, to murder him and make off with the sheep; in which they would also have succeeded had they not seen some one coming out of the garden, when they released the boy, and made as if they were playing with him; perceiving thus their treachery more clearly every day, we sent 3 more soldiers to guard the wood-cutters, and also placed a stronger guard over our cattle, now 12 in number, so as not to subject ourselves to further affronts.

12. (Sunday.) This forenoon while we sat at prayers a party of Hottentoots with hassagays again approached the cattle, in order as before to rob us of them, expecting to find only 2 or 3 men, and indeed they saw no more at first, as 4 other musketeers, who were concealed by some bushes, seeing the Hottentoots advancing upon the cattle, made their appearance; the Hottentoots on seeing them, immediately drew off, and pretended, according to their custom, to beg for tobacco, and then on seeing an opportunity to play their own part. From this and other daily occurrences, we see that these allies of Herry are a treacherous set, and by no means to be trusted, and, whatsoever kindness we show them, they will not abstain, notwithstanding from offending and affronting us upon every opportunity; therefore, in order to take care of ourselves, we provided the cattle with a still stronger guard, and directed that at least 5 musketeers should herd the 12 cattle (which are all we have) close under the Fort, where there is pasture enough for them; sent also 5 more soldiers to the wood, in order to keep at peace with this treacherous gang; at least until they have again collected 1000 sheep and cattle, that we may then seize the whole and then also, when we ought to have enough, out of the increase, to supply the ships, which could not be done from 300 cattle and as many sheep, (which are all they have with them, the rest being driven off,) so it is not deemed worth while to show any signs of displeasure as yet, still less to attempt any thing against them, but for the present to continue show to them as much kindness as ever, so as to give them still greater confidence in us, and then in due time to await and seize a better opportunity of taking proper revenge and indemnity. (Indeed this should be resolved upon now had they cattle enough to enable us to subsist out of the increase.) From the men we could get service, in lieu of slaves, in the seal killing on the Islands, and we could feed them sufficiently on the seals' flesh without any thing else; sooner or later this must be done, or we shall have no good of them, for they already begin to fancy that we stand in awe of them; and not one of the other inhabitants, who would be very easy to deal with, as we found last year, dare come hereabouts so long as this horde lie here; and if we go to them with copper and tobacco to trade with them, they make fools of us, as appeared this week, and may be read under date the 8th instant. In the evening our boat returned from Robben Island with 4 casks of salted, and 400 or 500 live penguins for our people. . . . .

15. Considering the great consumption and scarcity of food, also not to strip the Islands too bare of birds, gave order to cook twice only instead of thrice a day, namely at 10 A. M. breakfast, cabbage and pot herbs with a little pork boiled in it to give it a relish, and in the evening half a penguin to each man till God sends us relief. . . . .

16. Some of the men murmur about the provisions. . . . . and say to the officers "you can easily bid us work, but you should see that we get more food." "Let us all lie down and break

2 or 3 necks and they will not plague us any more," and the like.....put them both legs in irons. In the evening our boat returned with a cask of nice salted birds, which were better flavored than the penguins..... The galiot had about 20 casks full, and about 1000 of these birds loose in the hold.....this will give us food for 2 months.....

April 18. Arrived the galiot Tulp, from Texel 23rd Dec.....with letters from the Directors,\* informing us among other matters that no homeward bound ships were to be expected here this season, which is most unfortunate for us as we have not above 5 or 6 weeks bread.....

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1654. April 22. ....We say that sufficient refreshment may be had here, even although we should not procure another head of cattle from the natives; of this some persons may be inclined to raise doubts, from our having this year fewer cattle than last year, without reflecting that we have been destitute of brass and thick wire, without which horned cattle are not to be had; but we could have procured enough cattle, had we been duly supplied with merchandize, notwithstanding that the Saldanhars were at first—and perhaps in some degree still are—rather shy of coming here with their cattle, in consequence of the Hottentoo Herry, (who spoke a little broken English, and was employed by us as interpreter, upon as liberal terms of payment as could possibly be given to any one,) having stolen from us all the Company's cattle† on the 19th Oct. last, while we were at sermon (it being Sunday), and having persuaded the natives that we would try to visit his offence upon them as well as upon himself—and to exact indemnity from them; and they have consequently become somewhat fearful of coming to us; which fear and hesitation has been altogether removed since the 20th of last December, when we went to them in person, induced them by fair words to come to the Fort, and there concluded a new alliance with them; and we have also bought from them cattle as far as our supply of brass would allow. Even Herry's little tribe (*volkjen*) have come back of their own accord, seeing that we do them no harm, but on the contrary show them every kindness, so that we already derive some assistance from them, though not enough, in fetching firewood for a little tobacco, a belly full of bread, with a little arrack or wine. So that any ideas which may suggest themselves to your Honors that the Saldanhars would not dare to return to trade with us, are mistaken; true, they were much afraid and scarce dared come at first, but that is now past, and had we only a sufficiency of brass, thick wire, and tobacco, and could we also afford to be liberal in giving them a drink of wine, or of arrack, which they like still better, with now and then a meal of bread or other food, we should in time get as many cattle as we require..... As to ivory, musk, ostrich feathers, and other merchandize, little is to be done, as the natives bring only such as they pick up without trouble, and are of a disposition too indolent to use any exertions, &c. as may be more fully seen from our Journal of Jan. 28.

Under the same date, and also under that of the 8th April, you will perceive our opinions as to taking revenge upon, and indemnity from a certain horde of Saldanhars, allied to our late interpreter Herry, and who have, intermixed with their herds, the cattle stolen from us; we dutifully request to draw your attention to this subject, and shall expect your orders thereon; meanwhile we shall confirm them as much as possible in their confidence in us by every kind treatment; they are, however, only a set of thievish vagabonds, from whom we have suffered, and still daily suffer every kind of affront, injury, and annoyance; and we perceive clearly that all the Strandloopers, whenever any natives of other tribes come hither—(who, but for these people, could be easily, safely, and cheaply traded with)—always join them, trying to make others as unwilling to trade as they are themselves, or at least so dear with their cattle that we have frequently a difficulty in coming to any trade with people, who, if apart from these others, would, from their simplicity, be very well disposed to sell

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#### \* Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1653. Dec. 15.—Our last General Despatch to you was dated 17th Sept. last year; we have since received your General Despatches addressed to this Assembly, of April 14 and May 4.....from which we learn the condition and progressive state of the Fort and concerns there; and have observed with satisfaction that, according to your statement, the Company's passing ships will be able to procure good refreshments there, which will in some degree compensate the heavy expense; we shall also hope with you that, after further examination of the country, something will be found from which some profit may be derived so as to lighten the heavy costs of the establishment. The seal skins have been received according to invoice, but we much doubt whether they will be so profitable as you imagine..... Your request for promotion in rank and salary will be duly considered at our next meeting.....

In Amsterdam, 15th Dec. 1653.

† This event is detailed in the same terms in a Despatch to Batavia, 31st Dec. 1653.

their cattle, and at an easy rate. Besides this, these people do not refrain from stealing and plundering from us in every way, whenever they have an opportunity, for which purpose they even presume, when they find any one alone, or unable to resist, to threaten to murder him, which daily occurs, but which we have never suffered from any other tribe. They are also becoming bolder every day, because they perceive that (although we well know that they have assisted in stealing our cattle, and murdering the boy, also that we daily see our cattle among theirs, and Herry's people, wife, and children among them,) we do not offer them the least injury on that account, but more kindness than before. This, however, we only do to make them less shy, so as to find hereafter a better opportunity to seize them with all their cattle, 1100 or 1200 in number, and about 600 sheep, the best in the whole country. We have every day the finest opportunities in the world for effecting this without shedding a drop of blood, with which live stock the Company would be at once, and by breeding almost for ever, supplied with cattle enough, and could derive good service from the people in chains, in killing seals, or in labouring in the silver mines, which we trust will be found here, (of which more hereafter) this, considering the execrable murder of the boy, and the robbery of the cattle, they have well deserved; and we can perceive that other tribes will not sympathize with them, as we have often remarked that on seeing these rogues about the Fort they retire again with their cattle, apprehending annoyance from these audacious rogues; for we observe that whenever the natives of the other tribes get any tobacco or brass, these allies of Herry always help themselves to a share, to the great displeasure of the others. It is also probable, were these people disposed of, or in our power—which as before noticed may be easily accomplished—that other tribes would come to us from the remote interior—we have never seen any other tribes lying close to the Fort, except these rogues; among the others we have found a great simplicity, among these much boldness and cunning, but they are far from being sharp enough to secure themselves against us; and thus, as before observed, we can at any moment get them with all they have into our power, without a single blow, and we see no difficulty whatever from the apprehension that other tribes will keep away from us, or care any thing about it: they might indeed at first be a little shy from needless fears; but this we can easily remove by sending to them, which may be done without danger, with presents of tobacco, a little brass, bread, and arrack, by which means they are easily to be enticed, and their fears allayed by kind treatment, as we have from time to time sufficiently ascertained. The seizure also of the cattle of these rogues would enable us to await the coming of the other tribes, whose desire for brass and tobacco would alone attract them, as we have well perceived last year. It has also often happened, before your Honors had any establishment or fortification here, that their cattle have been taken or shot by your servants; but they do not cease coming to us on that account, chiefly owing to their covetousness for brass and tobacco. We shall therefore anxiously await the result of your Honors deliberation, and your orders upon this point: *per memorie* . . . . .

We are also of opinion that this Cape could be converted into an Island, and had intended taking a more exact survey with the Captains of the return fleet, which has now passed by . . . . . we shall however hereafter examine and report to your Honors thereon; although whether the measure would be advisable is doubtful on several accounts—for in that case the inhabitants would be cut off from us, unless it were thought proper to keep them on this side, and by means of insulating them here, to bring and to keep them with their cattle under subjection to us, (*onder onse devotie*).

In the Fort the Goede Hoop, 22d April 1654.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

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#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1654. April 23. Resolved to send the Tulp to St. Helena . . . . . with letters to the commanders of the return fleet, requesting as much rice, *cadjang*, beans, and arrack, as they could spare . . . . .

24. This day there was found on the mountain a dead *Bosmanneken*, called in Batavia *ourangh-outangh*, as large as a small calf, with hands and feet like those of a man, long legs and arms, very hairy, and of a dark grey color, which our people ate, from hunger, for there is little nourishment in the pot herbs.

25. The Hottentoots, namely Herry's allies, came grazing their cattle within sight and about  $\frac{1}{2}$  myl from the Fort, but they would not barter one; we have enough to do to keep our people from them, who are disposed—as they have little to eat, as those people have stolen our cattle which are still among them, and murdered the boy—to set upon them and take their cattle, and in these hard times rather to take just revenge upon that treacherous gang, than suffer hunger any longer; they were however restrained by us, and encouraged to hope for relief from St. Helena, filling

their mouths with cabbage and other vegetables and penguins, so as to keep them at work in tolerable discipline, but not without murmuring.

April 27. The captain of the galiot had seen 7 or 8 Hottentoots at Saldanha Bay, but no cattle whatever. . . . . Resolved to send the galiot to Madagascar for rice, &c. . . . .

May 5. Two of the inhabitants came to say that they had seen two ships beyond Table Mountain.

6. As we could not see the ships we sent for the Hottentoo called by the people cook's-mate, who had reported having seen them. . . . . he offered to go and point them out, &c. . . . .

20. The wood-cutters state that the inhabitants, that is Herry's allies, who have long lain here with their cattle, begin to move off to the interior, without having sold us a single head, but having always endeavoured to plunder, rob, and affront us in every way, we are therefore well pleased that they are going, and now hope that others will soon come who may be easily dealt with, which God grant, Amen!

Yesterday a Hottentoo's wife was delivered of a child by the side of the river under some branches thrown on each other, without help of woman or man, like a brute beast, instantly smearing the child over with cow-dung, and thus making it black, it was otherwise, like the mother, about as white as a dark colored young Jew; without swathing it with any thing she immediately put it into a skin at the breast, both father and mother were begging of us. . . . . we gave them some bread and tobacco and a glass of wine, upon which they went away to their hut in the country in high spirits, and at a good pace, in no way protected from wind or rain.

June 11. The Tulp returned, thank God, from St. Helena. . . . . bringing from the fleet which they had found there  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ton of rice, 2 chests of white sugar, 2 buckets of wheat, 28 lbs. wax, and some spices. . . . . we had hoped for somewhat more rice. . . . .

18. The Council resolved, as we had only received  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ton of rice from St. Helena, which cannot last above  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 months, to send the Tulp also to Madagascar for more rice. . . . . but with orders first to examine on her way all the havens, bays, and rivers along this coast as far as Rio dos Reyos in the 25th degree, to ascertain what trade or profit for the Company may be found. . . . .

20. The last bread issued to the garrison,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. to each, for a whole month.

July 5. A party of Hottentoots, mostly Herry's allies, again at the Fort bringing the intelligence that some other inhabitants from a distance inland, were on their way hither, with sheep and cattle, and who would be disposed to barter with us, which in our present poor condition would not be unseasonable; time will show whether this is not again some of the false intelligence which they are in the habit of bringing us; and even if they come we shall be unable, from the want of bar copper, to procure any cattle, and only sheep for our wire, so that we still long for ships from Holland.

6. The said Hottentoots stole yesterday from the *Ckiampan*, which lay in the river full of reeds, the grapplings and all the tackle, as they almost always do, not desisting from their roguish practices, whatsoever kindness is shown to them, so we must take all the better care of our property, in order to avoid getting into disputes with them, for should we treat them ill on that account, it would cause such alarm that they would never again venture to come to the Fort with cattle or other merchandize; so we let it all pass unnoticed, without even letting it appear that we had discovered it, to impress them the more with a belief of the good nature of the Dutch, in order that hereafter upon occasion offering, we may get a better opportunity one time or other to take once for all such revenge and indemnity, that we need not ever again care about bartering cattle from them; to this

Extracts from a Proclamation.—JOHAN VAN RIEBEECK, senior Merchant and Commander, &c.

1653. Dec. 21. . . . And also that we may live on the most friendly terms with these natives, and do them no injury, in order that the Company's ships may, on their arrival here, be properly supplied with refreshments. . . . we have deemed it highly necessary for prevention herein, to enact in like manner, and under the same penalty (i. e. on pain of arbitrary bodily correction according to the exigency of the case, and 2 years' banishment in irons) that no one shall injure or molest any of these savage natives, but on the contrary show them every kindness, so that they may become the more familiar with us, and disposed to bring us all kinds of live stock or other articles profitable to the Company; and also that we may the more safely and confidently, in due time, travel through the interior, to seek for and to fetch whatever may be found useful and profitable to our masters, such as, in the first instance, the salt and wood to be had within the distance of 2 or 3 mylen, and which, in the event of this people being ill-treated, could not be safely procured; and whoever, in contravention of this prohibition, ill uses any one of these natives, shall, in their presence, receive 50 lashes.

And, above all, no one shall, on pain of severe punishment, enter into any trade or barter with the natives, whether in live stock, victuals, or any thing else whatsoever, as we deem such to be highly injurious to the Company. . . . .

[This Proclamation is chiefly addressed to the crews of ships touching at the Cape, it was amplified on the 8th Jan. 1654, by an order that none of the ships' people should go further than gun shot from the Fort, or give, either as presents, or in barter, any bread, tobacco, or copper, &c. to the natives.]

we are daily more convinced it must come before they will leave us at peace, for yesterday they were, almost by hundreds, well armed on the side of the hill, near the cattle, to steal them again, but, as we always keep 7 or 8 musketeers with them, they dared not attack them.

July 7—8. Arrived an English vessel the *Coopman*, taken by the *Goutsbloom*.....received from the *Goutsbloom* various useful articles, but very little provisions, so that we are very sorry provided.....

10. Some of Herry's allies came to-day to the Fort with 4 lean cows, but were so dear with them, that there was no dealing, asking to go on board to fetch their sacks and bellies full of bread and wine, and as these rogues have before deceived us in this manner, and when they have thus got bread, wine, and tobacco to their contentment, they drive away their cattle, we gave them to understand that when they had sold the cattle they would be allowed to go on board and would be well fed; they however drove away their cattle, time will show whether they will return with them, we will at any rate contrive to display before them the copper, tobacco, and beads received by this ship as soon as it is landed, to see whether they may thus be enticed. Some of our people sent out to-day to cut wood and to gather scurvy grass, were assaulted by these Hottentoots and forbidden to cut wood and pluck grass; in short, they become the longer the more insolent, and we must, one time or other, show our teeth, but we ought to wait until they are hereabouts with a thousand cattle, feeding meanwhile more and more their confidence in us, so as thereby to procure a better opportunity, not only for proper revenge for christian blood, but for a full indemnity for our stolen cattle. This evening the sick and scorbutic were landed, about 60 in number.....

17. Arrived the *Haes*, from Batavia March 7th.....with rice and other provisions for this place.....God be thanked for the relief thus obtained. We have fasted for it for a good while.

18. Bartered to-day from Herry's allies 5 head of cattle, rather dearer than usual, to entice them more, and, with the same object, at their request, allowed some of them to go on board, recommending the captains to treat them somewhat liberally, and to fill their bellies with bread, rice, and arrack or wine, in order to incline them to come hereafter with more. Of the 5 cattle we sent one to the *Goutsbloom*, a half to the *Haes*, and a quarter to the *Caep Vogel*, (late the *Coopman*, English prize).....

22. ....Besides which we held a day of thanksgiving to the Lord, for the special mercy shown to us in the supply of provisions, received from Holland by the *Goutsbloom*, but in particular for

#### Proclamation.—JAN VAN RIEBEECK, &c.

1654. Jan. 5. Whereas, perceiving more clearly from time to time, that these Cape tribes are not at all to be trusted, as (notwithstanding our good treatment and kindness to them since the last renewal of our alliance) they, instead of showing us friendship in reciprocity, do not fail upon finding our people unarmed, alone, or in retired places, to take their things from them by force, threatening, upon refusal, to murder them, by pointing assagays at their breasts, as happened last week to two of our men, one at Salt River and the other sitting drying some linen within pistol shot of the Fort; and also in the wood, where they carried off the carpenters' tools, also stealing the ropes from our boats by night, and trying to decoy away the little son of the Chaplain, on account of the brass buttons on his waistcoat; from all which great embarrassment might one day arise, for our people can scarce go any distance from the Fort without arms or company, without the danger of being killed for the sake of tobacco or other articles, on which these natives, apprehensive of being severely dealt with in consequence, would not dare to show themselves again at the Fort, where, notwithstanding, they are much wanted on account of the traffic, and the convenience of fetching firewood.

For the prevention, therefore, of these and all similar difficulties, and in particular that we may continue to correspond with these people without any estrangement, we have deemed it highly necessary to warn our people, and to interdict them, as they are hereby warned and interdicted, that no one shall henceforth, without our special consent, and without fire arms, go further than half musket shot from the Fort; and then with at least 3 or 4 in company, so that they may not be, as aforesaid, innocently killed, for which we are daily more apprehensive, as the natives are much more insolent than before, perhaps from their beginning to remark that whatever annoyance we suffer from them, we do them no injury, but show them still more friendship; which, however, they ill comprehend, this friendship being shown by us that they may be more attached to us, and to show our inclination for mutual good will and alliance, so that we may purchase from them whatever the service of the Company may require, and we can discover among them by diligent search.

Every one is therefore strictly ordered henceforth to abide by these directions without fail, on pain of the most rigorous punishment, according to the exigency of the case; for the Company is too deeply interested in preserving a mutual good understanding with these natives, to suffer the same to be, as aforesaid, suddenly interrupted by over confidence, or insufficient care of our own persons and property, as God mend it! we have already experienced to the great injury of the barter.

Furthermore, every one is expressly, and under the same penalties, forbidden from doing to any of these natives the slightest injury in the world, by blows, pushes, or other violence—whatever annoyance, as aforesaid, they may suffer from the natives, even should they steal their property before their eyes; every one being warned to take good care of their property and tools, or when the property belongs to the Company, the person who has it in charge, shall forthwith be debited with sixfold its value, and be severely punished besides, according to circumstances.

And that no one may shelter himself under a plea of ignorance, this proclamation, after being read to all the garrison, was affixed at the proper place.

Thus done in the Fort the Goede Hoop, 5th Jan. 1654.

that so unexpectedly received from India, in our utmost need ; for the benefits conferred on us from time to time, especially for the successful condition of our affairs here.....

Aug. 6. This day our wood party reported that Herry's allies were again on this side of Salt River, a short myl from the Fort, with all their cattle ; some of them also came to us with an elephant's tusk, which we bought, telling them that to-morrow we would come to barter with them there.....

7. Went to-day with the Captains of the Goutsbloom, Haes, and Botterbloom, and fully 30 armed soldiers, about 1½ myl, to the encampment of the Hottentoes, who had there about 300 or 400 head of cattle, and about an equal quantity of sheep ; this was the tribe allied to Herry, and who lay hereabouts the whole of last year, without having ever been disposed to sell us any thing, but have always been an obstacle, so that no others, who are always to be dealt with at a cheap rate, dare to approach from the interior. These *schelms* give us nothing but such affronts as they can or may ; therefore, as has been often noticed, we must one day show them our teeth, not however before we have received the rescript of our masters to the considerations they have received from us on that subject, nor until they have here so large a stock of cattle that we may subsist for some time upon the increase. Seeing us approach with so large a party, they dared not evince to us any thing but friendship ; we could only procure from them, and that at a very dear rate, 1 ox, 1 cow, 1 calf, and 1 sheep, and we soon after (giving them first some tobacco, arrack, &c.) returned and issued these animals to the ships' crews for their needful refreshment.

14. ....Arrived the Angelier, with Despatches from the Directors, dated April 15.....sailed 26th April. Notwithstanding her short voyage had a good many sick and scorbutic.....

15. Arrived the Vlieland, after a very speedy voyage from Texel, the 19th May, with the welcome intelligence of the proclamation, upon the 18th, of peace with the republic of England, for which the Lord be praised.....

22. Went again to the Hottentoes' camp ; after great trouble procured from them one cow.

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#### Extract of Proclamation.—JAN VAN RIEBEECK, &c.

1654. Aug. 22. And as we observe besides that the barter by individuals, for ostrich eggs and tortoise-shell, causes great obstruction in the Company's trade with the natives, who, while they can procure, for such trifles, brass and tobacco from the common people, will bring no cattle, as is daily more evident. Every person, whatever be his rank or condition, is therefore hereby prohibited from buying, bartering, or exchanging any article whatsoever from these natives, or from giving to them in presents any article whatsoever, be it bread, tobacco, brass, or any thing else, on pain of confiscation of the articles purchased, and of three months wages besides.

Under a similar penalty, all persons are at the same time forbidden to offer to the natives the slightest affront, harm, or injury, but recommended to conduct themselves towards said natives with kindness and civility, so that they may not be frightened away, but may continue to become more and more attached to the Company.

And in order that all these orders may be duly complied with, a corporal and party of soldiers, together with the provost marshal, are ordered to be on the watch to detect, and immediately to apprehend all contraveners, in order that they may be punished according to the tenor of this Proclamation—the nature of the circumstances, and the quality of the offender.....

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#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1654. Aug. 28. Sent the chaplain again to the Hottentoo encampment, about 3 mylen from the Fort, to try to procure some more cattle or sheep ; he returned in the evening with 2 sheep, a cow in calf, and also a fine calf, which we sent on board for Mr. Hulst's refreshment.

Sept. 2. Sent our chaplain once more to the Hottentoes' camp, to try to get one or more cattle, for the very miserable sick of the *Henriette Louise*, who are in such a condition that they cannot be seen without commiseration, being more than 100 in number, and unless the ship had put in here she would in all probability never have reached her destination, having lost 25 or 26 men ; they returned in the evening with 2 cattle, which we slaughtered for the ships.

18. Employed despatching the galiot to Saldanha Bay, to try whether they could not find any other people there, and procure a lot of better sheep than are to be had from the allies of Herry, from whom, although they have a great quantity here, we can never get any thing worth while, whatever trouble we take to effect that object.

Sept. 23. The galiot returned from Saldanha Bay, having seen there neither inhabitants nor any appearance of them.....

Oct. 6. Sailed the galiot, and the assistant Jan Woutersen,\* to Dassen Island, to resume the seal killing.....

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Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1654. Oct. 6. ....By the last return fleet we have received your General Despatch of the 22nd April, of this current year, 1654.....

Having considered what you have written regarding the interpreter Herry and his allies, we are of opinion, that on getting into your hands the person guilty of the murder of the boy, he should be punished with death, as an example to others; and that on getting hold of Herry, unless he has been accessory to the murder, he should be banished to Batavia, to be there employed in chains on the public works. If you cannot recover the cattle taken from you, you will, on falling in with their cattle, take in return as many as have been stolen from us by them, and not more. Understanding that we must in the first instance employ lenient measures, and show that we have no intention or inclination whatsoever to wrong them in any respect, and try to win them in this way; but if we cannot thus effect our purpose, and if they notwithstanding try to give us every annoyance, and commit violence, you also may adopt more rigid measures, and try whether they are to be thereby better checked and kept to their duty, (*devoirs.*) In this, however, it is necessary to use wisdom and discretion†..... We have spoken further with captain David Claes, who has been frequently at the Cape, upon the capabilities of that country; among other matters he states that he accompanied Mr. Van Riebeeck to Hout Bay, as is mentioned in your Journal, and found it a very secure anchorage against all winds, &c.....adding that a valley extends from that bay behind Table Mountain, which, in his opinion, is very suitable for the growth of rice, wheat, or other grain, and for breeding cattle, for which purpose he thinks that a few families from this country would be very useful; we will suspend our decision upon these matters until receiving your report thereon.....

Amsterdam, 6 Oct. 1654.

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Proclamation.—JOHAN VAN RIEBEECK, &c.

1654. Oct. 12. Whereas, notwithstanding of our constant warnings, and oft respected interdicts, no one desists from purchasing daily from these natives, as many teeth of elephants or sea cows, rhinoceros horns, ostrich eggs, and tortoise-shells as he can secretly procure, and that, for as much, aye! for more tobacco or brass than we ordinarily pay on the Company's account for a whole sheep, so that the Company's cattle-trade is thereby most shamefully and faithlessly destroyed, and brought to nought; for if these inhabitants can procure brass and tobacco for such rubbish, they will never bring a single sheep or head of cattle, as is daily more evident.

For the reasons stated we are absolutely compelled to make due provision herein, and we hereby prohibit all persons whomsoever, high and low, from henceforth buying, bartering, or otherwise procuring or receiving from these natives, a single egg, tortoise-shell, fish, cray-fish, elephant or sea cow tooth, or any other article whatsoever, directly or indirectly, and either here, in Saldanha Bay, or elsewhere within our jurisdiction; And whoever may henceforth contravene this order in the smallest degree, shall not only receive arbitrary correction, but, if holding any office, shall be dismissed from the same, and mulcted besides in his wages, according to circumstances, and shall furthermore be banished to the Islands, there to labor 12 months for the Company without wages.

And that this Proclamation may be the better observed, and transgressors the more easily detected, any one who shall inform against another buying or receiving from the natives any ostrich eggs, &c. shall receive for each offence 2 Rix-dollars, and if the offender be a ship captain, mate, merchant, or assistant, 6 Rix-dollars, in addition to the penalty, and the informer's name shall be concealed.

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\* Extract of a Letter from Dassen Island.

1654. Oct. 12. ....As to the Hottentoots who accompanied us voluntarily, we cannot make much of them, as they wish to have every thing their own way, but if we had them under discipline, like our own Netherlands, something might be made of them; for they are like flax (*want 't is als vlas*) and do much mischief (in scaring?) the seals on the shore, so that we must keep one man constantly employed in watching them; we shall however keep one of them here, and try if he will learn Dutch, and use him kindly, for he already understands it pretty well.

J. WOUTERSEN.

† For further discussion on this subject, see April 28 and Oct. 30, 1655.

The provost marshal of this Fortress is therefore expressly directed to pay most particular attention to this, with promise of the reward above stated for information, but on the other hand, should he be found to have winked at, or compounded any such offence, he shall suffer the same punishment as the contravener—as we find the same to be needful to the service of the Company.

And that no one may plead the exception of ignorance, this has been publicly read to the garrison, and affixed at the proper place.

Thus done, &c.

### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1654. Oct. 22. Despatched the galiot again to Dassen Island. . . . .with orders to proceed thence to Saldanha Bay, to see whether any inhabitants had made their appearance there, and whether any sheep could be bartered. . . . .

25. The sick were brought on shore from the ship *Swarte Bull*, many of them died in the boat on the way, they could not be looked on without pity. . . . .

29. Arrived the *Walvis*, from the Vlie 30th May, with about 100 sick in bed with the scurvy.

Nov. 1. Sunday—Sacrament was performed by the Clergyman of the ship *Bull*. 2 cows and 3 sheep were bartered from Herry's allies.

3. This day our game-killer, at the request of the Hottentoots, shot a lion, as large as a tolerably sized cow—it was among their cattle, had concealed itself in some bushes, and severely wounded a Hottentoot with its claws—not being able to master it, although they had surrounded it with their assagays and all their cattle, they called our huntsman, who was near, and he very fortunately killed the lion with the first shot, to the great astonishment of the Hottentoots, that so furious an animal could be so instantly dispatched with a single shot; this will consequently cause no diminution in their fear of our fire arms.

5. Bartered one ox from Herry's allies, but saw no appearance whatever of any other hordes, that are more easily to be dealt with; these fellows will scarcely part with any of their sheep and cattle, although they have abundance of fine stock; they lie with their cattle and houses about a myl off up the Salt River; killed to-day 2 cattle for the ships.

11. Sailed the *Walvis* and *Bull*; sent our boat to Robben Island with 4 ewes, which had been bartered from the natives, with orders to bring a ram and 126 penguins, with some goose eggs for the sick, of whom about 60 remain here.

12. The galiot returned. . . . .had seen no natives nor signs of them at Saldanha Bay, although they had fired several guns to apprise them that a ship was there, and thus had no opportunity to buy sheep.

16. . . . .It were to be wished that we had more than our present stock of two horses. . . . .we could then easily fetch timber and firewood.

23. This day some new Hottentoots came to the Fort from the interior with 3 cows, having with them some of Herry's allies, constantly lying hereabouts with their cattle as frequently mentioned, these men made the new comers (who were tolerably eager to trade with us) so reluctant (traag) that we could hardly come to terms, so that it were much to be desired that these *schelms* were disposed of, (aen een kant) when the other natives could be easily, cheaply, and securely dealt with; we procured the 3 cattle however for about 20 lbs. of bar copper and 1½ lb. of tobacco, besides about 4 or 5 *mingelen* of arrack, and some bread, with which we rather liberally entertained them, to entice them the more, so that they all departed in high spirits, and well contented.

27—28. In these two days we bought 2 cattle from the new inhabitants, but all in the presence of the allies of Herry, who seem to act the part of brokers, very little to the advantage of the Company's trade with the other inhabitants, who, (in the absence of these rogues, who still daily affront and annoy us,) would be easily dealt with.

Dec. 2. Sent the galiot. . . .and to ascertain whether any inhabitants had yet come with sheep, &c.

8. Going to the wood to see how the sawyers were going on, we found that the horde of Hottentoots who are allied to Herry, had removed with all their cattle to Cape False.

12. The Tulp arrived from Madagascar. . . . .had made a good agreement with the king of Antongil, namely that if we would establish a factory there, they would accomodate us with enough rice and slaves, &c. . . . .in sailing along the whole coast he had found no means of touching at any harbour with so small a vessel, and that in consequence of high winds, and the surf which they caused along the coast; . . . .he had touched no where except for 3 days at Mossel Bay during bad weather, and had seen no natives or signs of trade. . . . .

Dec. 19. Arrived an English ship, the East India Merchant.....with an open letter from our Directors, informing us of the cessation of hostilities, and that they were to be treated as friends ..... They had been 5 months at sea and thus had many affected with scurvy.....they would also have gladly received 5 or 6 oxen, but we gave them to understand that in that respect we were ill provided, but that we would supply them with vegetables enough; for this they expressed their thanks, and at our request, promised to take such order with their crew that none of them should barter any thing from the inhabitants, or go inland to shoot or hunt, but take care that the regulations prescribed for our own people should not be infringed in any respect.

20. Sunday. In the afternoon we entertained the officers of the English ship at dinner, upon our previous invitation, and with the toasts given on both sides they went on board in the evening in high good humour, and well satisfied; they were very liberal in offering every thing they had in the ship, and we equally thankful, saying that we had abundance of every thing, and were in want of nothing except the means of assisting them with cattle according to our inclination, thus to evince to them our unfeigned kindly feelings. The captain sent as a present a hogshhead of English beer, a keg of distilled spirits, with a good cheese and 6 smoked tongues; in return for which we sent on board for the crew and the cabin, some cabbages, carrots, sallad, &c. so as not to remain in their debt, but if possible to leave the obligation upon their side.

22. Had the English officers again to dine with us, and so entertained them that they were this evening still more happy than the day before yesterday; going on board highly elated, dancing, jumping, and rolling; they would very vain have the Commander on board, to show him respect, from which we have thus far politely excused ourselves.

23. Sent to Robben Island for a fat ram to entertain the English, with which our people returned on the 24th, and the English were so pressing that they got the Commander on board together with some of his company, and honored him with an excellent dinner.

26. This day we sold to the English a lot of Madagascar ebony, in order to turn it to some account, as it was very bad and cracked—being 100 sticks, weighing fully 1800 lbs. at 10 guilders per *cto*, in exchange for two butts of good English beer for our table, taken at the rate of 30 Rds. per butt.

1655. Jan. 6. We learnt by a letter from Capt. Symons, from Saldanha Bay.....that two men had run off with the boat, and to avoid being caught ran her on shore, when one was drowned, and the other who reached the land concealed himself in the bushes, where they afterwards found him, also dead, and, as it would seem, murdered by the Hottentoes, for the whole body was black and blue, and whole pieces cut out of his face, as appears by the annexed letters.\*

7. J. Elberts appeared and confessed that he had spoken with the 2 deceased men, about running off with the galiot to Brazil or elsewhere.

8. One of our salt-gatherers came and reported that they had wounded a rhinoceros, which was still alive, and had sunk so deep into the mud of the salt pan that it could not extricate itself; we went thither out of curiosity, it was 4 or 5 mylen off—we found the animal still alive, and desired it to be shot; but had it been on hard ground we would have done it little or no hurt by firing at it; we fired more than a hundred shots before we killed it, so many bullets rebounded from its body, particularly from its side, that we are obliged to cut out a piece with axes, and then to shoot into its entrails betwixt the ribs, and thus we killed it.....

9. Arrived the *Gecroonde Leeuw*.....with about 50 dead and more than 100 sick.

14. We bartered a large ox from the new Saldanhars to-day, but had a long job of it, as the old people (Herry's allies) were with them and incited the others, who were tolerably eager to trade; thus we daily become more convinced that it is owing to these *schelms* that no other people come to us from the interior; and who knows what further Herry may have suggested to them;

\* Extract of annexed Letter dated Jan. 3, 1655.

We cleaned the galiot, and staid on shore 10 days, awaiting the inhabitants; every day Strandloopers came to us and said that the Sardanian man would come to us with sheep and cattle for sale, and they brought us one cow, which we bought; there were no sheep to be had from them; we then went to the Island to kill seals, and on the 19th Dec. 2 sailors ran off by night with the large boat, and left us on the Island without meat or drink, &c..... They are both dead, for one is drowned, and the Hottentoes have beaten the other to death.....

Extract of Declaration dated Saldanha Bay 23rd Dec. 1654, and signed by J. Symons and 4 others.

.....Buysman reached the land, we pursued him a good way, he hid himself in a bush, so that we could not find him .....next day we went on shore again.....and found Buysman's body, whom the Hottentoes had beaten to death, and stripped of all his clothes; he was so dreadfully beaten, that pieces were cut out of his face; we returned on board and let him lie, which we testify to be the truth.  
J. SYMONS, &c.

it is at least clear that so long as these *schelms* have lived hereabouts with their cattle, no other natives have dared to come, and these will not part with their sheep and cattle, though they have fully 15 or 1600; therefore, in our opinion, under correction however, it were not amiss that we took their cattle and banished them with their wives and children, which we have daily the means of effecting, and which they have richly deserved, as they assisted in stealing our cattle and murdering the boy, and also daily show great insolence to our people, (*pro memorie.*)

#### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1655. Jan. 27. Our last advice to your Honors was dated 22nd April, 1654. . . . . we have received your letters of Jan. 19, April 15, May 15, and July 30. . . . . The trade with these tribes has produced very little this year, as we have not been able to barter from them more than 29 cattle and 11 sheep, although we have paid for one head fully as much as we formerly paid for three or four. We have from the first observed of this tribe, (Herry's allies) that they do not willingly part with their cattle, and only seek to procure what they want from the common people and ships' crews, for ostrich eggs and other trifles, they are also soon supplied, and nothing is to be done with them except for a little tobacco, arrack, and food, in return for which they are of much use to us in fetching firewood for the cooks, to the great relief of our people, who would otherwise have to bring it with much labor from the mountain a full myl from the Fort.

Of other tribes from the interior some few have indeed appeared occasionally, but not in whole tribes, or with many cattle, and sometimes only 1 or 2 together, and are always instantly joined by these allies of Herry, *who pretty well put a stop to the trade, as may be seen fully detailed in some parts of our diary;*\* so that in our opinion these rogues—we call them so as being aiders and abettors in the theft of our cattle—are the cause that none others venture to come to this neighbourhood—the other tribes would, but for this, be very easily dealt with, and perhaps some ivory might be had from them; but we conjecture, under correction, that these allies of Herry have persuaded the others that they have made a contract with us to suffer none but them near our possession, and that if others came, we would protect them against the other natives, thus to keep the pastures hereabouts for their own cattle and sheep.

This appears from the other natives appearing in the vicinity, as we can see from their fires, but not venturing, as was the case heretofore, to come close to us. We also remarked at first, that whenever the other natives approached from the interior, these rogues always removed; we therefore conceive that their not daring to come now is owing to the above cause. And it is not easy to imagine what Herry—whom we do not see among this gang—though his wife and children, and our cattle are with them—puts into the heads of the other natives; we may at least depend on it he does no good, but all the mischief he can.

Consequently in our opinion it would not be very much amiss that we should see to get these said allies of Herry, with their cattle, into our power; we believe that the other tribes would not trouble themselves on the subject, as it may be easily seen that they are no faithful friends. There is, however, this inconvenience to be feared, that in that case, we would not be able, nor could we venture to travel in every direction so safely, except with a stronger escort of soldiers than now, and even now we have to keep a sharp look out and to guard our few cattle while at pasture with 10 or 12 armed men, otherwise they would long since have again carried them off—*per adviso.*

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1655. Jan. 28. Resolved to send the galiot to St. Helena to fetch the horses and saddles (which have been taken past the Cape in the *Muyden* and *Weesp*) which are as necessary to us as bread to eat, for bringing firewood, &c. . . . .

Feb. 10. Our men came from the wood, stating that there were people in every direction, but few cattle, who were always much molesting them along the roads and in the wood, and asking for more soldiers to protect their persons and their implements, for they no longer knew how to guard them from the Hottentoots; they also stated that the inhabitants intimated that they intended to come in great numbers near our Fortress, with a view to attack us upon a favorable opportunity, to take the copper, of which we had so much in the Fort; upon which it was replied that we would give them copper for their cattle, and trade with them in friendship; they then intimated that we

\* Underlined in original MS.; this despatch was written a few days previous to the receipt of that from the Directors, dated Oct. 6, 1654, (p. 54.)

were living upon their land, that they perceived that we were building with activity, in order never to go away, and therefore they would not barter to us any more eattle, for we took the best pasture for our cattle, &c. as the Strandloopers also daily intimate to us at the Fort in words of broken English; we must consequently keep a better watch than before; that we do not fall into any unexpected difficulty, as happened with the theft of our eattle, from over confidence. They even begin to get so bold that we must either hold our arms in one hand and our working implements in the other, or place soldiers for the protection of every individual, else they give our men the greatest possible annoyance.

It even happened last evening, that about 50 of these inhabitants, wishing to erect some huts close to the side of the Fort-ditch, and being evilly desired by our people to go a little further off, boldly intimated that this was not our land, but theirs, that they would place their huts wherever they chose, and if we were not disposed to permit them so to do, they would attack and kill us with the aid of many people from the interior, pointing out that the walls were made of earth, and being built with a slope, could be easily surmounted; also that they knew how to break down the palisades; so that we perceive most plainly every day that these rogues are emboldened by kind treatment, and there is no knowing what schemes, to injure the Company, Herry may be hatching in the interior; it may at all events be presumed that he is doing little good, and it therefore behoves us to take good care that we are not unexpectedly attacked; it is indeed true that they could scarce take the Fort; but as our hands are always full of work, without any one having been hitherto excused from mounting separate guards, they could commit great slaughter among our men; we have therefore divided the garrison into three watches, one of which is to mount guard fully armed every third night, and to do their appointed work in the day time notwithstanding; as also some detached, as well over the gate, as to patrol the bushes in the neighbourhood, to discover any ambushes that may be formed by the Hottentoes, that our working parties may not be attacked, of which we are becoming more apprehensive every day; more particularly because we can see from the number of fires that this vicinity is full of Hottentoes, and our men innocently suffer much annoyance from them close to the Fort; of which we cannot well take any notice, because we still derive considerable assistance from them in fetching firewood, although we have to beg and pray for it, when the maggot bites they even refuse altogether, and then our men must carry it on their own shoulders, and to keep the cook's kettle boiling gives work to almost all hands, for the wood begins to get scarce, and must be fetched a full myl from the side of Table Mountain;—the horses from Batavia will therefore be very convenient to fetch firewood with the wagon.....

Feb. 13. In the evening some of Herry's allies came with a cow, which, after long haggling, was bought for about 7½ lbs. copper and some tobacco; they told us they were about to remove, because a great multitude of other inhabitants were on their way hither with much eattle; of this migration our wood-cutters brought us confirmation when they came home in the evening, having seen them removing with their houses; time will show us the result; meanwhile we must keep a strict watch, that we be not unexpectedly attacked by this multitude, for there is no saying what mischief Herry, who is an artful *schelm*, may have been breeding among them.

14. Bought a fine sheep from the said allies of Herry.

16. We see many fires along the whole coast to the northward, from which it may be presumed there are now many inhabitants at and near Saldanha Bay, it was therefore resolved to send the junior Merchant F. Verburg, in the galiot *Roode Vos*, again to said Bay with copper and tobacco, to try to purchase some cattle.....

19. Arrived the *Malacca* with a letter from the Directors, dated Oct. 6.

March 1. Resolved to send the launches of these ships to Saldanha Bay to see whether our people had procured any eattle, and if not, to load the boats with fresh birds and eggs, &c.....

5. The three ships' boats returned from Saldanha Bay, bringing each 3 sheep and 15 to 1600 fresh birds; Mr. Verburg also returned with our boat, reporting that they had bartered only 2 head of eattle and 10 sheep from some Strandloopers, who, as he thought, had stolen them from some other inhabitants, besides this there was nothing whatever to be done there, and the Strandloopers were not to be relied upon.....

12. Some days ago we missed a certain Madagasear *slave*..... we have sometimes had deserters of our own people brought back by Hottentoes for a bit of tobacco, and as they would not go to seek this slave, although we offered copper as well as much tobacco, this leads to a suspicion that they have killed him, the rather as he was always fighting and quarrelling with the Hottentoes. There appeared in the Fort to-day a certain Hottentoo called by us Lubbart, who was always the second person to Herry, and like him absent up to this time; asking him after Herry, he said he was

very far away inland; when asked whether Herry would return he said he did not know; we treated him well to make him more at his ease, and to try whether we could not by fair words induce Herry also to come hither, but it is to be feared that he will be wiser, for he is a knowing rogue, as is this Lubbert, who is, as well as Herry, a principal in the theft committed on the Company's cattle.

March 15. This day a party of 7 volunteers, provisioned for three weeks, were sent inland under the command of J. Wintervogel, who had been a captain in Brazil, where he had explored all that country on foot as far as the South Sea, and assisted in discovering the Silver Mine of Chiera, the *commando* over this party was therefore given to this bold traveller, to try whether any other tribes and better minerals could be found than hereabouts, as more fully detailed in the Resolution passed thereupon. And that they might have with them something to trade with, 6 lbs. of brass, 6 lbs. of tobacco, and some beads, &c. were given them, so that the natives may learn that more of those articles are to be had at the Fort; but we fear, as we have frequently remarked, that Herry and his allies have made all the other inhabitants afraid of us, it were therefore to be wished that we had Herry here again, (were it even with friendship and other promises of pardon,) and it may perhaps come so far in time, as his chief companion Lubbert, as mentioned on the 12th, begins again to trust himself in the Company's Fort, and whom we treat well, the more to encourage this confidence.

27. As we are unable to issue any cattle and sheep for the scorbutic men in the ships here, and as the natives bring none for sale, we sent the launch of the *Wapen van Amsterdam* to Dassen Island for 1 or 2 thousand birds and some eggs, &c.

April 2—3. In the evening the party sent out under J. Wintervogel on the — March, returned to the Fort, having left behind one man, Jan de Vos, who had died from eating too many bitter almonds. They reported that they had gone about 50 mylen, mostly Northward, and had there found a certain tribe, very low in stature, and very lean, entirely savage, without any huts, cattle, or any thing in the world, clad in little skins like these Hottentoes, and speaking nearly like them.

They also found some Saldanhars (calling themselves so) in separate parties, some of 15 or 16, others 20 to 30, tolerably but not abundantly supplied with cattle, and a certain horde, about 15 or 16 mylen hence, with 70 or 80 men and countless numbers of sheep and cattle, very eager for brass and tobacco, who intimated that they did not come here on account of Herry's allies, who always lay here; but for this, they appeared very desirous of coming here, and very moderate in barter.

Our party also met some Soaquas, called Vischman, and enemies of Waterman and Saldanhaman,<sup>(1)</sup> who had no cattle; they advanced upon our men fully armed, but attempted nothing, and upon giving them some tobacco and beads, they parted without injuring each other.

The said large horde appear to be the proper Saldanhars, they had innumerable herds, were very friendly, and by no means given to begging, being quite ready to give something in return for what was presented to them; much inclined to barter for brass and tobacco, particularly the latter, but dared not come hither for the reason before mentioned; saying that Herry's allies, whom they called *Caepman*, kept the pastures hereabouts for themselves, and if those moved away, they would come; they always laid aside their assagays and weapons, and came up to our people as good friends, our people receiving and entertaining them very kindly.

When these and other Saldanhars were asked about Herry, they appeared to know nothing about him; but the Soaquas laughed at our men when they spoke of Herry, as do his allies hereabouts, saying he was far off in the interior, although we daily see his wife and children among them.

7. This day we went out with Mr. Sterthemius to see our corn fields, and the encampments of the Hottentoes, which we found to be 4 in number, some had 15 or 16, others 7 or 8, and some only 3 or 4 huts, with about 1,000 to 1,200 sheep, and 300 or 400 cattle, all Herry's allies, who would not sell us a single head, except on our return from the wood—(which we inspected *en passant*, together with some fine level ground very suitable for cultivation)—when they offered a small, lean, and apparently sickly lamb, which we declined purchasing, telling them that they ought to bring other good sheep, this they were not disposed to do whatever trouble we took, and although we offered enough brass, &c. They were not in the least shy of us although we had

(1) This account of the Soaquas appears, upon re-examination, to agree with the first mention made of the Vischman, Nov. 13, 1652, see page 25, where the omission of the words "*against which Vischman*" alters the true reading; which is:—"against which Vischman, who are from 400 to 500 in number, these Watermans and Saldanhamans are, according to Herry's account, at constant war." See on the same subject, Resolution Nov. 11, 1690; Memoirs of Van Riebeeck, 1662; Wagenaar, 1666; and Van der Stell, 1699; and statement of the Hottentot Chiefs, 16th June, 1701. For a different account of the origin of some of the Bosjesmen see the Journal of Landdrost Sterrenberg—4th Nov. 1705—quoted by Valentyn, p. 99, and in Researches in South Africa, I. 33 and II. 3.

50 to 60 soldiers with us, which is most desirable, and their full confidence in us may be turned to good account, should the Resolution once be adopted to take their cattle and all into the hands of the Company, which they have already richly deserved, and continue to merit by their daily conduct.

April 10. Arrived the *Tulp* from St. Helena with two horses, one was caught in the *Kerk Valley*, and the other transhipped from the *Weesp*, they could not catch the other horses. . . . .the ships had with great difficulty caught there only 7 or 8 hogs. . . . .bought 2 cows of natives from the interior, but at a very dear rate, at the instigation of Herry's allies who were present. . . . .

12. Which 2 cows and a calf we slaughtered for the 6 ships now in the roadstead.

13. Bought 2 ewcs and a lamb from the natives of the interior, rather dear, at the instigation of Herry's allies.

15. The ships before mentioned sailed. . . . .our wood party informed us that 2 large hordes of new natives with a great number of cattle—were about a *myl* off; these being the same seen by our party about 30 mylen from this, we hope that something worth while may be done in the way of trade.

16.(1) Went to the newly arrived natives with 60 musketeers, but the greater part of them were still at some distance; about 1½ mylen from the Fort we found a camp of 10 huts, with a good number of cattle, but as Herry's allies were there again—as if under our protection in the capacity of brokers—we could only procure—and that at a dear rate—two very lean cows, which were killed and sent to the ships.

18. Bought a sheep and a lamb; and—19. A cow from the strangers.

21. Arrived from Batavia [7 ships] under the flag of Rykloff Van Goens.

27. Bought 2 cows.

28. Accompanied Mr. Van Goens to the wood and some other places, saw several encampments of Hottentoots with much cattle—of which one head was purchased at the Fort and sent on board.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to the Chamber XVII.

1655. April 28. Proceeding now to reply to your Honors' last Despatch, dated Oct. 6, last year. . . . .having seen the sentiments of your Honors in the affair of the interpreter Herry and his allies, [here the passage in question is recapitulated as at page 54] we can fully perceive their equity, but the affair, when here considered, stands, in our opinion, under correction, quite otherwise, and it seems to us that we should either, see to get them with cattle and all into our power, or leave them entirely unharmed; at the same time so guarding ourselves and our property against them, that they may never again find an opportunity of causing us any trouble—as we have long since suggested; but with a garrison under 100 to 110 men that is hardly practicable without danger, *pro memoria*. To find out the individual guilty of the murder is impossible. And, to take from them only as many cattle as they have stolen from us, would create as much irritation and hostility, as if we took all they had; nor is it easily to be effected, unless we first secured the persons of this faithless gang, which may be easily done without shedding a drop of blood, as they now again place such confidence in us, that we could at any time, get them, with women and children, into the Fort, and make them drunk, for we have frequently made the trial, to ascertain whether it is to be effected.

We therefore still adhere to our former opinion, seeing that they have not only already deserved, but still daily deserve that we should take them and their cattle into our power. The Honorable Company would have enough from the encrease to supply the ships with fresh meat as well as with vegetables, and could get good service from the men on the Islands in killing seals, on the flesh of which we could maintain them without any other food, and might send away the women and children to Batavia. But to take from them no more than they have taken from us, is not worth the trouble of coming to open war with them, which would be the result of such an attempt; this would also make all the roads unsafe for us, and, besides, they would thereafter be no longer to be got at.

We have even now to guard our persons and property as if they were our declared enemies, otherwise they would soon enough dare to give us a serious affront, as may be every where seen from our daily notes; why then should we not remove them entirely away, and taking their live

(1) A Despatch of this date from Holland urges attention to rearing live stock for the supply of the shipping, suggests exporting hides, censures the Commander for sending Public Despatches which are not signed, according to the custom throughout India, by all the Members of Council, &c. but does not allude to the natives.

stock (from 10 to 1200 cattle and sheep) for the Company, guard them well while at pasture, as, for the reasons stated, we have now to do with our own. We also adhere to our former opinion that the other natives would not be at all concerned for them, but would apparently be glad that this gang were away.

As to the idea that the natives would be afraid of us, on account of our taking the cattle of these rogues, and removing them—it would be equally so, or even worse, were we to take only as many as they have stolen from us; and again, if we leave them quite alone, the other natives dare not approach us for the reasons formerly stated, for they are deterred by these rogues, but under what pretext it is difficult to say. Referring, therefore, to our Despatch sent by the last 4 ships, we persist, as before said, in the opinion, that we must either leave them quite alone, and, as we do now, treat them kindly, or take their cattle and all, so that not a single one escapes, into our power; and the latter course would, in our opinion, be the most advisable, (*pro memoria.*)

As to the Mineral we have done but little since last year, from want of skilful workmen, until recently, when a party of 7 men travelled about 50 mylen into the interior, without finding any thing of value;—they fell in, however, with some tribes calling themselves Saldanhaman, who seemed well inclined to trade, civil and good natured, as will appear by the accompanying copy of the Journal of our party, and also by the entry of April 3rd in our Diary, from which it is clear that the natives are deterred from coming hither, chiefly by Herry's allies, and that, were these removed—the others would come; we can consequently form no other opinion, but that the seizure of their persons and cattle would be in the highest degree serviceable to the Hon. Company.

Our party found also, about 50 mylen from this, a certain miserable tribe, of low stature, they would have travelled further, but that their food was exhausted, which would have sooner happened, but for the sheep they bartered from the said Saldanhaman; therefore, in order that we may travel further into the interior, a few asses would be highly necessary to carry provisions, &c. . . . .

What Capt. D. Claes states as to the fitness of Hout Bay to shelter 3 or 4 ships from all winds is indeed true, but as we last year reported, it is dangerous to approach in consequence of calms and variable winds. . . . .and as to bringing the land there into cultivation, it is unnecessary to go so far, as we have, much closer at hand, about the forest whence we fetch our timber, and 2 to 4 mylen from the Fort, land enough for a thousand families; a matter on which we have frequently speculated, but were not aware that your Honors would be inclined to establish any colony here,<sup>(1)</sup> otherwise we should have communicated to you our ideas on the subject; but we always supposed it to be your sole object to raise here sufficient refreshments for the shipping, and if possible to find out something to meet the expenses—both which have been, through the divine blessing, accomplished in so far as has been before detailed. As, however, we now perceive that your Honors seem inclined to establish a colony, we shall proceed to express our opinions on that subject: namely, that there is a fair prospect in several places here of growing corn and rearing live stock; and though we have formerly reported that corn would not succeed, that must be understood to apply to this Table Valley in consequence of the S. E. gales over Table Mountain; but we are confident that behind said Mountain, cultivation would succeed very well. . . . . Company's servants would be somewhat expensive. . . . .and it is much to be doubted whether free families would be inclined to

(1) A Dutch work which gives a minute detail of the first settlement of the Colony, and professes to correct the errors of Raynal Kolbe and others—describes Riebeeck as *arriving with planters to form a Colony*, first conquering the country from the Portuguese, and as to the natives “the first cannon-shot fired among them put to flight all who did not fall the victims of this new kind of lightning.” After examining the authorities in support of the opinion that the territory was purchased by Riebeeck, and stating that the Hottentots were “driven back, partly with their own consent and partly by force,” the writer proceeds, “I have entered somewhat into detail upon the causes and manner of this conquest, because I have not found in the writers on the subject *any thing sufficiently authentic and precise* as to the origin of this settlement. We should be better acquainted with those matters if the Directors of the Company were pleased to give access to their papers, &c. . . . .but the room in which those papers are preserved, is a sanctuary which no unhallowed foot has yet entered. The public must be content with detached shreds and patches of information, such as now and then escape the vigilance of those with whom it is a political maxim to collect the secrets contained in those papers, in order to bury them; those secrets may, however, be one day disclosed, and perhaps that time is not so distant as people may think,” (*Nederlandsch Africa*, 1783.)

“The Dutch formed their first *settlement* at the Cape in 1652, and their Governor, Van Riebeeck, gives vent to a very natural sentiment, and one which we fear has been too prevalent with succeeding Colonists, when he describes himself as looking from the mud walls of his fortress on the cattle of the natives, and wondering at the ways of Providence, which could bestow such very fine gifts on heathens.<sup>(1)</sup> In the same spirit are the following entries. . . . . The system of oppression thus begun never slackened till the Hottentot nation were cut off, and the small remnant left reduced to abject bondage. From all the accounts we have seen respecting the Hottentot population it could not have been less than 200,000, but at present they are said to be only 32,000 in number.”—*Report of Select Committee on Aborigines*, 1837.

(1) The Editor has not found this sentiment in the Evidence laid before the Committee; or in the Journal or Despatches of Van Riebeeck; although something similar appears in “*Researches in South Africa*,” Vol. I, p. 16.

exert sufficient industry, as experience shows that their chief aim is to fill their pockets quickly by setting up taverns, thus causing much drinking among the garrison, &c. . . . . but we must say that to establish free families here, we must necessarily look out for means whereby they may, not merely maintain themselves, but lay by something also, without the hope of which no one will readily settle in a wild and desert country.

Having considered this point it appears to us that the Company must be contented to bear the cost of feeding such families until they have brought their lands into cultivation; and that they should also hold their lands for some years free of taxes. . . . .

But as it generally appears in India that so soon as free men have filled their pockets they endeavor to return to Europe, the same is to be feared here, and we should consequently have none remaining here but poor and needy inhabitants—we would therefore, under correction, deem it well that a stipulation should be made with the heads of said free families, that they should reside here at least 10 years, and the children brought with them 20 years; whence it would probably follow that the parents would be naturally inclined and encouraged through affection for their children, to stay and improve their lands for the benefit of their descendants, and would be the less inclined to return to Holland if unable to carry their children back with them at the expiry of the specified period; thus they would in time be entirely weaned from Holland, and come to regard this country as their Fatherland, and would furthermore exert the more industry in bringing the land into cultivation—when occasion might be found to impose upon the land such burdens as circumstances might demand, in order in time to afford some relief in the expense incurred by the Company. . . . . They ought also to be bound to deliver their produce and cattle to the Company, and for the accommodation of your shipping, on terms at the discretion of your Honors (*ten believen van UEL.*) either for money or for such necessaries as they might require. In any event it seems to us proper (under correction) that the Company should be the master in every way, and that the Colonists should not be at liberty to deal with any one except the Company, unless hereafter permitted.

It may appear that every thing would become abundant here if families should come; but if they are to lay any thing by, it seems to us that the Company should cease farming, and leave that pursuit to the free Colonists, otherwise we cannot conceive what they would do with their produce.

And to place them the sooner on their legs, a good many slaves would be necessary for them, which could, as before stated, be easily fetched from Madagasear, or even from India, and given out upon credit until the settlers are in a condition to pay for them. . . . . It should also be stipulated that every one leaving children here should duly provide for them, so that the fewer poor, and the more substantial people might stay here, who, in return for the protection of the property they had got together, would greatly contribute to our defence against all hostile attacks, and would assist in the maintenance of the authority of the Company; for which purpose they could be easily arrayed under arms as a militia (*Burgerlyke Wacht*) as is the case with the Portuguese, whose chief strength in India consists of free inhabitants, who are much increased by propagation in their settlements—and are entirely estranged from the mother country—this constitutes their chief strength in India, and but for this it is probable that they would not have held out so long against the Hon. Company. . . . . No one would willingly come to so wild and desert a country upon vague hopes, but in order to make trial with free inhabitants, we might begin with 3 or 4 families; there are indeed several among your servants to whom we have allowed private gardens, who would be well inclined to freedom, if they could have their wives with them, and we are of opinion that those who are accustomed to the place, and acquainted with the country, would be the best to begin with, we shall at all events first send to Madagasear for some slaves for the use of either class of settlers—as well as of the Company<sup>(1)</sup>. . . . .

(1) The voluminous despatch from which these extracts are taken, touches on a variety of subjects explanatory of the condition of the settlement—and of society at the time—no money had as yet been current at the Cape—no place of entertainment or lodging house for ships' officers and passengers, consequently the Commander complains of having to entertain "all the captains, merchants, clergymen, chaplains, women and children, also all the other ships' officers down to mates and assistants, ay, even to *Barbiers* (surgeons) and sergeants," should this system be continued, he asks for at least 5 or 6 dozen pewter plates, 3 or 4 dozen dishes, basins, and other articles of the same material in proportion, he observes that "the consumption of linen for napkins and table cloths is no trifle, for every one carries off what napkins and dishes he can, thinking it is only Company's property"—and he concludes by again complaining of being so long detained in such an uncomfortable situation, at "this lonesome and melancholy place." VAN RIEBEECK's suggestions relative to colonization, and in particular as to embodying the Colonists as a Militia, are deserving of attention, they were mainly instrumental in determining the subsequent constitution and pursuits of the colonial community. The decisions of the Chamber XVII upon the several matters submitted in this Despatch will be found below under date Oct. 30, 1655.

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1655. May 4. Bought 2 cattle and 3 sheep. . . . . 10. Bought a cow and 2 sheep from the new people, who have now appeared in great numbers near our settlement with a tolerable quantity of cattle, with which—through the instigation of Herry's friends—they part very reluctantly.

25 to 29. . . . . The greater part of the Saldanhars or new people have gone away, and we have got from them not more than 5 or 6 head of cattle and 20 sheep, young and old, arising, as we have always conceived, chiefly from the suggestions of Herry's allies, who are constantly hereabouts with their cattle, we do not, however, allow them to perceive our opinion regarding them, so that they may not only retain their former confidence in us, but that they may thus acquire still greater confidence, with which object we showed them every kindness and liberality; as some fine day it may suit us—the service of the Company demanding the measure—to take them and their cattle into our power, which they well deserve, and which may easily be effected at any time, as by good treatment more and better opportunities may present themselves, for they come almost daily in sight of the Company's Fort with their stock, sometimes even within musket shot, so that their cattle occasionally mix with ours, (now amounting to 25) chiefly, as we can clearly see, to procure an opportunity of carrying off the Company's cattle; we have them closely herded by good active soldiers, and as they may also see that we have no inclination whatever to take their cattle, but only to protect our own, they are emboldened to use the pasture under our very guns, so that when the resolution is once taken to give them their well merited punishment, it can be easily effected.

30. Yesterday evening, a party of Herry's allies came from the direction of Salt River, driving very hastily past the Fort, about 300 cattle, old and young, and saying that the Saldanhars from the interior, who were angry with them, were pursuing them, and that they were flying; that the Saldanhars had taken all their sheep, and many of their cattle, that some had also been taken by their enemy *Soaqua*, who, according to Herry, is also the enemy of the Saldanhars. These allies of Herry therefore requested to be allowed to live, with the residue of their stock, under our protection, in the vallies between the Sand Hills and the skirt of the Lion Hill, saying that some of them would in return, and for a meal of rice with some tobacco and arrack, gladly fetch the daily firing for the cooks.

Near the redoubt Duynhoop, at Salt River, lay another party of their companions, with about an equal number of cattle, they were on the watch, as they said, for the approach of their enemies, when they would all come to seek shelter with us. In the afternoon the Commander himself went to their encampment, and addressing them, proposed that they should at once give their cattle to us, in consideration of which they should always live under our protection, and with their wives and children, have food without care or trouble, with the certainty that none of their enemies would do them the slightest injury or molestation, and thus continue good and firm friends of the Hollanders; upon this they answered, that they would indeed be good friends with us, and, as before stated, fetch firewood for the cooks for food, tobacco, and arrack, &c., but as to parting with their cattle, that could not be.

To meet this objection we said, that we did not wish to have them for nothing, but would pay them to their contentment in brass and tobacco, (ende zulx ons vriendschap genoeg van haer candt soude wesen) and thus our friendship towards them would be sufficiently shown? and so forth. They rejoined that they could not part with their cattle, either by sale or gift, as they must draw their subsistence from the milk, but that there were other tribes in the interior, from whom we could get enough, if they came hither. Asking when that would be, they said they did not know; but we are quite satisfied that they persuade the others that we have taken them under our protection, and that any other tribes who might come hither would be driven away—that Herry also makes mischief among them may also be presumed, though not quite certain, (dog niet regt te raaden,) we are also firmly convinced, that these allies of Herry use that pretext only to keep this pasture for their own cattle alone, and try to keep down our stock, that they may have more grass for their own, for this purpose perhaps persuading the other tribes that we will not buy cattle, and they at the same time are not disposed to sell, this appears plainer every day; we consented, however, to their living under our protection with all their cattle, on condition that some of them would daily fetch firewood for the cooks for some food, tobacco, and arrack, a great relief to our people, who would otherwise have to fetch it an hour's distance from the hill side. We were the more disposed to consent to this to foster their confidence in us, as it may some time be expedient the more easily to seize them and their cattle, which, as frequently noticed, they have well merited.

31. Sent a party with some brass and tobacco to a *Negry*, of fully 30 houses, which lay beyond

Salt River, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  myl from the Fort, and where there were fully 600 cattle and as many sheep, to see whether they would sell any of them, but on arriving there, they were found to consist of the companions before mentioned, who sung one and the same song; we procured from them, after much trouble, only one cow, and 6 sheep, old and young; they also intimated, that in the interior were people who would barter, but that they could not part with their cattle, as they lived upon the milk, and so forth, as the others had alleged.

Our party stated, that there were very few people at the huts, that the greater part of their said cattle were grazing on this side of the river, under the guns of our redoubt the Duynhooop, under the care of only 3 boys, and thus they could have taken them without resistance, and could very easily have brought them home: But this would not be well, as the rogues would then make the paths unsafe for us in every direction, for the fishers, woodcutters and others, and no one could go in any direction without being watched for an opportunity to attack and massacre them in revenge; but, if we would take their cattle for the injury they have done to the Company, we must also see to get hold at the same time of all their persons, with their wives and children, and to banish them, which may be as easily effected as seizing their cattle, as we can at all times get them, with wives and children, within the Fort, and make them as drunk as pigs, more especially because their confidence in us is still daily increased by our kind treatment, (*per memorie.*)

June 1. . . . . Bartered 8 sheep from the people beyond Salt River.

12. Much rain, 5 roods of the curtain washed down. . . . . it must be all built up with stone, which can be easily done if we had some more horses, for the constant and necessary labor of fetching clay and firewood for the brick and lime kilns, &c. is too much for the men, and we cannot procure oxen from the inhabitants; the horses are also less dangerous to manage than the oxen, which have sometimes given much trouble, by pushing with their horns, as they are unaccustomed to draught or work of that kind.

Some Hottentoots came to-day to request that a soldier or two might be sent to shoot a wild animal which was among their cattle, and which they could not kill,—sent a sergeant and 3 or 4 men, who found, in the Sand Hills about a gun shot from the Fort, all the Hottentots dressed up like devils with reeds and branches on their heads standing assagay in hand in a circle, they had surrounded the animal in some bushes, which it dared not quit, neither dared they to approach close to it, throwing their assagays into the bush, but had only struck it once in the leg. Our sergeant getting sight of it—it was a huge leopard—hit it in the neck at the first shot, so that it fell dead, to the great surprise of the Hottentoots. . . . .

14. Sent the decked boat to Saldanha Bay to see whether any inhabitants or any barter of cattle could be found there. . . . .

15. This day we bartered a lean old ox from Herry's allies, from whom no other cattle are to be had, but such as are almost useless, and that neither for love nor money? (*nog te hoy ende te gras een te crygen is*) but we receive them notwithstanding (*zo om dat de beesten by ons nog al fray weder gedaan worden?*) as also to confirm their confidence in us, else the few cattle they bring are hardly worth looking after, though they have in fact the finest in the whole country, and about 300 of them, with 150 to 200 sheep, which they now daily graze on the flat between the Lion Rump and the Sand Hills under the protection of our guns, through their daily increasing confidence in us, which may be turned to good account some fine day, (*per memorie.*)

23. This day, to our utmost surprise, the interpreter Herry came to the Fort with about 50 strange armed natives and a herd of about 40 fine cattle, of which through his means we bartered 26 fat and good. After he had requested to speak with the Commander this was granted, and, after good entertainment, he began to offer his excuse for going away in October 1653, when all the Company's cattle were carried off, alleging that it was not done by him or with his consent, but by Caepman, whom we call his allies, and who now live under the protection of our guns, and that the boy was murdered by the son of the fat old man, who is now the captain of that horde. Being asked why then he made off, he replied he feared we would hang him under the idea that he was implicated, and that he had now voluntarily returned, accompanied by these inhabitants, who were the true Saldanhars, to show his innocence and his friendship, affirming that he would take care that we should get from these and others as many cattle as we could desire, of which we should have a proof to-day, and requesting to be admitted to grace, and to live under our protection as before. This was granted in the first instance, and for the good service, this day commenced, as well as in token of our kind intentions, he received a present of about 25 lbs. of brass, tobacco, wine, pipes, a sack of rice, bread, &c. to make merry with his companions this evening. Upon which, perceiving or imagining that he need not entertain any doubt of our favor, he told us secretly that he could

point out our stolen cattle in the herds of the said Caepman, although many of them had been eaten, and if we wished to be real friends of Saldanhaman, that we must make away with these Caepman, (whom we have always called his allies, though they have indeed taken our cattle, and would never barter to us any others) for where they were, none others dared come, as these were only rogues and robbers, having themselves nothing but what they took from us and others, which is easily to be seen, as it has sufficiently appeared that they will never barter, &c.

Upon being asked how we should set about it, he answered, that this night when they all were asleep he would himself, accompanied by some of the Saldanhars, come into the Fort to prove his sincerity. Being further asked whether they kept no watch at night, he said, No, and that all the cattle were fastened together 2 and 2, and therefore were very easily to be got, as well as the people, women, children and all, who he said should be sent away in ships, which would not only be a great kindness to the Saldanhars, but would also make them so well disposed towards us that they would bring as many cattle as we wished, and that the brass would fall short before their cattle, or their disposition to barter them; but as long as we suffered those Caepmans hereabouts, the others dared not come; that they had also always persuaded him and others, that we wished to kill him and Saldanhaman, to ascertain which, as well knowing, (in his opinion,) the good nature of the Dutch, and that we really wished to have a quantity of cattle, he had thus come to us with some inhabitants; assuring us also, that should we resolve upon adopting these measures, the other inhabitants would come in great numbers—and other persuasive allegations.

Upon all which we consented to grant him full pardon, with assurance of personal safety, &c. for which purpose we allowed him to live under our protection, and to eat from the Commander's table as before, &c.

But with regard to Caepmans (always presumed by us to be his allies, as we saw our cattle among theirs, and thus thought him concerned with them, the contrary appearing, by his account to be the fact) as to seizing them and their cattle, and putting to death such as he would point out, we let it appear that we had neither determined on that course, nor were at all inclined to adopt it, or to do the least injury to any one, although they daily injure us in many particulars, but that we would purchase in a friendly manner their property and that of other good people, and that with all possible kindness towards them.

On which he plainly answered, they must go, or we should never be able to trade with others, for these were robbers, and not traders, appearing to urge the plan, and to wish it executed the same night; we did not, however, allow him to perceive what was our real inclination; but this we remark, that Herry does not speak very wide of the mark, or of the truth, and that his opinion agrees pretty well with our own, for we saw very well to-day that these rogues gave great annoyance during the barter to the other inhabitants who came with Herry, forcing them, with much rudeness, to give up their tobacco, as if for brokerage, and on our expressing our displeasure, the fellows told us that they had sent for Herry and the people with him, and that without their assistance they would not have come, although we knew the contrary, as the new comers had not been to their encampment by a long way, and had barely passed the Fort; Herry, coming in doors with us alone, drew from these circumstances a new argument in favor of his proposal, saying that so long as the inhabitants witnessed this annoyance from the Caepmans they would not dare to come freely or with security, and that he also, dared not set himself much in opposition to them, or they would kill him, and that he was sometimes obliged to pretend to join in their cry, as he had been before compelled to do. And if the Saldanhars much resisted this rude importunity for tobacco these rogues endeavored to watch them and plunder them when out of sight—which caused much displeasure and fear to the true Saldanhars.

June 24. . . . Arrived the *Prins te Paard*. . . . the purchase of cattle through Herry's assistance is a fortunate circumstance for the crews of this and other ships. . . . particularly for the preservation of their health. To-day Herry brought us 2 cows, so that through his intervention we have procured from the strangers 28 head at a fair rate, and without much trouble; the strangers departed and Herry remains close to us, in front towards the Sand Hills, within gun shot, with his wives, children, and 15 or 16 cattle, which he says are his own, and given to him by the said natives, and which he wishes to keep for himself, for the subsistence of his family, &c. and which he requested might graze under our safeguard; to this we have consented for the present until we see how he behaves himself; we have, at all events, our own cattle well guarded by good soldiers with carbines, who always attend our herd in the fields, more especially because Herry warns us that, if we do not look well to this, Caepman will endeavor one day or other, to carry them off as before; he cannot conceive how it is that we trust them so much, and why we do not, according to his

advice, seize their cattle, and transport them; constantly persisting that until we do that, the other inhabitants, who would gladly barter with us, and who are very eager for brass and tobacco, will always, and for the reasons before mentioned, be afraid to come; but that if these people were away they would appear in great numbers; thinking also that now that we had a ship here we could, under pretext of giving them good entertainment, get them all on board and make them drunk, and with the assistance of the ship's crew easily get the rest with the cattle into our hands; in proof of his sincerity and good intention he was willing to let himself be confined in the Fort with wife and children, as a hostage, and other persuasive allegations.

We are, however, of opinion that it is at yet somewhat too early, and would at least wait until, through our kind treatment, the companions of the said Caepmans shall have joined them here; when it would be worth the trouble, for the great number of cattle, and quantities of sheep which would then be together; for the number of stock now with these Caepmans is not above 400 to 500 cattle and sheep, old and young, but if their mates were with them they would have altogether 15 to 1600, out of the increase of which we could subsist well, supply the ships abundantly, and save the whole consumption of salt beef and pork for this garrison.

Since Herry's absence, we had sometimes, and almost always, seen some of his family among these Caepmans, from which we always concluded that they were his allies, or at least that they had acted in concert in the theft of the Company's cattle; we therefore now asked him if his statements and suggestions, as above detailed, sprung from pure sincerity and good will.

On this he distinctly answered "Yes." What then was to be inferred from his wife and children having been frequently seen among the Caepmans during his absence? he replied that they had detained them forcibly, as a security that he would not inform against them, nor venture to come back to us, nor make alliance with us without including them also, which he should not have done had he not succeeded in inducing other inhabitants to come down with their cattle to prove his fidelity and affection for the Dutch, and as a further corroboration, he pointed out the said good opportunity of lawfully indemnifying ourselves upon the Caepmans, which he said we should find particularly serviceable.

We then told him, that previous to his departure we had often observed that he was closely allied to them, and very useful to them.

He said that was true, but that it was more from fear than from sincere good will, as at that time he scarce knew how it was with us, whether we would stay here permanently, or go away some time or another, as he had observed to have been the case with the crews of the wrecked ships *Mauritius* and *Haarlem*, when he, (as all the Watermans still do) was obliged to hide himself from the Caepmans; but that now, seeing that we intended to remain, he could depend upon us better, and more boldly than he dared to do before, and accordingly to do us true service, he had thought proper to make the said proposal.

He then asked if we had not perceived that he never dared to trust himself entirely among these Caepmans, unless in our company, and even then reluctantly, and in great fear, because he knew well that, but for us, they would kill him; but that perceiving, especially now, that we always asked for him, and tried by fair promises and assurances to induce him to return, which he had heard some Saldanhars (who had been here with perhaps one or two cattle) he had therefore more confidently determined to return as aforesaid, and beg forgiveness: but that he would never in his life have come to Caepman (supposed by us to be his allies) for they were his deadly enemies, and had never been any thing but pretended friends, and, but for our protection, he would never go among them alone.

We had indeed observed, as he said, that at the time of the robbery of the Company's cattle he went quite a different way from the Caepmans, who drove the cattle round behind the Lion Hill, and that he was never seen among them, his wife and children being, for the reasons before stated, detained by force, and not by his consent.

In short, Herry has cleverly worked himself anew into the good graces of the Dutch, particularly by bringing the said cattle, with assurance of our getting more from the inhabitants of the interior, through his means, as he says; and as this first proof looks very well, we do him the more kindness to encourage him to bring more, of which he seems to give good hopes, particularly, he says, towards the time when the rainy months are past, and the fine weather commences, when many people will bring cattle, in consequence of his past and future exhortations; but he would fain have the Caepmans' cattle taken and them removed first; it seems as if the Saldanhars had contracted with him to induce us to that measure, the rather that he seems to be dissatisfied with our irresolution, and he in some measure hints, that it is the chief object and wish of the Saldanhars; and

that we could now easily and conveniently indemnify ourselves for the cattle stolen; but as before noticed, we may keep this point a little longer in suspense, and hold him in doubt of our views and intentions, until we see how matters turn out.

June 26. Herry came again very early with 2 fine cows, which we bought very cheap, and, like the others, without trouble, so that we have now above 60, old and young, besides those daily killed and sent on board the *Prins te Paard*. . . . .

28. . . . . Sent 7 bartered sheep to Robben Island, so that we have now 105 there, unless any have died, or been lambled since last report.

29. This afternoon some strange people from the interior came past the Fort, along the beach, with a herd of about 40 cattle and 50 sheep, driving them straight to Herry's residence, where they pitched their camp; soon after Herry came with them, and we bought this evening 9 fine fat cows and 2 sheep. Herry said that to-morrow and next day they would bring more, but that it was now late, and as they were tired and had got some tobacco, they must first rest and smoke out that tobacco.

30. Got this day 26 more cattle and 4 sheep for brass, tobacco, and pipes, from the said new people from the interior; Herry requested for his services some brass for himself, which we willingly granted, presenting him, to encourage him, with 6 lbs. of brass wire, which is but a trifling brokerage compared with the service he is now doing the Company, for since the 23rd he has already been the means of fetching and bartering to the Company 67 head of cattle, besides 13 or 14 sheep, knowing also how to conduct the trade to our contentment, and well to earn his brokerage.

#### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1655. July 4. . . . . In our last Despatch of the 28th April we have conveyed to your Honors our opinions upon various subjects. . . . . In the accompanying Copy of our Journal since the departure of Mr. Van Goens, you will be somewhat surprised to observe the behaviour of Herry as detailed in the month of June: to the Journal and to our former letters, unless where altered by this, we therefore beg to refer that we may thus avoid prolixity—but with regard to the point of Herry's allies. . . . . you will perceive from the Journal of 23rd June, that the interpreter Herry again shewed himself at the Fort, and requested to renew the former friendship, in order that he might again live with us under the protection of the Company; and to render his request the more acceptable to us, he brought with him some inhabitants, and about 40 fine cattle, of which, through his mediation, we soon bought upwards of 30, at a moderate price, and without trouble; the rest were his own, which he had got from the same Saldanhamans. He requested leave to reside with his family and cattle under protection of our Fort, promising, in accordance with this first sample of his conduct, to take care that the Saldanhamans brought us as many cattle as we could desire, to which he had persuaded those in the interior, and would continue to do so, as we should find; but that he had promised the Saldanhars that he would try to induce us to transport over sea all the Caepmans, man, woman, and child, and to sieze their cattle (for we have always called these people his allies, but they murdered the boy, and were the real thieves of our cattle, of which he would still show us some among their herds) as also to put to death some whom he pointed out, asserting, that we should thus confer a great service upon the right Saldanhars or inhabitants of this country, and incline them to come to us with many cattle, and always to trade with us cheaply and in a friendly manner—which quite agrees with our own opinion. He also says, as we have always observed, that these so called allies of his, although they have abundance of cattle, will never sell any except some times a sick or mangy animal, however encouraged thereto by kind treatment, and whatever be the price offered; always pretending that they cannot part with any, but must keep them for their own subsistence, &c. having sometimes many cattle, and then again only a few, from which it is pretty clear that they procure them by robbery, seeing, as before noticed, that they do not traffic. Herry also says unreservedly, that unless we can make up our minds, first to seize them and all their cattle, that the Saldanhars never dare come to us readily—in consequence of the great annoyance which they suffer from those under our protection, citing the daily examples which occur in our sight. He further especially pleaded that he had no share in the murder of the boy, or in the theft of our cattle, and that he went away out of fear, lest we should think that he had some understanding with them, but that during all this time he had never been among them, nor had any understanding with them on the subject, for indeed they were by no means such great friends, and could they catch him in a corner would soon kill him, because he always tried to consort with the Saldanhars, who are at enmity with them; he also said (and it is

very true) that we must have observed that from the first he never dared to trust himself among these Caepmans unless in our company. He contrived to advance hundreds of other arguments to prove his own innocence, and their guilt (much agreeing with our own opinions) and strongly persuading us at the same time to the adoption of the measure above mentioned, to which we are by no means indisposed, for we are indeed obliged daily to see our own cattle grazing among theirs.

By the last communication from your Honors—6 Oct. 1654—it appears that you were of opinion that upon getting hold of Herry, and finding him guilty of the theft of the cattle, we should send him to Batavia, there to be put in chains, but he has managed so well to clear himself, coupled with such good service to the Company, that we have not only fully admitted his innocence, but consented to his living with us as before in the capacity of interpreter, for we see that we can get much service from him, and have felt the want of him on several occasions during his absence, consequently, in our opinion, (although he seems indeed in some measure to dissemble—which however we do not think that he does in reality,) he should be notwithstanding retained in friendship and *voorsicheydt?* principally in consideration of the service which the Company can get from him, and which he does not perceive or think of.

But as to the Caepmans whom we have, as before observed, always considered his allies, and who certainly stole our cattle and murdered the boy; on which matter your Honors were of opinion (*van advys*) that on getting hold of the murderer of the boy, he should be punished capitally, and that on falling in with their cattle, we should take from them as many as they took from us, and not more, &c. we are of the opinion as before advised in which (under correction however) we still persist, and even more than before; namely, that according to our former proposal and the counsel of Herry, we should take all their cattle, and at the same time secure their persons, so that they may not make the roads unsafe for us; the rather as it appears probable that the other natives will not only not be offended, but will be much gratified, and accept it as good service done to themselves; and that they would then come to barter with us more willingly is also sufficiently certain, for the annoyance which they, as well as we, suffer during the barter from these thievish beggars is almost insufferable even to the mild and forbearing; aye! we have often enough to do to keep our men off them, and they frequently grumble, with some reason, in consequence of not being allowed to take revenge upon them for the annoyance we have received; for slight quarrels often arise betwixt them and our common people, and give us no little pains and trouble to appease them.

Therefore we are of opinion (under correction) that the proper time has now arrived for the Company to take its just indemnification (*gerechterlyke quarant*) from the said Caepmans, and to rid itself from this faithless, and, on every occasion, mischievous gang; not only thus to be freed from the annoyance they give, but also to make an opening for traffic and for a closer alliance with the true Saldanhars in the interior, who are very civil people, and seem much inclined to trade and to friendship, which would give much greater security than at present when we must be always on our guard, &c. against these allies of Herry. We have therefore also already thought of the means by which the same might be carried into effect on a good opportunity, and if possible without bloodshed; but we would willingly see them first joined by all their comrades and cattle, so as to be able to exact a good payment; and as we perhaps might not be able to fix to a certainty on the actual murderer of the boy, for, when taken prisoners they will not be ready to inform against each other, we might instead [of that mode of punishment?] keep them all for slaves, send some of them to Batavia, and employ some, well secured, on the Islands to kill seals, with the flesh of which, without other provisions, we could support them, in a great measure without any expense; *Item*, some might be used here also in chains to fetch wood, for no difficulty need be raised as to the other natives being offended or rendered shy of coming, but on the contrary, as Herry distinctly asserts, and as we perceive from many circumstances, they would be more inclined to fetch their cattle without fear.

We declare also, as we have often stated before, that we suffer so much injury and abuse (*hoon ende smart*) from these Caepmans, that it is no longer to be borne; it is true indeed, that we have from some of them pretty good service in fetching firewood for the cooks, but that is all the milk that the cow gives, and it must be pretty well paid for in meat and drink, as also arrack, tobacco, and fine words; and now that Herry has again begun so well, we shall have—as we had before, and as he now offers, the same service from his people; true, we shall have to pay for it as before, but they will be in a great measure in subjection to us, of which we never dared to think with those rogues, chiefly that we might keep up their confidence in us, so as to be able the better to select an opportunity for effecting our purpose. And we much wish that we were a little nearer

to your Honors, so that we might speedily procure your advice, and prompt orders on the subject, but if we await that, we fear that all the fine opportunities will be lost. This ought, in our opinion,—subject however to any modification (*verbeteringen*) your Honors may dictate—to be done on the first opportunity, perhaps something may be found among the Saldanhamans, or other natives of the interior, which may be profitable for the Company, access to which is now in a measure closed by these Caepmans, and will not be opened until they are in the hands of the Company, (*per adviso.*)<sup>(1)</sup>

### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1655. July 5. Sailed the *Prins te Paard*.....with as many vegetables as two boats could carry, as also 2 live cattle for the voyage.....

8. ....Arrived the *Tulp*, from St. Helena.....bringing some young apple trees, 3 pigs, and 2 horses which they had caught—a third being a stallion was by order of Mr. Van Goens, let loose to breed with the 2 mares that could not be caught.....

9. The decked boat returned from Saldanha Bay.....had seen no inhabitants there.....

21. The Caepmans decamped from behind the Lion Hill, and proceeded to the South East of the Fort, about half way to the redoubt Duynhoop, where they again encamped.

Aug. 21. The Caepmans again requested leave to reside somewhat near the Fort, under our protection, as they had seen some other inhabitants, their enemies, (called Soaqua) who they feared would try to rob them of their cattle; to this we accordingly consented, and pointed out the pasture behind the Lion Hill for their cattle, and to leave this Table Valley for our own cattle, which was thus agreed upon to their contentment, and the best for the Company to keep them close at hand, and in time to entice the rest of their comrades by kindness to join them, in order one day or other to find the better opportunity to effect the object of the Company with more facility.

8. Sunday. After the usual afternoon parade of the garrison soldiers and sailors, Herry who happened to be standing with us and seeing only some 35 or 36 men mustered under arms, took us quietly aside, and said, that if more ships came from Holland we should see to land more men, otherwise he could not trust himself and his family with us; for, towards the warm season many people would come with their cattle from the interior, who, seeing that we were so weak, would on account of the brass try to surprise us and him; reflecting upon this, we in the first place gave orders for a more careful watch, more particularly as we had received similar warnings previous to the theft of the Company's cattle; and if those tribes were only possessed of wisdom and knowledge, closely to examine our situation here, they could very easily overpower us, as from our small number we can only place two or three sentries by day, all the rest being occupied, some attending the cattle, some in the gardens, and others as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c. during which employment they are mostly without arms; when more natives come hither, we shall be obliged to keep some soldiers unemployed, to guard the Fort and the workmen, besides those daily in the fields with the cattle, so as to be somewhat more secure from such attacks as Herry seems to prognosticate. It is indeed true that we are strong enough to defend ourselves, even against a large number of the inhabitants, if we could keep the people always under arms and unemployed, except for their own defence; but so long as we have no slaves, we must keep them employed to prevent the work which is begun from going to decay, and manage with guards as we best may. It is also pretty clear that this people are getting more knowing every day, so that the garrison should rather be increased than diminished, so as to keep 40 or 50 soldiers expressly to guard the Fort and cattle, independently of those employed in seal killing and otherwise, which might be done by slaves, thus saving the labor of many Dutch. *Item* some more horses to fetch firewood and timber, as well as to plough, draw bricks, clay, &c. as is in some measure done with the few we have, but we have not quite enough, so we should have 6 or 8 more, we would do much useful work with them, to the great advantage of the Company, (*per memorie.*)

10. ....Despatched the *Tulp* with proper instructions to Madagascar.

12. The chaplain's wife gave birth to a second son here at the Cape; all the other ladies are soon like to follow her example, so that the country is productive in every way.

(1) Here follow, among other subjects, a requisition for more brass "as many cattle are now offered through Herry's intervention, as he gives hopes of more, and as we give higher prices than before to entice, &c., for "very strong Martinique tobacco that bites the nose," and for some addition to "our present stock of 6 horses, as we have observed, that when used as cavalry they impress the natives with much respect." Valentyn, one of the earliest and best Dutch authorities, speaks of Riebeeck's 150 cavalry mounted on Persian horses, &c.

Aug. 16. Some strange Hottentoots came to-day with 2 fine cows, which were bought at a price fixed by Herry, the purchase was very easily effected, it is to be hoped it may always continue so.

17. Our game killers coming home from the fields reported that the Caepmans had decamped with all their cattle, and moved off rather hastily, shaping their course across the Salt pans, mostly to the North towards Saldanha Bay; as soon as this intelligence reached the Fort, about 20 of their companions who fetch firewood daily for the cooks, left the Fort, and set off as quickly as if pursued by fire and sword, some hardly half way home with their wood, threw it from their shoulders, and ran after the rest; leaving none here but Herry with a few women, children, and boys.

We cannot guess what is the meaning of this sudden change; we therefore sent for Herry and asked him; he said he was angry with them, and had told them to go away, as they would sell us no cattle, and only wanted to fill their bellies with rice, tobacco, and arrack, for fetching a little firewood, which his people could also do, and, as he thought, better alone than with the Caepmans, &c.

We scarce know whether this is to be believed, there must at any rate be something in the wind, either some new treachery, or they are perhaps flying from the Saldanhamans, who, as Herry has persuaded us, will come in the dry season in great numbers, and whom the Caepmans have perhaps found to be something nearer than they had expected, they fear them much, and perhaps have on this account set off so hastily; or that they dared not trust themselves near us any longer, one or other of these must be the cause, which, it is difficult to determine, in any case we must be on our guard; we sent therefore some more soldiers to the cattle, now about 100 in number.

Herry called us to come outside the gate, and when there pointed out the course of the Caepmans, which agreed with the report of our huntsmen; he then pointed to the mountains to the Eastward, which, from the clearness of the atmosphere, could be distinctly seen, and said that just beyond that first range, and about 30 mylen off, lay many people with abundance of cattle; and that in 5 or 6 days he wished to go thither, requesting to have some brass that he might buy cattle for us; he would leave his 4 or 5 cattle as a pledge in our hands, assuring us that if we would trust him with brass and tobacco, he would bring us cattle enough; we replied that when he was ready to set out, he must tell us, &c. Meanwhile this flight of the Caepmans is very awkward for our people, who must keep strict guard, and then, laying down their arms, set instantly to work. Indeed during the whole day while the men are at work, the surgeon, (*barbier*) chaplain, and even the Commander must be upon their legs, armed with guns or pistols, searching about in every direction for any concealed or unusual gangs or assemblages of inhabitants; all the houses within the Fort are also provided with fire arms ready for use, so that the Fort could not be easily taken by these tribes, they might, however, commit great havock among the people who might be easily surprised when scattered all day, each at his separate work.

Our wood party returning with the wagon in the evening, also reported the hasty departure of the Caepmans.

18. Herry's people busily preparing their assagays and bows and arrows.

Sept. 5. Herry came again, as he had frequently done, as before mentioned, to ask for some brass and a few soldiers that he might go into the interior to buy some cattle for the Company, saying that the proper time was approaching, and that he would like to set out to-morrow or the day after; assuring us that if we would consent he would bring plenty of cattle, requesting some soldiers as a guard for the brass and tobacco, (which would be conveyed upon his oxen,) but chiefly that we might become more intimately acquainted with the others inhabitants, who would thus be enticed to come hither with all their houses and cattle, to this, he maintained, they would be the more readily inclined by seeing our people, and that probably some of their chiefs, whom he stated to be all great captains or *cadets*, would accompany our men upon their return.

We signified that we would willingly trust the brass to him without soldiers, this was to try whether it was his object to steal the brass; and still further to try him, we pretended that we would not allow any soldiers to go with him on any account, but would entrust him with as much brass as he choose, and we pretended to urge him much to this; he persisted, however, in his request for the soldiers, saying that they would receive no injury or hindrance from any one, and that he would go with them, with only his own family, to act as interpreter, and to assist them in the traffic, also to entice the people hither by telling them that it was the Dutch who were building houses at the Cape, houses which would not, as had been formerly the case, be ever pulled down, but would be permanent, and be always provided with brass, tobacco, beads, and other articles, for friendly barter with them, and so forth; he was also willing to leave all his people here, to fetch firewood in return for food, tobacco, and arrack, as also a man called by us Claas Das, to act in his absence

as interpreter. On asking him where he would keep his cattle, he said he would leave three in our care, and take the others with him, the oxen to carry the baggage, and the cows for the sustenance of his family, who must live on milk during the journey. On proposing that he should leave his wives and children here under our protection, he gave an amusing answer, that their wives must be with them every where so as to be kept from other men, and that it was not their custom to be so long absent from their wives, &c.

On this intention becoming known in the garrison, every one came forthwith, equally eager to offer their services, out of curiosity, so that we are not likely to be at a loss for volunteers.

Sept. 6. Held an extraordinary meeting of council,<sup>(1)</sup> . . . . . when, after full deliberation, it was resolved to send a party of 9 volunteers, under the corporal W. Muller, into the interior with Herry, supplied with brass, tobacco, pipes, beads, &c. and with proper provisions and ammunition, which were to be carried by oxen.

7. The party set out in the afternoon with 250 lbs. bread, 80 lbs. pork, 3 cheeses, a keg of arrack, and another of brandy, Herry leaving at the Fort his three cattle, the said Claes Das as interpreter, and some other Hottentoots to fetch firewood, for food, &c. . . . . According to all appearances Herry seems to be sincerely inclined to serve the Company, which time must prove, we trust that the Most High will bless the undertaking. . . . .

8. Being rainy our party halted for the night about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile from the Fort.

9. Fine weather, in the afternoon our travellers having reloaded their oxen set out together. . . . .

11. To-day was launched the *Robbejacht*, a decked boat of 16 or 17 tons burden, built here. . . . . our wood-cutters returning in the evening reported that Herry was near the wood with our men, and that the Hottentoots had stolen some of their provisions, also that it would seem that some distrust had arisen, for Herry had requested corporal Muller to discharge all the guns of the party in the evening, and to let them lie unloaded until morning, as he would take good care of them by night, and they might take their rest; also that Herry had been in the wood, appeared to be examining every thing, asking how strong the party was, what arms they had, &c. all which exciting our suspicion also, we resolved to send this evening 9 other soldiers with provisions to reinforce the party with Herry, and with orders that if Herry did not exert himself in prosecuting the journey, so as to waste the victuals to no purpose, and be in want when at a greater distance, that they should return with their luggage, also to see whether Herry would proceed alone with some brass, which, in that case, they were to venture upon giving him; that in any case if Herry loitered, rather to turn back soon than late, before their provisions were exhausted, so that they must suffer want and be incapacitated by hunger from defending themselves on their homeward journey, to pay especial attention to this, and without regarding Herry's advice that they should sleep with their guns unloaded, they should themselves keep so good watch as to give him no opportunity to do them the slightest harm, &c.

12. The wood-party and sawyers requested a stronger guard, as they did not consider themselves very safe. . . . . as they were much separated. . . . . there being sometimes not more than one man in the tent, and as the Hottentoots sometimes came to them spying about to ascertain their position; we therefore sent some soldiers. . . . . to take care that no Hottentoots were allowed to come to the men in the wood, or to their house in the wood, so that they may not be liable to surprise.

In the afternoon the party last sent returned, saying that our men who were with Herry, saw no difficulty whatever in the journey, but were fully inclined to complete it, and see what they could find; as to taking care of themselves, they would keep watch and were strong enough for Herry's people twice over, desiring therefore to have no addition to their party, that if any danger came to them it must be in such numbers that twice their number must fall as easily as themselves, but they would gladly have some more provisions, in order to be enabled to remain away as long as possible.

Corporal Symon was therefore sent with 5 men and some more victuals, with a message to corporal Willem, that the provisions were sent that he might stay out longer, as we would be glad if

(1) In the Book of Resolutions of Council there appears, under this date, a long Resolution containing in the Preamble the details given in the Journal, but mentioning, in addition to them, that Herry desired that nothing should be attempted against the Caepmans during his absence, lest the party with him, or the cattle they might buy, should be thereby endangered—that in the absence of the junior merchant Verburg, and the officers of the galiot—the ordinary members of council—the pilot, the sergeant, and two corporals sat as extraordinary members. The circumstance of two jourmies having been safely performed to Saldanha Bay, in 1653, and that of the parties employed on them having been well received by the natives, are mentioned among the grounds for sanctioning the expedition—the corporal is instructed to take good care that the natives do not sustain any injury, and to invite any native chiefs they may meet to the Fort, that “we may become better acquainted with them, and closer allied,” in other respects the Resolution merely repeats what is given above from the Journal.

possible to ascertain what could be done with the other tribes; but that if Herry loitered long . . . . . that they should return with a part of the brass, and let Herry go on with the rest . . . . .

Sept. 13. Corporal Symon returned having delivered the provisions to our party with Herry . . . . . they were well satisfied, and had set off with Herry at an early hour; Herry was particularly gratified by the bag of bread sent for himself, and he sent two Hottentots back with the corporal, each with a bottle, asking for some arrack and wine, they were filled and sent back by the Hottentots, with a request that he would make haste, and on his return he would be more liberally rewarded for his good service . . . . .

22. Some of Herry's Hottentots came to the Fort, saying that they had accompanied our party so far that they could no longer see Table Mountain, and that they meant to go on much further until they had exchanged away all their brass and tobacco, and could return with many cattle, which God grant, &c. the Hottentots also said, that the corporal wrote much with the pen, &c.

Oct. 4. The Commander Riebeeck went out to the back of the mountain, near the wood, to see whether the South East wind blew there as violently as here . . . . . the wind could scarce be felt there while the cloud was still rolling thick over Table Mountain, showing that the gusts were falling heavily in the valley about the Fort . . . . . but there was the finest weather in the world, the wind appears to die away upon the windward side of the mountain, making a very pleasant atmosphere in the vallies there, which are of very rich ground, watered by such fine streams that it is delightful to see it; it is a pity that, from want of hands, they cannot be brought under cultivation, for wheat and other grain would no doubt thrive there . . . . . and many people might earn a subsistence by agriculture . . . . . nothing is wanted but hands, and if we get a few slaves we design to make a small trial next year, the worst is, that it will be necessary in the first place to build a tolerable house, capable of defence, to protect the lands to be cultivated, which will be rather expensive for the Company, and would be better done by free colonists, (*per memorie.*)

5. This afternoon corporal Muller and his party, who set off for the interior with Herry, on the 7th September, returned to the Fort, reporting that their provisions being expended they could not accompany Herry any further, and had therefore resolved to return, having left with Herry the brass, tobacco, and beads, together with one of the Company's oxen; that he wished them to go further, and promised to return with many cattle and sheep in 2 or 3 months; they were of opinion, that he would turn the merchandize to good account, which time will show, at all events this lot of brass, &c. is hazarded as a test of Herry's credit.

It were to be wished that we were supplied with some asses to carry the victuals and brass, so that parties could remain longer away, then indeed something might be found, but the oxen often gave great trouble . . . . . The Journal held by corporal Muller, ran word for word as in the following copy:—

“In the year of our Lord 1655, on the 7th September, we left the Fort the Goede Hoop, 9 persons in company, of which party the chief was corporal Willem Muller, and marched the first day no further than between the Redoubt and the Fort, where we held our rendezvous. 8. Advanced no further than repacking our brass into 11 packages. 9. Marched to the Rondebosjen, where we rested that night, but in the evening when we examined our baggage, we missed our one bag of bread, and our pork, which the Hottentots had stolen from us. 10. To-day they slaughtered a beast, in a manner such as we had never seen in our lives, having pulled it down to the ground with strings, cut it open in the side of the belly, while living, and drawn the intestines out of the opening, lading out the blood with pots, and then they skinned and cut it in pieces. 11. This morning early they began to load the oxen, our officer went there to see how they did it, and we were all about to go, when Herry ran up, and said nothing, having in his hand a large stick, with which he would beat our corporal, so we stood looking on to see how it would end, wherupon the said Herry came back to us, saying, “*goo goo,*” just as if he would say “you have nothing to do with it.” We then begun to march upon a course S. E. and S. S. E. to the place where we halted for the night. Found that the Hottentots had opened the cases which contained the pipes, and after taking out some pipes and some common beads, had closed them up again; on examining our brass we found that they had pulled some bars and rods out of the package; we believe that it is on this account that they do not wish us to be present when loading the oxen. 12. This morning early the corporal Symon Huybrechts, came to us from the Fort with 8 men, asking us if we were still of a mind to go further, on which we answered, “yes,” and having further told him how they had dealt with us, he went back and told our Commander, on which the Commander instantly sent the said corporal and 4 men with new provisions, which did not come amiss, because the Hottentots had stolen some from us; the corporal and his men staid with us that night, and the next morning, being the 11th they returned; and having made our preparations, we began to march on a S. E. course, and having marched half an hour we saw a strange proceeding of the Hottentot women on the side of our path, where a great stone lay, these women went together each with a green branch in her hand, laid down upon their faces on the

stone, speaking some words which we did not understand; we asked them what it meant, on which they said, *hette hie*, and pointed above, as if they would say it is an offering to God. We marched this day to the sand hills of Bay False, where we lay that night. 14. Begun our march early, but made little progress, for the oxen were tired with yesterday's journey, we went S. E. by S. and saw the Little Lion Berg S. S. W. we did no more but rested that night in the sand hills; but in the evening when we looked over our brass we missed one of the long sacks in which were the rods, we therefore counted the bars and found that there were 111 of the large and 45 of the small, then our officer said to Herry that the rest of the bars were stolen from us; he said to me "No *Sie*, but can you tell me who has it? then I shall also restore it to you," which it was impossible for us to do, for in consequence of the packages often falling off the backs of the oxen, one remained here and the other there, so that we could not be with every man. On the 15th Herry sent some people to the Hottentoo Lubbert, who came to us on the 16th, and remained with us the next day, being the 17th, when he left us, and took with him 8 of Herry's cattle, but when Lubbert was about to depart, the Hottentoo men and women began to quarrel furiously, why, we could not understand, then Herry came up and said "*goo*," when we marched on until we were through the sand hills, where we found a fine valley, more than four mylen broad, our course was E. N. E. until we reached other sand hills, through which we marched until we came to a valley in which there was water, this we passed, and when through turned up to the right hand, and found there and old *crael*, where we took up our abode for the night. 18. Halted here the whole day, for Herry would not yet march. 19. Some of our Hottentoes left us, about 8 o'clock, when we began our march, and we made little progress, because it was there so swampy that the cattle frequently sunk in to the bellies in consequence of the weight of their loads; kept our former course until we found a suitable spot, where we lay that night. 20. Set out very early that we might get on with our journey, taking a S. S. E. course, and got on this day pretty well, but in the afternoon two of the Hottentoes went on, leaving behind our gray ox, because he could go no further, and that in consequence of the heavy burden which was daily on his back; for he alone must carry the brass, tobacco, and pipes, and if we say any thing about it to Herry, he pretends that he cannot understand us; but after the ox had rested a little Herry said, that three of us must go on to see where they had staid with the cattle, which was done, but they could not find them, nor see any thing, and staid upon a high sand hill until we came up; Herry then said to us, "take the things off the ox and I will go and see if I can find them, and when I have found them I will come with another ox to help to carry the brass;" after sitting there a long while we got tired, and so reloaded the ox and marched to a place not far from where we found good water, when we had come there and let the ox drink Herry came up with an ox, and putting some on that ox, and some on our own, he went on with us until we reached the beach of Cape False, where we staid that night. 21. Two of our men went along the beach, and found a young whale which had ran on shore there, the Hottentoes also found it, and instantly began to cut it up, they held a great feast that day upon the fat of the fish. . . . our men found a great quantity of mussels, but not such as we have at the Fort—they brought some with them, which we cooked and began to eat, but they contained so many stones that we could not eat them, thinking the stones pearls we preserved some, we went no further that day or the next. 23. Begun our march early, proceeding East until we reached the shore—along which we went until we found a fresh water river, coming from the mountain; we went along this river a little way and found an old kraal, where we staid that day. 24. Eight strange Hottentoes came to us, who were very kindly received by Herry, for the moment they arrived, he instantly gave each man 6 bracelets, and during the 25th they were still employed in forging the bracelets; these Hottentoes were the Strandloopers who were formerly at the Fort bartering cattle, they staid with us during the 26th, and on the 27th, when the oxen were loaded, they left us, taking with them all our Hottentoes except 2 who helped us to pack the oxen, they also took with them 11 of Herry's cattle, leaving 11 with him; when they were gone we set out S. S. E. through a fine valley, until we reached the mountain where it was stony, there we staid that night, as also during the 28th and 29th, in consequence of bad weather. 30. We ascended the mountain, but when we were half way up, we were obliged to unload the brass from our ox, and with all hands to carry it to the top; when we got there we found a fine flat, in which a whole regiment of soldiers might be arrayed in order for battle; we repacked the brass and went on East until we reached a fine valley, but it was so misty that we could not see about us; our course was then S. S. E. until evening; we also found that the air was unwholesome here, for when we sat down we became stiff, and shivered so that we knew not whether we should stand or fall.

"Oct. 1. We marched through the rocks, keeping our former course, till we came to a rather deep morass, having passed which, we turned South, up a very high mountain, having got to the foot of the mountain, we passed through a fine valley, and ascended a hill, beyond which we passed through a fine river, our course was S. S. W. until we came to the place where we halted for the night. 2. Two of our men went to try to find the sea shore, to see how it was situated, for Herry told us of great things, of which they found the contrary, having gone more than 3 mylen and found nothing but poor land; a little further [they saw two Hottentoes, but they could not get to them, believing that they were none of those who are friendly to Herry; these 2 men going on went so far that they could see the shore, but did not reach it, for it was too late in the day, and it was still 2 mylen off as they guessed, the coast appeared to run W. N. W. and E. S. E. as far as they could see, and there seemed to be a bay lying N. N. E. they could see nothing else; they returned to us to

see whether the two Hottentoots they had seen were ours, which they found to have been the case; and as we had followed Herry so long that our victuals were exhausted, as we saw no cattle here, and as it was, as before stated, a very unhealthy country, we were obliged to return to the Fort, upon which we all resolved, that on the next day, being the 30th, we would return and take the brass back with us, and as we were preparing ourselves Herry came and said, "where are you going with the brass?" our corporal replied, "to the Cape," then, said he, "if you do so you will get no cattle at the Cape, and I dare not come back to the Cape, for the Commander will be very angry with me, and I should not any more come into his house to eat, or go on board to fetch Spanish wine and bread; but if I take with me the brass, as the Captain said, and bring back with me plenty of cattle, then the Captain will say, 'well done Herry, come here and eat Dutch cheese and butter, and drink Spanish wine, and I will build a house for you, and to-morrow we shall go on board and you shall fetch Spanish wine and bread;' and if you are determined to take the brass with you, there is my knife, give that to the Captain, but you will leave the white ox with me, for the Captain has in lieu more cattle at the Cape." We were then afraid, because he offered the knife, and knew not what to do, so we resolved to leave the brass with him, because the Commander had said so. . . . . We parted in friendship, and took back with us our gray ox, and that with Herry's consent, because the ox could go no further; we marched that day to the foot of the mountain which we had passed on the 30th September, and then the weakness of our bodies passed off, we could not guess why. 4. We set out early, marching directly upon the angle of the mountain lying between the great wood and the Rondebosjen, our course was W. N. W. we passed first through a fine valley, and about 2 P. M. reached the sand hills, went on till evening and rested that night in the sand hills. 5. We got through the sand hills upon the flat, and held West till we got into the wagon road, along which we marched to our Fort.

Signed, WILLEM MULLER, HENDRIK HENDRICKS, (and 7 others.)

Oct. 11. . . . . The heavy gusts of wind over Table Mountain shake out and destroy the barley, (now ripening) so that we must make an attempt to grow grain on the other side of Table Mountain, where we are not subject to the squalls, and where there is ground enough to cultivate, were it for a thousand families.

12. Bartered 3 fine sheep from new people, whom we paid rather liberally, and treated well to encourage them to fetch more. . . . .

30. The English ship<sup>(1)</sup>. . . . . had many refractory men among the crew, in particular the Dutch, of whom 30 or 40 would gladly have remained here, had we but let it appear that such would be agreeable to us, and we might have hidden them all in the country; but as our masters would not like to have any trouble with that nation,<sup>(2)</sup> we did not dare to attempt it; otherwise there were means enough, to have in this way so distressed the Englishman, that he would not have been able to navigate his ship, and would consequently have been compelled to offer her dog cheap, with all her cargo and merchandize.

(1) From a Despatch sent by this Vessel and dated Oct. 29, the following are Extracts:—

By our letters sent with the fleets under Messrs. Lairese and Van Goens. . . . . we have written fully upon Cape affairs, and also replied to your Honors' Despatches up to the 6th Oct. 1654, inclusive. We are paying every attention to the barter and breeding of cattle, as well as to the cultivation, &c. for which purpose we have sent Herry to buy cattle for us in the interior, with some brass, tobacco, &c. upon his own proposal; we shall hereafter learn the result, we have good hopes, and were the more inclined to consent in order to make this trial of his honesty; we also sent 9 men with him, but as their provisions were exhausted, they returned after having been out 29 days. . . . . We shall await your Instructions as to how we shall hereafter deal with English or others touching here; this ship has been, like the ship that touched here last year, well treated, and supplied abundantly with vegetables from the garden for all the crew, without taking any payment, but presented in the name of the Company, to hold their employers under the obligation. . . . .

[This Despatch was answered on the 12th April, 1656. The cultivation of corn, rice, tobacco, &c. was strongly recommended, but no orders were then given relative to colonization, or to the natives. The reference with which the Despatch concludes, as to the policy to be observed towards Europeans, was repeated on March 5, 1657, and answered on the 9th Oct. 1657, *vide infra*.]

(2) The English Navigation Act and the increasing Commerce of the English in the East, were productive of frequent animosities, even in times of peace; the following conveys the sentiments of the Dutch Directors during the war recently concluded:—

Extract of Letter from a Special Committee of the Company to the Governor General of India.

1652, July 21. [Copy received at Cape 18th Jan. 1653.] It is our intention to assist you with ships and men. . . . so that we may prosecute the war with vigor, not only against the English, but also against the Portuguese, with such circumspection however, that you do not get too much upon your hands at once, but first endeavor to ruin those who are likely to do us the greatest injury, namely the English, as we perceive by your former General Despatch, that they yield the Portuguese every support and assistance, they therefore should be the first assailed and separated from the Portuguese, when the latter may be more conveniently attacked. It is certain that the English nation, more particularly since they have beheaded their King, and adopted a new form of Government, has never had any intention of maintaining friendly relations with these States, but has endeavored to interrupt all commerce by sea, and unjustly to usurp and secure to herself the *Dominum Maris* or property of the Ocean, which must never more be submitted to by any nation, more especially by the free Netherlands, who have fought for the cause of liberty, to her own glory and that of her posterity, for nearly eighty years, and having obtained it, is thus coun-

## Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1655. Oct. 30. We have received your letters of 27th January, 16th April, and 4th July..... and in reply have to state, that we perceive with satisfaction that abundant refreshment is to be had there for the shipping, and that the cultivation of the land succeeds so well. You will do well to extend the same more and more, and to use every exertion, making trial of every thing, and selecting good spots, free from the severe winds, to be planted and sown with rice and wheat, so that, as far as respects food, you may maintain yourselves, without requiring to be supplied constantly from this or from Batavia, at such expense and trouble to the Company.

How serviceable to the Company, in several respects, is the rearing of cattle, you can judge as well as we can, and therefore your attention should continue to be devoted to that object, and every endeavour used to encrease your stock; we have observed with satisfaction the good prospect, which, according to your last letters, is presented, of the purchase in due time of a good quantity from the natives there; could it, in the first instance, be brought so far, that the ships, during their stay at the Cape, could have a constant supply of fresh meat, and the same with your garrison, it would produce some saving, as well as be of great benefit to the crews: and more particularly if it is found that meat killed during the cold season will bear salt, and can be thus cured as is done here. You will make the trial, and advise us of the result; and if likely to succeed, we should contrive to assist more and more from this quarter, and have it carried on by free settlers. And in order to make the trial, and also, because many things can be better found out and performed by free people, than by the Company and its servants, we have thought fit to authorise you, to grant freedom to such persons desiring the same, as have from experience acquired a knowledge of the country, and who are in a condition to maintain themselves without burden to the Company, by breeding cattle, or otherwise; provided, that they shall be bound to remain 10 years in the country, and that their wives and children be sent to them under the same contract—the children, whether sent out from Europe or born at the Cape, to be bound to remain 20 years, calculating from the time of their arrival, or of their birth, as the case may be, and that they shall further be subject to all such ordinances with respect to free persons in India, as are now in force, or may hereafter be enacted.....

For the reasons which you have stated, we approve of your having pardoned Herry and re-employed him as interpreter; but as to your proposal—in order to be rid of the Caepmans, whom you before called Herry's allies, to get them into our power, and, in consideration of the intolerable annoyance we have from time to time sustained from them, to keep them as slaves, to send some to Batavia, to employ some in killing seals, and others to fetch wood in chains:—we have thought fit to order you to wait a little longer, as, before finally determining upon the subject, we shall await the receipt of further advices from you, that we may see how they behave themselves in the interval; we must not have recourse to such extreme remedies except slowly, nor until matters appear to be quite desperate.....

We have seen the proposals of Mr. Van Goens as to separating the Cape from the continent of Africa, and thus turning it into an island, but from what we learn from persons who have been some years there, the thing is impracticable, not only from the great distance to be cut through, but from the inequality of the surface; we shall, however, await the result of your further examination, and your report upon the practicability of the work—or, if impracticable, whether some Redoubts or Fortifications could not be placed on the isthmus to prevent or cut off the passage of the Hottentoots or natives, so that we may occupy that country in security.....

In Haerlem, Oct. 30, 1655.

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 Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1655. Nov. 18. Towards evening heard from our wood-party that fully 4 *Negryen* of Hottentoots had encamped in various spots behind Table Mountain, from 1 to 1½ mylen off, with many cattle.

19. Sent the sergeant and some soldiers to the said Hottentoots, to see what people it was, whether any trade could be held with them, as also where and how they lay; they confirmed the report of the wood-cutters, and also that those Hottentoots had intimated to them that to-morrow, or the day after, many more people would come from the interior with cattle, who they said would

pped to resist this attempt with all her power, and in her turn to assail these usurpers, and to destroy their shipping wherever they have any trade.....

We are most anxious for the 5 ships, as their Admiral, Blaecke, is said to have sailed to the North, with the design of overpowering the Company's ships, Admiral Tromp is however now at sea with an *armade* of about 100 ships, &c.

be willing to dispose of some of them; meanwhile the Caepmans also appeared here with their cattle, placing themselves between those inhabitants and the Fort, and requesting to shelter themselves under our protection; but they were told in reply that they must keep so far from our Settlement that the pasture required for our cattle should not be consumed by theirs, &c.

Nov. 22. In the evening our wood party reported that a very great number more natives had come with much cattle, from whom we have bartered since the day before yesterday above 50 sheep at the Fort, we trust it may continue, and have therefore been somewhat liberal, to entice them, keeping none the less strict watch, for the number of natives becomes very great. . . . .

The game-killers inform us that round this vicinity there are fully 1000 huts put up, that the cattle are as thick as grass in the field, from which our men were yesterday driven away, and upon some natives running at them for that purpose with assagays, they fired at random over the heads of the natives, who thereupon fell flat on the ground, on which our men got over the river to this side, and so escaped; it would appear that they do not wish our shooters to kill the birds, which have now bred well, and have many young; so that they may get them for themselves.

23. This morning 2 Hottentoots who speak some Dutch, and bring firewood for the cooks, came to warn us that the game-killers must not go out again in the direction where the Saldanhars lie in great numbers, for they said they would kill them because they fired yesterday and had struck some of their cattle; speaking to the game-killers upon this, they said that they had fired over the heads of the people, in the air, and that they could not have hit any cattle; an order was, however, given that they should go out in another direction, and instead of geese and ducks, shoot partridges, rabbits, and other game; but if the inhabitants run and trot every where, little game will be procurable, and we shall be obliged to use in lieu, for entertaining the ships' captains, the sheep we barter, which we would rather spare, so as to fill Robben Island, in order the sooner to be able to subsist upon the increase, without being obliged to wait and fast for the supplies brought us by those people; to attain this object, we also entertain them more liberally, and buy their cattle rather dear, the more to encourage and entice them. To-day we bought from the inhabitants 7 sheep, young and old.

24. The Commander Riebeeck, with his Honor Mr. Frisius, (having heard of the great number of natives and cattle hereabouts) went out on horseback with some armed soldiers to have ocular inspection, coming near and beyond the Redoubt Duynhoop, we found the country everywhere so full of cattle and sheep, as far as the wood, where our people lie, fully 3 *milen* from this, and fully  $\frac{1}{2}$  *myl* broad, that we could hardly get along the road, and the cattle required to be constantly driven out of our way by the Hottentoots, otherwise it seemed impossible to get through; not only were the numbers of cattle impossible to be counted, but the same might be said of the number of herds of cattle; and it was just the same with the people, of whom we could see at one look around us, probably 5000 or 6000, young and old, for their curiosity to see us was such that we were so enclosed by them, that we could scarcely see over them from horseback; there were also about 4 to 500 houses, rather large, and pitched in circles close to each other, within which the cattle are kept at night, the circles could scarcely be walked round in a half hour, and looked like regular camps. The Caepmans were also there with their houses and cattle. *Item*, a certain horde, the captain of which was at the Fort the evening before our cattle were stolen, and who we have well observed to be allied with them, and also to have had a share of the stolen cattle; wherefore, one day or other, if revenge and indemnification is determined upon, it is our object to attack that treacherous horde, together with the Caepmans, as they are very rich in cattle, and, like the Caepmans, have always been found very unwilling to barter; and it is feared by us that they are the chief cause why the other people bring so few cattle to us, there being to-day only 2 old sheep with their lambs sold to us; we have also found that they would fain have us with brass and tobacco among their hordes, to trade with them there; which, for various reasons and difficulties, (according to proofs already experienced) would not be advisable, but they must be enticed to the Fort under our own protection, where, indeed, they may come without apprehension; and as they bring so little hither, we suspect that they would try to overpower our people on account of the brass and tobacco. Some new Hottentoots accompanied us to the Fort, whom we entertained with a dram of arrack, bread, tobacco, &c. requesting them to bring some cattle, and shewing them several parcels of brass and tobacco, they seem to promise to do so—the success time will show.

25. Bartered from the natives 8 sheep and 3 cows, should have got more if the Caepmans had not been there, acting as brokers for the others, and always taking from them a good share of their brass and tobacco, by way of brokerage, with such rudeness and force as to cause the Saldanhars much dissatisfaction, and to render them in a measure averse from barter.

Nov. 26. There were bartered to-day 15 sheep and 1 cow.

27. Sent out the sergeant and some men in the evening, to see and to count the number of Hottentoots' houses that lay in the immediate neighbourhood; also to learn whether they are more inclined to barter there than at the Fort. He reported on his return that about Salt River he had counted just 200 huts, rather large, but had not found that they were at all eager for barter, that Caepman and *the swarte Captain*, (who, as before remarked, was present at the theft of the Company's cattle,) had their encampments in the midst of the whole, with a great quantity of cattle; besides 40 or 50 houses 2 mylen further, under the wood. There were, however, only 8 sheep bartered to-day, and no horned cattle whatever, in spite of all our entreaties and kind treatment.

28. Bartered only 5 sheep. 29. Bought to-day 13 fine cattle and 7 sheep, received intelligence also that Herry was on the way back, with cattle and sheep bought for the Company in the interior, and that he would be here in 8 or 10 days with many other inhabitants and their cattle, to barter with us; time will show.

30. Bought 16 cattle, old and young, and 20 sheep, some Hottentoots came from Herry, asking for some tobacco, and bringing for that purpose a knife with a brass handle, as a sign that it came from him; knowing the knife, we sent him some tobacco; they said he would soon be here with many cattle which he had bought for the Company. Asking Herry's people after a certain Madagascar slave, named Anthony, who had been long missing, and whom Herry had promised to recover, they said he was killed by wild animals, but we think that he has been murdered by the Caepmans.

Dec. 1. Bought 9 cows and 8 sheep. . . . . 2. One cow and 12 sheep. 3. The Hottentoots were grazing their cattle to-day close to the Fort, and the ground up to the mountain and between the Salt River and this was so full, that it swarmed with cattle and sheep, we would guess the number at above 20000, but out of all this number we could barter only 3 cows and 7 sheep, notwithstanding our entreaties and kind treatments of the inhabitants; we therefore asked a Hottentoot called by us Claes Das, (who has learned to speak a little Dutch, and whom Herry left to do duty as interpreter during his absence,) what it meant, that those inhabitants brought so few cattle to sell, although they were so eager for brass, and in particular for tobacco; he replied that these people did not willingly part with their cattle, but that in a few days Herry would come with other people, and still more cattle, of which we would procure enough to satisfy us, besides those which Herry had bartered for the Company already, and which he was bringing with him; and that their people would remove as soon as it was fine weather, because as Herry was approaching with others they must quit the pasture hereabouts.

Asking him why these should make room for the others, he said, because Herry was with them, who they observe to be attached to us, and therefore they would not willingly offend him, but try to oblige him in every way, so as not to bring us upon their shoulders—asking him further whether those coming with Herry were the enemies of these now here, he said, no, that sometimes indeed disputes arose between them, and then they took each others cattle, and killed each other, but that they as often speedily made peace again.

It may be easily seen that they must have frequent wars from the frightful scars and wounds of which the naked bodies of almost all of them are filled, also because Caepmans had sometimes but few, and then again many cattle, which they say is from their being robbed, and then taking cattle from others.

4. This day we had a successful barter, having procured 52 cattle, young and old, and 21 sheep from some new inhabitants last come, who have promised to bring more to-morrow; if they bring as many again, our bar brass will be expended, but we hope that we may be able to persuade them to receive the wire, though they do not regard it so highly. Our second interpreter, Claes Das, says, that these natives had said, that they would come with so many cattle for sale, that our brass would all be gone, and then they would have the pleasure, for once, of laughing at the Commander. . . . .

5. The inhabitants came again with thousands of cattle and sheep close about the Fort; we were obliged to close our *crael*, or a number of them would have gone in, we were therefore obliged to bid them to keep somewhat further off, which they did; bought 15 cows and 6 sheep. In the evening we got intelligence from the Hottentoots, that Herry was close at hand with his camp and cattle, and would probably be here to-morrow or next day with some cattle for us and some for himself.

6. Got from the natives to-day 27 cattle and 18 sheep, sent to Robben Island 68 more sheep, just heard from the party at the wood that the great camp of Hottentoots, with all their cattle, had

removed towards Cape False, the Caepmans remaining at the foot of the mountain where the wood lies. . . . .

Dec 7. Bartered 36 cattle, 11 sheep. 8. There remain on Robben Island 326 sheep, in addition to which we this day bought 39, and 27 cattle, besides 13 which Herry has bought for the Company, and which he had brought, reporting that he would have brought more, had not some natives stolen from him at night 4 sacks of brass and all the tobacco, so that he could not buy any more; but that he had encouraged the inhabitants to bring their cattle to the Fort, assuring them that they would always find brass here; he appears not well pleased that all our brass bars are bartered away, as he said that he had led the others to rely upon that; . . . . . we are satisfied that if we had brass bars we might procure fully a thousand cattle, even from the people who lay here a while, and who still daily come without the aid of Herry. . . . . As to Herry's report and his account of the brass, &c. having been stolen, we believe it to be one half lies, and that he has at the best given it away in presents here and there, to ingratiate himself, which, (notwithstanding that the 13 cattle stand the Company rather dear) would also be a good thing, as we observe that the people come very confidently with their cattle; we have therefore allowed ourselves to believe him altogether, and will continue to treat him with kindness, as he has already done much, so that we begin to trade with these savage men easily and on very friendly terms. This morning the Commander's wife was delivered of her second son, born at the Cape; and the wife of the junior Merchant F. Verburg, of her first child, a daughter, being the first female child born at the Cape, and that exactly nine months all but one day after her marriage here.

9. This day Herry, as soon as he had got his 3 cattle, left in our charge during his absence, set off for Cape False, taking leave, and saying that many more inhabitants would come soon with cattle; he would fain have had some brass and tobacco with him, but not thinking this proper at present for various reasons, we said, that it might be stolen from him again, and, therefore, that it would be better if he would encourage the inhabitants to come hither to the Fort, which he promised to do; time will show the result; but although this cunning fellow and the other inhabitants trade with us, we are firmly convinced, notwithstanding, that (as is said by the Caep and Saldanhamans) he has sold the Company's brass on his own account, and is now rich in cattle; and also, that he will care very little more about us, this will, however, be soon ascertained. If the said inhabitants continue to bring us many cattle, we shall soon have disposed of all our thick brass; but for the purchase of sheep we have still abundance of Indian *Lojangh*, or thick wire, which is very bad, and the natives will scarcely take it, therefore no more should be sent from India, (*per memorie*.)

11. There were bought to-day 32 sheep for thin, and 1 cow for thick brass wire, but there was no eagerness, as we have no bar brass to give for cattle, otherwise we might, to all appearance, procure enough; we therefore hope that we may soon get some according to our requisition.

12. . . . . Arrived an English ship. . . . . in her long voyage of 8 months had lost 10 men and have 40 or 50 sick, chiefly scorbatic. . . . . on the request of the captain, promised to assist them with 2 cattle and 3 or 4 sheep, also to admit 10 or 12 of their worst patients into the hospital, for which they expressed their thankfulness, with a promise that they would gladly pay for all. . . . . This day 6 fine cows and 6 sheep were bought, and the inhabitants told us that Herry was not disposed ever to return hither to serve the Company as interpreter; although when ships arrived he would come to fill his bags with bread, rice, wine, &c.; and as to the brass, that it had not been stolen from him, but that he had bought for it many cattle and sheep from the Saldanhamans, so that he had now become a great Captain, and would care little for us, as we are daily likely to perceive more and more. A certain other Hottentoo, first calling himself, and then called by us Damon, or Dominic, because he is a very simple person, appears to be entirely devoted to us, and is also employed as interpreter, together with Claes Das. This man Damon seems to do us the best service of all as far as has yet appeared—having called him apart, and asked him concerning these statements about Herry, he fully corroborated them, and said further that it was Herry who had 2 years ago stolen the Company's cattle, and that his sons had murdered the boy, with many details of how he had set about it. Asking him further whether Caepman and some others had not assisted—he answered no; with many confirmatory statements, as to how Herry had planned and executed the act with his own people alone, rather contrary to the inclination, and wish of Caepman and Saldanhaman; which Caepmans did not indeed willingly part with their cattle in barter, but wished always to live hereabouts and to act as friends and brokers to the Saldanhaman; and if we desired to have proof, we must confine Herry the next time he comes to the Fort, when he would soon confess all, and send for his sheep and cattle (of which he has many) in order to be released. Asking him if Saldanhaman and Caepman would not in that case be angry, or run away out of

fear that we would act so with them also, he said no, but that it was likely that it would do them a great friendship, and also dispose them to bring more cattle, for none of them all were favourably disposed towards Herry, as he was a great talker, and brought to both parties intelligence that was not true but false; he said further that we should just make this proposal to the great captain, the son of Caepman, then we should soon see what Herry was, and how the people of this country were disposed towards him, &c.

Sent out 5 men to the South Coast of False Bay, where our people, when with Herry, had found some small pearls in mussels, that each might bring a sack full as a sample.....

Dec. 13. The Saldanhars came early with cattle and sheep, of which we to-day bought 89, i. e. 20 cattle, 69 sheep; they brought many cattle to the Fort, supposing that we had received by this ship a supply of brass bars, but seeing that it was an English ship, and that we had no bars, and offered nothing but wire, they drove away many of their best cattle. Herry was again at the Fort to-day, pretending that he had induced those people to bring their cattle; which, before him, we pretended to believe.....sent 77 sheep to Robben Island, where there must be now 471..... The English seeing our flourishing trade in cattle, insisted much to have 1 or 2 more, we answered civilly that we hoped to content them, &c.

14. The inhabitants came again with cattle, but the trade was not so good as yesterday, for we procured only 11 cattle, old and young, and 18 sheep.

15. Bought 9 cattle and 10 sheep.....our men returned with pearl mussels.....so few and so bad that they were not worth the trouble.....

16. Bought 19 sheep, but no cattle whatever, for the inhabitants do not care much for wire, they say they will wait until ships come from Holland with brass, but they will bring us sheep now and then.....

17. Only 4 sheep bought to-day; the natives say that to-morrow, and henceforth, they will daily bring more; heard also from our wood-cutters, that all the Hottentoots were quite out of sight over the mountains, with their houses and cattle; Herry also had departed..... The English earnestly begged to have some more cattle.....offering our own price.....we answered civilly that they had already received 2 cattle, which, in proportion to the number of their crew, was more than any of our own ships had received.....that between this time and the month of March we expected about 40 large ships.....for which we required 240 cattle, a number greater than we had on hand.....considering their necessity, &c.....we let them have one more, with a request that we might not be further importuned.....

21. Yesterday and to-day were bought 4 cattle and 18 sheep, notwithstanding that the Saldanhars have already gone a long way inland, so that the trade still keeps alive, and the Company's live stock increases bravely.....but pigs and poultry must be managed by free colonists, &c.

22. Bought 18 sheep and 21 cattle, young and old, and towards evening all the Hottentoots, even including those who fetched wood for the cooks, went away, as they said, to attack some of the Saldanha hordes, in conjunction with Caepman and the people of the Swarte Captain, formerly mentioned, a dispute having arisen in consequence of the Saldanhars having given some cattle to Caepmans and Swarte Captain, to be sold to us on their account; but having learnt that Caepmans had received for the said cattle double the price for which they had accounted, the Saldanhars had determined to bring their cattle to the market themselves, which the Caepmans and Swarte Captain had combined to prevent; and then resorted to arms, to take some cattle from them as booty, in which booty the said carriers of firewood wished to participate, in order as they said that they might sell them to us, such being, as they gave us to understand, the intention of the Caepmans also.

From this act it further clearly appears that the Caepmans endeavour to keep the other natives from coming to us, and to keep to themselves the greater part of the profit to be made of us; this is not a good thing, as the Company is thereby prevented from finding out what, besides cattle, may be procurable from the other inhabitants, and it would be neither strange nor altogether unexpected, if the roads, by which we might in time be visited by some people from Monomotopa or Batua, were closed up by these Caepmans. It is thought by many that the people of Monomotopa trade with Angola, where their gold is said to come from Monomotopa; it is even said that the traders of Sofala and those of Angola, meet there; which might be hoped for here also, if these Caepmans were not such an obstacle; this should be particularly attended to, so that people may come to us with safety from the interior; nor should it be neglected to keep up, for the present, the full trust and confidence of the Caepmans in us; they daily accuse Herry, and urge us to confine him, with cattle and all, at the Fort, as, according to their concurrent testimony, his sons not only murdered the boy, but are also said to have stolen the cattle; also, that he has enriched

himself with our brass and tobacco, falsely persuading us that it was stolen from him in the night ; all which are said to be great lies, and which ought to be further inquired into by us, with circum-spection, and an appearance of friendship kept up with both. Herry, according to their account, and his own also, is about soon to come with all his people and cattle, to take shelter with us at the Fort, when, perhaps, these matters may be more fully developed ; meanwhile it certainly is not well that the Caepmans prevent the resort hither of the other people from the interior ; and as they cause this injury to the Company, they will require in time to be brought under some kind of subordination ; and although they say that they are not guilty of stealing the Company's cattle, but that those which we saw among their herds, were taken by them from Herry ; still we observed that they, like him, removed very hastily at that time, so that they also were guilty, for all which, together with their keeping away the inhabitants of the interior, they are deserving of punishment, and, as in the case of Herry for his frauds, revenge must be taken on a proper opportunity. It would not, however, be amiss that the matter should first be particularly inquired into, although it continues our opinion, that we shall never have any intimate and frequent intercourse with the natives far inland, until these Caepmans and their adherents, and also Herry, are treated in another manner. Meanwhile the Company is acquiring certain and useful experience, as to how these tribes are circumstanced with regard to their enmities and friendships, which will be useful for our guidance hereafter, but we are not without hopes of getting into communication with the people of Monomotopa and Batua, this will, however, require time, further experience, and also some greater exertion in the search.

Dec. 24. Some of the Hottentoots, before mentioned, returned to the Fort, but far from so courageous as when they went out ; it is therefore probable that they have received some check, though they will not admit it, saying that the Saldanhar had already gone so far, that they had returned, &c.

31. Since the 25th instant there have been bought 2 cows and 45 sheep, chiefly brought by Caepmans people, and, as they say, plundered from the Saldanhar, for which purpose they again went out to-day with all our fuel bearers, notwithstanding that we intimated to them that we would rather they left it alone, in order to let the Saldanhar have access to us as well as themselves ; they seemed to pay little attention to this, but wished much to have 6 or 8 active soldiers with fire arms, to aid them in taking the cattle of the Saldanhar, as the latter had recently attacked them suddenly and treacherously, and carried off many cattle, for which they would now take revenge ; it appears that Caepman is collecting all the force he can, to keep Saldanhaman from coming, or to make war against him.

1656. Jan. 10. This morning Herry came to the Fort again, with one of his wives, he was lying outside, on the bank of the river, near the plank by which we cross over, when the Commander, going to the gardens early in the morning, came suddenly close upon him, and asked him in the kindest manner where he had been so long with all his people and cattle ; he replied, that the

#### Extract of Despatch from the Governor General and Council, to Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1655. Dec. 25. . . . . Of your proposals regarding the Cape, we find none more useful than collecting a great quantity of seal skins, from which alone the Cape expenses may be reimbursed. . . . . we have noticed from the Journal kept by the 7 persons, whom you sent to make further discoveries in the interior, the occurrences which happened during their journey, and cannot perceive that they have seen any thing worth mentioning—nor does it appear likely that you will ever be able to carry on an amicable trade with the savage natives—it would seem that the further we attempt to penetrate into their country—the more averse from us they become. Thus it is that, since we have established ourselves there, they have become very shy of us, and are no longer desirous, as formerly, of bringing us cattle for sale ; so that we shall be obliged, with great labour and expense, to grow or to breed all our own necessary supplies, as you have found by experience. Were there any appearance of the gold and silver mines, which it was presumed could be found in the interior, it might be worth while to extend ourselves a little way inland—but as this has been hitherto an idle hope, the soup—according to the proverb—is not worth the cabbage—therefore it is unquestionably our best plan to keep a smaller garrison at the Cape, and not to graze our cattle far from our Fort. As to the proposal of Mr. Van Goens to cut off the Cape from the continent, and thus make it an island, such would indeed be a good thing, if it could be easily effected—but we perceive at once so many difficulties, that, with you, we are very reluctant to undertake it ; indeed we deem it impossible for the homeward bound crews to perform the mere labor, and may altogether dismiss this idea, as well as that of stocking the projected island with people and cattle. The formation of a stoupe pier to extend 70 rods into the sea, we agree with you in thinking one of the most necessary things at the Cape. . . . .

Your proposal to strip the island of St. Helena of every thing now on it, and to lay it entirely waste, is somewhat opposed to our ideas, as this would be quite as inconvenient for ourselves, as it could be for the English and French. For whenever any homeward bound ships may be driven past the Cape by bad weather, where should they look for refreshments? and where also could the fleet, if once separated, be collected so conveniently as at St. Helena? Again, supposing the English should find no refreshment there, they would have a plea and an inducement to touch at the Cape, where they would always plague us for one thing or other, and, being our friends and allies, could not be entirely refused, as lately occurred in the case of the ship *India Merchant*—which was supplied fully as well as any of our own ships. We are therefore of opinion, that we should allow the Island of St. Helena to remain *in esse*, so that we may resort to it in case of need, &c. . . . .

In the Castle Batavia, 25 Dec. 1655.

JOAN MAETSUYKER, &c.

Commander had now many cattle, and required all the pasture here for his own use, and that he had therefore taken his (although but few, as he said) a little further off, lest the pasture should be eaten too bare, but when the rainy season returned, and the grass had grown, he would return to us with his houses and cattle; he appeared very much alarmed, and could scarce speak, or stand for shaking, and trembling; he showed him therefore a more smiling countenance, somewhat to abate his apprehension, and he had his dinner and wine, &c. from the Commander's table, talking with him in a familiar humourous manner, so as to avoid creating distrust; we could see, however, that he had much suspicion of us, arising chiefly from the dislike entertained of him by the common people, on account of his falsehood; on which account indeed they cannot endure him, always threatening to kill him and so forth, as the common people will ignorantly talk; of this Herry also complained, saying, that if the Commander went away, he could not venture to appear at the Fort, he was told in reply, that he should pay no attention to the talk of the common people for they did not know what they said, and that they saw that the Commander at least loved him, &c.; this seemed to give him some confidence, yet, notwithstanding, the Commander could scarce look round, or talk to any one, without its becoming evident that he thought we were speaking and consulting about him, so that we hardly knew how to avoid exciting his distrust and suspicion, his troubled conscience appearing as clear as the day in all his behaviour.

Our people coming from the wood with the wagons say that Herry's encampment of 7 huts lies at the foot of the mountain, just below the wood, with a tolerable herd of cattle and sheep, and that he was at the wood yesterday evening, asking for English tobacco, on which they answered that they had none of that, but that they had two strong watchful English bull-dogs, and guns, on which he went away without speaking. Among other talk, while at dinner, he seemed to wish to warn us to take good care of our cattle, and to keep with them at least 30 or 40 soldiers, to defend them against the Saldanhars, who, according to him, would try to lie in wait for them in great numbers, asserting, that unless we took great care, the cattle would be again stolen; he said that they had laid a plan that 10 of them, with assagays, should encounter one of our soldiers, and that they could always bring many people, and we could not, unless when ships were here, of which they would await the departure, and select their opportunity when we were weakest. Now, although all this tends to induce us to keep a stricter watch, we regard it as mere pretence and evident falsehood, the rather that our fuel carriers, and also the Caepmans and others say that he has often concerted with them, to steal the cattle with their assistance, as they continue to allege that he did before; and also, that he still withholds from the Company all the cattle which he bought for the Company's brass, and has enriched himself by persuading us that it was stolen. There will, however, be some payment to be had in due time, meanwhile we will hope that they will have little chance of getting hold of the Company's cattle, which is always guarded by at least 13 or 14 soldiers, and sometimes, when we observe many people in the neighbourhood, or imagine any treachery, they are attended by fully 20 or 25. Herry asked leave to sleep in the Fort this night, as he could not trust himself outside with the fuel carriers, (chiefly Caepmans people) who much incite us against him, and assert that he will again endeavour to look out for an advantage against the Company's cattle, or even against our own person, if he only saw any chance, &c. . . . . this evening we saw here an eclipse of the moon. . . . .

Jan. 12. . . . . Herry went round the walls outside of the Fort and cattle *crael*, examining them rather closely in his way, which we had allowed, having, however, a close watch kept upon his proceedings from a distance; at dinner he was accordingly asked what he thought of the works; he replied that the Saldanhars could very easily take the cattle out of the *crael* at night, for each carried 12 assagays, and could cut the rope with which the gate was fastened, and thus get off with the cattle; but he was not exactly aware that the gate was every night secured with a good lock, of which he was not informed, but left in his mistake; meanwhile the game-killers were sent to Herry's camp to see how it was there.

While we were still at table talking with Herry, 3 or 4 Hottentoots came very hastily to say to Herry that he must instantly come home, but they told us nothing except that many swarms of bees had come to their camp, which neither they nor their cattle could endure, so that they must change their abode; on which Herry instantly went away, attended by all our fuel carriers, wives, children, and all, so that neither great nor small was left; but the story of the bees was a lie according to the report of our game-killers, who saw no one at Herry's 5 huts, except the thick fat Captain of the Caepmans, with 2 wives and about 150 cattle, without any one to take care of them; but on their return they were passed, about a gun shot on one side, by many Hottentoots running towards Herry's camp, and as we are fully aware that there are no other people now in this

vicinity than Herry's and Caepmans, also Waterman and our fuel carriers, who are now gone away with him, nearly in the same manner as when our cattle were stolen, we were led to look more sharply after Herry, and the Commander instantly sent out some soldiers to examine the country and to see what was doing at Herry's camp; meanwhile the cannon were well loaded with grape, particularly those which defended the *crael*, so that we might the more easily repel them should they make any attempt upon the cattle at night; with the same object we strengthened the guards, and directed the night-rounds to take a shorter circuit. The soldiers who had been sent out reported on their return in the evening, that they had found Herry at his huts, with fully 20 men, that they were all employed in eating curdled milk, and had in their huts no weapons whatever—these they often put away in the bushes—his live stock consisted of fully 100 cattle, old and young, and about 200 sheep, all which stock he had purchased with the Company's brass and tobacco, persuading us that it had been stolen from him. We heard from a certain girl called by us *Eva*, (who had lived for some time—being clothed—in the Commander's house, where she had also learned some Dutch) that Herry intended to come and build his huts nearer to the Fort. Not above 2 or 3 of our fuel carriers were with Herry, but they had all gone to Caepman, which leads us still more to suspect that some attempt will be made on the Company's cattle, the rather as the captain of the Caepmans was also found in Herry's huts. *Item*, not above 2 or 3 women, and very few children.

Jan. 17. . . . .The great drought has so injured the pasture that some of the cattle are left in the field from weakness. . . . .heard from Herry that he had moved his camp to Hout Bay, as, on account of the state of the pasture here, he could not find food for his stock as well as for ours, and we dare not take our cattle too far off for pasture, lest we be again robbed of them by numbers of Hottentoots.

Feb. 4. The Commander Riebeeck went out with a party of soldiers to False Bay, in order to examine, according to the recommendation left by His Honor Van Goens, whether the flat between that bay and this could be easily cut through, and this Cape thus made an island, for which purpose he proceeded along the lowest level, keeping the tortuous course of the river, to see whether it discharged itself into False Bay or near it; after a minute examination he found that the Fresh River which runs into Table Bay with the Salt River, extends a long way, fully 3 or 4 mylen in a crooked course mostly across, then standing in many places in pools, separated by flat sandy ground until within about a myl of certain high sandhills of False Bay, where it gradually widens into a river, then standing again in fresh water pools and ending in a very large lake, fully as broad as the *Maas*, and 2 hours walking in circuit, very deep brackish water, full of sea cows and sea horses, but with no outlet, and receiving its water apparently by percolation through the sand hills of Cape False; this lake lies about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours on foot from the beach, which is  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour broad, the sand hills being a full myl broad, and as high as perfect hills, in 10 or 12 successive rows, so that it is sufficiently ascertained to be impossible to be cut through, besides this there are various lakes in the flat, some  $\frac{1}{4}$  some  $\frac{1}{2}$  myl across, which would require to be cut through, this would be very difficult, for it is rocky in several places, as we ascertained on the following day, having slept this night in the fields. The plan is therefore not only entirely impracticable and unattended with any advantage, but on the contrary (under correction) highly injurious to the Company, if we would desire to shut out their access to this side by the said water, for the cut could not be made so wide or deep as to prevent the inhabitants from driving their cattle through it at all times; considering also that a certain large sheet of water on the South side of Cape False, which in the wet or N. W. monsoon covers a great space of ground, was now found to be a low dry piece of flat sand, like a salt pan. It may thus be perceived that there would be no current of water to be looked for, without which, after all the digging was completed, the labor and expense would be thrown away, for it is mostly loose sandy ground and full of high sand hills, which, although cut through, would be blown in again by the high winds, as fast as thousands of men could work to keep it open. This is therefore a work which the Company need never think of, when the slight advantage to be looked for is weighed against the millions of gold which would be expended; and then supposing every thing to succeed, the intercourse with these inhabitants would be cut off.

To think of confining them to this side, is a mistake for the reasons before given, and besides, the projected Cape Island would be so large, that to keep it under proper subjection, people must be constantly kept here and there in the field, and not a few, but a great many soldiers. And, with regard to the argument that it might tend to the security of families of free colonists, that is a matter of minor importance, as those selecting land here and there could sufficiently protect themselves against these natives in stone houses, which may be easily erected here; and if free families become so expensive to the Company, that—instead of their assisting in giving security to the

Company, and enabling us to diminish the garrison—the Company must keep a stronger garrison on their account, it were better that no free colonists should come here, excepting a few about the Fort, for the accommodation of the common people and passengers, in rearing quantities of poultry and pigs, &c.

Feb. 5. The Commander returned, having been last night, together with all his party, kept awake by the numbers of sea cows, lions, tigers, and other wild animals, which were roaring round the tent, as often happens round the walls of the Fort.

14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. Fine weather, &c. The captain of the little English vessel stated . . . . .that he was about to sail, but 2 of his people had deserted, his nephew and cabin boy, which last, as he could not use his own hands, had to feed him, and his nephew, (his mate being dead, and as above noticed, his own hands being powerless) had to take the daily observation for the latitude, so that he could not sail without them . . . . .on which we sent out the Hottentoots with the promise of tobacco, arrack, food, &c. . . . .who within two hours brought back the captain's nephew, but could not find the other . . . . . 22. The English vessel *Rosia* sailed for Bantam . . . . .

24. In the evening the Englishman who had some days back deserted from the *Rosia*, came to the Fort, he said he had been to Saldanha Bay, and had made a signal with his shirt upon a stick to attract the notice of our people there and upon the island, but no boat being sent he was forced to return, having eaten nothing in all that time but a few mussels . . . . .

26. Herry came to the Fort, having nothing to say except that he lay at Hout Bay with his cattle, and that when the rainy season arrived he would come here with them, and live here, on which, to cause the less suspicion, he was told that he must not come during the dry season, as there was hardly food enough for the Company's cattle, &c. Caepman lay with his cattle about 2 mylen off, and he wished also to come somewhat nearer, but was desired, for the same reason, not to come any closer; the rogues will never sell us any more cattle, and only wish to have their own way with stealing and plundering; they were sorry to see that we to-day brought a strong heavy bar with iron staples and locks to the gate of the cattle *crael*, and had placed two guns in the half moon battery for its protection, so that it may be deemed impossible for them to steal the cattle again, at least from the *crael*, for we have a good guard over them by night, as well as by day, but, were it not for these precautions, they would have had our cattle away long since.

March 25.<sup>(1)</sup> Arrived a French squadron of 4 ships of war, fitted out for Madagascar; as these adventurers are not much to be trusted, orders were given to the 8 ships now in the Bay, to be on their guard . . . . .landed 20 men to strengthen the garrison . . . . .for these French are enough to disturb the Company's concerns here, we must therefore conduct ourselves with civility, or they would take what they want by force.

26. The Hottentoots were warned not to trust these Frenchmen; as they would try to take their cattle, and to carry off their people,—and what further might tend to produce dislike.

28. The French pitched a tent close to the Fort, and placed in it about 40 sick, who were refreshed with vegetables bought from private individuals; and as the greatest treachery might be thus concealed, we had the tent closely watched, civilly requesting the inmates not to stir out at night, that they might suffer no injury from the savage natives.

29. The French Admiral landed with his retinue and was well received . . . . .he insisted strongly

(1) 1656. March 25. In a long Despatch of this date Mr. Van Riebeeck urges upon the Directors—the necessity of maintaining a garrison of 120 men, not only as a measure of security against the Portuguese, elated by their recent victory in Brazil\*—but also “on account of these natives, who are becoming every day worse and more cunning, and, were it not that we daily guard the Company's cattle by a party of 13 or 14, and sometimes of 20 stout soldiers, besides those who herd the sheep, calves, pigs, and poultry, they would long since have been carried off by the Hottentoots, as they have often intended it, particularly Herry, Caepman, and a certain Captain, called by us Swarte Captain, who are, all three, (although they each excuse themselves, by throwing the blame upon the other) the thieves of the Company's cattle, and accomplices in the murder of the Dutch boy; and therefore revenge and punishment may well be kept in mind, until it can be effected in the manner most profitable and serviceable to the Company; this would be, in our opinion, just and right enough, for thieves and murderers ought to be punished; we should therefore only await a good opportunity, that is to say, whenever the Hon. Company can reap the greatest advantage from it, for in this respect it appears to us that the cause of your Honors is just.

The sinister conduct of Herry, and all the rogues named, towards the Company, you will be pleased to observe in our daily notes, where all is fully detailed, with the addition of our remarks, for your further consideration. It were to be wished, therefore, that we had these rogues out of the way, when we should be able to trade with other natives from the interior, at a cheap rate, and, according to our own will and pleasure, as we have often written to your Honors before, and to which views, to avoid prolixity, we beg to refer. For very little is to be done with Herry, as he is only trying to enrich himself, and to make himself a great captain, as your Honors may see fully explained in our Journal; we shall, however, according to the orders of your Honors act with circumspection towards him and others . . . . .

\* When the Portuguese had shaken off the Spanish yoke in Europe, they bore with impatience in America that of the Dutch: they rose against their oppressors; and after a variety of struggles obliged them finally to evacuate Brazil in 1654.—*Russel's Modern Europe.*

upon buying from us some sheep and cattle, hinting that he might otherwise be obliged to fetch them himself from the natives inland ;<sup>(1)</sup> as they were strong in number, and as we could not well prevent them, without a dispute, as they might also cause us great annoyance here, we thought it best to arrange every thing in a friendly manner, and to grant them upon their urgent request, for the 4 ships, 8 oxen and 10 or 12 sheep, at 2 reals of 8 each . . . . . by which a good profit will be made, &c. . . . .

May 2. The Caepmans came here again with their cattle, requesting to be allowed to make their camp beyond the Lion's Rump ; on which they were told, that as they would not barter any of their cattle, we would rather that they would keep further off, for the pasture here would not suffice for their cattle and those of the Company ; they, however, persisted as before, but we expressed our dissatisfaction unless they would barter to us like the Saldanhar's ; to this they would not consent, still persisting in their request, because they dared not be far from the settlement, on account of the approach of some other people, who they feared would rob them ; on which we answered that we would willingly take them under our protection, but that in recompence they should at least barter to us, otherwise we would prefer having other people here ; but they would not agree to bartering any of their cattle, as has been attempted and experienced during the preceding years. 2 sheep were this day bought from other people.

6. The Commander went out about 2½ mylen behind Table Mountain, in the flat between the high land of Africa and this Cape, forming the neck between False Bay and Table Bay, in order, in pursuance of the Resolution of the 1st instant,<sup>(2)</sup> more closely to examine positions suitable for corn lands and redoubts in that quarter ; upon his arrival he found a great extent of fine land, very easy to be prepared, as also where a very useful redoubt could be placed without much expense, upon a commanding situation, and under the protection of which, lands might be cultivated and the Company's cattle grazed, and which might also be garrisoned by the soldiers who must daily attend the cattle, sometimes to a considerable distance, bringing them home at night ; and which it would be more convenient to pen, sometimes there and sometimes here. But between the proposed redoubt and the Fort, 3 or 4 guard houses would be required, with square enclosures of 18 or 20 feet on each side, 8 feet high, and a few loop-holes ; with these this Cape (as far as the Company is concerned) could be very well occupied and separated from these Hottentoots, so that they could not come within the line formed by this redoubt and guard houses, without our consent ; or eat down the grass with their cattle, as is constantly the case at present, although it is absolutely necessary for the Company's stock, as we found last year (when we had such a great quantity of cattle.) This redoubt and the guard houses may be constructed at no other expense than the labor of the Company's servants now here, as all the necessary materials of earth, stone, wood, &c. are to be had on the spot.

11—12. Bought 2 cattle and 7 sheep from the strange people. 13. Wet weather ; the Caepmans and Herry also came running past the Fort, with their huts and cattle, wishing to encamp under its protection ; but were civilly desired to go further behind the Lion's Hill, and to pasture their cattle out of sight of the Fort, as we required the grass for our cattle, &c. Herry maintained

(1) See this subject noticed in Despatch from Holland, 6th Oct. 1657.

(2) 1656. May 1. The portion of this Resolution, which relates to the increase of the Cape territory, is as follows :—

“And whereas their Honors aforesaid, continue from time to time, in their general and private letters, to direct that the cultivation of the lands here shall be more and more extended, and that for that purpose we try every thing, and select situations, which are not subject to the severe S. E. winds, to be sown with corn and rice, so that in time this possession may, in as far as regards provisions, submit itself, without requiring, as has hitherto been necessarily the case, to be supplied by express cargoes from Batavia or the Netherlands, at great expense to the Company. And we having received these orders, and having also occasionally turned our particular attention to the examination of the lands here, and having found, about 2½ or 3 mylen from this Fort, in the flat isthmus between the mountain range of the African continent and this Cape (forming the flat neck between False Bay and Table Bay) very fine land fit for said cultivation, and also not subject to winds nearly so severe as here ; it is therefore thought fit—on the first opportunity, to take a further and more minute examination, and also to see whether an earthen Redoubt could not be constructed there without much expense, for the defence of the lands to be cultivated, and also, according to the well founded views of our Honorable Masters—instead of cutting through the neck—to serve to check the free passage of the Hottentoots, to afford a better defence to this portion of land—under protection of which Redoubt our cattle could graze, and also that we might be more secure here as regards the Hottentoots.”

The Resolution proceeds to fix, by orders from Europe, the money allowance to be paid to the married Company's servants, (eight in number) in lieu of provisions, and the rate at which provisions should be sold from the Company's store. The allowance in question varied from 20 Rix-dollars, of 48 stivers each, for the Commander, to 2 Rix-dollars monthly. The prices of provisions were—salt meat, 6 stivers ; fresh beef, 1 stiver ; mutton, veal, and bread, 2 stivers per pound, &c. The Resolution concludes—“and in order that they (i. e. the proposed free farmers) may the better maintain themselves, there shall be granted in freehold to each man as much land as he may desire for gardens, and that untaxed for the three first years, but subject subsequently to such burdens as may be deemed suitable, &c.”

that the land of the Cape belonged to him and Caepmans; on which he was answered, that we also wanted pasture for the Company's cattle, but that, if they would barter cattle to us like the other inhabitants, we would willingly suffer them here, but if not, we pretended that we cared little about them, and would rather that other people came to us, as our chief object was purchasing cattle, in which we hinted that we considered them the principal hinderers. Herry protested the contrary, saying that he would do his best to induce other people to come to us and so forth—that he thought he had thus fully earned the privilege of residing here, and finding shelter under protection of the Company's power, together with those who are his friends, namely Caepman, and also Swarte Captain; to this we answered that we would indeed grant his request, if we could perceive that our consent would produce any good effect, but that we would not admit his pretension to a right of property over this Cape, which the Company had taken possession of and fortified for themselves; to which he also expressed his consent; but he is a cunning fellow, who should be closely observed and carefully dealt with, without suffering ourselves to fancy that "they are merely wild savage men, what could they do?" for the longer they are known the more clearly does it appear that they are savage certainly, but not so wild and irrational as beasts, and well knowing how to improve every opportunity (*maar erg genoeg, om haar kans by geleentheid wel te sullen kunnen waarnemen*) in which they are daily becoming more cunning and crafty, through their intercourse with the Dutch, of which proof is daily presented, for they say, it is slow and toilsome work to move the cannon; and that the matches of the muskets will not keep alight in wet weather; but they do not at all like the firelocks and pocket pistols, which may be discharged without fire, this looks very strange to them, and they are much afraid of this kind of arms.

May 17. A strip of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  morgen of land was ploughed at the Rondebosjen, about 2 mylen to the Southward, behind Table Mountain, and sown with wheat, rice and oats, as a trial. . . . . and in order that it might not be trodden down or destroyed by the Hottentoots or their cattle, a small guard house with sod walls, and roofed with straw, was placed there, and 2 of the men who daily drive the wagon to the bush, were stationed there to take care of it night and day. . . . .

18. As people must be kept at Rondebos to look after the small quantity sown. . . . . gave orders to prepare twice as much land there, &c. . . . . Bartered from strange people from the interior 6 cows and 13 sheep. . . . . The Company's milch cows were hired out to Annetje de Boerin, wife of the gardener<sup>(1)</sup> until January, for 100 guilders, and, as in consequence of her large family of 8 children, she cannot live upon her husband's provision money, [i. e. 4 rix-dollars per mensem] she was, upon her urgent request, and upon her allegation that she was in some measure a free woman—provisionally allowed to keep an Inn. . . . . the rather, that no one has hitherto ventured to accept his discharge, until at least they see some trial made. . . . .

19. Bought from the strange Hottentoots 3 cows and 13 sheep for brass, tobacco, and pipes, with sometimes a drop of arrack or wine as a gift (*toegift*.)

22. The Caepmans removed with houses and cattle, from behind the Lion Hill to the flat beside Table Mountain, where the strange Hottentoots had lain, who for some time back have sold us a few cattle, and who have moved somewhat further to make way for the Caepmans; it were to be wished that they had remained, and that the Caepmans had gone away, for no cattle is to be got from the latter, although they are rich in cattle, and whatever be the inducements held out to them, they will only act as brokers between us and the other natives; and in this way they contrive to get brass and tobacco to their contentment, much to the detriment of the trade; in this Herry knows how to play his part, as the chief over them all, and to make himself a rich Upper Captain, as appears by his cattle, with which he still lies behind the Lion Hill under protection of the Company.

June 6. The Hottentoots yesterday stole the chain and other iron work from the plough, which lay for repairs before the blacksmith's shop, on which we, having driven our cattle close to theirs, had three of their cattle driven into our herd; Herry came instantly to complain, when we told him it was done by our order, because his Hottentoots had stolen the iron. Herry replied, that if we could point out the thief, he would have him punished, and the iron restored; on which he was told that he could find the thief better than we could, and that, therefore, we did not intend to restore the cattle before the iron was brought back, and the thief produced, so that he might be bound to a post, and flogged by his own people, as is usual with thieves, &c. but this did not seem to please him, he requested, that the flogging might be remitted for this time, and that he would see that the iron was brought back to the Fort, which was done within half an hour, and we in

(1) This arrangement was disapproved by Commissioner Van Goens in 1657, and his orders, that persons employed by the Company, should not engage in agriculture, or other competition with the Burgers, were often repeated.

return gave back the three cattle; he also agreed, on our proposal, that if any of his people should hereafter steal any thing, the Commander should, as in this case, take some of their cattle in lieu, and detain them until the stolen property should be restored, and the thief produced, and punished as aforesaid, by his own tribe. Talking further with Herry, and expressing our dissatisfaction that he should stay constantly with so many cattle, eating down our pasture, without ever bartering any to us, &c. it was at last agreed with him, that he might stay here under protection of the Company, provided that for each large ship that puts in here, he delivers 10 cattle, and 5 for each yacht or small vessel, receiving for the same, somewhat more brass and tobacco than the other Hottentoots, so as to give him some profit; and that when he had delivered almost all his own cattle, he should go into the interior to buy more, leaving meanwhile his wife, children, and milch cows to our care, upon which arrangement we this day commenced, by his delivering on the arrival of the English vessel, (for which we persuaded him that we must find refreshments) 5 cattle. It is to be hoped that these conditions will continue to be fulfilled, so that we may be able to place more dependence upon supplies for the ships and garrison, instead of salt beef and pork, &c. Herry wished to stipulate also for the maintenance of his dignity, and that we should always support him as the chief of these Cape hordes, and that none other than him might be with the Dutch Commander, or be acknowledged as master of this land; upon which it was answered, that if we first saw proofs of his adhering to the newly concluded conditions, that then indeed he should be rewarded, and in some degree according to his wish, with this he seemed satisfied, promising to adhere unchangeably to his bargain; of which time will be the teacher.

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#### Extract of a Letter from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to the Chamber Amsterdam.

1656. June 10. The trade in cattle still continues to go on very well, although Herry, Caepman, and their associates are rather prejudicial to it—they are, if we would, nicely in our power, for they are living in 3 or 4 parties, with fully two thousand head of sheep and cattle, about the Company's possession, without ever selling us any thing, but holding themselves as brokers between us and others who come from the interior; pretending also that it is owing to them that others come, and that but for them, none would come; though experience every day more fully convinces us to the contrary, namely: that they only seek their own gain, without parting with any of their own; and to become rich in cattle, which they graze all about together with ours; and although we often desire them to keep a little further off, they still insist, on the grounds above stated, that they have well merited—at least to be allowed to reside, with their cattle, under our protection, &c. with occasional bold allegations besides, that the land belongs to them, and not to the Hon. Company, and so forth; in which we must at present, according to the views of your Honors, act with caution; but when the Company begins to be as well supplied with live stock as they are, which is highly necessary, we must at the same time begin to think of the means by which all the pastures can be kept for the Company alone, and by which Herry, with the Caepmans and their companions may be at least cut off [from us] (Herry met de Caepmans ende consoorten die ten minsten *af te snyden*)<sup>(1)</sup> which, as may be observed from the accompanying chart, may be easily effected by a redoubt, 2 mylen from the Fort, in the neck or isthmus of the flat between this Table Bay and False Bay, and 3 or 4 guard houses, &c. . . . .

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#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1656. June 11. This night the lions killed one of the Hottentoots cattle close to the Fort. . . . . we thought they would have attacked the sentries in the open gate, and thus got into the Fort, but by shaking the matches, and making a noise they went away. . . . . 13. The English on counting the Indian cottons which they had washed and laid out to dry, found that 7 pieces had been stolen, on their complaint to the Commander, inquiry was made, and we found that some of our own people had employed Hottentoots to steal them, paying them in tobacco; we recovered from our own people 5 pieces, and gave orders to take some of the Hottentoots cattle to-morrow, in order, according to the present practice, to find the others also, and thus satisfy the English, &c.

14. The English took leave, preparatory to their departure, paying for three cattle 30, and for

<sup>(1)</sup> The passage in the Journal of 18th Dec. 1652—which runs: “Comende dickwils maer 2 of 3 man met duysent beesten aandyven onder ons canon, die seer wel *de pas af te snyden waren*,” is thus rendered in the portion of the Journal cited in the Report of the Committee on Aborigines, “not more than 2 or 3 men often graze a thousand cattle close to our cannon, who might be easily cut off.”

sheep 8 reals of 8, and well satisfied, although very importunate for more, &c. By the means before stated we also restored the residue of their cottons, to their great satisfaction, &c.

June 15. . . . . It may be seen, under date the 3rd instant,<sup>(1)</sup> how it was agreed with Herry, that he was to deliver for each large ship 10, and for each small vessel 5 cattle, receiving for the same somewhat more than others, &c. It was subsequently further stipulated with him, that he should deliver on every 4th day one ox or cow, for the common people of the Fort, and 1 sheep as if for the Commander's table, which agreement was fulfilled for the second time to-day, and it was promised to him, as above, that he in return might safely reside under our protection; and also that care should be taken by both parties, that our people did not steal from them, and that they should steal no more from us; on pain of public punishment of the thief at a post erected for the purpose within the horn-work of the Fort; the thief being punished by his own countrymen. If this can be maintained, matters might in time be brought into a tolerably good train; and we might uphold him as the supreme chief of the Hottentoots, if we could by this means conclude and support a permanent contract; these relations are likely to improve as we come gradually to understand each other better, as may be seen already, for they begin to speak Dutch pretty well, particularly the young children; but they will never live with us in our houses; like the birds that prefer ranging the open air to living in the finest halls of kings; it is also the greatest punishment for them when they cannot paddle and wallow like hogs in dirt and filth. The fetching of firewood for the cooks and others goes on very well, for tobacco and a belly full of food, with now and then a drop of arrack, &c. by which means we are materially assisted.

16. One of the horses being let out rather early, was totally devoured by wild animals. . . . . a great loss, as one horse does more work than 10 men.

The Commander, when walking in the garden this forenoon, found traces of wild animals all over it, and soon after a large lion sprung up from the outside of the garden, about 40 or 50 paces off, and walked slowly towards the mountain; we therefore sent after him a sergeant, a hunter, and 4 or 5 soldiers, with firelocks, on which fully 200 Hottentoots instantly pursued, with all their sheep and cattle, and surrounded the lion in a deep kloof on the side of the mountain, so that he could turn in no direction without forcing his way through the sheep, which they opposed to the lion as their breast work, while he lay under a stump, they stood outside of the flock of sheep, and between them and the cattle; and whenever the lion gave a spring and a roar, and seized a sheep, they threw their assagays over the sheep with loud cries, on which the lion retreated; it was a very singular spectacle; but as they could not well hit him, the sergeant, standing with the rest 8 or 10 yards from the lion, fired, but without effect, when the hunter fired and shot him dead with three balls through the head; the Hottentoots then shewed themselves brave men, and would have stabbed him a hundred times after he was dead, but they were prevented lest they should injure the skin, which, when stuffed, will be hung in the great hall used as a church. . . . . the lion weighed 426 lbs. Dutch weight. . . . . 17. Seeing that the Company's cattle were thus injured by wild animals, a resolution was this day passed, establishing a reward of 6 reals for a lion, 4 for a tiger or wolf, and 3 for a leopard. . . . . the lioness was this night seeking her mate near the gate, and also ate part of his carcase. . . . .

22. Last night the Hottentoots (of Caepmans people) took away 2 of the Company's hides, pinned to dry without the Fort. The sergeant was therefore sent to Herry to take measures to reclaim them, or that, according to agreement, some of their cattle would be taken in stead; on which the hides were forthwith produced, although they had been cut up; and Herry sent word that towards the afternoon, he would come to the Commander with the thieves, so that they might be punished in presence of our people, according to agreement. But it did not come to this, for Herry indeed came, but as to the thieves, he said that they had escaped from him; and if the Commander would be pleased for this time, to let the matter rest where it is, he would take care (as far as he was able) that we be not plundered again, which was thus passed over, that we might not be too rigid at first, and thus create discontent.

24. The day having returned on which Herry was to have delivered a cow for the garrison and a sheep for the Commander's table, according to agreement, and he having failed to do so, the Commander sent for him and said, that if he did not take care to adhere strictly to the stipulated conditions, that he might forthwith remove with Caepmans and his associates, as we required the grass hereabouts for our own cattle, and did not wish it to be eaten bare by theirs, unless the contract was promptly and unhesitatingly fulfilled, all this in the presence of the Caepmans and

(1) Sixth? the Diary of the 3rd contains nothing on the subject.

associates ; on which Herry departed, saying that he would bring a cow and a sheep early to-morrow and that he would adhere to his agreement.

June 25. Instead of keeping his promise, Herry was busy decamping, and Caepmans were already gone, but another and a larger camp approached from the Eastward of Salt River ; we hope that we may be able to get on better with them, for we see more clearly every day, that no good is to be had from Herry or the Caepmans, for they have only bartered to us upon the terms above mentioned 10 or 12 of their bad lean cattle, and will not part with any of the others.....

26. Herry sent a message by a Hottentoo, who speaks a little Dutch, that he had removed, and that we must send him some brass, that he might go to other tribes and buy cattle, which he would deliver to us ; but as Herry has deceived us once, he has no longer any credit with us, as we believe that he only wishes to buy many good sheep and cattle to enrich himself, paying us with a few bad ones, as is daily more evident.

27. Sent people out to see whither Herry, Caepman, &c. were going, one was sent round behind the Lion Hill, and the other to the wood to the Eastward. In the afternoon the man sent to the Eastward returned, and reported that the horde which had come from the Eastward across the river, were also associates of Herry and Caepmans, that they were rather numerous, 35 huts and many cattle, they had said that they were waiting there until joined by Herry and Caepman from behind the mountain, to proceed altogether into the interior ; Herry not having dared to drive his cattle from behind the Lion Hill, past the Fort, fearing that the Commander would have taken them because he had failed to deliver the cattle promised every fourth day, as stipulated, &c. The other man returned from behind the mountain, and reported that a camp of 13 huts and about 200 cattle still lay there, also Caepmans people, who had said that Herry had gone towards Hout Bay, intending to go further inland, and to return with many cattle to sell to us—time will be the best teacher.

28. The two encampments of Hottentoes still in the same place ; they would not sell us a single head of cattle however requested, and whatever means were employed.

July 1. Many sick in the garrison, including the surgeon.....in this necessity the Commander was obliged to resume the exercise of his old profession.....

5. The boat was sent to Saldanha Bay with some brass, &c. to try if any sheep can be purchased there from the natives, the following letter was written to Assistant Woutersen : Extracts ;—As we learn from your letter<sup>(1)</sup> as well as from the verbal accounts of the mate, that there are many natives with cattle at Saldanha Bay, and who are rather inclined to barter.....for young heifers you will not give more than one bar, and of this best tobacco only 2 span for each sheep, and 2 to 4 strips of brass wire, of the other, fully the length of the sheep.....

14. After dark a great number of Hottentoes, adherents of Caepman, came from behind the Lion Hill along the beach, past the Fort ; they were the same formerly mentioned as lying between the kloof of said Hill and Table Mountain, they said they were now pursued by *Soanqua*, or banditti, their enemies, and the enemies of all the Saldanhars ; and requesting therefore to be allowed to pitch their camp under the protection of our Fort ; they were answered yes, provided they fulfilled the conditions made with Herry, [conditions repeated as above] on which they alleged that they must live from their cattle, and could not part with so many, when we replied that they might then move on and protect themselves against their enemies, as they would consume all the grass here, without selling us a single head, through which the pasture for the Company's cattle would at last fall short, &c.

15. Sent out to ascertain where the said horde, who had gone past in the night, had halted with their cattle ; our people reported, that they were encamping about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a myl off, and that they had spoken with Herry near the same place, that he was preparing to go further off, declining, when requested by them, to come to the Commander. The Caepmans had meanwhile sent some people to the Commander and proposed that he should take away Herry with all his cattle, because he had, as they said, proved himself so frequently to be unfaithful to the Company, and only tried to enrich himself by improper means, in which he had in some measure succeeded : they asked of us only the privilege of retreating for our protection, upon the attacks of their enemies, and always to be friends with us, bringing us fuel in return for food, tobacco, and occasionally a dram of arrack, and rendering us all other kinds of service, as far as in their power ; but as to delivering so many cattle as Herry had engaged to deliver, they could not part with them, as they subsisted from them, but they would take care that the Saldanhars should bring us abundance, and that they would act as faithful brokers.

(1) Extract of Woutersen's letter, dated Dassen Island, July 4. "There have also been some natives at the Bay with cattle."

We replied to these Commissioners from Caepman, that they must fetch their captain, with 2 or 3 of his chief men, to speak with the Commander, and to frame permanent conditions, upon which both parties could always depend, and that they should see meanwhile to keep Herry close at hand by friendly means, so as the more easily to get hold of him; with this answer they departed, apparently highly satisfied, and in the afternoon the two eldest sons of the captain of the Caepmans came here, still persisting in the same proposal, but we desired, that the captain their father should come himself, which they promised he should do, and they went away after receiving some refreshments, &c. . . . .

July 16. In the evening the three sons of the said captain came, saying that the old man could not well come himself in this cold wet weather, being corpulent, &c. but that he would approve of whatever they determined upon, &c. they brought 6 sheep which they bartered to us, and stated that they were in earnest in the proposal of yesterday, and if we would only take away Herry alone, and kill him, it would be to them the greatest kindness in the world, that they would take care that we should get from the Saldanhars as many cattle as we desired, for that they also would be much obliged by our killing Herry; wishing, in order to shew the effects of the contract, to proceed forthwith into the interior to invite the Saldanhars to come to trade with us, leaving here enough of their people to fetch firewood, and other services for our people.

On which it was answered, that they might always reside with us here on terms of friendship; and as to seizing Herry, &c. we should think further of it, pretending that we were apprehensive lest it might give umbrage to them or to the Saldanhars; on which with one voice they called out that we need not fear, that we should just lay hold upon Herry, he has richly deserved it (said they) and he has stolen our cattle, and since appropriated to himself so much brass and tobacco, persuading us that it was stolen from him by the Saldanhars, which they protested, (in accordance indeed with our own opinion) was an utter falsehood, that on the contrary the Saldanhars had exchanged to him all the cattle he now possessed, for that brass, &c. so that he could now play the great merchant, and will soon become richer and richer, if we still keep him about us in such credit; which always led them (the Caepmans) and the Saldanhars to fear that he would one day or other incite us to take all their cattle, for he was a rogue, and begun to connect himself with the banditti called *Soanqua*, for which purpose also he had taken many wives, none of them his own, neither had he either wife or child except those he had taken upon the death of their parents or husbands; a practice which he still continued to observe, so that he might become, through propagation, as powerful in people, as he was rich in cattle. What they say is evident enough, for we know well, that upon our first arrival here, he had not a skin wherewith to cover his naked hide, nor a hut to live in, but was obliged to sleep among the brushwood, and now he would fain play the master over the Caepmans, as he had already in some measure begun to do; they advanced other similar allegations against him, which are not far from the truth, as experience has taught us, and are therefore deserving of consideration, and further deliberation hereafter; allowing him meanwhile to perceive nothing of these negotiations, which the Caepmans promised to avoid on their part, and also that they would try to induce him as before noticed, to return and reside here in company with them, that we may seize him the more easily and take his cattle as compensation for our merchandize.

It was also agreed, that both parties should take care that they, the Caepmans, should not receive the smallest molestation from us, or our people; and that any of our people causing them any hindrance, should be punished by us in the sight of the injured party, as they also engaged to do on their side under similar circumstances, with which the treaty for the continuance of amity is sufficiently concluded; and they immediately told their people to resume bringing firewood, and doing all other work for our people, provided they received for the same a belly full of food, tobacco, and perhaps a dram of arrack, of which they are very fond; they appeared very well satisfied and made great promises, that Saldanhaman would come with many cattle to barter to us.

17. The Caepmans brought a sheep or two to barter, and also continued to urge us to remove Herry.

22. Our fugitive was brought in by 2 Caepmans, having slept the first night in Herry's camp, whither, with the assistance of three of Herry's Hottentoes, he had brought the stolen vegetables, but next day, after these were consumed, he was driven out by Herry to fetch more, which he dared not attempt. . . . . and had since slept in the sheds built by the hunters at the haunts of wild birds. . . . . until laid hold of by the 2 Hottentoes; who were rewarded with food and arrack, thanked, and desired to warn the Hottentoes that they must not again enter the gardens with any of our men, as the sentries were ordered to shoot any one, of our men or of theirs, who might be found in the gardens, so that this fate might not fall on any of them.

July 25. Ertman, for theft from the Company's arm-chest, while sentry, and for stealing from the garden with the help of Hottentoots; sentenced by court martial to be flogged, and to serve out the period of his engagement in chains, without wages, and to be employed upon all dirty work, &c....

26. The sentence executed. 27. The whale boat sent to Robben Island.....brought over 2 young fat rams, and 10 large fat tails cut off the ewes according to the practice of the Hottentoots.

29. The boats returned from Saldanha Bay.....with only 2 sheep, they could have procured more there, but the Hottentoots had attacked and severely beaten the crew of the little boat of the *Robbejacht*, carried off the brass and tobacco, as also a musket, and knocked the boat to pieces to get the iron work, so that the traffic had been discontinued, and therefore to avoid any further estrangement they had resolved to return hither. From this act of the Hottentoots, it may be seen how little they are to be trusted, and that we will require to be constantly on our guard, for they are becoming worse (slimmer) every day; it will therefore be most adviseable that we invite and await them here, so that we may not, by putting ourselves in their power, expose ourselves to some attack and massacre of consequence, for we can spare only a few people to send to them, and to send large parties would be too expensive for the Company, &c. The people mowing grass near the Rondebosjen, disturbed, within 10 yards of them, a very large old lean hungry lion, which came on, intending to take one of the horses out of the wagon.....he was kept off with difficulty, and followed them to the Fort, near which he concealed himself.....at night he was shot in the cattle kraal, after killing one cow, and severely wounded another.

#### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII, to Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1656. Oct. 12. We need not here repeat what we wrote you in our last General Despatch of the 12th of April last.....we have subsequently received your Despatches of the 25th March and 8th and 22nd April..... We learn with pleasure the good condition of the Company's affairs at the Cape, that there are abundance of all kinds of vegetables for the shipping, and that the stock of cattle, in particular of sheep, begins gradually to increase; you will now be pleased to turn your attention, besides providing all kinds of refreshments for the shipping, to the means of subsisting yourselves, without requiring to be constantly supplied from this quarter or Batavia, which is burdensome to the Company, and lunders the ships; and for this purpose you must commence the cultivation of rice, wheat, or such other grain as will best succeed there: and, as it appears that such crops will not answer well near the spot where the Fort is situated, on account of the severe gusts of wind, it will be well if you examine behind the Table Mountain, where, according to your account, the same winds do not prevail, in order, if found suitable, to station 8 or 10 men there who could cultivate the ground and take care of it, until such time as you receive some assistance in slaves, by whom we can easily imagine that every kind of work can be more conveniently, and much more cheaply performed.

Besides the agriculture and the growth of all kinds of garden fruit, you are again particularly recommended, by purchase, barter or breeding, to increase your live stock so far, that not only the shipping may get a sufficiency of fresh meat, but that the garrison also may be thus provisioned.... We hear that the milk is there a most useful article of refreshment, and that it is to be had in tolerable quantity, you will therefore not fail to contribute every exertion which can tend to securing

As usual during the cold months, when the *sour* pasture about the Cape was unsuitable for cattle, the natives were absent, and the Journal refers to other subjects; among them are the following:—

July 30.—Our cattle herd brought us a porcupine, in which animal some think the precious stone *pedra porca* is to be found.... we found nothing. 31. The Hottentoots brought us two such porcupines.....which were also examined, but they contained nothing.....a wonderful animal in respect to its means of defence.....as it throws its quills when pursued, and can strike them a span deep into the body of its enemy, as was seen on the last killed lion, which had many quills through the skin..... our men saw the animal, killed yesterday, throw its quills into the open mouth of the dog, and wound him.....

Aug. 19. A lion was found in the sand hills, close to the Fort, which was just dead, being still warm, and in his breast was found a porcupine's quill, which had penetrated fully 2 hand breaths, and it was every where so severely wounded by porcupines' quills, that it clearly appears that the lion has been killed by this small animal.

Sept. 30. Arrived the English ship *Egel*. Oct. 3. Arrived the English ship *Olyftak*. 4. A pipe of beer was sent as a present to the Commander, who sent some vegetables in return.....but their request for slaughter cattle was declined, on account of our own necessities. 5. The Commander presented each of the English with half a sheep in further recompence. 7. Sailed the *Princess Royal*, with 350 healthy men. The Commander invited the English captains to dinner, and presented each with half an ox (which had been killed in consequence of some weakness) in return for a cask of beer and a keg of distilled waters..... 10. A young ox which seemed likely to die was killed and given to the English captain (who knew not what ailed it) for his sick, it was the same case with the other ox and the sheep; not that they were unwholesome, but it was necessary to kill them, but to save our character, and as it were, to act the braggart? (*quansuys de resoluten te speelen*) they were bestowed upon them by way of liberality.—*Vide infra*, March 5, June 25, and Nov. 27, 1657.

refreshment, the chief object of the Company in taking possession there; it will give us great satisfaction to learn that anything else can be discovered which will meet the expenses of the garrison.....we have therefore [here is a recapitulation of the arguments advanced by Van Riebeeck] thought fit hereby to authorize you to have a redoubt erected in the cheapest manner, at such place as you may deem the most suitable, and to garrison it with 12 or 15 men, or as many less as possible—being, however, of the same who are employed guarding the cattle, so that they can be the better spared. Should this redoubt answer the purpose, and should it be worth while, we may see to erect some more for greater security.

We do not perceive by your letters that any of the people have, at least as yet, shown any inclination to receive their discharge, and to live there as free persons, or that they have, with that view, applied to have their wives or children sent out to them; it would seem that they do not as yet perceive much advantage in the proposal—of which we must now await the result. Should any of them accept their freedom, it will be well to give them a little assistance, so that they may the more easily subsist themselves, and that others may be the more encouraged to follow the example. There are means enough for them to secure an honorable livelihood; if they will take to agriculture they may be informed of the price for which they can dispose of their crops to the Company, who must take at a fair price all that is grown, not only for the subsistence of the garrison, but also for the shipping, &c..... We have appointed Counsellor Extraordinary of India and Commander of this outward bound fleet, Mr. Rykloff van Goens, who returned in the same quality in the year 1655, and whom we have instructed at the same time to visit, examine, and report upon the concerns of the Company at the Cape, and we direct you accordingly to show to the said Van Goens the respect and honor due to a Counsellor and Commissioner<sup>(1)</sup> &c. &c.....

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1656. Oct. 15. Strong S. E. wind, the Commander therefore went to the corn land at the *Rondebosjen*, to see whether it blew as hard there as at the Fort.....at *Rondebos* the wind would scarce have moved a straw.....while at the same moment it blew harder than ever at the Fort, so that it clearly appears that we shall not there be subject to the same winds as here, and the less so the further off.

18. Some Hottentoots came from the interior with intelligence that many more were coming with cattle to barter to us.....The assistant, J. Woutersz, states, that these are the same Hottentoots who, at Saldanha Bay, had beaten his men, robbed them of the brass and tobacco, and broken up the boat; but we conducted ourselves before them as if we had forgotten it, or did not know it, and gave orders to the assistant and others to behave in the same way, shewing them nothing but kindness, so as to lead them to believe that our nation has no other than the kindest feelings towards them, and that they might not be frightened away, but more and more disposed to visit us without fear; taking care also on our side, in consequence of their treacherous disposition, to be well on our guard, so as not to be liable to surprise and massacre, which would at once break the spell; our people must therefore, without giving offence to the natives, keep good watch, showing these people every kindness, by which means the objects of the Company will be best attained; and particularly if we take care to afford them no opportunity of affronting us. Prudence and caution are the best means, for the natives are such that they cannot refrain from stealing, and having once committed theft, they would be afraid to return, and the cattle trade would thus be stopt; therefore we must see that they have no opportunity for theft, and thus always keep up the intercourse. In the evening the sick were landed from the *Breda*, two died on the way to the shore....

21. Yesterday evening 2 lean cattle, the first this season, were brought by the Caepmans, and bought for brass and tobacco, somewhat dearer than usual, the more to entice them.

30. Arrived the *Ulysses*.....had put into Saldanha Bay on the 20th.....but found no Hottentoots or trade there.

Nov. 1. 8 cattle and 10 sheep were bartered to-day, from some inhabitants, with whom came fully 80 of the Caepmans, they had three pack-oxen which they took away with their baggage, saying, they would bring more cattle. We hope that we may again see the cattle trade begin....

3. To-day we bought two cattle and a sheep. 16. Upon further examination it is to be hoped that about 100 morgen of land will be found behind the Lion Hill, rather nearer to the Fort,

<sup>(1)</sup> See Instructions of R. van Goens, 16th April, 1657. Many of the standing orders for the Cape Government were issued by officers holding similar commissions, which appear to have been commonly granted to the Commanders of Fleets and other Company's servants of rank, even after the Cape was raised into a Government.

and easily preserved from the Hottentoots, &c. 19. The boat returned from Saldanha Bay..... they had seen no natives there. 23. A lion chased a wolf up against the palisades of the Fort, whence he fell into the ditch and escaped from the lion.

Dec. 5. The Commander went out to the corn land, to hold the customary harvest home, to encourage the people, to give a pleasure party to the ladies, and to show them the place; all the Dutch ladies at the Cape were carried out in a wagon.....

6. The cattle guard reported, that about a myl and a half from the Fort, at the mustard leaves, many Hottentoots had arrived with 3 or 4000 cattle, some of them appeared at the Fort, saying that they would sell us some cattle, which is to be wished. 7. The said Hottentoots brought only a lean beast and 4 *ditto* sheep, which they sold. 8. Another cow bought from the same Hottentoots, they said that Herry lies near the Salt Pans, 4 mylen off, with a large herd. The Commander therefore, upon the 9th, sent out a sergeant and party to invite Herry, and to assure him, that if he brought us plenty of cattle, he should be again received as a friend, &c. The sergeant reported, that Herry with a *negerye* of 5 huts was also at the mustard leaves with fully 200 sheep and 200 cattle, besides 4 other *negeryes*, having altogether about 64 houses with much cattle; but that Herry dared not come out, fearing that he would be taken away; but when assured of the contrary, he appeared at last, trembling and shaking, like a lady's lapdog, from which we may perceive his troubled and guilty conscience; on getting into conversation with him, he said that if the Commander would again in mercy receive him as a friend, he would come to-morrow with 20 cattle and sheep to sell to us, and would see that we got from the other inhabitants more cattle than we had brass and tobacco to purchase, which God grant.

10. Herry not having come, according to his promise of yesterday, the Commander went out in the afternoon with a party of soldiers.....he found Herry in great alarm, lest he should be taken away, often asking if the Commander would hurt him or kill him, on which he was assured of the contrary, and that he might freely come to the Fort as before, like a good friend, and eat and drink in the Commander's house, if he would only be an honest man henceforth, and see that plenty of cattle and sheep were brought to the Company, and so forth; on which he replied, that the people who lay here were Caepman and his associates, who must subsist from their stock; but that in 10 days or a little more, other people would come upon his invitation, with more cattle than we could purchase; but, said he, from these Caepmans and their allies, the Commander well knows by experience that nothing is to be had, as they must subsist by their cattle, which is their chief riches and support, &c. with this the Commander expressed himself satisfied, and as a mark of friendship brought Herry a bottle of arrack, and gave a dram and bit of tobacco all round to the principal Hottentoots; upon this many Hottentoots, with wives and children, expressed their great joy by leaping and dancing, and thus we parted good friends, we will hope that Herry, by bringing many cattle, may still make a good man of himself.

12. A cow and a sheep were bought, which were issued to the *Vogelsang*.

16. Heard that Herry, Caepman, and associates, had decamped and removed a full 1½ myl further, behind Table Mountain, beyond Rondebos; and had encamped in the hollow below the bush, where it is intended to cultivate wheat next year.

17. The Commander went to Herry, &c. he concealed himself, not daring to appear, as he had not fulfilled his promise of last Sunday, namely, to bring some cattle and sheep for sale; and although assurances enough were given that no harm would be done to him, still he did not make his appearance; we therefore gave to the other Hottentoots (10 or 1200 in number, including women and children) some tobacco and arrack, and the Commander departed with his suite, and got home in the evening, awaiting what God might be pleased to send with the other natives, to be expected after these, for it has been always found that nothing is to be had from this tribe.

19. The sergeant with 4 or 5 men went, of his own accord as it were, to Herry, but he held himself so proudly that he would not even come out of his hut, or give us the least intimation of his intentions.

1657. Jan. 3. Herry, Caepman, and associates had decamped, and removed with all their cattle towards Cape False, and had placed a small camp of 4 huts, with a few cattle, at the mustard leaves, about 1 myl off; we will hope that (as may be expected from the numerous fires inland) other people may be at hand, for whom these have made way, and who may be more easily dealt with. This Herry, Caepmans, &c. seeing that whenever they have decamped, we have fetched away with wagons the dung left in their cruels, to manure our land, have thus perceived that it is of great use to us; they have, on decamping on the present occasion, set fire to their cruels and burnt all the dung.....causing us thereby great inconvenience.

Jan. 20. About a myl E. S. E. from the Fort another *negery* of Caepman's tribes have encamped, consisting of 12 huts, about 150 souls, and a good many cattle, (of which as frequently noticed they will sell none) but they came with 10 oxen laden with *steenbrasen*, which they had this morning killed with assagays in some shallow water near False Bay, of which they sold to us for tobacco, enough to feed the garrison 3 or 4 days.

Feb. 1. Some of Caepman's tribes (having observed that we annually fetch salt from the pans) brought us about a ton of salt on the backs of 13 oxen, which we bought of them for about 25 lbs. of tobacco, we had in the same manner bought some from them last month, and now encouraged them to bring more, in order to relieve the Company's servants from the labour of carrying it so far, &c. which would otherwise require to be done every year, to the great impediment of other work.

7. The Commander went to the *Rondebosjen* and gave orders to cut it out and clear it away in the middle, leaving around the outside a fence, 8 or 10 feet in depth, so as to use it as a cattle crael, or as an additional defence to the redoubt intended to be placed there; after which he rode a mile or two further, to examine more closely the rich level land in that quarter, so as to be able to point it out properly to his Honor Mr. Van Goens upon his arrival. On arriving in that neighbourhood, he unexpectedly found there more than 90 Hottentoots' huts, with many cattle in 5 *negerys* or camps, all of Caepmans tribes, among others Herry; they were completely surrounded by thickets, and we were upon him, before we thought of it. We were astonished, and he was much afraid, we removed his alarm by kind words, &c. and he made us some lying speeches about being continued in favor, &c. Among other things he said that our people daily gave out that if the Commander could set eye upon him, or if he came to the Fort, he would be knocked on the head, which apprehension we also talked him out of as much as possible, and after evening prayers gave strict orders to all the garrison, to desist from spreading such reports, on pain of severe punishment.

19. The Commander went out again, some 3 or 4 mylen in the flat behind the Table and other Mountains, to examine the lands there more closely, and to fix the site for a redoubt for the protection of the lands to be cultivated; for which purpose several persons offered to betake themselves to freedom (*in vrydom te begeeven*) under such fair conditions as would tend to the service of the Company, and to their own safety.

20. Some more persons having desired their freedom, and land for cultivation, the Commander went out with them again, in order, as yesterday, to inspect the parcels which they might select, and then to agree upon the preliminary conditions. As was the case yesterday, he visited the camps of Herry and some of the Caepmans, and held with them a conversation of no particular importance, giving them tobacco and brandy, &c. A Hottentoot had been bitten in the foot by an adder, and the poison had swelled the foot, the Hottentoots had placed two tight ligatures upon the leg, that the poison might not spread, scarified the foot as if for cupping, and covered it with warm cow dung; a man and woman, kneeling down, sucked the blood with their mouths, spitting out the dung, and that with all the eagerness of a child at the breast; from which may be seen the very strong attachment of these people to one another, which was the more evident from every one being employed in contributing to the cure and preservation of this man. Herry and the fat Caepman with some of their chief men seeing us looking on, and hearing us talk of building houses here and there, &c. (for some of them speak Dutch so well that an interpreter is scarcely wanted) asked us, if we built houses, and broke up the ground there, which they observed to be our intention, where should they live? (for they now lay just on the spot chosen by some free men) we replied that they might live under our protection, and that there was room enough every where for them to graze their cattle; that we were going to employ this land to grow bread and tobacco, when we would, like good friends, give them a share, &c. on which they expressed themselves satisfied, but it might be easily seen that it was not quite to their mind.

26. The Commander went out to show the new settlements of the free men to the Commanders Crab and Kemp; on coming to the camps of Herry and the Caepmans, we learnt that the Saldanhars were in this neighbourhood, that they had killed some of Caepmans people, and meant to dislodge Caepmans and Herry, and to occupy these Cape valleys for pasture for their own herds; to oppose this, Caepman and Herry were assembling all their power, but the Commander, Riebeeck, told them they must let the Saldanhars come freely, which did not seem to please them, they said that the Saldanhars were no Cape people, but that this tract belonged to themselves, and that they were not obliged to suffer others to occupy it for pasture; on which the Commander answered them, namely Herry and Caepman, "Let them, however, come to us notwithstanding, to barter cattle to us, and come you meanwhile and graze your cattle, under our protection, behind

the Lion Hill and Table Hill, towards the sea, until we have as many cattle as we want, and when they have removed again, we shall leave you these pastures again," &c. which they seemed to accept, but they allowed it to appear notwithstanding, that so long as they could resist, they would oppose the Saldanhars, and not give way for them.

March 4. The Commanders Riebeeck, &c. rode out again to visit the Hottentoots' camp, and the dwellings of the men who had obtained their freedom, &c.....

### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1657. March 5. As we do not observe in the said Despatches any acknowledgement of our letter of the 10th of last June, addressed to the Chamber Amsterdam, these lines serve in the first place to request your attention to that letter, which is to be found in the accompanying copy of our letter book; wherein you will observe, among other things, that the cattle trade was at that time tolerably prosperous, although Herry, Caepman, and their companions caused it some injury, acting as brokers, and pretending that it was through their good offices that other natives came hither, and that without their assistance none would come; experience, however, teaches us otherwise, and that they only try to enrich themselves and make themselves great men by the said broking, which would be more properly denominated annoying and intolerable begging. Having daily reflected upon the subject, experience more and more confirms our opinions, and we find that the matter stands thus.

As stated in most of our former letters, the tribes in the interior are a much finer people and more civil than these beggars, (who have become great men and insolent) and would be much more inclined to come, if the Caepmans did not join them, as before described, for they have, indeed, told us that we should drive the Caepmans away.

Thus it is also, that these tribes have places which they occupy now and then, using the pasture for their cattle, until it is eaten down bare, when they remove to another place, and thus traverse a great extent of ground, employing, as we have found, so much time in this migration, that they do not visit each place every season, but only every second year, as we have now seen in two separate instances, and when they come hither there are abundance of cattle to be bought; for, had we been supplied with merchandize early enough last season, we could have bought from them more than a thousand cattle and sheep; and though they had not gone far when we got our supplies, and though they were informed of it, they could not make up their minds to turn back; but warned us to have plenty of brass when they should come again. From which it may be seen how little Herry and these Caepmans can do in the matter, they only try to sell us now and then a sick animal when it can no longer walk, and also to wheedle us out of every thing we have got, whenever they can lay hands on it—by fair means or otherwise, if it only be in their power? (*alsser maer macht over sien.*)

It is therefore our confirmed opinion (under submission to your Honors) that it would be in the highest degree useful and advantageous to the Company, that we should try, upon a good opportunity, to seize Herry, Caepman, and their company, and take away all their cattle, as indemnification for their murder of the boy, and the theft and fraud committed on the Company's cattle, and the entrusted merchandize, *as well as for the annoyance always given and still daily shown to our people, particularly to those of the ships touching here; most assuredly, Gentlemen, if we do not shorten their wings betimes, they will become too bold, for they already venture to oppose the approach of other large hordes, and to turn them away*, which is a very different thing from inviting them to come.

They venture also to assert boldly that it does not please them that we break up the ground, and destroy the grass which grows for the use of their cattle—to grow our crops; as, however, they sometimes get a small share of what is grown, they will let it pass, as long as we do not seize too much for ourselves. They begin to murmur in particular since we have begun to cultivate, for a trial, behind Table Mountain, so far from the Fort; *so that it may be easily conceived what it will come to hereafter*, as they also are every year becoming more numerous by propagation, for which purpose they plunder the other natives of their wives, a practice in which Herry in particular is a proficient, and has become the lord over a tolerable tribe, as well as over a good herd of cattle, which belongs to the Company, for, the Watermans or Strandloopers, (a poor tribe with whom Herry used formerly to live and who are daily at the Fort,) tell us distinctly that the Saldanhars did not steal the Company's brass and tobacco, as pretended by Herry, but that he falsely persuaded the Commander that such had been the case, whereas all the cattle he now possesses were bought

with that merchandize, this we always believed from the first, though we dissimulated with him, that we might see what good could be done for the Company; but as we now clearly perceive from all his conduct, that with him it is oil thrown on the fire, and that he shelters himself behind every kind of deceit—it will, in our opinion, (under correction) be the best way to treat him, together with Caepmans and companions—in a very different manner, (*op een ander cam scheert*) we would therefore gladly have your Honors' advice hereupon; meanwhile we shall continue to raise redoubts and guard houses in the flat behind Table Mountain, as specified in the annexed plans; under the protection of which we shall be easily able to defend the land to be cultivated and the cattle pasture; this is a highly necessary work, and will be pretty well completed by the time we receive from your Honors further special orders with regard to Herry, Caepman, and their companions, who, meanwhile, shall not meet with any unkindness whatsoever from us, but with every friendship, so as to maintain, and still more to encourage them in their confidence in us, in order that we may the better manage them at our own discretion, (*te beeter, en na believen, sal mogen omspringen*) or do whatever else Mr. Van Goens<sup>(1)</sup> may direct. . . . . As to corn, tobacco, &c. we have found upon further trial that they succeed well in the plain beyond Table Mountain, and are not at all subject to the high winds, as may be seen fully detailed in our Journal; but now that we observe that your Honors are in earnest, and have equipped a vessel for Angola to fetch us slaves, we shall prosecute the further cultivation through free persons (who may volunteer) under such conditions, until approved, as may be seen by our Resolution of 21st Feb. 1657,<sup>(2)</sup> there being land enough at the Cape to grow food for all the possessions of the Company in India that require it, had we but people, horses, and slaves, without which very little is to be done, and with the few people we have it is impossible to take in hand any additional work; indeed, the work is now rather heavy and tiresome, and it also makes the place somewhat disliked that we must continue so long employing Company's servants upon such hard work, as every one appeals to the practice in India, where the military only take their turn of duty on sentry or journey, or when they do work, are excused from night duty—as we shall more fully advert to hereafter—but as your Honors are pleased to supply us with slaves, there are means enough, &c. . . . . for there are no servants to be had here for hire, as is everywhere the case in India, the natives here are not to be induced to work, whatever be given to them, except sometimes (when they are in the humour) when they fetch some wood for the cooks, for they sometimes take a freak and suddenly go away and stay away, so that slaves will be quite indispensable here for the execution of whatever your Honors may be pleased to direct, particularly in the cultivation of the ground. . . . . free inhabitants could do little in farming without slaves and horses. . . . .

. . . . . Since the departure of the last homeward bound ships, no French ships have touched here, but of English there have been three, namely. . . . . they are sometimes rather importunate for cattle, insisting, aye, almost threatening, in the event of refusal, to land, and, according to their former practice, to fetch away the cattle of the natives with or without their consent, dwelling much on their commission from their Protector, which they say extends thus far; we would be glad to have the instructions of your Honors upon the subject, and should like to know whether, (upon their making such an attempt, and fair means failing to deter them) they might not be opposed by force, to prevent them from usurping the rights of the Company. . . . . [for a rescript on this point see 9th Oct. 1657 *infra*.]

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1657. March 13. One of the free men of Steven's Colony came to complain, that some Hottentoots had stolen from the land during last night about 100 lbs. of tobacco, which when demanded they refused to restore, offering, instead of restitution, the points of their assagays. The Commander therefore sent thither a corporal and 16 soldiers, with orders to endeavor by an amicable interview to dispose Herry and the captain of the Caepmans, to make restitution, and to say to them, that if they wished to continue friends with us, they should forbid their people to act in that manner;

(1) For the final decision of Mr. Van Riebeeck's employers upon these proposals—see Van Goens' orders April 16, 1657, and the approval of the Directors.

(2) This Resolution provided for the location of 9 discharged soldiers and sailors, near Rondebosch; they were to receive in freehold as much land as they should have brought into cultivation during 3 years; to buy nothing from the natives, on pain of confiscation of property; to buy stock from the Company, and to sell to the Company only, and at the same prices, i. e. 25 guilders for horned cattle, 3 for sheep; to pay tithes of the stock reared, in consideration of the use of the Company's pastures; to be subject to such civil (*burgerlyke*) laws, and to enjoy such rights as usual in Holland and India, except where altered by local enactments. Many of these arrangements were soon after set aside by the Commissioner. See April 16, 1657.

otherwise we should be compelled to permit our people to take some of their cattle as compensation, which consequently could little tend to friendship; our men were however expressly ordered, in the event of refusal, not to offer them the slightest offence; in the event of the Hottentoots attempting to injure them, they were to act bravely in their own defence; but on no account to give the first cause for hostility, and rather to let the matter pass quietly, in order to await a better opportunity for our revenge and indemnification. In the evening the corporal and party returned and reported, that previous to their arrival, Herry and all the Caepmans had decamped thence, and were flying like hares, with their cattle, through the kloofs of the mountain towards Hout Bay; our men found some assagays left behind, apparently through haste, and also 5 oxen, which they drove in this direction; but when they had come as far as the mustard leaves, the oxen ran back to near Harman's Colony, our men tried to stop them, but 4 or 5 Hottentoots sprung out of the bushes, who, from their swiftness of foot, intercepted the cattle, and drove them away, without once coming to our people to hear what they had to say, although civilly invited to do so; our men therefore came home without doing any thing more, bringing with them the said assagays. Meanwhile all the other Hottentoots who are in the habit of being daily at the Fort, ran away also, fearing that we should seek revenge and indemnification from them. What more will come of it time will show, we must meanwhile be well on our guard, and the free men also; for the protection of whom, and of the pasture for the Company's cattle, we are preparing to construct a redoubt. In the evening 2 Hottentoots who spoke a little Dutch returned to the Fort, and were asked why they had all run away; they said it was for fear that we should do them some harm in consequence of the theft of the green tobacco, we therefore explained to them our good intentions to the contrary, and that we desired nothing but that they should intimate to their people, (as we to ours,) that they had forbidden stealing, so that we may live and trade on friendly terms with each other, shewing them, for this purpose, the assagays which our men had found under some bushes, and offering to restore them to the owner, on his coming to speak with us upon the subject of neither party injuring the other in future, &c. they were recommended to communicate this to Herry, Caepman, and their people, which they promised to do, and went away after being well entertained.

March 14. The Commander went out with 30 men, soldiers and labourers, to mark out and excavate the projected decoy for birds, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  myl from the Fort, visiting *en passant* Steven's and Harman's colonies, where he found the people industrious, and building tolerable houses.

16. Arrived the *Orangie* with his Honor Commissioner Van Goens. 24, 25. Engaged in surveying the flat between this Cape and the African Mountains.

28. Commissioner Van Goens summoned on shore the full Council of the ships the *Orangie* and *Malacca*, together with that of this Fort the Good Hope, and submitted to their consideration, whether, upon the grounds stated, Herry should be carried beyond sea, or be temporised with a little longer; upon which it was resolved, after deliberation, to put it off awhile until a better opportunity,<sup>(1)</sup> and also that no sensation may be produced among the Saldanhars (who may be expected towards the wet season) until a good many cattle may have been bought from them.

April 3. His Honor the Commissioner directed Commander Riebeeck to measure the distance between the marks planted, and the first range of African Mountains, which was found to be fully  $1\frac{1}{4}$  myl, or 2666 roods; the surveyor also measured the distance from the said marks to the Cape Mountains, which was 1000 roods; in all 3666 Rynland roods.

16. The Commissioner went out to make a trial, in the hardest and most difficult ground, of the possibility of making a ditch and intrenchment.....

19. Yesterday Commissioner Van Goens having fulfilled his commission, &c.....took his departure, leaving written Instructions for the management of the Company's affairs and Government here.

1657. April 16. Instructions for Mr. Jan van Riebeeck, Commander, and the Council of the Fort the Good Hope, to which they shall conform until further orders from the Directors, or from the Governor General and Council of India:—

The reasons which have induced our Honorable employers to take possession of this place are fully detailed in their Instructions, and successive Despatches; and you are well aware that the

(1) The Resolution of 28 March is in the handwriting of the Commissioner—with many erasures, and is almost illegible—it appears to set out by declaring that the Council are, from circumstances, satisfied of Herry's guilt—the result is thus stated: “The general opinion was, therefore, that to banish all the Caepmans, would be too cruel; and as to Herry, that also may be somewhat delayed until a future and better opportunity.”—Rykloff van Goens, J. van Riebeeck, &c. See however the Instructions of April 16 *infra*.

chief object was to raise, for the crews of the Company's ships, the needful supplies, whether of fruits and vegetables, or of fresh meat from every sort of suitable live stock, with a view, not only to the health of the servants of the Company, but to such subsequent extension as would tend in time, to diminish the great expense which has been incurred, by reaping profit from every honorable source, agriculture, internal trade, or foreign commerce. Towards these objects you have already, under the orders you have received, advanced so far that we are now in a condition not only to defend ourselves against any violence from the inhabitants, but with slight difficulty to drive them all away, to banish them, or even to kill them, should they attempt to do us any wrong deserving of such treatment. So that (thank God) matters are in so good a state that we have only to proceed to the fulfilment of the further and important object of devising the most suitable means of diminishing the expenditure; and which means are to be found in the observance of the following points—if only attended to with the zeal expected of you by the Directors. First;—Discharging all salaried servants above the number of one hundred, according to the list prepared in conjunction with you, and hereinafter inserted. Secondly;—Employing these servants on no other work than that which is the most indispensable, that is to say, upon agriculture and the raising of grain. Thirdly;—That you endeavor to encourage to that employment as many *Burgers* as possible, so as to relieve the Company from the payment of wages, always trying to diminish the number of salaried servants, in proportion to the increase of the number of burgers, until that of the servants is reduced to 70, of whom 50 must be soldiers, to defend the Fort and protect the cultivation of the land, and the *Burgers* against any violence that might be offered them.

By these three measures of proper economy in the reduction, and the useful employment of the Company's servants, you will do the Company good service here and in the reenforcement of the Indian garrisons.

Amongst the works which are still required here, you have proposed to me the following, which I also consider serviceable:—

Two guard houses for the protection of the cultivated land behind Table Mountain, and also, according to our joint plan, a redoubt on the Boschheuvel, facing False Bay and the pass between the Boschbergen and Steenbergens. . . . .

Although all<sup>(1)</sup> these works are indeed highly necessary—you are however recommended and directed to give to agriculture, and all that is required to maintain it, the preference before them all;<sup>(2)</sup> and consequently to build nothing as yet, except the two guard houses for the protection of the lands behind Table Mountain. . . . .

For the advancement of agriculture you have been directed by sundry letters from the 17 and other Chambers, as well as from the Governor General and Council of India, to encourage some persons to become burgers, 9 of whom had already engaged themselves before my arrival, and one since; it had been better had they been all married men, or if those who are married had previously consented to send for their wives, thus to oblige them and their families to persevere in the work for some time. . . . . you will henceforth refuse to discharge any but married men, excepting such as

(1) The other works mentioned are a stone pier—store rooms in the Fort—extending the Company's gardens—and a decoy for catching wild fowl. The completion of the line of 15 redoubts was to await further orders, but the first 500 rods of the intrenchment, (16 feet broad and 8 feet deep) was ordered to be dug by the ships' crews, when convenient, "after which the rest will be easily completed."

(2) This is further enforced in the same paper in these terms—"Raising supplies for the garrison and the shipping, is the main point, for, when the belly is first provided for, the other members will not be destitute of strength to execute the further orders of our masters;" and again, "If the matter is properly viewed, you must admit that had the 25 men, now shipwrecked in the *Tulp*, been employed in agriculture, the Company would long since have been freed from the necessity of sending to Madagascar for grain; it also clearly appears that you have hitherto shown much more zeal in building,<sup>a</sup> than in growing corn; for the upper store house? and the pier for watering the ships, might well have been suspended for 3 years more;<sup>b</sup> our sailors have now had to wade to the neck for fresh water for more than 60 years, and it could have made little difference had they done so 3, or even 6 years longer. You are again reminded to manage this matter so that you will be able to give a good account of your conduct to the Directors—for, on the other hand, very little skill is required to point out your faults, and to call you to an account for them. Calculate for a moment all the imaginary gains you anticipated from a trade on which 2 galiots have been generally employed,<sup>c</sup> and they will vanish in smoke, and show great losses to the Company instead of profits." "In conclusion, I once more recommend you to attend above all to the support of the cultivation of grain; we shall never become noblemen here, until we shall first have been good Farmers, (*Boers*)\*

\* The Dutch term *Boer*, meaning simply "a Countryman, or Peasant," has been confounded with *Burger*, "a Citizen, Burgess, or Freeman;"—and is still more improperly associated with the general acceptance of the English word *Boor*.

The following Notes are written on the margin of the Instructions; they were evidently written by Mr. Van Riebeeck, and at a subsequent date:—

<sup>a</sup> Lodging was wanted and we have scarce enough yet.    <sup>b</sup> We deemed the Pier also highly needful, and experience has proved its convenience,    <sup>c</sup> With submission never more than one.

take service with the married, to those you may grant their *Vry Brief* according to the custom of Batavia. To these burgers you shall (independently of our promises) extend every assistance in your power, so as to make the undertaking somewhat easy to them at first, as far at least as can be done without loss to the Company. . . . . should they suffer any annoyance from the inhabitants, you will grant them instant protection, so that they be not hindered from rearing as much live stock as they can feed without consuming the Company's grain; neither shall you prevent them from buying from the Hottentoes<sup>(1)</sup> as many sheep and cows as they can feed without injury to the corn lands, but you will not suffer them to keep good corn land as pasture, nor, until further orders from our masters, to plant any tobacco, and you will not suffer them on any account to purchase cattle except for Company's brass and tobacco, at the prices which you have been in the habit of giving to the inhabitants; provided, that they shall always be obliged to deliver to the Company out of their live stock, what the Company may require, and they can spare, without injury to their farming; an ox, bull, or cow, being valued at 12 guilders, and a sheep at 3, which price they also shall pay for our oxen which have been delivered to them. . . . .

§ 17. In the distribution of land to the burgers you will follow the Rynland measure, as in use in Holland and Zeeland, 12 inches being a foot, 12 feet one rood, 100 roods one hont, and 600 square roods one morgen; using also, according to the same scale, 2000 roods in length for one myl, which make one exact German and Dutch myl, being 15 to a degree of latitude, and thus 360 degrees being the circumference of the earth; and you will on no account admit any other names of foreign measures, but adhere to the customs of our Fatherland, as usual throughout India.<sup>(2)</sup>

§ 21. The ground which we can in the first instance bring into cultivation, and which lies convenient for us within the Cape territory, is estimated at about 3250 morgen, and our ideas need not extend any further for the first 10 years, for otherwise too large a garrison would be required, and *notwithstanding that the Charter granted to the Company by their H. M. the States General* commences at the Cabo de Boa Esperance, the jurisdiction is understood to extend North of the Cape, from the North side of Sardanje Bay as far as the same, with Dassen and Robben Islands have already been navigated and taken possession of. To the Eastward and the Southward, and moreover to the Northward, the jurisdiction is, according to the said Charter, over sea and land and unlimited. You will therefore on the first opportunity after the end of the winter, *plant* on Dassen Island, and on the Northern side of Sardanje Bay, a *post or mark of jurisdiction with the Company's arms, &c.*<sup>a</sup>. . . . .

§ 22. The mode of protecting agriculture and maintaining the burgers, having been thus recommended, you will direct your best attention to the rearing of cattle, &c. . . . . to attain this you should exert your utmost endeavors to entice the Saldanbars hither, that they may barter their cattle for our brass and tobacco; this may be done without neglecting the agriculture, and must be set about with the utmost diligence by active persons and some of the best (*fraayste*) Hottentoes, who are best disposed to be serviceable to us; for it appears to me that adequate zeal has not been hitherto shown in this respect.<sup>b</sup>

§ 24. It is my firm belief that the search which you have been ordered to make for profitable commodities, as, gold, ivory, &c. . . . . may be effected by land better than by sea, for we learn by experience that our people have already travelled freely and unmolested fully 50 mylen into the interior. The coast of Angola stretches from the 10th degree of latitude Southward to this country; it may hereafter be ascertained whether the natives of that country may not be induced to come hither with their merchandize. . . . . I see little difficulty in penetrating from this quarter to the River of Spirito Santo, and the City of Monomotopa, to see if any thing is to be done for the Company there. This city, according to the atlas and Portuguese accounts, lies about 210 mylen

(1) On the 15th a general Proclamation contained a clause prohibiting barter with the natives, or taking them on board of the ships, "excepting with the knowledge and consent of the Commander, &c." and repeating the usual warning to do no harm to the natives, but to show them every kindness, &c.

(2) In other parts of this paper the same policy was particularly enforced; no Europeans except Dutch or Germans were to be allowed to settle, or even to remain in garrison. Upon the arrival of slaves, great care was to be taken that they did not introduce the Portuguese language. In the same manner it was ordered that Dutch weight, 32 loot, or 16 ounces to the pound should be observed; a load (*last*) of wheat, 3600 lbs.—of barley or oats, 3000. The exact number of Europeans and slaves at the Cape in April, 1657—5 years after the first occupation—is stated in this paper at 144:—100 being paid servants of the Company, 10 burgers, 6 married women, and 12 children, 6 convicts, 3 male slaves, and 7 female slaves.

<sup>a</sup> Done on 22nd Oct. 1657, by the *Robbejacht*—also done previously by the *Goede Hoep*.

<sup>b</sup> Up to this day it has never been neglected.

N. E. from this, in lat. 24, and the river 20 mylen further North. This river produces, according to the existing accounts, all the gold that is brought to the Manthas, and thence exported—8 or 10 bold young men, one of them being a land surveyor, should be encouraged to this undertaking, as they have already gone 50 mylen, they will be gradually stimulated to discover more and more of the secrets of Africa.<sup>a</sup>

§ 31. In your Despatches to the Chamber XVII. bear in mind that all the matter (*sustantie?*) must be expressed as briefly as possible—and do not refer therein to your journals, letters, or resolutions, and as little as possible to your letters to the subordinate Chambers; but in very important matters you may specify the page and date of your more copious arguments; always remembering, that masters are better pleased and better served by many deeds than by many words—if the substance be only expressed briefly and distinctly.....

§ 36. The shooting of game is prohibited, excepting to those appointed to that duty..... I am confident that the catching of elands and deer will in time become an object of importance.<sup>b</sup>

§ 39. As to the manner in which we shall henceforth conduct ourselves towards Herry, Caepman, their allies, and the Sardanjars, you have been written to upon almost every meeting of the XVII, and your propositions have been at least replied to; I have attentively read your Despatches and the replies of their Honors, and I have discussed the subject with you both in and out of the Council; and have found difficulties on every side, whether we would be lenient, or severe. It is our unanimous opinion that unless we bridle? (*bereydelen*) these Cape fellows, and keep a tight rein upon them, that we shall have no trade from the country of the Sardanjars, and shall never attain the object, so important to the Company, of procuring abundance of cattle; and as you have desired to have my advice upon the subject, I am firmly of opinion, that we must employ every imaginable means to *detach* (*diverteeren*) these Cape fellows from the Sardanjars<sup>c</sup> and this there are but three ways of accomplishing,—namely: to intercept their communication by means of our fortifications and guard houses; to lay hold of them all and kill or banish them; or else to endeavor to live on such good terms with them, that we shall have no harm to apprehend at their hands.

Of these means the first is the most certain, and by far the best; but on the other hand it is the most expensive to the Company.

The second is barbarous and unchristian, and would therefore be abhorred and punished by God; and to which, from all the letters of their Honors, I cannot discover that they were ever in the least inclined—saying on the contrary, that such severe and desperate resolutions must never be resorted to, unless they cannot be avoided.

The third is indeed the most honorable and the most praiseworthy; but we find, God better it! that it is impossible to operate upon the brutish and savage nature of these men by such means.

So that the first course appears to be the most necessary, in hopes that the expenses will in due time be compensated by the abundance of supplies of cattle, as, however, it is an important affair, it will be necessary that you await the previous instructions of our Honorable Masters.<sup>d</sup> Meanwhile it is my advice, that you treat the Hottentoes, or inhabitants here, in the manner in which you have been accustomed to treat them; and, should it happen that they again do us a serious wrong by theft—the case deserving it, but not otherwise, you should instantly lay hold of some of the people of Herry, Caepman, Swarte Captain, or those you may deem to be guilty, and place them on Robben Island, until they point out the actual offender; and on that being done, you should release the others, and banish the culprit to work for us on the said Island for 2 or 3 years; at the same time, apprising the chiefs of your proceedings, so as to cause as little estrangement as possible. In the event of their insolence being such, that, in addition to theft—they should murder any of our men, I still would not—without further orders from our masters—go so far as to shed the blood of any of them, except the murderer were certainly known; who must necessarily then, be punished with death, with their concurrence; having the execution if possible performed by themselves. Otherwise I would not recommend you to go further than stated in the former memorial, to let the person be pointed out by themselves; for it is, in my opinion, highly necessary that we should try by every kindness to gain their good will, chiefly because, were they once driven

<sup>a</sup> Has been repeatedly attempted with loss of men and of health, without finding any thing worthy of notice.

<sup>b</sup> If we had here as many Formosans and Chinese as there are at Formosa, there might be some prospect—but there is very little hope, from the laziness and recklessness of these natives, who know nothing, and are not to be disposed to any industry; and it is still more impossible for our countrymen, for the game is too wild.

<sup>c</sup> This is very well conceived and very necessary—there might also be a chance with 20 mounted men of becoming masters over both one and the other, without the intrenchments, as stated in our letter.

<sup>d</sup> In June, 1658, Herry was banished to Robben Island and his cattle seized, on account of the Company.

away,<sup>a</sup> our men would be in danger in all this part of Africa, through which we can now go where we please, a most important thing on various accounts; but when we have these fellows once shut in by our intrenchment, we can always make them dance to the tune of our own pipes; meanwhile you must not resort to the remedy above detailed upon a slight occasion, or, as before stated, unless it may be deemed highly essential and necessary. As it always appears that these Hottentoots part with their cattle so reluctantly, it is absolutely necessary that you send (the sooner the better) some persons into the interior to seek for the Saldanhars, and to entice them hither with their cattle, even should you pay much more than usual for them,<sup>b</sup> so that we may once get such a stock of cattle, that the crews may sometimes have some for their refreshment, and also to save the salt beef and pork. . . . .

§ 44. To maintain the said burgers in their rights, you will (should any of them commit a serious crime) admit one of the oldest and most respectable of them into the court, and allow him a voice (concluderende stem) with your Ordinary Council; for the first year I would nominate Steven, the oldest, and Herman Remajenne for next year, as they are the principal and most industrious burgers; their place at the bench must not be in the back ground, but betwixt the second in rank and the sergeant.

§ 52. . . . . You may promise a reward to any one who shall travel more than 50 mylen from this place; and a still higher premium to any one who goes further than 100 mylen; and on reaching the river Spirito Sancto, something more valuable, were it even 150 guilders to each person; and on the discovery of any appearance of profit for the Company—a further remuneration, according to circumstances. I should think that by going along the mountains or the coast, we could easily reach Angola, or Cape Negra and Negro, betwixt which lies a place called Bengala, in 15 or 16 South latitude, whence it is supposed that the natives could be easily induced to bring their merchandize (consisting of elephants' tusks) to this place; they are accustomed to long land journies, and to approach very near to this Cape, and if they had any intimation of this establishment, they would bring their goods to our Fort.<sup>c</sup>

In the Fort the Goede Hope, 16th April, 1657.

In the name of the Directors representing the General East India Company,

(Signed,)

RYKLOFF VAN GOENS.

### Extract of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1657. April 23. The Commissioner Mr. Van Goens, immediately upon his arrival, minutely inspected, measured, and laid down in a map, all the heights and vallies about this Cape, which map will be forwarded with the other papers. . . . . but lest the 4 ships should pass by without touching here. . . . . we would beg briefly to advise your Honors of what we have deemed it most material to commence in order to attain your main purpose; so that we may procure an early answer, and orders thereupon. To come to the point then; we could not discover any better means (although very expensive) than to enclose the flat, which is fully 2½ mylen broad, with an intrenchment having 15 redoubts, 500 roods apart, and in each of the intervals 9 ravelines, thus to shut in those of the Cape, namely, Herry and his [adherents?] with their cattle, and keep them confined, and thus, as they would be unable to run away, to bring them to reason, and force them to trade, as also to hold them under subjection to the Dutch East India Company; otherwise we can discover no chance, or at least only a remote one, of procuring such a number of cattle, as will serve to victual the garrison, refresh the outward and homeward bound fleets, and to salt for Batavia. This is the matter in few words. There would be required on each of the 15 redoubts, and 15 middle ravelines, one piece of cannon. . . . . and then we might also trade more securely with the Saldanhars on the outside of the lines, for Herry and his people could not then come to them, and according to their custom, force the Saldanhars to yield to their begging from them their brass and tobacco, by way of brokerage; or give any more trouble in future. This is gentlemen, in a few

<sup>a</sup> Well conceived, and also complied with, but since Herry's banishment they are pretty well brought under subjection (*devotie ende dwang*) to the Company.

<sup>b</sup> As before observed, has been done with loss—and also a higher price given for cattle, but without any advantage, as it has only furnished the natives with a greater supply of brass, to the injury of the Company.

<sup>c</sup> The inclination of the Amateurs, (*Liefhebbers*,) is on the decline, as no party has turned back without the loss of companions or severe wounds from wild animals; these expeditions are, however, not abandoned, but still continued on favorable opportunities.

words, the matter upon which we expect your early decision, whether we are to commence the work, or leave it alone; we shall require at least 1500 spades and shovels for the work, and also some previous warning that we may prepare other implements, &c. . . . .

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1657. April 26. Yesterday and to-day we began to plough for the Company, but as the oxen are still too young and unbroke they could not well turn over the new ground, must therefore use the horses at first, which do pretty well, but as we have but 6 fit for work, we could only keep one plough going.

May 7. 100 men of that ship were sent to the wood to assist in drawing out the beams for the pier. . . . on their way to the wood they were surrounded by about 400 or 500 Hottentoots, and their victuals taken from some of them, they were not far from coming to a fight, but there being among them a mate who had been here before, and was aware of the order that people are not to resist them too hastily, so as to get into open war, and thus make the roads more unsafe, they retreated to the redoubt Duynhoop, and requested that some armed soldiers might be sent to protect them, for which orders were given.

11. The English captain was very urgent for some necessaries. . . . . particularly slaughter cattle, saying, that he could not sail until assisted. . . . . and when told that he could get nothing here but water, he began to become desperate, and to say that he must come on shore, and see to get cattle from the natives; they were desired to abstain from any such attempt, as the Company, having taken possession here, would not suffer any one to usurp its jurisdiction, and that he had better be content with the little accommodation which our small means would afford; he seemed notwithstanding to think it strange that they might not go freely into the interior, and do what they pleased; on which he was answered, that such was not permitted to our own people, and that the Company had incurred such heavy expenses here, in order to keep the disposal thereof to themselves, and that, chiefly on account of vegetables to recruit the health of the crews; of which a little was sent on board out of courtesy as a present, as also a sheep, to oblige him, and to tend towards the safe delivery of the letters intended to be sent by him.

12. Heard, in presence of the captains of our 2 ships, the ceaseless lamentation and remonstrances of the English captain. . . . . they must leave their ship, and seek food where they could find it. . . . . all which being considered, and as conscience would not permit that Christians should suffer friends of the same faith to perish through hunger and other wants, the said captains undertook first to take an ocular inspection of the state of the English ship, and to make a return of what the English most required, and of what might be spared by us, with the least loss or prejudice to our masters; and having returned, they reported that they had found the English ship in so bad a condition, that it was hardly possible that she could perform her voyage, without some assistance; it was therefore resolved, in order, the sooner the better, to get rid of them, to assist them out of our said ships, with 600 lbs. bread, &c. on receipt of which the said Englishman will pass due receipts, obliging himself to pay, upon his arrival, such price as the Directors shall be pleased to demand.

15. The Commander went out to measure the ploughed land of the free colonists<sup>(1)</sup> and the Company, and found it to be about 20 morgen, quite as much ground as can be sowed with the Cape wheat in store, which shall be divided in 4 equal quantities,  $\frac{3}{4}$  for the three free companies, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  for the Company. . . . .

18. The first wheat was sown for the Company below the wood. 29. Some convicts sent to Robben Island, to try what can be done in stone cutting. . . . .

#### Extract of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1657. May 20. We wrote your Honors at full upon the 5th March. . . . . Commissioner Van Goens was, in obedience to your orders, received with all due respect, [the Despatch here details, as in the Journal, the measurement of the Cape Flats] to ascertain the best and cheapest manner of fencing the narrowest part of the neck, in order to be enabled to allow to pass in or out such only of

(1) On the 21st May, Mr. van Riebeeck encloses the applications of several free men for passages to the Cape for their wives and children, and some for similar accommodation to young women to whom the applicants were engaged. Mr. Van Riebeeck strongly seconds these applications, in order to attach the free men to the country—and bespeaks respectable accommodation for the families of persons whom he designates (*fraay eerlyke luyden*), “decent and respectable persons.”

the natives as we might choose; and the Commissioner having been pleased to allow us to express our opinion freely, we conceive—that the flat could not be fenced, in the direction laid down, without great labour and expense, in consequence of the numerous sand hills of False Bay; but that it could be much easier done by beginning from Salt River, and keeping the line of marks for about 3500 roods, until close to the sand hills of False Bay, and then turning across along the outside of the sand hills, about 3300 roods to the corner of the Mountains of the Cape, called by us Steenberg, in all 6800 roods. . . . . which fence we think could be most easily and cheaply formed by an intrenchment 8 feet high, and a ditch, within or without, 10 feet wide and 6 or 8 feet deep, and also, at least at every 500 roods, a redoubt with two 8 pounders, to sweep the intervening space, and prevent any injury from being done to the said intrenchment; which 15 redoubts would require 5 men each, or 75 men, who could attend the Company's cattle by day. Betwixt which redoubts, for the greater security, there should be a raveline with a similar 8 pounder. . . . . If the natives offered any great violence, the free men and the residue of the garrison could assist in the defence, by which means in our humble opinion, the Company could be complete masters of the Cape, *that is to say, as far as concerns these natives*, and might prevent any of them, or of their cattle from passing in or out excepting with our leave, and thus render the lands which are to be cultivated by free men the more secure, a matter in our opinion of considerable importance.

On the other hand it would serve to keep Herry, Caepman, and Swarte captain in check; (*een goede bril op den neus*) they have altogether many thousands of cattle and sheep, and are all accomplices in the murder of the boy and the theft of the Company's cattle, and if shut in by the said enclosure, which is easily done, (as they are kept devoid of any suspicion, by our kind treatment) they could be easily prevented from going out against our will; when means might be devised of compelling them to enter into, and to observe such reasonable conditions in the barter of cattle, as, under the directions of your Honors, might be deemed most for the service of the Company, without subjecting them to any other oppression than keeping them confined within the said limits of the Company; which, considering the mischief they have done, they have, in our opinion at least, well deserved—and without ever allowing one of them to pass out to incite the Saldanhars against us—with which people (they being much more reasonable, and more inclined to barter than these tribes) we could then carry on the trade at one of the redoubts beyond the lines; and as they would observe that the others were shut in, and that we were disposed to trade with them in friendship, they would, in our opinion, come to us more confidently, and bring many cattle, *for it has always appeared to us that Herry, Caepman, and Swarte Captain, deter the Saldanhars from coming, or, when they do come, give them great annoyance with begging and taking from them what they receive from the Company for their cattle.* Aye! Herry even presumed very insolently to allege and propose (as he did even in the presence of Mr. Van Goens) that when the Saldanhars come here with their cattle, we should seize them all, and kill or banish them, taking their cattle for the Company and for him; and as we have always expressed ourselves disinclined to that course, he presumed thereupon several times to reply, that he would be angry with the Commander. Thus, so long as we do not occupy this corner (hoek) in the manner stated, and shut these tribes in, there is very little chance of our attaining the chief object of the Company, namely:—procuring cattle enough for all the shipping, for provisioning this garrison, and to salt for India; for a great quantity would be wanted for these purposes, and if we should succeed in procuring cattle in such numbers, we would require fully double the number of attendants that we have at present, (being 14 or 15, and during church time on Sundays 20 to 25) besides that some guard houses must be built for the protection of the land occupied by the free men, and of their cattle and those of the Company—*as the pasture in this Table Valley is too confined in extent, and too poor; as has been formerly stated:* the redoubts and guard houses shall however be garrisoned by the free men, according to the conditions entered into between Mr. Van Goens and them, by which, as well as by the orders left by his Honor, we shall continue to be guided. . . . .

By the annexed resolution and receipts you will perceive the reasons which induced us to assist the English ship *May Blom* with various articles. . . . . it might otherwise have happened that they would have landed, and, out of desperation, have tried to procure some cattle from the natives either with or without their consent; to prevent them from perishing through hunger and distress—in order also to get rid of them—out of compassion—and to dispose them to take good care of these letters—we came to the resolution to assist them, leaving the price to the discretion of your Honors, and we trust our conduct will not be disapproved—the people were in such distress that it would have moved hearts of stone. Aye! they even offered to sell the ship and cargo to the Company, but the cargo was so wet, chiefly by salt water, that we did not deem it profitable,

and we also apprehended that it might produce some new trouble or animosities with that nation.<sup>(1)</sup> We trust that we shall be furnished with your orders for our future guidance in similar cases. . . . .

June 6. Some free men, namely, 3 of Steven's and Harman's companies, having, without our knowledge, been 3 nights out, and about 15 hours inland, mostly South, found there some inhabitants in two encampments, about 5 or 600 in number, including women and children, who were also in some way allied with, or the pretended friends of Caepman, although separated from them, they lay near a very fine river, the banks of which were clothed with bitter almond trees; the country was so level, and the soil so rich, that these men say the Cape Valleys are not to be compared with it. They were very kindly treated by the said inhabitants, who immediately brought for them a quantity of wood, to be used, according to their custom, as a breastwork round them against wild animals, pitched a neat hut for them, brought them abundance of firewood, and bartered to them 2 young oxen and 3 sheep, but did not seem inclined to sell more; they said, however, that the right Saldanhars lay about 12 days' journey further, and that towards the dry season they were likely to come with cattle enough, [MS. decayed] called this place their Holland, or Fatherland, to give our people a better idea of the abundance of food, or fine pasture for their cattle, which lay there. If we had received some asses, we might next dry season travel yet further inland, to see what can be found.

### Extracts of Despatches from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1657. June 21. . . . . We have formerly apprised your Honors of the promising appearance of the cultivation which has been commenced, and have hopes that the cattle trade will prosper also, as a report is very prevalent, that a great number of Saldanhars are coming with cattle, we are consequently preparing for them by daily cutting up brass to barter, as well for the Company as for the free men, to whom Mr. Van Goens has permitted a free traffic with the inhabitants. The free men propose, as soon as their seed, and that of the Company, is in the ground, to make another trip into the interior, to try whether we cannot find some of the chief abodes of the natives, and procure some cattle from them, we trust we shall be able to give you good accounts of the result, and shall expect the receipt of your orders as to digging the intrenchment, and constructing the 15 redoubts and 135 ravelines;—meanwhile we shall be employed in cultivating the land, in constructing a redoubt and crael at the Company's orchard, and 2 or 3 guard houses, as small as possible, *and which are all that are required in the first instance*, to secure what is already cultivated or occupied as pasture ground; this work will fully occupy us for some time; and we hope that by going on progressively, (*sonder 't hand over den rocq te halen?*) we shall soon be pretty well secured against these Cape tribes, &c. . . . .

1657. June 25. When these letters were sealed and ready to be delivered to the English, the wind set in from the N. W. which prevented their departure, as both their boats were driven on shore and two men drowned. Meanwhile it came to our knowledge that the free men—having bartered from the natives 4 or 5 sheep and an ox—sold and delivered to the English 2 sheep, at 3 Rds. each, and the ox, at 20 Rds. We have deemed it proper to apprise your Honors of the circumstance, to enable you to decide, whether leaving this trade open to the free men will be advantageous or injurious to the Company. In our opinion, under correction, it would be best that the Company should continue sole master of that trade. That the free men should be allowed to sell their vegetables, might be admissible, (*soude noch cunnen gaen*) as the Company has always enough vegetables for its shipping. For on this becoming known (and it cannot well remain concealed) to the captains of the Company's ships touching here, it will give great dissatisfaction, and it will also be thought that the Commander connives at it, for calumny never spares even the most upright, yet notwithstanding, as Commissioner Van Goens has granted to them this free trade, we shall allow it to continue until receipt of further orders, that we may not incur any blame by disregarding his instructions.<sup>(2)</sup> . . . . .

(1) Among the concessions by which the peace of 1654 had been purchased from Cromwell, "eighty thousand pounds were stipulated to be paid by the Dutch East India Company for the losses which the English Company had sustained." This peace continued until 1664, when the English, under Charles II. "were strongly prompted, from motives lest just than political, to make war upon the States."—HUME.

(2) On the 30th June was published an Extract of the Conditions entered into between Commander Van Goens and the Free Burgers, reminding them of the condition under which they were allowed to trade with the natives—i. e. paying the

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

June 30. The Commander went out to the distance of about 2 hours' journey, and examined the flat where marked by Mr. Van Goens for the projected intrenchment with redoubts and ravelines for checking (*stuttinge*) the Hottentoots. . . . . found it all so covered with water, that not only the intrenchment, but all the redoubts also would have been overflowed and washed down; the expense would therefore be thrown away, and the work must be abandoned. . . . .

July 17. The Commander fixed upon a site, on rising ground behind Table Mountain—for a redoubt to protect the corn lands and pasture. . . . . in order that it may be complete before the arrival of the Saldanhars and others from the interior. . . . . as also a small square citadel (*royael*) of 2 stories, flat above, with a projecting parapet, so that it may bear 2 guns, to enforce the more respect from the natives, who would otherwise allow their cattle to run all over the cultivated land.<sup>(1)</sup>. . . . .

27. Herry came to the Fort, the first time for a long while, and asked where he and Caepman (now that we were ploughing up the ground in every direction) should have their dwellings and pasture for their cattle; on which it was answered, where they now live, being in the country towards the land beyond the African Mountains, to the East and North, 8 or 10 hours' journey off; he said the Saldanhars were on their way hither, and, when the dry season came, they would be here in great numbers, and would then kill them and take their cattle; and he therefore requested, that he and Caepman might come and live hereabouts. He was told that the pasture hereabouts was little enough for our own cattle. He then asked, if the Commander (with whom they were such good friends) wished then that he and Caepman should be killed by the Saldanhars? on which it was replied, that if they would barter cattle to us, they might come and live behind the kloof of the Table and Lion Hill, on the sea side, mostly S. W. from the Fort; but not behind the Lion Hill N. W. from the Fort, which was the Commander's arable land, and also, from its convenient situation, must be kept and used, as being necessary to the Company for pasture. Herry said he could not part with any of his cattle; but he would see that we should perhaps get a few from Caepman, but principally that we should barter a great number from the Saldanhars, if we had but brass enough, (which we assured him we had, showing him quantities) and we consented that he and Caepman might live behind the said kloof, under our protection. He asked leave to build their huts on the top of the kloof, between the Lion's Head and the N. W. corner of Table Mountain, within sight of the Fort, otherwise he feared that the Saldanhars would surprise them from behind the Hout Valley, without our being able to see it; this was granted, provided that they grazed their cattle along the coast from the Lion's Head to Hout Bay, as the land of this Table Valley, and the flat behind the Lion Hill (granted to the said Commander by Mr. Van Goens) was wanted for the Company's cattle, &c. with this he and some Hottentoots of Caepman's tribe (who put a word in now and then) appeared to be satisfied and contented.

Herry came again to the Commander, proposing that we should, in conjunction with the Caepmans, attack the Saldanhars upon their arrival, and take their cattle, but he was answered, that the Hollanders were not a people who took away the property of any one, but who endeavoured to live and trade in amity with all nations in the world, &c. this did not appear to be spoken according to his fancy.

Aug. 2. The free men had also this morning killed a calf and a sheep, and feasted sumptuously on the same, without having, according to the orders, previously apprised the Commander: It is therefore to be feared that the Company will derive very little benefit from the cattle trade carried on by free colonists, as they only take care of themselves, and it already begins to appear that they compete with each other, one giving more than the other for the same to the natives, and thus spoiling the trade.

3. Herry and Caepman came to-day to Salt River, with more than 3000 cattle and sheep, requesting to reside under our protection, on which the place mentioned in the kloof was pointed

Company's prices, buying their merchandize from the Company, and selling to the Company only at a fixed rate. The Company reserved to itself the supply of shipping, as well as the supply of the wants of the Free Burgers, a penalty of 20 reals was prescribed for the offence of selling to strangers, or even to the Company's ships, "and cattle, sheep, pigs, elands, harts, hinds, rheboks, or the like," nor was it permitted to the Free Burgers to slaughter any kind of domestic cattle for their own consumption, without the previous knowledge of the Commander, or to give credit to any Company's servant for any sum exceeding one skilling.

(1) A Resolution was on the same day passed to the same purport, except that it defines the position selected as "a high hillock in the flat, between the dwellings or farms of Steven and Reyniers, and about one hour and a quarter's walk from the Fort."

out to them; time will show the result, and if they come there they will be in a nice snug net (*braave fuyck*) and we shall see whether we may not one day bring them to proper subordination, and reason, without the expense of an intrenchment.

Aug. 4. The free colonists were spoken to upon the matter above adverted to; and, in the first instance, warned that they must not infringe the established orders; but obey them like good subjects, which (after some lame excuses for their past transgressions) they promised, and further to conduct themselves properly, &c.

7. Yesterday, while the Commander was at Robben Island, it happened that Herry, who was grazing his cattle rather near to those of the Company, at Salt River, while the herds were sheltering themselves from the rain under some bushes, got 4 cows separated from the rest, and quickly driven away by 2 of his people; the herds upon getting up missed the cattle, and went immediately among Herry's cattle, whose wives and children, with those of Caepman, instantly decamped and fled, with houses and all they had, out of fear of being detained.

But the said cattle herds held Herry fast, asking for the 4 cattle, otherwise they would take some of his; but he strongly denied any guilt, although their hasty flight was a sufficient proof of their guilt; our people, however, having his cattle and Caepmans pretty well in their hands, would not let them go, on which he promised to have the cattle sought for by his people, requesting that, on finding them, he and Caepman might come back with their houses, and live safely at Salt River, which was promised. Our men followed the cattle to the distance of 4 or 5 hours behind the Luipaards Berg, where they found them this morning, in charge of 2 Hottentoots, who pretended that they had sought and found them by Herry's orders, and asked for some tobacco for their trouble; this was refused by our herds, as being well aware that they had taken the cattle, and restored them only on compulsion. All which being reported to the Commander, he gave orders that our people should seem to believe their tale, and that Herry and his men should be rewarded as if for their trouble, and treated with every kindness; directions were given to the free farmers to take good care of their cattle, and to be on their guard, so that we may avoid giving cause for quarrel, and in due time be able to take our turn with profit.

13. The Commander went through the pass of the kloof to Hout Valley, to examine all the points where the Hottentoots could in any way get through, with or without cattle; having examined the passes all this day, and, 14th, we found that they could be shut in and surrounded by fortifying in 6 places, namely: in the pass betwixt Steen and Bosbergen, marked F. G. in Van Goens' map; at the knee of the Lion, marked also F. in the kloof between Lion and Table Mountains, and at 3 points of Hout Valley, 6 fortified points in all, within which Herry and Caepmans (being once enticed there) could be confined, with pasture enough for all their cattle, out of the increase of which the Company could draw their supplies at pleasure for brass and tobacco; letting them, without cattle, pass and repass freely to purchase more cattle for said merchandize; thus letting them hold their cattle in subordination to the Company; but forced to sell to us, and to go out and fetch more when their stock might be too much diminished, &c.

#### Extract of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1657. Aug. 31. By our short letter of the 1st July<sup>(1)</sup> you will have observed that we have found that the flat, which it was proposed to enclose with an intrenchment, was found to be, at this rainy season, so wet that the expense and trouble would have been in vain; we have therefore turned our attention more particularly to the practicability of the other measure pointed out by Mr. Van Goens in his letter and plans; namely to shut in Herry and his adherents behind the mountains by means of 5 redoubts. On the 6th and 7th instant, and again in company with the captain of the Maria, we have further inspected the ground, and have found that by means of 5 redoubts those people might be easily, and at little expense, closed in. The redoubts should, however, be disposed a little differently from the mode proposed by his Honor, namely: instead of two redoubts on the Steenbergen, there should be three in the Hout Valley; one in the Kloof Pas marked F. in the map; and the 5th about the middle of the Gevel Bergen, towards the coast between the Lion's Kloof and the Hout Bay. By these means they could be enclosed by very high steep mountains, as if by walls, so that no one could pass in or out without our consent; and, consequently, they could there be held under very good subjection (*fraay onder devotie*) having

(1) The letter here referred to points out the impracticability of the proposed work in nearly the same terms which are employed in the Journal of June 30.

enough of good pasture for thousands of cattle and sheep, out of the increase of which you could draw great supplies, always taking out in proportion to the increase, and that for brass and tobacco by way of barter, and allowing them—that is to say the men—to pass out freely to fetch other cattle from the interior for brass and tobacco, thus acting as traders for the Company; but confining all their cattle within the said enclosure, and leaving there so many, that the men (when out buying other cattle for the Company or for themselves) and always longing for their wives, and for their chief riches so closed in, would continue supplicants (*aensoekers*) for their cattle. To bring the matter so far, it will be necessary that we take no step prematurely, but proceed patiently and cautiously, for they begin to watch our inspections with suspicion, and scarce dare come so close to us as formerly. So that it will be necessary for us to keep quiet until receipt of your further orders, without any more inspecting what, indeed, we have now sufficiently examined,<sup>(1)</sup> in order to let their suspicion die away, and by kindness to coax them into the said Hout Valley, when we should suddenly commence in the following manner:—

First, to garrison these 5 places with 20 men each, hastily to throw up the redoubts, (the materials of wood and stone are close at hand) the men should also have their arms with them, so as to stop the cattle and Herry, &c. and keep them inside. To make these 5 redoubts, 100 men would be required, until the fortifications are completed, or about the period between the arrival of the May ships and the autumn ships; after which each redoubt might be defended by 10 men, in addition to our intended garrison of 70 to 80 men, and the slaves for our present residency and work. For the said redoubts, there would be wanted 2 cannon for each, and 50 additional soldiers, in order that those confined may be always securely kept. Therefore, we have only to make a calculation, and to compare the excess of expenditure, above that at present required, which will result from the additional garrison—with the advantages and service which the Company may derive from these enclosed people.

In our humble opinion the advantages in question chiefly consist in the power acquired by the Company, to draw its supplies at our own discretion from the confined cattle, by way of usual, although compulsory barter, for brass and tobacco. This supply alone would probably suffice to furnish us annually with sufficient cattle and sheep, for the consumption of the shipping, and for provisioning this garrison in lieu of salt beef and pork. The Company might besides purchase more securely from the Saldanhars, and procure cattle from the increase of the free men's herds, towards your ultimate object of salting meat for India.

To attain this end so long as Herry and Caepman are not under subjection (which is impossible without the enclosure) will be tedious and difficult; for, in the open country they are too nimble for us, and are not to be induced to sell any of their cattle, whatever their number, as we have often stated; we shall, therefore, anxiously expect the final and fixed resolution and order of your Honors' upon this subject, keeping ourselves meanwhile somewhat quiet, and as usual showing them nothing but kindness to allay their suspicions as much as possible, and then, upon receipt of your Honors' orders to that effect, to contrive to draw them into the appointed place, and with the assistance of the ships' crews to seize a good opportunity of hastily surrounding, and shutting them in, for the purpose before stated. This will require much circumspection, for they begin to understand much Dutch, and are becoming the longer the more cunning.....

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#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1657. Sept. 24. About 8 o'clock found the interpreter Herry on the beach—he had been for a good while away with Caepman and associates, he brought intelligence, or at least would persuade us, that several Saldanhars had been with him, with whom he and Caepman had made peace, and an agreement that they might come with their cattle to trade with us here, without either party injuring the other—he said that they had prayed (*gesoubat*, an Indian term which he had learnt at Bantam when there with the English,) to him, but our opinion is, that he prayed to them for peace, seeing well that we would not, though frequently urged by him, join him in injuring them, but on the contrary show them every kindness, and deal justly with them, &c.

In the evening some Saldanhars came with Herry's people, asking to see our brass, as they said they feared we had not enough in store; we made a good display of all we had, and persuaded them that there was more in the *Rotterdam*, now in the Bay, and more daily expected by other ships; but they boasted that they would soon exhaust our stock, and, like 3 years ago, run us dry,

(<sup>1</sup>) See, however, the result of a further examination, 22nd Feb. 1658, *infra*.

and then laugh at us, with other humourous chat ; we gave them some bread, tobacco, beer, brandy, and Spanish wine, and parted on good terms.

Sept. 25. Fully 20 persons offered to take their discharge, of whom we discharged only 5 at present.<sup>(1)</sup>

Oct. 2. Bad weather, with thunder and lightning, but at the hardest only resembling the weakest thunder in Holland, and since the Company has had possession here we have felt, thank God, no earthquakes, which is a fortunate thing, for few places in India are exempt from earthquakes.

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Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1657. Oct. 9. Our last general Despatch of the 16th April, has, we trust, come safe to hand . . . . .since which time there have arrived here, thank God, the ships, &c. . . . .by which we have received your general Despatch of the 5th March, and subsequently a letter of 13th April, signed by Messrs. R. van Goens and Jan van Riebeeck,<sup>(2)</sup> and your letter of the 23rd of the same month. In reply to your said letter, we cannot but express the high satisfaction with which we have learned that the cultivation of the land behind Table Mountain, where no severe winds are felt, has been ascertained to succeed so well, and that the grain and other crops are in so thriving a condition. It is consequently our purpose to extend to that work some further encouragement, and also to assist and advance it ; we trust that you have been supplied to your contentment with slaves from Arders or Angola by the *Hasselt* and *Maria*. . . . . As we have neither spared any expense, nor suffered ourselves to be damped by any trouble, in order to find you in every necessary, the Cape expenditure has mounted up to a considerable sum ; we have therefore to require and direct, that on your part every attention be paid to every source from which any advantage, profit, or service can be derived, and in particular that all industry and diligence be exerted, that can contribute to the advance of agriculture and the rearing of live stock ; making a trial of every thing, and taking minute notes of your proceedings, for your own use, and that of your successors. . . . . It is also good that tobacco grows well there, as it will be very useful for the natives, and if good, in India also ; we shall expect a sample occasionally that we may try its flavour. . . . . Upon what you write regarding Herry and his (allies ?) we have thought fit still to suspend our judgement, until we receive the expected report of Mr. Van Goens, and subsequent accounts from yourself, when we trust to be better able to issue some positive direction upon the subject, as well as upon the proposal of an intrenchment provided with redoubts and ravelines, which also we regard as a serious undertaking, and which we therefore intend to consider very maturely, and with that view we shall, in the first instance, await the arrival of the map which has been framed. As, however, we authorized you by former Despatches to build some redoubts on the isthmus between Table Bay and False Bay, you may provisionally commence by placing the redoubts so authorized, in the line of the proposed intrenchment, so that, in the event of that work being proceeded with, they may come into use. In this, however, it is incumbent upon you to take care that no trouble or expense is uselessly incurred. . . . . We have also taken into further consideration the question you have submitted, as to the conduct to be observed towards the English who may touch at the Cape ; and we have thought fit to direct, that you allow them and all other European nations to be supplied with water there, to their contentment, on their fetching it themselves ; that you consent to their fishing there, either at sea, or from the shore, without demanding or obliging them to make any payment for the same ; but that you will, in the most civil manner, decline furnishing them with our live stock or other refreshment, upon the plea of our own necessities. If they can, with their money, procure any thing from the free men—provided that we can spare it—you will wink at it ; but should they be disposed to resort to violence, you will oppose force to force. Should they try to procure any thing from the inhabitants who live in the interior, and beyond our protection, we can not well prevent them, at least at present ; in like manner should they attempt to carry off the property of such inhabitants by force, you must only look on without offering any opposition, until we may see fit to furnish you with other orders upon the subject.

In Middleburg, 9th Oct. 1657.

(1) 1657. Sept. 26. The Placaat Book contains a Public Warning of this date, prohibiting the free men from buying from the natives, who were daily expected, any sick or old stock, as the Company had been, 2 years before, defrauded in that manner ; and, to "prevent the slaughter of any unhealthy stock," no cattle were to be killed without previous notice, with a view to inspection and approval.

(2) The letter of the 13th April does not allude to Cape affairs further than by stating that all is well and promising a detailed report.

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1657. Oct. 16. Having, up to this day, most anxiously expected the arrival of the Saldanhars or inhabitants of the interior, in the hopes of bartering from them a great number of cattle—according to reports long current among the Hottentoots living hereabouts, and having also observed that some of them had approached to within 2 or 3 days' journey, but have now fallen back towards the interior, without coming here, and of which we know not the cause, but presume that Herry, Caepman, &c. in some way or other, oppose their using the pasture hereabouts, &c. therefore, considering the necessity of procuring cattle for the Company and for the Free Colonists, &c. it was resolved to send a moderate number of people with pack oxen, upon a journey inland, furnished with some brass, tobacco, pipes, &c. to try not only to barter some cattle for the same, but also to invite the Saldanhars hither with all kindness, and to assure them that we shall take good care that they receive no molestation or hindrance from Herry, Caepman, &c. who we firmly believe are the only preventers of the trade, and know well how to found an argument upon our cultivating the ground, that the land would be thereby so much broken up, that they will not be able to find any pasture for their cattle hereabouts, and other things tending to hindrance, for they are very knowing, and thus they begin to remark how necessary it is to us to get cattle, and apparently hoping that through difficulties in that respect, we may be induced to abandon this residency, &c. . . . . It was also resolved to send the 2 boats to Saldanha Bay to fetch some birds, as our salt meat is nearly expended. . . . . with some brass, &c. to see whether any sheep or young oxen are to be had. . . . .

17. The free men having heard of our inclination for a travelling party, 8 of them offered and desired to join, with 5 pack oxen; their offer was therefore accepted, as it would save employing so many of the Company's men, of whom only 7 with 4 oxen and 3 or 4 of the most trusty of the Hottentoots, who daily live with us, need be sent, with one month's provision, 400 lbs. of brass, tobacco, and pipes, for trade, &c. in which merchandize it was agreed that the free men should have  $\frac{1}{3}$  share, and the Company  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; the provisions, powder, and lead, at the charge of each party separately, excepting that for the Hottentoots, for whom, as well as the Company's servants, food will be provided. It was further resolved to give the charge of the party, and of the trade, to the acting *Fiscus* and *Landschout*, A. Gabbema, . . . . . altogether 15 Dutch, 4 Hottentoots, with 9 oxen, &c.

19. Wet weather. . . . . the party set off notwithstanding, with the following Instructions:—“All being prepared for your journey, and the oxen being loaded, besides provisions, with 524 lbs. of brass, in bars and wire, 48 lbs. tobacco, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gross of pipes, you will set out this evening, in God's name, with a recommendation to take good care, and keep strict watch, so that no disaster befalls you from the hands of the inhabitants, you will try, as soon as possible, to reach the nearest Saldanhars, without concerning yourselves about Herry's tribes, or those of Caepman or the Swarte Captain, but, as much as possible, avoiding them, so as to ascertain whether we cannot deal more safely and profitably with the Saldanhars, without them; you will invite them to come hither, giving them every assurance of safeguard against Herry, &c. and that they will meet with nothing but kindness at the Fort. It is also highly necessary to direct, that, if they will not all come, at least some of them may be enticed to accompany you, so that they may be well entertained, and then dismissed with presents. The greater strangers they are, and the further off they live, the better; as we might send some people back with them, or do whatever else might be deemed most serviceable to the Company.

Should it happen, as we hope it may, that you find so good a trade that you will want more articles of merchandize, you should leave some volunteers with the natives, and return with the others, and the bartered cattle. . . . .

For the security of yourselves and the cattle, it will be highly necessary that you construct, wherever you find the trade succeeding, a good stone crael, or fence, such as the Hottentoots make, for your security at night and in case of need; you will also take good notice whether a quantity of good feathers, ivory, civet, amber, gold, honey, or such like, is to be had.

The landsurveyor, Pieter Potter, is expressly employed to lay down the bearings and distances of all valleys, hills, waters, and rivers, with a view to the formation of an exact map, so that we may always hereafter know what course and roads are to be held in future journeys, and all the positions of the forests and arable lands, as also where a redoubt or other established trading place could be erected, in case the Saldanhars are not to be persuaded to come hither, on account of

Herry and Caepman..... It will also be very desirable that you allow no firing whatever on the way, as these natives are much afraid of firearms—those at a distance still more than those hereabouts, as on hearing it they might take to flight, this is of much importance.....as Herry, &c. may have persuaded them that we wish to rob them—therefore every kindness should be shown them, so as to convince them of the contrary. That the provision may last the longer, and to enable you to stay longer out, you will economize it to the utmost—when the trade succeeds you may with this object now and then kill a sheep, to save the bread and other provisions, without regard to the opinion of the Company's servants or free men, as this trip is undertaken for the common benefit, and all must, as they have promised, conform to the rules of the Company, and acknowledge you as their Commander as long as they are engaged on this journey, none leaving the party without your express consent; so that all may proceed in good order, to the service of our hon. masters, and for the benefit of the free burgers or farmers, which may the Almighty grant," &c.

Oct. 28. This evening we learnt, from some strange Hottentoots, that our party had already fallen in with some Saldanhars, and had encamped close to them, that they had brought a good many sheep, but only 3 or 4 cattle.

29. The Commander having been out to look out for more arable ground, &c.....returning in the evening, when near the Company's orchard, fully 1½ hour's walking from the Fort, was met by Herry, the interpreter, quite alone, who, in order to ingratiate himself? (*om een plas dank te behalen*) came to confirm the news, saying among other things, that when our people, on the fourth evening, had approached the first tribe named *Charigrina*, that tribe had all fled, out of fear that they would be robbed, and that our men proceeding further, they fell in with another tribe, (named *Chocona*) and immediately got into trade with them; near these lay another tribe, *Chorachouqua*, who last year took the free men's tobacco out of the field, with whom our people (who were aware of the fact, but had long since forgiven and forgotten it) had encamped, and had been, by them, as well as by the Saldanhars, formerly mentioned, well feasted with milk, that on the *Charigrina*, the tribe who had fled, hearing this, they had returned to their former camp, and had brought to our men—besides the sheep—more milk than they could consume; that the merchandize which our men had with them was soon expended, and that they would soon return, and with them all the Saldanhars, to buy up all our brass; it is only to be hoped that they will be so good, which may the Almighty grant!

30. Some of the free men informed us in the evening, that the Saldanhars from the East (our men having visited those in the N. E.) had come to the house of J. Reyniersz, with 6 cattle, which they were desirous of bringing to the Fort, but that as the night was at hand, they would stay there until morning; the accountant, Roeloff de Man, and the sergeant, were notwithstanding sent off thither with some bread, tobacco, pipes and brandy, to welcome and entertain them and to allure them hither, with suitable greeting from the Commander, and to say that on their coming to the Fort they would be received with additional marks of friendship, and what further might serve to entice. They came, however, to the Fort about 2 hours after sunset the same evening, in company of the accountant and sergeant, having left their cattle in Reyniersz stable; they were the same people from whom the Company had, 2 years ago, bought a good quantity of cattle; the Commander therefore had them well entertained with Spanish wine, food, tobacco, &c.; and asking them whether they would not come with their houses—they answered, no; but that they would always bring some cattle to sell to the Company and to the free men. On asking them why they would not come, they replied, they dared not, because many ships often came, and they feared that the great captains who sometimes came with the ships might attack them, as they had seen and heard—apparently from Herry—that some persons were seeking for them over the whole country, to rob and to kill them, which Herry had so well confirmed, and impressed upon them, that it seemed impossible to persuade them of the contrary. Herry saying plainly, aye! why did the last great captain, (meaning the Commissioner Van Goens) come to Hout Bay with so many men but to take my cattle, and Caepman's? and others would no doubt be similarly dealt with; and though we said that no one was thinking either of them or of their cattle, and that the excursion of his Honor was only to look for ships that were then expected, as also for land for cultivation, and for free men to build upon, as might be now clearly seen, &c. still there was no talking it out of their heads, so we must presume, that the other inhabitants may have been made a little shy, which we shall have to talk them out of by and by; it is also much to be doubted whether Herry and Caepman will be easily induced to come here, so as to be shut in, for they distinctly say that they dare not stay hereabouts, particularly when ships are in the bay, for fear of other great captains,

always thinking—when they perceive such parties march into the country—that they, in particular Herry, Caepman, and Swarte Captain, will be taken or killed—and they are therefore the cause that the others have also become so shy.

Oct. 31. The said Saldanhars brought their 6 cattle to the Fort, of which we bought 3, namely, 2 cows and one ox, tolerably large, but rather lean, the other three were calves, which they would not sell, but they promised to return with the new moon in 7 or 8 days, towards which time we shall also expect further intelligence of our party of travellers.

The Commander having in some measure devoted this day to entertaining these Saldanhars, and questioning them on various subjects (through the assistance of a certain girl, of about 15 or 16 years old, whom we have named Eva, and who from the first has been retained by the Commander's wife—and who always resides here and begins to speak good Dutch) learned that there is said to be a certain great Lord, Emperor, or King, who is the Ruler over all these Cape Tribes, whom they call *Chobona*,<sup>(1)</sup> living very far off in the interior, rich in gold, which they call *Chory*, and say that they find in the sand—and coin into money as large as the palm of the hand and larger; they are very desirous for copper (rood coper) and red beads; they have large stone houses with beams, sowing white rice, and planting several kinds of garden stuff, wearing clothes, and speaking a language different from that spoken by the tribes nearer to this Cape, and who sometimes came to this vicinity. These tribes are all subject or at least tributary to Chobona, and generally known to us by the name of Saldanhars, to their own countrymen by that of *Qeuna*, as being similar in dress and language. This Chobona has, they say, a General (Veltheer) over these tribes, to keep them in subjection, and to oblige them always to acknowledge Chobona for their Sovereign, and to punish the rebellious by making war upon them. This Veltheer<sup>(1)</sup> is the same as the Saldanhars in dress and language, and is called *Kochoqua*, consisting of 2 powerful armies (*heyrlegers*) or hordes, the 2nd of which is named *Gorona*, and both have no other employment than making war upon the rebellious for the purpose stated; this gives them constant occupation, and yet they cannot keep all in subjection, for some of the tribes will not pay to Chobona that homage to which he lays claim according to his pretended right, &c. Thus Kochoqua and Gorona are always engaged in active hostilities; the sons succeed on the death of the fathers; failing sons, the brothers, and the sisters also succeed. This captain, from whom we this day bought 3 cattle, said that he had a wife who was brought up in the house of the Chobona, and was therefore a great friend of his; and he said, that his wife wore ornaments of gold in her ears and upon her neck and fingers. The Commander urged him much to bring his wife hither, or at least some of her ornaments; on which he replied, that she could not walk, being accustomed only to sit still at home, and be waited upon by many other young women, so that travelling would hurt her feet. *Item*, it was offered to have her fetched in a fine wagon, but that would not do either; it would frighten her to death if she saw Dutchmen. The Commander offered to accompany him, but neither would that help: and, as he said that he would set out on his return to-morrow, the Commander asked whether he would not like to have some of our people with him to protect him from his enemies; he said, no, for when the other tribes, his friends, saw that he had Dutchmen with him, they would all fly away inland, and drive their cattle to death; as they had indeed heard of us, but had not such confidence in our good nature as he had, now that he had been with us a second time, for Herry and Caepman reported nothing but evil of our people wherever they went; but he would see that all his friends came to us in time, after which he would some day travel into the Chobona's country with some of our people. This captain, living to the Eastward, was of the *Chaynunquas*, for with all his subordinates he was named after their chief Chaynunqua, who was very rich in cattle, and a subject of the Chobona, as were all the following, though some of them were rather quarrelsome (*stribbelig*) and rebellious, to wit Charingurina who had fled from our people (as detailed on the 29th) and then returned and traded with them. These were only partially (redelyk) subject to the Chobona, and were at war with Chaynunqua, about some private disputes among them, (as happens in Europe also with some princes who are under emperor, king, or potentate) but he said they had now agreed together to suffer each other to trade with us without molestation during this season, but not longer, and that none of them would molest any horde among which they perceived any Hollanders, in order that no injury should befall the latter, and they had all bound themselves rigorously to revenge any such injury by all practicable means. Of this there is some kind of appearance, for the fighting has ceased among them, from the time that our people have come into communication with the

(1) This mode of personification seems to have been introduced by Herry's designations of the several tribes;—"Saldanhaman," "Caepman," &c. The confusion thus caused ceases, as the tribes become better known.

Charingurinas. After all, we may listen to all these statements, but not place too much reliance upon them, so as not to expose ourselves too much, &c.

*Kaygunna*—a great friend of Chaynouqua, and also a willing subject of Chobona, very rich in cattle, and also living to the Eastward.

*Hancumqua*—also in the East, great and rich in men and cattle, one of the principal chiefs or captains of *Chobona*. *Charigruqua*, and *Kainguqua*, great rich hordes—also in the East; willing subjects, and friends of Chobona.

*Namana*—to the North, also very rich, and preserving the favor of Chobona.

*Oengayqua*—living between East and north; very powerful and rich, and therefore not disposed to acknowledge Chobona, so that the abovenamed general, Kochoqua, has much to do with them, and always to make war against them, it being, as aforesaid, his vocation, instantly to make war on rebels, to reduce them, and to keep them in subjection; but it would seem that this Oengayqua cares little for either the one or the other.

*Chorachouqua*—is the tribe who last year took the free men's tobacco out of the field; also somewhat insubordinate and very hostile to Chobona, but as they are weak, are often reduced to obedience, and punished; but still they cannot refrain from as often revolting again, and therefore harbour hereabouts with Herry and Caepman.

*Goringaycona*—Caepmans tribe. *Choeringaina* is Herry and all the Watermans, all, with their adherents, rebels and robbers (*banditen*) of Chobona; but as Kochoqua is so much occupied with Oengayqua and some others, these (as they lived at a distance, and had little power or riches) were left hereabouts quite unmolested, except that they are hunted to their holes by the other tribes, before named, who sometimes come hither, and are now beginning to do so; but they have now, out of consideration for us, made peace with them, the said captain of the Chaynouqua thinking thus to do us a great kindness, &c.

Soanqua are banditti, subject to none except the power of the arrow and assagay, upon which they chiefly depend, and plunder many people treacherously of their cattle and women, which robbery, or abduction of women, is much practised in war by all these tribes, and appears to be the principal booty, all boasting alike, this, that he has taken so many, and the other, so many women from his enemy. It seems that the object of this practice is to increase their tribes by propagation. The frequently mentioned wife of this chief of the Chaynouquas, was no native of the country of the Choboners, but had been taken from these tribes by Chobona, and as she was a great lady, brought up in his house as a child, and given to this chief as a wife, which seems to be esteemed extraordinary, as it is a mark of great favor when any one gets a wife out of Chobona's house; it is thus he attaches these tribes to his interest.

Nov. 1. Having yesterday understood from the captain, before mentioned, that the Chobona's land produces gold, we shewed him diamonds, pearls, and gold chains, with all of which, excepting the diamonds, he was acquainted—a circumstance we have never perceived among other Hottentoes; he said that his wife had ornaments of gold and pearls in abundance, but as he did not care for them, she had left them with the Chobona, having only a few in her ears and on her fingers; that Chobona would have given him, with his wife, the whole of her ornaments and much gold, but that he did not know them, nor desire to possess them till now that he saw them in our hands; asking what is the use of them, and insisting that we could not procure gold and pearls anywhere except from the Chobona's land, where, he added, the English had formerly landed on the coast, and stolen and carried away many people, and on our coming, they would suppose us to be the same people; that he would, therefore, first make the Hollanders known in every direction, and then he would some day travel thither with some of our people.—Now, whether all this is really true, and whether it will so fall out, we must ascertain in due time through further inquiry; meanwhile to encourage this person, and to bind him to the Company's interest, we presented him not only with abundance of tobacco and brass, but also with some chains, lackered with gold or silver, and with some false pearls, (which he considered fine) and other gay ornaments for the arms and neck, as well as carcanets for the head, but these he would not accept, saying, his wife had such in great abundance; we begged him to accept them for his wife, notwithstanding; but the more we pressed him, the more firmly he declined, only taking the silvered chains (received among other trinkets by the Paarl) for his children, as they would have some novelty for his wife;—upon this he departed in the forenoon, and was conducted a good way by the Commander—until he desired that we would go no further, on which we went on to the wood and corn land, and on returning in the evening we learnt that the said captain was lodging with Herry, under the Leopard's Hill, about 2½ hours' walk from the Fort, and that he had sold the 3 young cattle to Herry for brass; from which it appears that this Herry seeks the best for himself, and knows well how to secure it, under what

cloak it is not easy to say, but it may be conjectured that he persuades them that but for him they could have no access to us, he will, however, discover the contrary in due time.

Nov. 5. Our travellers, who left on the 19th October, returned safe and well, having only 7 cows, 3 calves, and 41 sheep; they reported that they could not advance beyond a certain great wide river, about 7 mylen of 2000 roods each, from this, beyond which the true Saldanhars were first to be found; this river, in consequence of its depth and the quantity of water (which was running to the North,) was not to be passed until towards the middle of the dry season, when, as stated by the Hottentoots, the principal Saldanhars would come there for water, as at that time water and sufficient pasture for their cattle was not to be had elsewhere—the pastures were very fine there. So that neither our people could get to the true Saldanhars, nor the latter to them; and those who lay on this side (the Choraehouquas who as before noticed stole the tobacco, and close to whom our people encamped, and the Charingurinas who sold the said cattle) had no more to dispose of, saying (according to the constant tune of Caepmans) that they must live by their cattle, and therefore could not part with them; as may be seen from the daily journal kept by our men and here inserted, as follows:—

“Oct. 19. Towards evening, being rainy weather, we set out from the Fort the Goede Hoop, being 15 in company, 8 free men, 7 Company’s servants, with 9 pack oxen and 3 of the most trusty Hottentoots; we had much trouble, as the oxen were not yet used to carry burdens; lodged at the house of the free burger J. Reyniers, and at day break proceeded on our journey. 20th. Fine weather, had great trouble with the oxen, but they improved on the road; took our course over the Fresh and Salt Rivers, straight across the flat to the East, to the skirt of the Leopard’s Berg, where we passed the night in a thorn bush; the Hottentoots whom we had taken with us, wanted to leave us, saying they would go home, but they soon after rejoined us. In the afternoon we met some Hottentoots, who tried to persuade us that we were not in the right road to the Saldanhars, but should go by the Salt Pans; we paid little attention to them, for we thought they wanted to bring us to Herry, Caepman, or other Hottentoots, and therefore thought it best to avoid that road as much as possible, and to hold on our course; travelled, according to our reckoning, about 5 mylen<sup>(1)</sup> Eastward. 21st. Went on N. E. along the skirt of the Leopard’s Berg, meeting on the way 3 Hottentoots, who, upon our asking where Herry, Caepmans, &c. and the Saldanhars lay, told us they knew nothing of Herry, Caepmans, &c. but that the Saldanhars lay fully 4 days’ journey from this, and that to seek them we should go E. N. E. to a great river which runs along the mountains of the African continent. We gave them some tobacco, with a letter for the Commander.<sup>(2)</sup> We went on, and about 7 o’clock it appeared from the statements of some Hottentoots, that Caepman had gone on before us, although we never got sight of them. The country every where a barren heath, where there was not grass enough to feed our oxen. 22nd. Weather as before, but warm, marched about 5 mylen N. E. and E. N. E.; about 4 P. M. we reached the said river, which we called the *Great Bergh River*, where we encamped for the night, having in the afternoon passed the kloof between the *Diamandt* and the *Paarl Bergh*, and on the other side of the *Clappmus Bergh*, partly good soil, but generally bare and sandy. 23rd. Dry cloudy weather, went on past the said Diamandt and Paarl Berg, along the said river, in which our people caught some fish, which we called Barmer; it was of good flavour, though rather bony, like the pike (snoek) in Holland; during the march we saw some traces of horses as well as their dung in several places—fine arable land here, and good pasture along the river. In the evening the wind blew from the westward with rain, were obliged to seek good quarters under the trees, having travelled only 4 mylen. 24th. Cloudy with a little rain, as we were ready to set out heard the report of a cannon, which we presumed had been fired in Table Bay; saw some sea cows in the river. In the afternoon, on the wind coming round to the S. S. E. the rain ceased. There are no gusts of wind here as at the Fort. Marched about 5 mylen N. by W. over bare sandy ground mixed with small stones, and in some places stony; in the night heard many sea cows near us. 25th. Rainy, wind S. E., marched N. N. W., met a rhinoceros which came directly towards us, and passed through the cattle, without hurting any of them; soon after we entered a fine valley, about an hour’s walk in length, where there stood as fine grass for making hay as could be found in Fatherland, halted there until the rain ceased. In the afternoon we, proceeding W. S. W. through a high kloof, saw in it from a distance a Hottentoo encampment, towards which we directed our course, and about sunset got withing quarter

1657. Nov. 5. A Despatch of the 10th gives the same details. The expedition is stated to have been sent in compliance with the orders of Mr. Van Goens, and because no natives had appeared with cattle to dispose of for 2½ years; it is lamented that the cattle purchased, do not equal in value the provisions expended on the journey, which it is proposed to resume in January, in hopes that the drought may, by that time, have brought some of the natives near Berg River.

(1) On the margin of the Journal, and in the same handwriting, is the following *Nota*:—The mylen here mentioned are of one hour on foot, (een uyr gaens, “a League.”—SEWEL) and therefore only ½ of the Germau myl, according to the Rynlaud measure of 2000 roods per myl.

(2) The letter referred to, and 2 others, are inserted in the Journal, but are omitted as unimportant. Instructions to the master of the *Robbejacht*, on the 27th Oct., direct that some sheep may be bought at Saldanha Bay, should it happen that any natives are to be found; and that the Company’s arms be affixed in Saldanha Bay, “as formerly done at Dassen Island on the rock *Ryppermonde*.”

of an hour of it, and then halted; some Hottentoots coming to us, we understood that this was the tribe who had stolen tobacco at Rondebosch, from whom we bartered some milk for our people. They also said that the Saldanhars lay about a day's journey off, and that they would go and apprise them that we had come with brass and tobacco to barter; and that they would try to induce them to come with sheep and cattle. It was therefore thought advisable to halt here for a day or two, (as our oxen were much galled by carrying the brass, and could hardly go on,) and to await the intelligence which the Hottentoots might bring. In the night these tobacco thieves brought a small sheep to our crael, which we purchased of them for some tobacco, this being the first animal we had bought. 26th. Fine weather. Learned from the Hottentoots, who had returned, that the Saldanhars would come with their cattle this evening or early to-morrow, which is to be wished; what will come of it God knows. Killed the sheep, which was little worth, and this tribe brought a cripple ox for sale which we would not have, so they took it away. 27th. Bought of the Saldanhars, 2 cows and a small sheep; they said they would fetch more to-morrow, gave for one 4 and the other 3 bars, (*plueten*) with a rod of thick brass wire. 28th. Sent 2 Dutch and 2 Hottentoots to inquire whether the Saldanhars would come, also to ascertain in what direction we must go to find them, and to see whether there was water and grass enough for the cattle; while patiently awaiting their arrival, we heard that they were coming, with a good lot of sheep, of which we bought 22, they promising to fetch more. About 2 hours after sunset, the party who had been sent out, returned, reporting that the Saldanhars had promised to come to us to-morrow with their crael and cattle; and advising us to stay where we were, as where they lay there was neither grass nor fresh water. They had left behind 4 Hottentoots who were coming with 8 sheep, but had been obliged to halt until daylight. Saying also that 20 cattle and some sheep would follow; what will come of it time will show. 29th. The Saldanhars brought the said sheep to our crael, we bought them all; as before, they promised that they would bring more cattle, for which we must patiently wait, so must stay here a little longer, for they come to us daily, being only 6 mylen from us, but as some of the free men ask what we are trifling (*pannekoeken*) about here, we resolved to march to meet them in the morning. . . . . and to send the bartered cattle and sheep to the Fort by 2 Dutch and 2 Hottentoots, so as to cause no delay on the road. Towards evening some Hottentoots of the tobacco thieves came running to us with their assagays, and we, not knowing what it might mean, prepared to defend ourselves, but on approaching they told us that two lions had come to their crael, and requested assistance, which was promised to them. 4 Hollanders were sent with firelocks, meanwhile we packed up the baggage and prepared to remove to the Saldanhars to-morrow, also examined the pack oxen, which had been much galled, and found that they could not well bear any burden yet, for the galled places being full of matter required to be first opened; thus we were forced to stay a day or two in hopes of healing them as much as possible. Our people returning in the evening, told us that 3 shots had been fired at one of the lions, which had taken shelter in a bush, and that they presumed that he had got enough to prevent him from going further, but that from the roughness of the ground he had escaped, the Hottentoots saying they would seek him to-morrow.

30th. Sent 3 Hollanders again to the said *Negerye* with a little brass and tobacco, desiring two of them to stay there and try to induce the Hottentoots to come to us, and the third to return with a report of their proceedings. In the afternoon 4 Saldanhars came with 4 cows, 2 calves, and 3 sheep, which were purchased from them, and in the evening, one of our party returned, stating that the wife of the captain was sick, and therefore they could not come, but that to-morrow all the cattle which they could dispose of would be sent by our two men who were to stay there. 31st. The men who had staid with the Saldanhars, returned, bringing with them a cow, a calf, and 4 sheep, which they had bartered for brass which they had taken with them; and reported that the Saldanhars were not inclined to part with any more, therefore I intend to take another trip thither myself with 2 oxen laden with brass and tobacco, to try whether they cannot be induced to sell some more. With our people came three, who said they were Saldanhars, and lay on the other side of the great Bergh River, and had come to the same. . . . . they said that as soon as the water fell they intended to cross the river, which, at present, they could not do without swimming, they said also, that, as was the case two years ago, we should not have brass enough; they were assured, on the contrary, that we had a greater stock of brass than they of cattle, on taking leave they received each a piece of tobacco, and set out well satisfied, promising, that on reaching their home, they would tell their captain, as aforesaid, that when the river had subsided, he should come to the Fort; wherefore, seeing that our time would soon be expended, and that no more cattle were to be had from the other crails, it was determined that as soon as we had made the visit, we should return to the Fort with the remaining merchandize.

Nov. 1. Set out on our journey for the purpose above stated, going N. W. and after having advanced about 5 mylen over barren sandy ground with little or no fresh water, except in some spots where the Hottentoots had dug small holes in which the water was generally brackish, we saw the *Negerye*, which we reached in the afternoon, and which was of little importance as it consisted of only 21 houses, large and small; we halted on a small height, and sending for the captain, asked him whether he could not procure us some cows; he answered, that he had no cattle to spare, but that he would this evening assemble the principal men, and ask them all whether they were inclined to barter any thing more; this he was strongly urged to do, with a promise that if he procured us 10 cattle, and 20 sheep, for which we had taken with us just enough brass, he should receive a present of a thick rod of brass wire and some tobacco; he promised to use his utmost

endeavour, and to bring us early intelligence before next morning of what they had determined upon, for we intended—in the event of being unable to barter any thing there—to remove immediately, thinking that they would be better and quicker brought to resolve on trading. 2nd. The said captain returned to us before day, saying that they had no cattle to dispose of, and only 4 sheep, which, as we could not get them otherwise, we paid for in brass; and then we prepared to return, thinking that when we were on the way, they would agree to barter, but we found ourselves mistaken. In the afternoon we rejoined our people, whom we had left to take care of the residue of the brass and tobacco, and learned that they had yesterday shot a hart, which was nearly caten up. Desired them to divide the brass among the 9 oxen, and prepare for returning to the Fort, for nothing more was to be had from the inhabitants, and as the homeward journey, with the sheep and cattle, would occupy 3 or 4 days, we should require all the provisions that remained. 3rd. Set out along a river which was full of Dutch reeds, and to which we therefore gave the name of *Hollandsch Riedt Beeck*, marched 5 mylen S. W. a little southerly? (*welso zuydelyk*) over sandy heathy ground, until about 2 hours before sunset, when we sought a place where we could lie safe. 4th. Kept the same course along the said *Beeck*, which runs with windings—about 4 hours, to the kloof, the Fort bearing South from us. 5th. Set out from the said kloof, passed the Salt Pans and the Fresh and Salt Rivers, to the Fort, which we reached safely in the afternoon with 7 cows, 3 calves, and 41 sheep, together with the residue of the merchandize, being 426 lbs. of bar or wire brass, 16 lbs. tobacco, and 6 dozen of pipes, so that the cattle cost:

Cows and calves, 50 lbs. of brass, at £70 per 100 lbs. ....	£46 3
And the 41 sheep and lambs 48 lbs. brass, 10 lbs. tobacco, and $\frac{1}{2}$ gross pipes..	£38 10

Total,..... £84 13

Signed, A. GABBEEMA."

Nov. 6. The following Resolution was this day passed:—

EXTRACT..... It is also thought proper to interdict the barter of elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' horns, ostrich feathers, or any other article whatsoever, upon any pretence, under a penalty of 10 Rds.; as little of these articles is brought in, and we perceive, the longer the more clearly, that this practice causes a great hindrance in this cattle trade, which has been conceded to them by his Honor Commissioner Van Goens, with a recommendation to pursue it as far as—subject to the prescribed rules—may be practicable, in order to procure abundance of draught oxen and cows for the public benefit; every one is therefore warned, as above, by an extract of this, to beware of loss, and to draw his chief profit from agriculture and the trade in cattle.—Thus resolved, &c. and the Extract hereof pronounced and affixed at the proper place, &c.....

7. Some of the Charingurina tribe living on this side of the great Berg River, came to the Fort very early with 25 sheep, which, in order to entice them more at first, were bought of them rather dearer than usual, after being well entertained, they departed, promising soon to fetch more; we purposely did not look so exactly to the size or condition of the sheep, and allowed ourselves, as it seemed to them, to be as it were cheated in the hurry of the barter, so as to keep up their eagerness, and prevent any check in the trade. Heard to-day also that in 3 or 4 days the Chaynouqua also (of whom so much has been written) would come hither with a good many cattle, which we hope may be true, as they are very necessary for the advancement of agriculture, and the increase of butter, milk, &c.

8. The free men having requested permission to go out again without the Company's servants, to try whether they could not succeed better without them, in finding some more cattle, their desire was acceded to, that we might give them full contentment, (*om haer de maat vol te doen*) provided that, agreeably to the conditions entered into with Commander Van Goens, they should not give more for the cattle than the Company had brought into usage, in order that the price now paid (which is 3 times greater than 5 years ago) may not be any more increased, or the trade any further destroyed, and that all we find that they possess or buy, in excess, shall be delivered to the Company at the price formerly fixed, so as to be enabled to accommodate others, disposed to accept their freedom, with the means of cultivating the ground. Upon their representing that the interdict against buying elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' horns, &c. is very injurious to them, as the Company is notwithstanding plundered by the ship people, who contrive to procure these things under the rose, paying for them fully 6 times what they (the free men) are in the habit of paying; at their request the late interdict was therefore rescinded, and that barter left open to the free men, subject, however, to the approval of our masters, and provided also that they shall not be at liberty to sell the same to any of the Company's servants; but that they shall deliver to the Company all rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, and ostrich feathers, they receiving full 100 per cent. profit, in order that every thing might the better come into the hands of the Company.

14. The captain of the Chaynouquas, mentioned on the last of October and the 1st instant,

arrived at the Fort this afternoon, with fully 100 men and 71 head of cattle, young and old; after refreshling the people with a dram of brandy and some food, all the cattle were purchased from them in a couple of hours, we giving rather more than usual for them, in order at length to get into our possession a good stock of cattle. After the conclusion of the barter we again treated them with food and brandy, so that some of them became rather elevated, and on getting each a present of tobacco they departed well satisfied, all but the said captain, who wished to stay till morning; he asked for the loan of a pack ox, to carry home his brass, stating that in a few days, when he would return with more cattle, he would restore the ox; we granted his request, and made offer of more if he required them, so as to bind him to us as much as possible; he seemed a good man (*fraay man*) and said that we might rely upon his word, &c.

Nov. 15. 2 cattle were bought. The said captain of the Chaynouquas was presented with some iron, an axe, brass, tobacco, and some small chains; and having, as well as his people, eaten and drank, received some bread to eat on the way, loaded his brass and tobacco upon the ox he borrowed from us—he departed, saying that in a few days he would return with still more cattle. Two of his people, who had accompanied him on his first visit also, seeing that we gave the captain (for such they had represented him to be) so many presents, expressed themselves much dissatisfied, asking why this was done to him alone? he was not the chief of the Chaynouquas, but only a person appointed by him, through whose agency his and their cattle were to be sold to us, that many of them were owners of cattle, that they had also brought their own cattle, as their chief had recommended and permitted to all who chose to trade with us. They admitted indeed that he was of higher rank than themselves, because he had married one of their chief's daughters, but they could not see that he was, on that account, entitled to have such extraordinary presents; therefore to content them they were presented with some brass and tobacco. All this was interpreted to us by the interpreter Eva, in the presence of Herry, and of one Pieter (called by the Hottentoots Otegnö) who also spoke tolerable Dutch; who confirmed what is stated above, namely, that this captain was indeed a qualified person, though not the chief of the Chaynouquas, but that he had one of the chief's daughters to wife, and was therefore of somewhat higher rank than the others, and also because he had many cattle.

We were also obliged to give Herry many presents of brass, tobacco, and some gilt chains, otherwise he showed great discontent; pretty plainly threatening that he would take care that neither these, nor any other Saldanhars, of whatever tribe, should come here again; at which we indeed affected to laugh, but dared not allow him to depart empty handed, lest he might undertake some mischief. The above named Pieter, seeing the presents given to Herry, also desired to be treated like him, saying, why should Herry have so much and not him, that he had—and it was quite true—interpreted and helped in the barter as well as Herry, so that we were obliged to fill his hands also more than was usual, with brass, tobacco, and chains, &c. While we had Eva, Herry, and Pieter in company of the said Chaynouquas, we again showed them some gold and pearls, and asked them about the situation of Chobona; but as soon as we began to speak on the subject, Herry, on hearing the name, appeared to rage as if he was mad, saying that the Chobona, and not he, must *soubat*; on our saying we had our information from the Chaynouquas people, he said they were fools, and knew not what they said; seeming half disposed to quarrel with them, which being noticed by us, he winked to us not to interfere. Eva touched on the subject again, and Herry (who had winked to Pieter to speak on the same side of the question) whenever we named Chobona, spat on the floor with great contempt, and, treading on his spittle, said, “that, and thus for Chobona!” which might have caused a rupture between him and the said captain, had we not said, in order to prevent dissention, that we had heard (of Chobona?) chiefly from others; and, when we observed to Herry that most of the Saldanhars acknowledged him for their greatest captain or king, he said they were fools, for their greatest captain was the old corpulent man, named *Gogosy*, who lived with the largest horde of the Caepmans, and was acknowledged by all who lived on this side of Great Berg River, from whom some of our people had lately bartered the sheep: and that they were named as before mentioned.

*Goeringaycoena*, Caepmans' largest horde, with whom *Gogosy* (well known to us) always lives. *Goeringayqua*, Herry's troop, and all the Watermans. *Gorachouqua*, or *Gorachouna*, the tobacco thieves; also *Charingurina*, who last year attacked the crew of the *Robbejacht*, robbed them of the brass, and meant to kill them—all included among the Caepmans, living on this side of the Great Berg River, and carrying on war in conjunction against the true Saldanhars, who live beyond the River. Saying to Herry that they were perhaps brought under subjection to Chobona, he said that they were sometimes foolish enough to suffer it, but that they could not with propriety and

sincerity acknowledge any one but Gogosy aforesaid, who always lives with Caepmans' largest tribe, and to whom Pieter Otegnio is also related.

*Namana*, or *Namaqua*, he admitted to be a rich and powerful lord, living to the North and West of this Cape, where all these Cape people resided, (*daer haer al dit Caaps volk onthoud*) but that they were not a Hottentoo people, nor having any supremacy over them; their hair was long, and not curled like that of the Hottentoes, although, like the latter, they were dressed in sheep skins; from them came all the copper, but whether it was bought from any other people further off, he did not know; from thence they procured also their red beads, (which were there made and sold) as well as much, or nearly all, of the cattle in possession of all the Saldanhars hereabouts.

*Kochoqua*, or *Kochona*, was the greatest of all the Hottentoes, as well of those already named, who live on this side of the Great Berg River, as of all the true Saldanhars, who consisted of various tribes, and were named as follows, to wit—*Gorona*, or *Goraqua*, of *Kochoqua's* people, and then next to them? (*daer aen*) *Chaynouqua*, or *Chayrouna*, before mentioned, with whom we were now trading, who also was a rich and great *Heer*, having, like the former, and like the following, many tribes under him. *Kayguna*—*Kaynguqua*, great friends of *Chaynouqua*, and of whom some were present yesterday, with cattle, among *Chaynouqua's* people—*Hancumqua* and *Charigrqua*; which seven were almost always on good terms with each other, but often had disputes, and war with these on this side of Great Berg River; but that now (on account of the trade with us) they had made a truce until each should have bartered as much as he wished.

From all which it fully appears that Herry, Caepman, &c. are rebels against Chobona, which Eva, (being afterwards questioned apart) also confirmed, and plainly stated that Herry had quarelled with the said *Chaynouqua's* captain, and said that he must not make it known that any gold or pearls were to be had here, or else we would travel through the whole country, that we might carry it all away—the *Chaynouqua* also seemed to apprehend this, (*te vatten*) but expressed himself when alone with us, in Herry's absence, still well disposed, and laughed at Herry, saying that Herry was angry with him, but that he cared little about it.

Nov. 18. The free men came home this morning; 8 of them had gone out on the 9th, fancying that they could procure more and better cattle than the Company. They brought with them one lean cow, 3 calves, and 47 sheep, young and old, bad and diseased, (*malle*) which they had bartered from the *Charingurinas*—those who had attacked the crew of the *Robbejacht*—taken their brass, broken the boat, and intended to kill the people, as they intended to do to these free men also, on account of the brass in their possession, according to the warning given by the three trusty Hottentoes, who accompanied them on their journey, in consequence of which they returned sooner, particularly as the *Gorachouquas*—the tobacco thieves—were still to be passed, who had agreed with the *Charingurinas* to do the same to our 15 men who were out in October. No more Hottentoes would venture out with our men, fearing that they also would be killed, unless, indeed, 30 or 40 men were together, in which case they would still venture. The free men have thus got a fright, and have no intention of again going out alone. It is certain, and we are daily warned of it by the Hottentoes who live with us, that the Cape tribes, including the Swarte Captain, Herry, and all who live on this side of the Great Berg River, are not much to be relied upon; it is also daily more certain that they will sell us no cattle but such as are sick, lame, or too many for them. As to the right Saldanhars, whose tribes have been named, who live beyond the said river, and sometimes far inland, they are much inclined for barter, but seem by no means inclined to allow us to come to them, as we fully ascertained from the *Chaynouquas* and *Kaygunnas*, of whom we last bought cattle, who being frequently asked, as often answered, that other tribes, and even their chiefs, on seeing us, would instantly fly, and drive their cattle to death; they therefore advised us to stay at home, and they would take care that we got cattle enough, if we had only brass enough, and it did not fall short, as happened 2 years ago; of this we gave them full assurance, by showing them our stock.

21. . . . . Arrived the English ship *Golden Dolphin*, 150 tons, bound to Bantam.

27. This day the free men bartered from the *Charingurinars* 10 sheep, and brought them home, 3 of which sheep had, as they said, died, or been drowned, by the neglect of their boys; they therefore requested that they might be allowed to sell the flesh, which they brought to the Fort, to the English now in the roadstead; but this was refused, for it was thought that the sheep had been slaughtered, and not drowned, and when there may be English here, it would be constantly pretended that sheep or cattle had died or been drowned, in order under this pretext to sell meat, and thus through avarice to diminish the live stock.

Dec. 1. The *Chaynouquas* came again to the Fort with 23 cattle, among them 6 tolerably good

oxen, all which were soon bought from them. The ox we had lent was brought back and restored to us, and they promised to fetch more cattle in a few days. It seems that the free men had allowed it to escape them, that they intended to visit the Chaynouquas in the interior, for this Chaynouqua warned, and almost prayed us to take care that no one went out unless we wished that all their friends, of whom numbers were advancing in this direction, (*afsakhen*) should take to flight. The Cochoquas from the North had also 3 men here to-day, who said that within a few days many would come with cattle, as they had already advanced to the Great Berg River. All these people were again well entertained.

Dec. 2. The Captain of the Chaynouquas staid this day at the Fort, where he was well cared for in the Commander's house—he intends returning to-morrow to fetch more cattle. The free men at the residence of Jan Reyniers, bought to-day 3 cows, 1 ox, and 2 calves, so that they begin to get a stock of cattle. As we now begin to get some oxen to drag the plough, another Company of three persons offered to cultivate 45 morgen of land, with the help of the servants they would hire.

4. The persons alluded to received their freedom for 20 years.

8. This day we communicated to the free men our resolution of the 30th Nov. to sell no more beef or pork to them. . . . they represented that the barter had recently diminished, and that they had not sheep enough for food, and begged to be some time longer assisted with beef and pork, which was acceded to for the present, until we see what turn the barter may take.

9. The free men bartered at their own dwellings 19 sheep and a cow, from the Charingurinars.

12. Company's people busy mowing the corn, and gleaning up the spilt ears of barley; the free men do not show much industry in this way, giving most of their time and attention to the cattle barter. . . . .

13. Some Saldanhars of another tribe (subject to the Chaynouquas) brought to the Fort 12 cattle, young and old, which were soon bought. The chief of these people—called by us *Den Resoluten*—had not been here for 2 years, and seeing—after he had been bargaining with the accountant, R. de Man—the Commander come out, and perceiving that it was still the same man, he appeared highly elated and delighted, scarce knowing how to express his joy, with laughing, singing, &c. taking his hands and embracing him round the neck. The Commander returned those marks of satisfaction, and told him that his arrival was very gratifying, in proof of which the chief and all his people were well entertained with brandy, bread, tobacco, &c.; and after several marks of reciprocal kindness, they departed, they promised to bring many cattle occasionally; within a few days the same is to be expected from his *confrater* or friend, the chief of the Chaynouquas, from whom the last 2 or 3 large lots have been bought. The free men at J. Reyniers', yesterday, purchased 2 oxen and 1 cow, so that, thank God, the barter still proceeds.

15. This day Herry, as broker for other natives from the interior, sold to the free men 8 cattle of different ages, among them some oxen; saying to the Commander, as soon as he perceived him (fearing that he had done wrong) that he would soon fetch other people with a great number of cattle, that he brought these small lots to the free men, &c. but these are only this fellow's lame excuses (*blaauwe blomtjes*.)

16. The free men at Reyniers' bought a cow and calf; they are situated very conveniently for the purpose, in the direct track of the Hottentoots by the Fresh River, and about one hour's walk from the Fort. In the afternoon there were bought at the Fort, 1 ox, 3 cows, and 1 sheep, from the tobacco thieves, (called Chorachouquas) and 7 sheep from the Charingurinars or Charinguriquas, with whom were 3 persons (as they said) of the Cochoquas, none of whom had ever been at the Fort, but were entire strangers, who had come to see what kind of a people the Hollanders were. They were consequently the better treated, to attach them to us—they said they would bring abundance of cattle—time will show.

1657. Dec. 17. A Despatch of this date from the Governor General and Council of India—after acknowledging the receipt of 14 Despatches from the Cape, and expressing a general concurrence in the views of Commissioner Van Goens, proceeds—"These Instructions appear to be so well digested, that we do not perceive any particular point in which they require to be added to, or modified; we would only express our opinion in general, that you should not embarrass yourself by undertaking too many works; and that the establishment should be kept on such a reduced scale, as merely to suffice for growing its own provisions, and furnishing the Company's ships with every kind of needful refreshments. We think therefore that those speculations of remote advantages which are indulged in by some, such as, that every thing can be produced there in such abundance, that it may even become the granary of India, should be thrown aside; we cannot believe that it can ever be brought so far, but that, on the contrary, it will continue as hitherto, to be burdensome to the Company to keep up the present Cape establishment in the manner demanded by your requisitions. It is always observable that great undertakings are speedily attended by heavy expenses, and that the anticipated profits, which have been calculated upon as a diminution of the outlay, come in very slowly, and, indeed, sometimes totally disappear in smoke; it is therefore that we give it as our opinion, that the more the Cape establishment is circumscribed, the better and more profitable for the Company. We cannot believe

23. The *Robbejacht* and *Penguin* returned from Saldanha Bay with 31 half-aums of salted birds, and 17 of seal oil, having had no trade with the Hottentoots; having removed the 2 English cannon from Dassen Island to Robben Island; and having placed the Company's mark on posts, and engraved it upon rocks, in the places where they had been ordered so to do.

1658. Jan. 2. The free men came to complain that Herry's cattle, and those of Caepman, had done great damage in their peas and beans, and that the natives were not willing to drive their cattle out of the cultivated land. On which the Commander went out with some attendants to their encampments—which were at Salt River; on seeing this, they thought that our people were coming to do them some injury—and they instantly collected their cattle, 15 or 1600, and sheep 10 to 1100, in their crael—the women and children ran away, while the men placed themselves in battle array with bows and arrows, and assagay in hand. When our people, however, came close up to them, they all began to fly, and would have abandoned all their cattle, so that our men could have brought them to the Fort without a blow; but while flying they saw the Commander on the other side with another party, on which they instantly laid down their weapons, and the women returned, thinking now that they saw the Commander, there was no danger—as they had every reliance upon him. On calling Herry and the chief men among them, and asking them why they fled, they said that they thought the free men were angry with them, and that soldiers were coming from the Fort in consequence, and that, seeing the soldiers coming without seeing the Commander, they feared that they would be robbed and killed, but that on seeing him they were set at ease. The Commander said, that he had come to see how the pasture looked, and as he had learned . . . . . [MS. decayed] behind the Mountains or in the Hout Valley, leaving these pastures for the Dutch alone, because the grass here could not feed our cattle and theirs also; this they accordingly promised to do, and said they would decamp early to-morrow, and go to Hout Valley, where they will be nicely in the toils, (*fraay in de fuyck*) to be shut in as soon as the Company may resolve on that measure. The Commander left them before dark, on good terms, some of them coming to the Fort; but it fully appeared this evening that we could have very easily carried off whole herds.

3. Herry and Caepman with all their houses and stock removed entirely over the Bosheuvel to Falsc Bay, where they were joined by the Ghorachouquas or tobacco thieves; they have together fully 3000 cattle and 2000 sheep, of which they never barter any—but Herry says that in a few days some Saldanhars, namely, the Chaynouquas and others will come again with many cattle for sale—time will show.

14. Herry was this day at the Fort, saying, that he had understood from the sons of the captain of the Caepmans, who had been out this last time with the Commander, that we had inspected all the vallies behind the Cape Mountains, and found there very fine pasture; asking therefore if he with the Caepmans might keep it (i. e. the said pastures?) for their own use; upon which he was answered, yes, and that, in that case, we should only use the pastures in this flat, and never even look again at that inner tract, (*binnen landt*) having persuaded him that we had been out to look for other pasture for the cattle, as the grass had got scarce here, but that, if they would leave these pastures for us alone, we would be satisfied, and would leave for them, with as many cattle as they pleased, all the Hout and Berg Vallies. On which Herry again proposed that—as they could not live very securely there, because their enemies (whom they named) frequently came round some parts of the Steenberg, and would rob them;—we should place some garrison there, to guard it for him and Caepman; they would again do their best to procure us as many cattle as possible, would leave all their cattle and wives behind them, and some also with a good flock of sheep on Robben Island, and then they would, for the brass which they procured from us for their own cattle, go and buy more for us in the interior, [MS. decayed] include them under the same protection. We answered that he should come to us with the captains of the Caepmans and Goerachouquas, to speak with us upon that and other matters, which he promised to do, and begged that the conference might be in a closed place, so that no one might know or talk any thing about it, as he would then have something more to propose to the Commander.

17. The pier so far ready that the Commander went along the beams of it into the boat, 4 inch planks are in preparation in the wood to cover it with.

22. The free men's sloop, *Penguin*, returned from Dassen Island with dried fish, birds, and

that our employers will much relish the proposal to construct such a number of redoubts and intrenchments, for the purpose of protecting the corn lands and the cattle; as they would require too great a garrison; and it is therefore probable that the Directors will be more disposed to adopt the other mode, pointed out in the plan, that of garrisoning a few of the roads and passes against the Hottentoots, which, in our opinion, would give much less trouble (*ombragie*.) You will, however, learn before us what views may be adopted by the Directors, by whose orders you will be guided, &c."

many eggs, which first voyage will bring these free men a pretty good sum from the ready sale they find to the ships in the bay ;—there are now 415 sheep on Robben Island.

Jan. 31. . . . .The Cochoquas brought 4 cows and 29 sheep which were all bartered from them, promising soon to fetch more, they were therefore well entertained.

Feb. 8. Very strong S. E. winds, the Commander went out, notwithstanding, to Hout Bay and Steenberg, again to examine minutely what more spots there might be, by which the Hottentoes might get out, and so escape ; he climbed for this purpose on the morning of the 9th, at day break, from Hout Bay—where he had passed the night in the open air—to the top of the mountain, and examined all the Steenberg to their summits from the Kloof Pass to their furthest angle in False Bay, inclusive ; and found that there were so many open places and passes, that there would be no chance of closing it with less than 10 or 12 redoubts, with long wings or intrenchments, or 400 or 500 roods—some parts of which, in consequence of the rocky ground, it would be very difficult and expensive to make, others again might be dug with less trouble, and when all is done, every thing would depend upon the vigilance of the guard, and if the Hottentoes once escaped they would never be induced to come hereabouts again ; and besides to all eternity they would never trust us again, but would always regard us with suspicion, and thus the enormous expense and trouble would have been uselessly incurred.

#### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1658. Feb. 22. In our letter of August 31st, your Honors will, among other things, perceive the opinions which we at that time entertained, as to the manner in which Herry and Caepman could be most cheaply brought and kept under subjection to the Company, and also the service and advantage to be derived from that measure, namely, that we could draw out of the increase of their stock, by way of barter, about as many cattle as would be required for the due refreshment of the passing shipping, and for feeding this garrison ; for which purposes and to save the Fatherland beef and pork, there would be required for each ship, large and small, on an average, 8 cattle and 8 sheep ; taking the number of ships at 30 annually, this would require 240 cattle, and 240 sheep. For this residency, including slaves, free men, and all who must eat, there would be wanted 200 cattle and 200 sheep—in all 440 of each would be wanted, to give any kind of contentment to the shipping ; and more than this could not be drawn out of the increase of the confined cattle of Herry and Caepman, and whether this would be worth the additional garrison of 50 men, which would cost the Company at least 8 or 10 thousand Guilders annually, we submitted to your consideration in our said letter. Since that period we have, with much trouble, taken a more exact survey, and we find that the said additional number of 50 men beyond the ordinary garrison, and stationed at the places specified, would not be half enough, and that much more work and expense would be required, seeing that we have found in our various scrambles among the hills, since the departure of Mr. Van Goens, so many outlets through or over the mountains, that we see no chance of garrisoning them with 5 redoubts, but that at least 10 would be necessary, partly with long flanking intrenchments to cut off the broad passages, some of these intrenchments requiring to be 400 or 500 roods in length, and at least 8 feet high, and which, from the rocky and mountainous nature of the ground, would be very difficult and expensive. . . . . And supposing all the work finished at great cost, all must still depend upon the vigilance of the watch, and upon one lout or other, who in some one of the said garrisons might be, on some one occasion, negligent on his post ; for the Hottentoes finding themselves thus enclosed, and compelled (although by form of barter) to part with their cattle at our discretion, would contrive a thousand schemes, in one way or other to escape with their cattle, and then all the fat would be in the fire, and we should never again be so trusted by them as we are now, that they cannot imagine any thing of us but good<sup>(1)</sup>. . . . .

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1658. Feb. 27. Our party, 15 in number with 2 trusty Hottentoes, under command of the said sergeant, set out on their journey to the interior having 6 pack oxen, carrying 3 weeks provisions, 660 lbs. brass, 95 lbs. tobacco, and 3 gross of pipes, to barter for cattle, as specified in the Resolution.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) After more against the scheme of enclosing, the details of the 31st October, 1st November, and other parts of the Journal, are given in similar terms—as general intelligence, and not as the foundation of any substantive proposal ; it is therefore deemed needless to repeat them.

(2) 1658. Feb. 25. The grounds stated in the Resolution for ordering this expedition, are, the appearance of fires in the distant mountains, indicating the periodical approach of natives ; and the want of cattle in consequence of two ships having been largely supplied. The orders are similar to those of Oct. 19, 1657. See page 108.

1658. March 11. Extract of Instructions to Commander VAN RIEBEECK by Commissioner CUNEUS.<sup>(1)</sup>

You are likely soon to receive the orders of our Masters upon the scheme of the 15 redoubts, and that of the ditch and intrenchment for the protection of the Company's corn lands and cattle; but, with submission to better judgments, I think very little of either the one or the other; as the one would be too costly, and the other, independently of the expense, would require too large a garrison, and even then, the object proposed would not be attained; for the one would not prevent the neighbouring Hottentoots from driving their cattle through, and the ditch would besides be filled up with sand in the rainy season; and, according to the other it will be impossible to form an intrenchment through which the natives cannot find a way somewhere—whether it be undertaken by a ditch or by redoubts—and once escaped, they will be afraid to return within the reach of our garrison. Both plans ought therefore to be abandoned<sup>a</sup> and a free passage allowed to the natives for ingress and egress; they will be better brought to our *devoir* by kindness. Their conduct has begun to be much more humane since our arrival than formerly; and seemingly it may soon be brought so far, that they will exchange their cattle to us for tobacco, rice, and bread, for which articles they have acquired a taste; and this is all the assistance, and all the produce that we have to expect from them.<sup>b</sup> One of the two Hottentoots who went to Batavia with Mr. Van Gocns, died there, the other returned with us, and his arrival gave great joy to his associates; he is already so far accustomed to our manners,<sup>c</sup> that he is no way inclined ever again to live among these hordes; he may therefore be kept about the Company's residence, and employed as interpreter, in which way he can earn his food and clothing twice over; he has advanced surprisingly in the Christian worship, to which he seems much attached, and he should be daily more exercised therein; we will hope that through him many may become disposed to serve our colonists, as some do already, and from whom good service is procured.<sup>d</sup>

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

March 14. Heard from a Hottentoot that the sergeant who had gone out to look for cattle, was still near Berg River, 18 hours walking from the Fort, and had fallen in with no natives whatever, and that he therefore intended to travel 7 or 8 days further to search for them, in order, if possible to fetch home a good lot of cattle; may the Almighty lend his blessing—his Honor (Mr. Cuneus) went out again, and at the same time looked at the encampment and cattle of the Caepmans.

March 21. Our party returned from the interior; they had found a passage over the high range of African Mountains, near the Berg River, where it passes from the interior through a long kloof. It was so flat beyond the mountains, that it was supposed that no more mountains would be found for 100 mylen, but the flat appeared to consist entirely of clay soil with small stones? (*al steen en kleyen kleyachtigh landt*) unfit for growing corn; our men would have marched further, but that the said plain was so barren and destitute of grass or other food for their cattle, and they had already travelled between 40 and 50 hours from the Fort, without finding any inhabitants, and their provisions had begun to fail; there were also several of the party who began to get ill, in consequence of the hardships they had suffered; they therefore turned back, and after having travelled 2 days on their return, they met 3 or 4 small parties of natives (*Negryen*) and also the Swarte Captain, being all of the Chariguriquas, (who had, in 1656, plundered the boat of the

(1) Mr. Cuneus had recently arrived from Batavia; the following extract of a Despatch from the Governor General and Council shows the authority under which he acted. The subjoined notes are marginal notes evidently written by Mr. Van Riebeeck, subsequently to the hostilities of 1659.

1657. Dec. 17. "We have given a commission to the said Mr. Cuneus, according to the orders of the Directors, to visit *en passant* the Cape Residency; and, as far as time will allow, to examine into its condition; you will, accordingly, afford him every information, and duly recognize him in that capacity, &c."

<sup>a</sup> Has been abandoned, in compliance also with an order since received from the Directors.

<sup>b</sup> This is well apprehended by Mr. Cuneus, also, that no tusks, feathers, musk, civet, honey, harts, or any thing but cattle and sheep are to be had.

<sup>c</sup> This is the interpreter Doman, the greatest hypocrite, who has done more harm to the Company than ever was done by Herry, he will not live with us, but in the Hottentoots' houses, and wears skins in preference to Dutch clothing, still less will he again receive any instruction in religion.

<sup>d</sup> Those services occur only now and then, by fits and starts, and meanwhile to watch for opportunity of stealing, and carrying off the free men's cattle, according to the mischievous examples which have been seen—they are however now brought, under the influence of fear, into tolerable subjection, so that it is not to be apprehended that they will again presume to injure our people as they were used to do formerly.

*Robbejacht* in Saldanha Bay,) from whom they procured — cattle and — sheep, being all that the natives would part with. They heard from those people, that the Saldanhars were so far off in the interior that they could not reach them in a month; they were thus obliged to return to the Fort.....[MS. decayed.] yesterday evening about dark, dangerously bitten by a lion in the right arm, the upper and under *foçillen* were quite separated, and but for the quickness of sergeant Harwarden, not that person only, but several others might have been devoured, while they were making fire and dividing the victuals; but the sergeant snatched up a gun which was loaded with ball, and aiming at the lion's head, killed him on the spot, before he could do any more injury. It was a very lean hungry lion, such another they had not seen during their journey, but sometimes they had seen 5 or 6 together, fine fat fellows; among other animals they had seen one elephant, several rhinoceroses, wolves, and leopards, and also, in the said great valley, very fine large wild horses, besides many elands, harts and hinds. They brought the skin of the lion, that it may be stuffed and suspended in the great hall. This journey has therefore led to little, but on the contrary has cost the lives of two men and the health of another, so that the spirits of some of the party are damped, but the sergeant and others are still quite keen to renew the attempt on another opportunity, in which the Hottentoo Doman, who has been to Batavia with Mr. Cuneus, and has at his own request been called Anthony, also offers his services; what further happened, and how they travelled may be seen more fully detailed in the following Diary of their journey:—

“In the land of the Cabo de Boa Esperance, 1658.

“Journey performed by the sergeant JAN VAN HARWARDEN, with 14 Dutch, 3 Hottentoes, and 5 oxen laden with brass, tobacco, and provisions.

“February 26. Course, East. We set out on our Journey as above, to search for some of the inhabitants, and to try, with all kindness, to barter from them as many cattle as could be conveniently procured, going Eastward to the Leopards Berg, which we passed in the evening, and halted for the night at a small river beyond it. 27th. (Course, N. N. E. 13840 yards, N. E. by E. 10490.) Fine weather, preparing to proceed, when ready we marched N. N. E. for about 2½ hours, and finding good pasture for the cattle, halted to take our dinner. Set out in the afternoon N. E. by E., and after marching 2 hours, 4 large lions sprung up before us, and running a little way, stopped within about 100 roods, and lay down among the bushes in our road, on our approach three of them rose, but the fourth was still there, and, on our searching for him, saved himself by getting through a river. After marching for an hour in the same direction, we halted for the night, during which we listened to the fearful roaring of the lions.

“28. (18950 yards.) Fine weather as before, held on the same course until the evening. When we had gone about 4 mylen, we stopped to let the oxen graze, when a rhinoceros came among them, 2 horns stood on its nose, like the goats bear their horns? (*gelyck de bocken haer horens draegen*) it did no injury to the cattle, and ran away on some shots being fired over it; the night was at hand, so we went to rest, that we might go on to-morrow.

“March 1. (29570 yards.) Still holding the same course; after we had marched 5 hours we reached the Great Berg River, having left the Diamandt and Paerl Berg to the right, and Sader Berg to the left, we marched another hour along the river before we lay down in the evening. 2nd. (N. E. 4660 yards, N. N. E. 6440.) Fine cloudy weather, went on along the continental mountains of Africa and said Berg River, on various courses, for about 2½ hours. 3rd. The same course of N. N. E. 31900 yards, along the mountains for 4½ hours, when we came again upon the Berg River, where, finding good pasture, we rested the cattle for 2 hours, and then went on the mountain range which we had to cross, and after marching 2 hours, rested under the mountains. 4th. Staid at the same place, as one of our men was so ill with dysentery, that he could not go on, and also because we were plagued by the oxen, who could scarce find any grass to eat.

“5th. (N. E. by E. 10000 yards, E. and E. by N. 4020, S. S. E. 2470.) Pursued our journey N. E. by E. to the base of the said mountain, and halted after marching 2 hours, because the person before mentioned could go no further. The sergeant then recommended that the surveyor, Pieter Potter, accompanied by 3 men and 2 Hottentoes, with 3 days' provisions, should pass the mountain as soon as possible, to see whether any inhabitants could be found, but that, if they saw none, they should instantly return. The said persons set out about mid-day, going East and E. by N. to the mountain, and then S. S. E. and ascended the mountain on various courses, having marched about 4 hours, until evening. They saw 7 horses running wild, they seemed fine and fat, in colour dapple-grey, but so shy that it is probable they could not be caught.

“6th. Continued the same course, from the said mountains, and entered a fine broad valley, although unfit for cultivation, which was fully an hour across; we crossed it, and found that a large river took its course through the said continental range, as if between two walls, into the said Berg River; they could find no path along that river; and that valley lay much higher than the valley of the Berg River. Going on they came to another mountain, so steep as to be impassable, ascended a height from which they looked over a plain to a distance of about 4 days' journey, but could perceive no Hottentoes with their villages? (*negryen*)

and houses; this discouraged them, for the Hottentoots who had ascended another height, rejoined them and said that they might now go home, for no Saldanhars lay here, still less had they any inclination to seek them further—they therefore turned back, and on the 7th rejoined us, and gave the above account. The Hottentoots seeing that the serjeant was about to decamp and return home, said that they had seen some smoke rising, and were still inclined to find some inhabitants, why they said this we know not, but apparently because they had heard that, otherwise, no brass or tobacco would be given them on their return, and as this did not seem to please them, the serjeant proposed to them, that they should go by themselves and seek the Saldanhars, which they were well inclined to do—on which food and tobacco for three days was given to them, with some more tobacco to present to the chiefs of any hordes they might fall in with, so as to encourage them to bring their cattle; time will show the result. . . . . 8th. The said Hottentoots returned, saying they had found or seen nothing, on which it was resolved to decamp and march homewards at day break to-morrow. 9th. Marched to where we had rested on the 3rd, and staid there until the 10th, when we set out before day, and having marched about 4 hours, we saw from a distance a herd of cattle grazing, and asked our Hottentoots what crael or people lay there; they said it was the Soanquas, we went on to them, and having gone about half an hour S. W. by S. we came to them, but found that they were the same Hottentoots with whom the Fiscal had formerly been, named Charingurinas; they told us that the great captain of the village, which had but 5 houses, lay beyond the mountain with the greater part of the houses and cattle, they offered to apprise the others of our arrival, assuring us that if we would wait until the return of the messenger, that he would fetch cattle; this was promised, and some tobacco given him, on which he instantly departed; meanwhile we bartered from this small village 3 cows and 2 calves, and were fully occupied in attaching them to us by giving them some tobacco, &c. Departed from this village, because they would not sell to us any more, and went to the place where we had rested on the 1st March which we reached after sunset, one of the cattle which had carried the sick man was so weak that it often fell with him.

“12th. Waited here this day, expecting the Hottentoots whom we had appointed to meet us here; in the afternoon three Hottentoots of the Charingurinas came to us, and stated that their captain was coming with some cattle to barter to us. The serjeant went meanwhile to a small village of 11 huts, and returning soon after, reported that it was the Soanquas, and that nothing was to be had from them; after sunset the said Saldanhars came with 14 sheep, which were bought of them. In the night 12 Hottentoots of the Swarte Captain's village came to our resting place, and staid with us, bringing news that to-morrow there would be brought for sale 2 cows and 15 sheep. 13th. At day break the Saldanhars came with the said cattle, which were bartered from them; the serjeant asked whether they had any more to sell, but got no answer; it was therefore resolved to decamp and return home, but we had hardly gone 40 roods from our resting place, when one of the said Hottentoots called out that there were sheep coming, and they appeared in sight. We therefore awaited their arrival where we had staid on the 1st March, intending to halt a day there to rest the cattle; meanwhile the serjeant sent a Hottentoot to the small *craeltjen*, to ask if they had any thing more to sell, in which case we should halt there longer, but otherwise we would remove. This day the sick man died; whom, on the 14th, we buried. In the evening the Hottentoots brought a cow, and those who had been sent out returned with a report that [we?] should stay here 2 or 3 days longer, in which case the Saldanhars would join us here with a few more cattle and sheep, and that they would continue travelling while the moon gave any light.

“15th. Awaited their arrival here this day, without seeing any thing. 16th. Had scarcely loaded the oxen to proceed on our journey, when some Hottentoots came with 13 sheep and a cow; as we knew not whether any more would follow, as the dysentery began to increase, and the provisions were getting short, we determined to set out to-morrow. 17th. Sent Elias the piper with one Hottentoot to the small crael to ascertain whether any more cattle were to be had; on their return they said it was in vain, no more were to be had, we therefore repacked the oxen, set off at 12 o'clock, and marched to under the Paerl and Diamants Berg, where we passed the night. 18th. Went on to where we had rested on the night of the 27th February, 3 lions again sprung before us. 19th. Came to the river where we had lain on the night of the 26th. While the serjeant was dividing the last of the provisions to the party, who were sitting round a small fire, a lion sprung upon one of our people, held him down, and severely wounded him in the right arm; the serjeant thought it was one of the calves, but on distinguishing him, put a gun to his head and killed him. Left 4 men with a cow that could not travel, to try to bring it home, but it died. 20th. Set out from the said river, another person being so sick that he was unable to keep up, 2 others were left with him, to assist him to follow slowly, but after having gone on an hour, we heard a shot, and sent 2 more men, with an ox to carry the sick man, but before the ox got there, the sick man had rested in the Lord, and was buried. . . . . We went on with the rest of the people, and about the evening, the weather being very misty, we arrived safely, and for the greater part in good health, at the Fort, where we were received with a joyful welcome, bringing with us only 11 cattle, young and old, and 45 sheep, bartered for — lbs. of brass, — gross of pipes, and 18 lbs. of tobacco.”

March 26. Arrived the *Waapen van Holland*, &c. . . . . the *Amersfort* had captured a Portuguese *neger*-prize from Angola with upwards of 500 slaves, out of which they had taken 250. . . . . we

trust they may soon heave in sight. 28. Arrived the *Amersfort*, the slaves had died all but 170, of whom many were sick, they were chiefly boys and girls, who will do but little work for 4 or 5 years.

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Extract of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK to Chamber XVII.

1658. March 31. . . . . We await your orders upon various points, among others upon the affair of Herry; we have done nothing whatever upon the intrenchment, but merely erected a redoubt in the middle of the free men's lands for their protection. . . . . no more will be required at present, particularly if we procure the horses from Batavia; on some of which the same people who are now employed in guarding the cattle, may be mounted, by which means this Cape Colony may be sufficiently protected for the first ten years. . . . .

The said Herry, and also the Hottentoo Doman, now called Anthony, (who accompanied Mr. Van Goens to Batavia, and returned under the care of Mr. Cuneus,) sometimes propose to us, to unite with them and Caepmans in attacking and taking the cattle of the Charingurinars, alias Chariguriquas, the chief of the swarte captain's people, who attacked the boat of the *Robbejacht* in 1656, and after taking the brass and tobacco, tried to kill the crew; as also the Chorachouquas who stole the free men's tobacco last year out of the field, and who constantly give us very great annoyance; both tribes are also very rich in cattle, although they will never sell any but such as are lean, old, or sickly.

The scheme appears to us feasible enough, and Herry with Caepman seems to assure us that the right Saldanhars would not be concerned, nor alarmed from coming to us, which we are the more disposed to believe, because the said tribes are always at war with the Saldanhars, and keep them from coming to this side of the Great Berg River.

The ford of this river, and its course through the continental range of mountains, have been found by our people, whose discoveries would have enabled us to penetrate much further, but that the want of asses to carry provisions and merchandize obliges us to keep near home. This last journey has also cost the lives of two men, who died on the road from illness occasioned by the hardships they encountered, and another was so bitten by a lion in the right arm, that he will never recover the use of the limb.

Our people state, that they had understood from some of the inhabitants, that it was in a great measure owing to the great numbers of these ravenous animals, that the right Saldanhars come hither so seldom; as they must encamp on the way at least 10 or 12 nights, and can scarcely keep so strict a watch as to escape injury from them. The pasture is too confined to enable them to bring their whole herds hither,<sup>(1)</sup> so that the natives think it would be very good if we would establish a trading station<sup>(2)</sup> at the mountain pass by which they must all travel; we also deem the proposal highly advisable, if we desire to procure abundance of cattle. But in that case we should require at least 6 resting places, with permanent cruels, where our men, with the cattle they may purchase, may be every night securely enclosed against the wild animals. There would be required also, 30 good horsemen and soldiers, one half of whom should remain at the trading station, the other half being constantly occupied in bringing the purchased cattle to the Fort. This would, we think, answer better than the redoubts or the intrenchment; and all would thus, as before observed, be sufficiently protected; we shall not, however, commence without further orders, as in that case the garrison could not be reduced below 100. . . . .

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Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council, &c.

1658. April 16. Since the transmission of our last letters dated 9th and 20th October 1657, we have found time and opportunity to read and examine your letters and papers, which reached us by the *Henriette Louise* just before the close of our last session; among them the proceedings of Commissioner Van Goens during his stay at the Cape, and the Instructions left by him for your guidance. . . . . We have, after mature examination, found the said Instructions to be well adapted to their purpose, and to contain good orders, by the tenor of which you will, accordingly, be pleased to regulate your conduct, until we see occasion otherwise to direct you. You will comply

(1) Upon this point see the details given by Governor Simon van der Stell, 1699.

(2) See also the Report of Messrs. Bergh & Rhenius, previous to the establishment of the post on Zonder End River, Oct. 25, 1725.

with those orders with exception of the few points in which we have thought proper to make some alterations, which are herein detailed—and among others, the proposed redoubts with ditch and ravelines between Table Bay and False Bay, to separate the Cape from the African continent, and to secure the cultivated lands at and near our Fort. It is our desire that you do not undertake or commence that work, without our express order; not only on account of the great labour and expense that are inseparable from it, as well at first, as for its continued occupation and defence—but more especially because you have subsequently found it to be impracticable, &c. . . . .

The advancement of agriculture, the breeding of live stock, and the like, we have earnestly recommended to you in our former letters. We cannot refrain from once more renewing those recommendations, directing that you will, at least for the present, make this your chief occupation, attending to it alone, and leaving all other work to await a fitter opportunity.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1658. April 17. Begun holding school for the young slaves—the chaplain (*siekentrooster*) was charged with this duty of the *crankbesoeker*,<sup>(2)</sup> the rather because he could read the true Holland Dutch, fluently and well; to stimulate the slaves to attention while at school, and to induce them to learn the christian prayers, they were promised each a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco, when they finish their task; all their names were also taken down, those who had no names had names given to them, as well those who were paired as the single, the young and old, all in the presence of the Commander, who will attend for some days to bring every thing into order, and these people into proper discipline, in which they appear at present to promise well.

28. The free men's boat returned with eggs and seals' flesh. . . . .the latter was cooked and served out to the slaves, who were very fond of it. A price was therefore fixed for which the free men were to bring as much as possible.

1658. May 4. Resolution of Council.—Whereas one of the Chaynouqua captains, from whom we last autumn bought a good number of cattle, has this day come to the Fort, and seems to hold out hopes of more cattle being brought within a few days, &c.; and having also seen the order of our Honorable Masters in their letter of the 9th Oct. last year,<sup>(3)</sup> in which their Honors are pleased to direct, that the free persons here shall not be at liberty to purchase any live stock from the Hottentoes, and that should we see cause to make any Regulation on the subject, they would have no objection, but would leave that to us, in order that the free men should not raise the price in this trade, &c. It is therefore thought fit by the Council (proofs of the apprehended inconvenience having already been displayed) no longer to deliberate, but to prohibit the practice in question by public notice in the form following:—

Whereas our Honorable Masters in the Fatherland, for reasons them thereunto moving, have directed, that the free men here at the Cabo, &c. may not buy any cattle or live stock from the

(1) With a view of encouraging agriculture by example, this letter grants to Mr. Van Riebeeck, at his request, "a certain tract of land along the sea coast behind Table Mountain," but strongly prohibits granting lands, even on loan, to persons in the Company's service. The price to be paid by the Company for wheat, is fixed at from 75 to 100 guilders India currency, i. e. 60 stivers to the rix-dollar, per load of 3,600 lbs. The advances made to assist the free men to establish themselves as farmers are limited to £200 each. Surprise is expressed that no supplies of meat have been drawn from "the whole herds, the whole fields full" of elands, harts, &c. reported to be beyond the African Mountains. And premiums are ordered to be paid, in proportion to the distance and difficulty of journies into the interior, in order "to acquire a knowledge of that which has been hitherto concealed from us."

(2) Both words signify a visiter or comforter of the sick.

(3) 1657. Oct. 9. Extract of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

It is well that some persons have taken their discharge with the intention of betaking themselves in earnest to farming, and we trust that they may be the means of encouraging others to follow their example; all that kind of work will be more successfully conducted by private persons than by the Company; it will therefore be necessary that you extend to them every assistance, and also, that you fix a price at which the Company will relieve them of the several articles produced; taking care that, on the one hand, the farmers can subsist and be safe, and that, on the other, the company be not defrauded, nor too high a price put upon the produce; this will require judicious management. It will be necessary that it be left open to them to keep cattle, provided, however, that they be not permitted to purchase any live stock from the inhabitants, in order that the price of cattle may not thus become enhanced\* (mits nochtans datse van d' inwoonders geen vee sullen vermogen af te handelen, on de duyrt daarin niet te brengen.)

\* It may be seen from other extracts of this Despatch, (p. 107) that this, the first prohibition of the barter with the natives, was founded simply upon the grounds advanced, and that the order was issued without reference, on the one hand, to the regulations of Commissioner Van Goens, (p. 98) or, on the other, to the letters of June 21 and 25, (p. 103) enforcing the restrictive policy first proposed, (p. 62); as the letters mentioned had not been received when this order was issued.

inhabitants of this country, but must procure them from the Company (the Company having any to spare) at the price and under the conditions which have been, or may hereafter be fixed.

In conformity therefore with said orders, we hereby direct the said free burgers to discontinue this cattle trade, which we prohibit accordingly, warning them to desist therefrom, on pain of confiscation of all such cattle as they may be found to have bought from the inhabitants after this date; with the same object the free burgers are hereby directed to restore within twice 24 hours all the brass bought by them from the Company, which is still in their possession—which will be taken over at the same price and without loss—on pain of confiscation of all such brass as, after the expiry of the stipulated period, shall, upon search of their premises then or hereafter by the fiscal, be found to have been withheld.

And in order to ascertain with certainty whether the free men have contravened this order or purchased any cattle, they shall always report all the calves and lambs which are bred—in the same manner as lately done with regard to the cattle, as also all that they may think fit to slaughter, under the penalties already provided, and also of the confiscation of all such cattle, as may be found, upon occasional visits by persons duly authorised, to be in their possession beyond the number reported.

Neither shall they sell one to another any live stock<sup>(1)</sup>—that is to say, any cattle, sheep, or pigs—without the previous consent of the Commander and Council of this Fortress, under an act passed by the Secretary, on pain of nullity, in order that all may go on lawfully, and in good order.

All previous Regulations (not being contrary to the present) continuing in their full force and effect, as if herein inserted. Thus done, &c.

1658. May 6. Extracts from the Journal, *continued*.—The Chaynouqua captain sent us a message that he was living in the camp of the Caepmans, in the house of the fat captain, (named Gogosoa) until the return of people whom he had this morning sent out, to fetch a good many cattle—to barter to us—from a distance of about 30 days travelling. On asking his servant why the captain had not brought some cattle with him, he answered, that he had come, in the first place, to see whether the Dutch captain, whom he had formerly seen, still lived here, and having ascertained that point, he was contented; that he had promised his great captain not to send for any cattle, until he had ascertained that point. On proposing, as frequently done before, that he should let some of our people go with him, he answered No, it was still too soon, we should wait until his friends and the people of the country were somewhat more accustomed to us, they were still too much afraid of us, and so forth. It began to rain hard with increasing wind from the N. W.; the *Hasselt* arrived from the *Bocht of Gunea*, had sailed from Popo on the 22nd Feb. with 271 slaves, 43 had died, so that there were still 228 alive. . . . .

9. The free men and private individuals bought some slaves on credit for 100 guilders each.

12. The free burger Henrick Boom, apprised us that he had yesterday lost 6 cows and a bull, through the negligence of the servant who had attended them in the field, and as it was suspected that they had been driven off by Caepman's people, who had also fled with all their houses, J. Reyniers had laid hold of their captain Gogosoa, and detained him at their residence, he being an old fat man, who could not run fast. The Commander instantly sent thither some men under the charge of the fiscal, with the Batavian Hottentoo, or interpreter, Anthony, warning the captain that he must not be uneasy, that we only wished him to desire his people to bring back the said cattle, when he should have a present of some bread, tobacco, and brandy; he replied that the cattle had not been taken by his people, but by the Soaquas, who, if the cattle were not well watched, were very dexterous in taking them; that the Soaquas had driven them beyond the Leopard's Berg; but that he would try still to recover them with his people, and would gladly stay with J. Reynier until the matter should be arranged, meanwhile this excited some surprise in the captain of the Chainouquas, named Chainhantima. . . . .but such explanations were given him that he said he would stay contentedly with the Commander, promising not to go away until he shows that he is a man of his word, and has brought us as many cattle as we can buy with the brass in store, &c.

13. At noon we received intelligence that 6 of H. Boom's cattle were brought back, but that soon after 4 oxen, belonging to the people of Visagie's company, had been driven away by the

(1) What kind of live stock *might* be legally transferred, without the formality of an Order in Council, during what has been called "The golden age of the Cape"—may perhaps be sufficiently determined by the following extract of a paper which will occupy its proper place in this compilation: "Commandant Nicolas Tjaart van der Walt—a warm friend of the Bushmen, (see Parl. papers I. 133) and familiar, from his youth upwards, with the language and habits of that singular race, being asked whether he had discovered any traces, or heard any tradition of the ancestors of the present race of Bushmen having maintained themselves by rearing or preserving any kind of domestic live stock, replied:—'The Bushmen never kept any live stock but a dog and a louse.'"

Hottentoots, and their boy severely beaten, and also some, but how many was not certainly known, of Steven's company. On this an order was sent to H. Boom not to release the captain of the Caepmans, until all the cattle are restored; but that he should be meanwhile well treated, without employing anything like threats; with the same object the fiscal was sent thither with the interpreter Antony, to exhort him with civility to make restitution, and to see that his people gave up such thieving, so as to prevent all disputes, &c. Soon after, the fiscal came to the Fort with the said captain, who said that all H. Boom's cattle were restored, but as to the others, that they had not got among his herds, that he suspected that they had been taken by the Chorachouquas, (the tobacco thieves) who lie about 3 hours off, and with whom he is at variance, and therefore dared not send any one to ask for them, otherwise he would gladly have done so.

May 14. The free men's boat, *Penguin*, sailed for Dassen Island; they promised to bring a good quantity of dried and salted seals' flesh, at the price agreed upon. The Commander went out to the lands of the free men and the Company, to see whether Visagie's party had recovered their cattle—as they had neglected to make any report—on his arrival he found that they were still missing. The rest of the free men were well employed in ploughing, and also the Company's servants, who, with the assistance of 20 slaves, were cleaning the ground. Meanwhile the people of Visagie's company came to the field to inform the Commander, that they had seized 3 of the Gorachouqua people, who confessed having stolen the cattle; but that 2 of the 3 had escaped; some soldiers were therefore sent to them so that they might at least take good care of the third, and keep him fast until the cattle should be restored.

15. Our soldiers returned to the Fort and reported that the free men had allowed the third Hottentoot that had been seized, to escape also, after a cow and a sheep had been already offered for his release; it is now to be expected that they will keep themselves out of the net, and never bring back the stolen cattle. Meanwhile it cost us some pains to keep Chainhantima's mind at ease, and to induce him to stay with us, until, according to his promise, they should fetch a quantity of cattle to sell to us; for he had now again been 2 days in Caepman's camp, but came back to us this evening, where, for the reasons above given, he was entertained with still greater liberality in the Commander's house, where he slept, and was occasionally cheered by a drop of brandy.

16. Some of the Chaynouquas came with 4 cattle, which, although they were but middling, were instantly purchased, Chainhantima asked for some pieces of brass, as he meant now to go home, and to return soon with a good many cattle; he was answered, that if he did, we would stand upon a few bars as a good present, but that we would be glad to see the result of his great promises before we came to giving presents of brass, (the most valuable thing in their estimation) he was nevertheless treated with food, drink, and tobacco, &c. with which nightcap he went to sleep.

17. Chainhantima took his departure homewards, after his knapsacks and stomach had been well filled with bread and brandy, and also his hands with tobacco; he said that the Chaynouqua or his chief's people, would not venture to come without him; but that he must first return, so that they could hear from him the good testimony which he would give of the Hollanders, when they would make up their minds to come in 4 or 5 weeks with a good many cattle, which are most anxiously wished for, particularly oxen, as they are much wanted in farming, for some people are now obliged to use cows, which are weaker, and the practice also injures their breeding.

18. The Chainhantima returned in the forenoon exhibiting several wounds which he had received from our farmers' slaves. Therefore the fiscal and the sergeant were sent with him and the interpreter, that he might point out the individuals, and to learn the cause; on their return they reported that it was the people of the Bosheuvcl, who seeing him, with some others, go to their working oxen, were afraid that he wished to steal them, on which one of the Guinea slaves first beckoned to the said Chainhantima to go away, and on seeing that he did not go away from the cattle of which he had charge, he called to one of his comrades, who thereupon let slip the dog, the dog seized him and held him fast, and they running up would have despatched him, unless our Netherlanders had come and released the Hottentoots; so that we had enough to do to arrange this affair to his satisfaction, in which, however, we fully succeeded. The free men were warned all round that they should not again detain any natives, because the captain of the Chainouquas had been this day at the Fort, and had sold us 9 cattle, and promised to take care that his people should henceforth keep away from our free men's cattle; this we strongly recommended, in order to avoid all further estrangement, and to continue henceforth to live on friendly terms, &c. After which being stuffed with bread, brandy, and tobacco, he departed, promising henceforth to bring cattle daily. Chainhantima stayed with the Commander for the night, in order to resume his journey to-morrow, provided with new presents, &c.

May 19. Chainhantima departed well satisfied, being provided as above, promising in a few weeks to return with many cattle. 21. Shipped, for Batavia, 102 of the Guinea or Angola slaves.

27. Last night some Hottentoots had attempted to climb into the cattle crael behind the Fort, but the guard having caught one of them who had clambered up the little wall or breastwork from without, struck him over the buttocks with his sword, so that he made off. We may see from every thing, that whenever they perceive any opportunity of injuring us, they do not suffer it to escape.

29. Arrived the *Maria*, from the coast of Angola—feared that the *Robbejacht* has been lost on a certain reef under the tropic. . . . .this will cause us much difficulty in bringing seals' flesh and birds for the slaves. After this loss they touched at Cape Negro, where the natives, who only wore a cloth round the loins, fled inland, and they saw no more of them, though they lay there 7 days, and saw 2 large negro villages of empty huts, in shape like those in which the Hottentoots live here at the Cape. . . . .

June 3. Last night 5 of the Angola slaves deserted. . . . .on which, people were sent out in various directions, and several Hottentoots were induced to search for them, by promise of great rewards for finding them—they received beforehand some bread and tobacco. 5. Up to this day none of the slaves have been retaken. . . . .more Hottentoots were therefore sent out, that we might, if possible, get hold of some of the deserters, to make an example—they are all old cunning fellows, and, according to the statement of the other Angola slaves, are *Bovenlanders* and cannibals.

8. Various Hottentoots returned, reporting that the slaves were not to be found; but we fear they have been found, and killed by the Hottentoots, like the Madagascar slave Anthony; for they are very jealous of them, cannot endure them, and are always quarrelling with them.

15. Some Hottentoots from Caepmans' camp came to the Fort and said that their women had seen some of the deserted Angola slaves on the beach, between this place and Saldanha Bay; but the men could not find them afterwards, so as to bring them back.

18. Casper Brinckman, *vry borger*, came with tears in his eyes to complain that all his four slaves, male and female, had run away in the night, also a woman of Harman's company, with 50 or 60 lbs. of rice, some clothes, &c. although (according to their statement) the slaves had never been ill treated, beaten, nor punished by them. And, seeing that the slaves are too nimble to be successfully pursued by our people, and that we have been unable to recover the 7 Angola slaves, who have deserted from the Company, whatever encouragement we have offered to the Hottentoots, with fine promises, &c. and finding also that they are disinclined, or at least very slow to set about another search—which is calculated to lead us to suspect that they incite or harbour them, perhaps to barter them away to the natives in the interior, for cattle or something else; we therefore sent some Hottentoots for Herry, who has not been at the Fort for a long time; he came in the evening, and on being informed of the desertion of the slaves, and encouraged to try to recover them, he promised to do his utmost to bring back some of them, if not all, provided that, in that case, they might always reside hereabouts, like good friends, with their houses and live stock, (which are rather numerous, *en de koten synde die om goede reden eenighsints gesoght worden?*) so as to be protected from the other natives, &c. on which he was well entertained with food, brandy, and tobacco, and not only his belly, but his sacks also being filled with bread and rice, he departed, promising to do his best; some soldiers, who had been sent out for the same purpose, returned unsuccessful in the evening.

19. The fiscal and sergeant were sent round to all the free men—to warn them, as had been done before, that they must keep their slaves in good order, and not make them sulky? (*stuggerig*) by constantly beating, pushing, or scolding them, so that no more of them might desert, &c.

21. Jan Reyniers, free burger, came this morning early, to complain that all his slaves, male and female, had deserted in the night, taking with them 3 or 4 swords, clothing, rice, tobacco, &c. on which we called the new interpreter Doman, now called Anthony, who had returned from Batavia with Mr. Cuneus, and asked him, how it happened that the Hottentoots would not go out to search? he very coolly replied, that he did not know. The Commander (who did not put any

On the 20th May, a Resolution and Proclamation censures the free men for attending more to fishing than to the advancement of agriculture, "the main object of our masters;" provides that no fish be sold except to the Company, and fixes the price, i. e. "50 stivers for 100 lbs. living or split; 5 guilders per 100 when dried."

On the 30th May, a Resolution states the total population for whom food was to be provided, to be about 360 "eaters," i. e. garrison, 80; sick, 15; Dutch women and children, 20; healthy and sick Company's slaves, 98; free persons, 51; slaves, male and female, belonging to private individuals, 89; and convicts, 7. 21 of the garrison had escaped by concealing themselves in the last homeward bound fleet.

trust in him) then called Eva, the female interpreter, into his office, apart from Anthony, and privately asked her, whether our blacks were not harboured by the Hottentoots; on this she asked whether such was the Commander's opinion, and being answered in the affirmative, she (speaking good Dutch) said these words, namely, "I shall tell Mr. Van Riebeeck plainly, Doman is good for nothing, he repeated to the Hottentoots all that was said with the Commander in the room, the day before yesterday, and when I told him that it was wrong to do so, he replied, I am Hottentootsman, and not Dutchman, but you Eva *soubat* the Commander," and so forth. She added, "sir, I think also that the fat captain of the Caepmans is detaining the slaves." On asking what he could do with them, she said that he would give them to the Haneumquas, who lived at a great distance, in the country where *dacha* is cultivated, (this is a dried herb which the Hottentoots eat, which makes them drunk, and is highly esteemed.) She begged most earnestly that it should not be known that we had heard this from her; in which ease she would always speak unreservedly, and that we ought to lay hold of Schaeher, Pieter Otegnó, and Jan, the three sons of the fat captain, and keep them fast; and they would soon restore the blacks, &c.; this she also said in the presence of the senior merchant Willem Bastincq. On this the Commander rode out to visit the Camp of Herry and Caepman, in company with Mr. Bastincq and the fiscal, but on arriving near the *Soute* River, it was found that Caepman had moved off, with all his houses and cattle, quite to the Leopard's Berg, but Herry had come nearer with his camp, and was busy in setting up his huts; we saw there the said persons, Schaeher, Pieter Otegnó, and Jan, but it was not deemed advisable to lay hands on them there, but to dissemble for the present, until we have enticed them into the Fort; for this purpose the Commander asked them in a friendly manner, (they and Herry being the principal persons) to go and seek for the blacks, that we would provide them with some bags of bread, tobacco, &c. for their journey, and that they had only to come to the Fort to get their bags filled; promising for each *swarteman*, as they call them, twice as much brass as for a large ox, besides abundance of brandy, tobacco, and rice, when they should bring them home. After this a piece of tobacco was given to each of the head men, and some pieces scattered for the common people to scramble for; this being the sign of confidence when the Commander comes to visit them with any stranger; they become otherwise rather fearful on seeing any one who appears to them of a higher rank than a ship's captain. In the evening we heard that Harman Remanjenne, when out to cut reeds towards the Leopard's Berg, about 3 hours off, had seen 4 deserted slaves of J. Reyniers, going straight to the Caepmans, that he followed them and caught one, but the others were too nimble for him. . . . .

June 22. At 3 A. M. before day, the fiscal and sergeant were sent to fetch the said slave, and try to ascertain the cause of their desertion, and who had incited them, or harboured them, &c. and at the same time to inspect the free men's cattle, as it is said they slaughter their stock, and sell the flesh to the shipping, &c. . . . . they were also directed to try, on their return, whether they could not, by fair words, induce the three sons of the fat or Caepmans' captain, to accompany them to the Fort, in order that we might then deliberate whether they should be detained for the purpose before stated, or how we should proceed in the matter.

Resolution of Council.—About noon Schaeher and Pieter Otegnó, the sons of the Caepmans' captain, with Herry and some others, having come into the entrance hall in the Fort, as also all the principal free men, the latter insisted that the present good opportunity ought not to be neglected, and thinking, as we do most firmly, that the runaways are harboured by the Caepmans, towards whose camp H. Remanjenne had seen them going when he caught one of them:—seeing also that the detention of their father Gogosoá, on account of the cattle of H. Boom, produced so small a sensation (*alteratie*) among them, and that the cattle were forthwith restored;—it was resolved by the Council, with the advice of the said free men, to detain the said Schaeher and Pieter Otegnó, together with another named Osaoá, one of the chief men of the Caepmans. This was instantly carried into execution, they being informed that we had frequently observed the Hottentoot women giving the slaves broiled tortoises and other food, and making signs with the hand that they should go to the Leopard's Berg; that, as they would not go out to seek the slaves—and for other reasons, we were led to believe that they harboured them, in order to take them to the Coehoquas, and thence to the Haneumquas, or *dacha* makers, &c.—that we were thus led to determine on detaining them as hostages, until all the deserted slaves should be sent back; that they remain meanwhile locked up in the surgeon's kitchen, and that orders be given to treat them well, &c.

The free men nominated 4 persons. . . . . from whom we are to choose two to serve this year as Burger members of Council, to help in trying and determining upon crimes committed by any of

the Burgers ; and in order that there might always be some one possessed of experience, and that the new members might not be all novices, it was resolved to continue in that capacity Steven Jansen (appointed last year by Mr. Commissioner Van Goens) and to admit as the second the free burger H. Boom . . . . .

J. VAN RIEBEECK, W. BASTINCQ, [and three others].

The Hottentoes, of whom a good many were in the Fort, and Herry also, were somewhat surprised, but hearing that the prisoners were well treated, they seemed not to be much concerned, saying they would seek well for the slaves, but not admitting that they knew where they were ; Doman or Anthony, who had been in Batavia, was so enraged on the subject that he could not command his passion, but said, in the presence of all these Hottentoes, that Eva had advised us to this course, wishing instantly to destroy her ; she instantly defended herself, and denied the accusation, which, on her part, we did also, although it was true notwithstanding ; but they were assured that she was not to blame, and that it was our own idea, suggested by the familiarity, &c. which we had recently observed between some women of Caepmans' camp and the slaves, and also because Schacher and *Oldherr* had some days also told us that they had seen the slaves about their camp, and had mentioned how they were employed, &c. Doman was, however, not to be induced to alter his song as to Eva's guilt. It may therefore be seen from every thing, but in particular from this, that he is by no means to be trusted, and we shall have some evil turn to look for at his hand ; it were much to be desired that he had never been at Batavia, or that he could be induced, by fair words, to return thither, more particularly because he has learned the perfect use of firearms, and we have enough to do to keep such out of his hands.

June 23. Resolution of Council.—The interpreter Doman alias Anthony, urgently suggested that we should seize also one of Herry's people, who had some time back stolen from us 14 sheep ; so that Herry's men as well as Caepmans' should go out to fetch the black men. It now fully appears that he takes the side of Caepman, and Eva of Herry's people, (although her mother lives in Caepmans' camp) for each espouses warmly the cause of their own party, and brings the heaviest accusations against the party opposed to them ; through which it is probable that we shall now find out the real culprit who murdered the boy 5 years ago, and stole the Company's cattle, &c. The senior merchant Willem Bastincq, having been present on these several occasions, and having received from us as much information on the subject as time would permit, the Council, with His Honor's advice, resolved to place the said man of Herry's (named Jan Cou) as a hostage with the others of yesterday, so that the Caepmans should not suppose that we entertained any animosity against them in particular ; for Doman asserts that Herry's people laugh and jeer at the Caepmans because they alone are imprisoned, which much vexes the latter, and may indeed lead to a rupture—they are already sufficiently jealous—so that we may always ascertain from one party, any intentions which the other may harbour against us, and by this means we may keep on such terms with both, as may, according to circumstances, be found most serviceable to the Company ; at the same time bringing both equally under subjection, for they dare not go far into the interior for fear of being robbed by the Saldanhars, and, on the approach of the latter, must always return hither to request our protection, and the more so, the more cattle they have, as appears clearer every day. It was therefore resolved to take the said Jan Cou into custody also, as a hostage, so that both parties may exert themselves equally in recovering the slaves. The arrest was forthwith very well effected.

Soon after this, Herry, Eva, and the interpreter Doman or Anthony, came to the Commander, and, with the advice of the hostage Schacher, suggested that it would be well if we laid hold of some of the chiefs of the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, also, when all three together, being treated alike, would be the more certain to secure the slaves ; all this being heard by the Council, (assisted by the said W. Bastincq,) and being duly weighed and considered, and as it was perceived that they seem to be much interested for the hostages, and to be very obedient, and complying with our wishes in every respect, and almost kiss the rod? (*genoegsaam als in roede vallen*) and as they say that the same will be the case with the Gorachouquas, aye, that they will even offer all their cattle for their liberation, as these already begin to do, together with whatever conditions we may wish for, whereby it may happen that we shall bring them under such subjection, by always keeping hostages, whether some of them constantly, or perhaps now and then exchanging some of the chief men for a short time—that we may thus attain the object of procuring cattle, [which we before thought of attaining by means of intrenchments, whereby they (the inhabitants?) might be protected against any others coming from a distance in the interior, in the event of these being

disposed to do us any injury, or to entice others so to do<sup>(1)</sup>] as might be most serviceable and convenient to the Company, and which would be much cheaper, and more secure than all the said fortifications.

Upon all these considerations, it was resolved, to accede to the request of Herry and Schacher in this respect, that is to say, to take and to keep as hostage the captain of the Gorachouquas also; they engaging to see to entice him into the Fort for that purpose, by a plausible story, (*soet praatjen*) from which it is hoped that some good, and the desired object may be brought about in time, the appearances are not unfavorable at present. . . . . J. VAN RIEBEECK, W. BASTINCQ.

Meanwhile the free men were warned to keep themselves and their arms in readiness, that they might not suffer from any unexpected attack, and that they were not to go about unarmed, for which purpose those who are not duly provided with fire arms, were desired to come to be supplied from the Company's armoury, on pain of a fine of 2 reals of 8 against any one, master or servant, who may be hereafter found on the roads alone, without fire arms;—that each shall keep his arms in good order at his own expense, and that there will be occasional inspections to prevent all neglect.

June 24. This morning 3 slaves returned, namely, a man and a woman of Brinckman's, who were found standing before the door at night; and a woman of Reyniers', who was standing at the mill before daylight; apparently in the same manner as H. Boom's cattle, formerly taken away, which were also secretly brought home at night, so as to make it appear that they had returned of their own accord, and not daring to bring them, to avoid being recognized, or admitting that they had ever seen them. This does not much signify, as long as we get them back, so as to be no longer apprehensive of desertion. Herry came this morning with 25 active Hottentoots, asking for some bread for each of them, that they might go out to seek the slaves, and stay out for some time, these were indeed mere pretences, we, however, pretended to believe them, that we might the more easily get the Gorachouqua also into the trap, when we could manage the matter as we pleased; we therefore gave them some bread and tobacco.

27. Three of Caepmans' Hottentoots brought us 2 Guinea slaves of Brinckman, who has thus recovered all his; there are still wanting a pair of Reynier's, and a woman of Remanjenne's, besides the 7 Angola slaves belonging to the Company; the Hottentoots promise to do their best to find them, for which purpose Herry had a cow killed to feed his people, and we, with the same object, filled their knapsacks with bread, for they say that the slaves are a long way off, and must be sought for;<sup>(2)</sup> however this may be, we affect to believe them, and to encourage them, have presented to them 6 *platen* [bars?] and 6 long pieces of brass wire, besides abundance of tobacco, brandy, and bread, &c. which seems to put the others in a humour to search also; meanwhile every kindness was shown to the hostages.

30. The *Maria* arrived from Saldanha Bay with 23 casks containing 10,000 lbs. of salted seals' flesh for the slaves. They also bought 12 sheep and a calf at Saldanha Bay, which, together with 8 sheep, they had slaughtered for the use of the crew, bringing hither 4 young lambs and an old ewe. . . . . the captain reported that the inhabitants from whom they had bought the said sheep, appeared to have laid a scheme to attack and kill the people who had landed, for the sake of the brass, but their design, being perceived, had failed. These were the Charingurinars, otherwise called Chariguriquas<sup>(3)</sup> who formerly robbed the boat of the *Robbejacht*, and intended to murder the crew for the sake of the brass and tobacco, as frequently noticed; it were to be desired therefore that we had their chiefs also in the Fort here, in order to make them pay well for that act of violence.

July 1. Nearly all the Hottentoots of Herry's and Caepmans' camps, who had been out, having this day returned without bringing, or, as they say, having found, any more slaves, the hostages and their wives also, began to weep and wail bitterly, for they had been previously told that they would not be released until all the slaves should be restored to us; of this it would seem that they now see but little chance, as, perhaps, they cannot get them back from those to whom they have given or sent them, and they may have been sent to too great a distance. The interpreter Doman

(1) The original of the obscure passage between brackets, is—daarom men anders gespeculeert had d' afsnydingen ende trenchmenten te maeken, daar voor zy luyden nu tegen andere diep uyt 't land souden kunnen comen te versterken, verstaande als ons die eenigh overlast wilden aandoen, ofte andere aenlocken.

(2) A Resolution of the 28th states that the free men requested that the apprehended slaves should receive their punishment, and be sent back to their work. 29th. After consultation with the burger members, the deserters were flogged, one of them branded, and 2 coupled together by a chain, until their masters should intercede for them.

(3) This name will soon be found written *Grigriquas*.

affirms, however, that they had never seen the slaves, but that the latter had run away of their own accord. This we told him that we could not believe, but the contrary, for the female Hottentoots were from the first too familiar with the slaves, and gave them many things, &c. so that they must make up their minds to remain, until we had, either the slaves back, or certain information concerning them. This made Doman hang his head, and seem much depressed, as also Eva, who said that if we did not release Schacher, (the son of Caepmans' captain) they would kill her. On this she was told, that she should keep within the Fort, and that any one who injured her should be detained also, &c. and in order to set the minds of the hostages at ease, the Commander himself visited them, and told them not to be alarmed, that no harm should come to them, and that it was only done on account of the deserted slaves, &c. giving them also some tobacco, bread, and brandy, which seemed to lighten their hearts.

July 2. The wind being still contrary for the said ship, Mr. Bastincq came on shore again, and while he was present, the interpreter Doman came to the Commander, requesting, in the name of Gogosoa, the fat captain of the Caepmans, that as it was impossible to recover the rest of the slaves, we would set at liberty at least his son Schacher, and that he would bring us, as a present, some fat draught oxen, &c.—and proposing that we should, in lieu of Schacher, confine Herry and take away all his cattle, which he (and this is the truth) had purchased with the Company's brass from the Chainouquas, whom he had found in the interior, delivering to the Commander only 10 of them, &c. *item*, that he had also killed the boy five years ago, by the hands of Jan Cou, now in custody, and another named Boubo, who is still with Herry; and that he then carried off all the Company's cattle, and further, that Jan Cou took the 15 sheep last missed, which were still in Herry's flock; consequently all that Herry had, belonged to the Company, and he nothing but a naked beggar and merely the captain or head of the Watermans or Strandloopers hereabouts.

On this Doman was asked, whether the other Hottentoots, namely the Gorachouquas, Charigurinas, and also the right Saldanhars, as Chainouqua, Cochoqua, &c. would approve of this; on which he, the interpreter, answered yes, and that it was not to be doubted. He was therefore told that their captains or chiefs should come personally to the Commander, so that they might confer with him upon the matter.

He replied that no one lived hereabouts, but the Gorachouquas and Gogosoa, or the Caepman captain, and one *Siginman*, named Ankaisoa, who was rich in sheep; to whom also this Cape country alone belonged, and therefore whatever was resolved upon in conjunction with them, the others would be easily satisfied with, if Herry were but killed.

On this he was told that Caepman and Gorachouquas captain, with *siginman*, should in that case come to the Commander, in order to consider the matter with him, on which Doman departed to tell them so.

3. The wind still N. W. with rain, prevented the departure of the *Prins Willem*, Mr. Bastincq, therefore, at the desire of the Commander, landed once more to assist in deliberating upon the affairs of the present conjuncture, &c. when the following Resolution was passed:—

The Council—assisted by the senior merchant W. Bastincq, and the captain of the *Maria*, who have been generally present during the recent events—having taken into consideration that, according to the report of the Hottentoots who have been out, no more of the deserted slaves are to be found, and that the hostages begin in consequence to be quite desperate, fearing that it may cost them their lives; more particularly because the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, (who have been in the habit of doing us much injury) have fled to the interior, and the hostages consequently see no means of delivering their chief into our hands; as the affair has now proceeded so far, that the intelligence of the seizure of Schacher is spread over the whole country, and has produced all the impression that can be expected; and as matters have been pushed so far (on account of the deserted slaves) that they require to be disentangled and arranged, (*afgehaspelt*) which is much desired by the prisoners themselves, who offer a good number of sheep and cattle for their own liberation, and to conclude a new permanent peace or alliance, &c. but at the same time desiring that Herry shall first be seized, with all his cattle and people, seeing that he was the first cause of all the mischief, as having 5 years ago caused all the Company's cattle to be stolen, and the Dutch boy, David, to be killed, and always stolen whenever he could, now lately during the visit of Mr. Cuneus, 15 sheep, which are still in his crael, as well as all the cattle bought with the Company's brass, tobacco, and pipes, entrusted to him three years ago, of which he delivered only 10 to the Commander, and enriched himself with the rest, so that all he had, was not his, but the property of the Company;—all which, and more, being taken into consideration, it was resolved, after several deliberations, to see to coax him into the Fort by a smooth story; and then to secure him with the rest, so as to hear

them speak together, and thus obtain a full disclosure. It was also resolved that, as soon as he is within the Fort, a sergeant and some soldiers shall proceed to seize all his cattle at the Salt River, and to fetch them to the Fort and into the possession of the Company.

Thus resolved in the Fort, &c. JAN VAN RIEBEECK, WILLEM BASTINCQ, CLAES BORDINGH, ROELOF DE MAN, JAN VAN HARWARDEN, AB. GABBEMA.

The sergeant being sent out, in pursuance of the above Resolution, so as to manage every thing with due precaution, he first, within an hour, got Herry into the Fort by a *soete praetjen*, where he was in the first instance, as usual, well received, and went of his own accord to the other prisoners, when the sergeant proceeded to seize the cattle; but this was not effected quite so quietly, for some of Herry's people offered resistance, so that the sergeant, while sitting on horse back, was almost run through with an assagay; but, having avoided it, he struck that Hottentoo with small shot in the legs, so that he could no longer walk, and another with a pistol bullet right in the eye, so that he instantly fell; upon which all the rest took to flight; and the sergeant with his soldiers came driving up the cattle and sheep, without encountering any further resistance; but as long as a single Hottentoo was near, our men, though there were 22 or 23 of them, could not make the cattle come on, the Company's cattle were therefore driven after them, that they might feed together, and thus be more easily brought into the crael in the evening; all goes on pretty well as yet, but it may be seen that we must have them herded by a strong party, to prevent the Hottentoots from carrying them off.

When this was so far arranged, Schacher, assisted by the interpreter Doman, was brought before the Council in the Commander's Office, in the presence of Mr. Bastincq, and asked if he still adhered to all the charges which they had made against Herry from time to time, and whether he dared repeat it in Herry's presence, &c. and he was told: "Herry accuses you of doing that, with which you charge him, so that we must now find out how it is, who is honest and who dishonest." Schacher said—in as far as he could—himself, or through the mouth of Doman, (a sly fellow) "let Herry come here," on which Herry, assisted by the interpreter Eva, was immediately brought in, and then the *peaching* (*ophlappen*) went on briskly, Doman wishing to clear the Caepmans of every thing; but the interpreter Eva said, "I shall tell the real truth, Herry admits that his people took the cattle, and murdered the boy, but the Caepmans also had some of the cattle, yes, after Herry had had them for some days, the Caepmans—of whom Schacher is the chief—took them from him;" on this Doman alleged, in favor of the Caepmans, that at that time Herry and Caepmans had a quarrel, and that the cattle were captured according to the laws of war. "Aye," said Eva, "but if Caepman will be so honest, why did they not restore the cattle to the Commander, but they are as much thieves and rogues as Herry's people, for whenever there has been any thing stolen, they have planned it, and divided the plunder among them, and now they would throw the blame on Herry alone." These are the precise words which were spoken in Dutch by the said interpreter, "and he who killed David, is Claes, a Hottentoo of Herry's people, he despatched him." In short, it thus appears that they are all thieves and rogues, but Herry is (as the saying goes) the father of thieves, (*dieffjens vaar*) and first cause, or *causa movens*. Soon after when outside, and when Herry had of his own accord gone into the same room with the others, and been locked up with them, Doman came to the Commander, asking why we had not instantly put Herry to death; on which he was answered, that if Herry so fully deserved it, (*verkorven had*) why did they not do it themselves, they had him now in their power, and in the same room with them.

1658. July 3. Resolution. In the existing state of matters it is to be apprehended that the inhabitants may be induced, by the measures which have been begun, but not yet concluded, to assemble and make an attack upon the persons and cattle of the Company and the free men, which could not be easily repelled with the present garrison, being in all, including farmers, gardeners, smiths, carpenters, masons, outside in the wood, within, and on Robben Island, no more than 97, of whom 19 or 20 are sick from the ships that lately sailed; it was therefore . . . . . resolved to re-enforce this garrison for a time with 20 soldiers, out of the *Prins Willem*, until these matters are arranged, and a new alliance and peace concluded with the Hottentoots, which may be hoped for before the arrival of the May ships from Holland, and thus the additional expense to the Company continue but a short time; it is also resolved to land, besides the 20 soldiers, 1000 lbs. of gunpowder and 200 hand grenades, and to place 2 light guns, from the *Maria*, on the stone redoubt Corenhoop, in the middle of the free men's cultivated land.

July 4. The wind being still contrary, Mr. Bastincq was prevented from embarking; Schacher and Doman represented that the latter dared not go to Caepmans' camp, to say that they must come hither with all their houses and cattle, to negotiate with us concerning a more intimate alliance

&c. and that it was therefore necessary to release one of the hostages, as there were no other Hottentoots hereabouts whom they would believe, and proposing to release Pieter Otegno, Schacher's brother, and the younger son of the fat Gogosoa; it was therefore resolved, with the advice of Mr. Bastincq, to accede to the proposal, as Schacher and Osooa, of the Caepmans, and Herry and Jan Cou, all the principal persons, remained as hostages; Pieter was recommended to assure the Caepmans' captain, Gogosoa, and Ankaisoa, the great shepherd, or signman, that we had no evil design towards them, and that we were sorry that one of his men had been yesterday killed by the sergeant, which would not have happened had they not first thrown their assagays, &c. and that we were consequently perfectly disposed to settle all disputes with them, and to conclude an inviolable peace; on which he departed with a present, to their wives, of some tobacco, &c. Thus resolved, &c.

In the afternoon Herry's people and wives came on with their houses, and asked us for a place of abode within gun shot of the Fort, and a spot was pointed out to them, on the flat at the tail of the Lion Hill, where they encamped; with them came the three wives and the sons of the Hottentoo who has been killed, desiring that their cattle and sheep, which were among Herry's, might be restored to them, together with some brass and tobacco, by way of compensation for their husband and father, &c.; on which it was answered, that he had first assaulted the sergeant, who had killed him in defence of his own life; whereas, on the other hand, the Dutch boy David had been foully and wilfully murdered by the Hottentoots, for which no satisfaction had hitherto been obtained by us; but that we should take care that they, and all the Hottentoots, and we ourselves also should have contentment, as soon as Caepman or *Gogosoa's* camp and *Ankaisoa's* houses were here to negociate a closer alliance; that all disputes should be then settled, and we should hereafter live together like good friends. In the evening the Caepman interpreter Doman brought us word, that their fat captain Gogosoa, and some of the other chief men of their camp would appear at the Fort to-morrow, to speak with us as above noticed.

July 5. Fine breeze from the S. S. E. the *Prins Willem*, with Mr. Bastincq.....sailed for Batavia.....

Pieter Otegno came back towards noon with the thick or fat captain, father of Schacher and chief of the Caepmans, and the following principal leaders of their hosts (*heyren*) to make peace; they were seated in the front hall, according to their gradation of rank, as pointed out by Doman, to wit:—

Gogosoa, the aforesaid fat and chief captain of the Caepmans, in addition to whom there were fetched out of durance, Osinghkhinma, or Schacher, eldest son and successor of his father Gogosoa, Otegno, or Pieter, and Khuma, alias Jan, also sons of Gogosoa, [here follow 14 other names]<sup>(1)</sup> all together very earnestly and urgently requesting that we would proceed to agree upon a firm peace and a closer alliance between them and the Hollanders, for the arrangement of all past disputes, with protestations that they would rather be put to death in the Fort, than go back before concluding a peace, for which purpose each offered his neck and head to be cut off, &c. It was therefore thought fit by the Commander and Council, assisted by the master of the *Maria*, Claes Franz Bordigh, to proceed to treat, but that, to keep up their good opinion of us, and to cause no suspicion that we distrusted them in any respect, it was thought best to make no mention of continual hostages, as they had come of their own accord to ask and pray for peace, and accordingly after recapitulation of all the trouble which they had given us from time to time, we proceeded to treat, and the following articles were agreed to on both sides, and it was resolved to abide by them permanently and inviolably, namely:—

1st.—That all that the Caepmans had done to us, and we to them, including the shooting of the Hottentoo, which happened yesterday, in the *furie*, shall be considered as forgotten and forgiven, as if it had never happened, or as if the said Hottentoo had never entered the world; but that with regard to the murder committed 5 years ago on the Dutch boy David, Herry and his were to be accountable; this did not concern them, as they were innocent, and not inclined to have any thing to do with Herry.

2nd.—That whenever the Caepmans cause us, or we them, any trouble or injury, each party shall punish his own, in the presence of the chief, or of Commissioners from the injured or offended party, with advice of both parties, according to the nature of the case.

3rd.—That Caepman shall continue to live with his camp on the East side of the Salt and Fresh River Liesbeecq, because on this side the pasture is too confined for us alone, unless any other

(1) The remaining names are thus written:—Bingatty, Osooa, Hodorima, Whacka, Goaso, Goatoc, Kanaty, Gotiko, Kherreby, Goegae, Seybuha, Douckhima, Loeckhoebe, and Hottetocan.

inhabitants come from the interior to make war upon them, when they may come past the Fort and withdraw behind the Lion Hill under our protection.

4th.—That Caepman shall take care that none of his cattle or sheep shall pasture on the cornlands of the Company or free men; otherwise if found there by our people, they may be shot, and allowed to lie on the spot, until inspected by Commissioners from both parties.

5th.—That always and whenever any slaves or people (*volk*) have deserted from the Company or the free men, the Caepmans, on receiving notice, shall instantly exert every endeavour to apprehend and bring them to the Commander in the Fort, receiving for each slave as much brass and tobacco as for an ox, they also promise to exert themselves for the recovery of the 10 slaves still absent.

6th.—That henceforth they shall no longer keep back any Saldanbars or other inhabitants of the interior; but rather desire them to come to us, that they may deal with us in security, for which purpose, whenever the Caepmans fear that such other natives will do them any injury, they may take shelter under our protection, as expressed in the third article.

7th.—That Caepman shall henceforth provide and deliver here at the Fort, for brass and tobacco, 10 cattle and 10 sheep for each large ship, and for *jachten* and *fluyten* 5 of each; and for the Fort every Sunday, 2 cattle for the Commander's people, and 2 sheep to be slaughtered for himself and the officers of the Fort.

8th.—That in return, one of Caepmans' people, assisted by the interpreter Doman, may always go on board of each ship, and once receive 2 bags of bread or rice, with 2 or 3 pieces of pork, and a small keg of brandy. And it being agreed that all the above articles should be maintained, and caused to be maintained, they were inviolably confirmed by both parties shaking hands, and the hostages were also released, and there were delivered to the Commander by them, as a ratification of the treaty, 10 fine oxen and 9 *ditto* sheep; neither would they accept any thing in return, although brass, &c. was offered and pressed upon them; they said they would not part with the Commander, until he promised to accept this present, for nothing, and as a proof of an inviolable alliance, otherwise they would fancy that they had not concluded a firm peace; and they offered all to remain in the Fort, and willingly submit to be put to death, rather than go away without finally concluding a treaty of peace. On which the resolution of peace with the Caepmans was concluded, by shaking hands all round.

But as to Herry, who also appeared with 9 or 10 of his people to treat for peace, and produced there before them all, as a public spectacle, one of the murderers of David, it was resolved to postpone this matter until another opportunity, and to place the said boy's murderer, named Namtesy, (and by our people, Claes) in custody with Herry and Jan Cou.

Thus done in the front hall in the Fort the Good Hope, in the presence of the said chiefs of the Caepmans, *datum ut supra*.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK, &c.

July 6. The Caepmans brought their said present early, and delivered the cattle over into the Company's herd. After which they again came into the front hall, and submitted that there were among the cattle we had taken from Herry 48 which belonged to the following persons.

Osinghkinma, or Schacher, 2 head; the three sons of the Hottentoo who had been shot, named Krounthumsel-Keytsha, 32 head; namely, Dochoe, 15; Doedo, 8; Euwchoebe, 9; Wacha, 10; Doechima, 4;—making altogether 48 head, or about one half of the booty, which is still uncounted; they were accordingly told, that we considered all that was found in Herry's camp to be his property, which would barely reimburse us for our stolen cattle and brass; it was, however, after several debates, finally agreed, that they should content themselves with the following: to Schacher, 2 cows and calves; Dochoe, 2; Doeda, 2; Euwchoebe, 2; being 6 for the 3 children of the deceased; Wacha, 2; Doechima, 2; thus 12, instead of 48, (so that there are 36 struck off *afgedongen*) with which they allowed themselves to be satisfied. After this arrangement we asked them what we should do with Herry, and they replied, that they gave him over to us, but that if we released him, Schacher would fight against him with assagays, and that they would rather that we should dispose of him to our own liking, as he had injured us by the murder of the boy, in which he had greatly rejoiced. On our asking them whether, in the event of our killing him, the other inhabitants would not be displeased with us, they said, no, we might manage about him as we liked, without giving back to him, or to any one of his people, any cattle or sheep, as they rightfully belonged to the Company, &c. upon which they were entertained with bread and brandy, receiving some brass, tobacco and pipes, as a present, and they then departed to their camp, which lies to the Eastward of Salt River, in sight of the Fort, and a good hour's walk from it.

Herry, Boubo or Symon, the murderer of the boy, and Jan Cou, remain in custody; the Caepmans offered to have Jan Cou bound to a post and flogged with rods, because, during the visit

of Mr. Cuneus, he had stolen our 15 sheep, and brought them to Herry; but the Commander requested some delay for further inquiry, and that we might acquit or release the innocent, as Doman had said that Cou had also laid hands on David, together with one Boubo, (called Symon by our people) and another, one Claes, called Herry's son, a great big fellow.

July 7. (Sunday.) The cattle were counted, and we found, old and young, 227 head—from which deduct 117 which the Company had before, there remain captured from Herry 110—valued as bartered by us, at 5 guilders=550 guilders—560 sheep, at 25 stivers=325—in all 875 guilders—on the other hand there were first stolen from the Company 43 cattle, which, at 5 guilders, is=215, and subsequently intrusted to him to barter cattle, (of which he delivered only 10, faithlessly claiming the rest as his own,) 404 lbs. brass, at 50 guilders per cent=202 . 0, 44 lbs. tobacco, at 6 guilders per cent=20 . 8, 1 gross pipes=1 . 10, 24 brass chains, at 27 stivers=32 . 8, some beads, &c. valued at 22 . 14, *f*500, deducted from the above account there remains over, as interest for the hinderance sustained by the Company in the increase of the stock *f*375,<sup>(1)</sup> Herry was therefore told that it was not intended to restore any thing to him, as we calculated that his stock had fallen much short of what we should have otherwise gained by the propagation of the cattle, and that therefore the murder of the boy was still an open account, and would be kept in mind, &c. After sermon to-day the articles of peace with the Caepmans were read and affixed every where in the country. 70 or 80 Hottentoots were about the Company's cattle with a view to carry them off again, during sermon, but seeing that there were 25 or 26 active soldiers with them, they turned back, making as if they had only come to look.

We asked Eva what people these were, and what it meant; she said, they were the Caepmans, who came to see how our cattle guard and the cattle were situated, and to plan how they should drive them off; she said also, that the fat Gogosoa had indeed made peace, but that was only to get his son Schacher, and Osoa set at liberty, and that he now intended to watch for the Commander or sergeant, when going out to the corn land or any where, (because the Commander had imprisoned Schacher, and the sergeant had shot his companion in the affray of the day before yesterday,) thinking that the rest might be easily overpowered. On which it was answered, that, at any rate there was a good peace made; she said, that the mouth had indeed so spoken, but the heart did not mean it; this the interpreter Doman, on being spoken to apart, entirely contradicted, he said that Herry's people indeed intended to do so, and that the people who were seen to-day, had gone along the shore to collect mussels, as it was low water, &c. Thus these two interpreters work against each other as much as possible, and we thus acquire a knowledge on many points; Eva even says, that the Caepmans intend to make a general union of the natives to fall upon us altogether; we answered, that they should then bring plenty of cattle with them, so that we might make the richer booty, as we could fight all the Hottentoots if they chose to try,<sup>(2)</sup> but that it would be better if they kept the conditions of the peace, and lived together as brothers, as had been agreed. On this Doman answered, "yes sir, and this Caepman will do, you shall see this by the supply of cattle when ships come, and by their inviting other tribes to come to barter." On this Eva said, "Look Mr. Van Riebeeck, Doman jokes and *soubats*" (she would say) he only flatters you, but I speak sincerely, and I have listened to Schacher, and overheard him; but if you will release Herry, and let him live at the Fort again, with 4 or 5 cows, all Herry's people will help you against Caepman." This she says out of favor towards her uncle Herry, so that no credit can be attached to it; and indeed Doman's statements should be received with caution. We asked him which of the Caepmans would go on board with him for bread, &c. on the arrival of ships, he said Schacher, or indeed Chainiantima, a principal chief of the Chainouquas, who has been often mentioned, and from whom, for the last 2 years, the greatest number of cattle have been purchased; should it be found that Schacher would trust himself on board, too much credit should not be given to Eva's story, however, order has been taken for keeping a good watch.

8. This day the late interpreter Herry, now a prisoner, was brought once more before the Council, and after many examinations, the names of his people were elicited from him, being as follows:—

*Autshumao*, called by us Herry, aforesaid, the author of all the mischief, &c. *Khoumoa Namthesy* alias Claes, and *Hemooa Khatimoo*, Herry's great servant, the murderers of the boy David, according to Herry's confession, absent and not to be found—*Khamy* alias Jan Cou, sheep stealer,

(<sup>1</sup>) On the margin of the Journal this calculation is entitled "Calculation of profit and loss upon the capture of Herry's cattle, set against what he had stolen from the Company."

(<sup>2</sup>) See Mr. Van Riebeeck's opinions on the 21st June 1659, *infra*.

&c. *Boubo* alias Symon also (though doubtful) suspected of said murder, and on that account detained with Herry. [and 5 others]<sup>(1)</sup> He also said as his excuse, that the Caepmans and others could not endure him, out of mere hatred and envy, because he alone had been allowed to go on board the ships, and fetch bread and other articles, on which account the said Caepmans had plundered his camp and stript him of every thing four times, and the Gorachouquas once; he therefore asked only to be allowed to live near the Fort in a small hut with his wives and 3 or 4 milch cows and sheep, as he was accustomed to do when we first arrived, and again to serve us as interpreter.

Seeing, however, that Doman says that Herry gave the first blow to the murdered boy, 5 years ago, and that all the chiefs of the Caepmans, as well as all the inhabitants who are questioned on the subject agree in stating, that he is the cause of all the mischief and misunderstanding, it was finally thought fit and resolved, to convey him to Robben Island by the first opportunity, as also the two detained Hottentoes Khamy alias Jan Cou, and Boubo alias Symon, as hostages, with a promise to release them when the actual murderers are given up to us; and as to Herry, to await the further orders of our honorable masters upon the disposal of his person; and should he desire that his wives and house be conveyed thither also, to accede to his request, and to apprise all the Caepmans and other inhabitants of these decisions.

And although peace is concluded with the Caepmans, it is resolved notwithstanding, to detain the 20 soldiers landed from the *Prins Willem*, to strengthen the garrison, at least until the arrival from Holland of the first expected ships, in 4 to 6 weeks, as there is no knowing what conspiracies these natives may have in contemplation.

It was also resolved, that, as soon as Herry is sent to the Island, peace shall be offered to all his people and also the Watermans, in order to be safe from all enemies, and to be able to travel securely in all directions. As also, that should we thereafter sustain injury from any one, we might lay claim to reparation for breach of treaty, &c.<sup>(2)</sup>

The Commander having yesterday said to Doman that he had some idea of visiting the captain of the Caepmans in his camp to the Eastward of Salt River, the said captain sent one of his sons to request that the Commander would come to-day, as he intended moving his camp to-morrow for change of pasture. An answer was sent that the Commander had no time to-day; but that on Gogosoa's return the Commander would visit him daily, on this his son departed, with a present of tobacco, and of some brandy in a flask.

July 10. This morning about 10 o'clock, being fine warm weather with variable airs, our former interpreter, or (as the English were in the habit of calling him) King Herry, was transported by the *Schaepjachtjen*, from his kingdom at this further point of Africa, to Robben Island, as also two of his companions. . . . . at all events the banishment of Herry is satisfactory to all the natives, as far as appears at present. . . . . sent the following letter to Robben Island:—

TO RYCK OVERHAGEN.—EXTRACTS. . . . . You will herewith receive the late interpreter Herry, with the Hottentoes Jan Cou and Boubo, or Symon, whom you will keep on the Island, and employ upon such work as may suit their inclination, without using force to compel them to any thing, allowing them to find their own provisions of penguins' eggs, clip fish, &c. as no provisions will be sent for them, but if they willingly render you any service in attending to the sheep, you may in that case let them have a little tobacco, otherwise not, informing us also, that we may send them some bread or other food if they deserve it. Jan Cou is a good fisher, encourage him in that employment, and the others in attending the sheep, or whatever they prefer, you will detain them there, and not allow them to embark in any vessel without our express order, &c.

In the Fort the Goede Hope, 10th July, 1658.

J. VAN RIEBEECK, ROELOF DE MAN.

This day the interpreters Doman and Eva were told, that now that Herry was gone, they might inform all his and Waterman's people that if they desired to be included in the peace made with Caepman, they must forthwith come to the Fort. They were also directed to state to Gogosoa and Schacher that *he* must be captain over the people of Herry and Waterman, and that they must submit to *his* authority, or that on their refusal, the chiefs were to consider how they were to be dealt with, &c. which message, (*insinuatie*,) the said Doman undertook to deliver, he and Eva appearing to approve of it.

(1) Namely:—Arre Namtesys brother, Beymokokoa, Danhou alias Orenware, Humthasoankhumma alias Claes Das, and Thoe Makakoa, struck with small shot the other day by the sergeant.

(2) Other portions of this Resolution provide for sending grass or clover sods to Robben Island by every opportunity, to improve the pasture, "as was successfully done at Tajouan in the year 44," but nothing more relative to natives.

July 12. Doman and some other trusty Hottentoots set out for Caepmans' camp, for the purpose aforesaid, but found they had removed quite to the Leopard Berg, to seek change of pasture.

13. The boat returned from Robben Island with.....the following letter:—

EXTRACT.—I shall try to induce the three Hottentoots sent hither by your express order, to attend to the sheep, but they say already that there is no food for them, and that they have to seek their victuals, but if they show any diligence I shall report the same.....the Hottentoots in going over the Island, to seek for penguin eggs, found a dead sheep, and came to ask whether they might have it—as it had just died—for their food; they will not be able, under this pretext, to touch any other sheep, for the two boys attend the flock from the morning until the stars are in the sky, and sleep in the sheep house at night.<sup>(1)</sup> I wish you would give orders for their hut being sent, for they make a fire there, (i. e. in the sheep house?) at night when they think us asleep, and it might thus be burnt.....

RYCK OVERHAGEN.

15. The Commander went out to examine some of the Hottentoots' tracks, and to ascertain how we could, in the best and cheapest manner, prevent them from carrying off the cattle of the Company or the free men. The river Liesbeeck seemed well suited to the purpose of a barrier, being generally deep and marshy, except at a few places; it appears likely therefore that with a little trouble it may be made impassable to cattle.....it is highly necessary to attend to the safety of our cattle and those of the free men, for if their cattle were once gone, the whole cultivation would be again at a stand.

16. The Caepmans are now removed far inland, some think to bring more people, that they may hazard some attack upon us; we deemed it advisable, notwithstanding, to send to Batavia by the *Maria*, 11 of the 20 soldiers landed from the *Prins Willem*. 18. Sent 30 sheep to Robben Island with the following letter:—<sup>(1)</sup>

18. Khuma, alias Jan, the third son of Gogoso, came to warn us, by his father's direction, to be on our guard, as Herry's people intended taking our cattle, on which we said that they might come, they might expect powder and lead, for our men had orders, upon seeing any Hottentoots without a small flag, near the cattle, instantly to shoot them, and then bring them to the Fort, that we might see whose people they were, as they should no longer be played with, as had been the case before, in consequence of our undue forbearance, that it was determined not to put up with the least annoyance from the Hottentoots any longer; and as we wished them nothing but good, they, (the Caepmans,) must take care not to mix with thieves, or they would be served with the same sauce, and shot like the others, &c. It is not to be feared that Herry's people (being but 9 or 10 men capable of bearing arms) would dare to attempt any thing of the kind alone, and this was told to the said Jan, and that he might well guess that if any attempt was made upon the cattle, we knew well that others would be assisting, but they might come if they were so disposed, we were ready, and they might for once try what they had to expect, &c. 21. The Commander went again to the Soute River, with the junior merchant, sergeant, and fiscal, to examine where the ground was marshy, and where hard enough to be crossed by cattle.....the boat returned from Robben Island, there were 400 sheep there; we have 227 here.....

23—24. Examining the Salt and Liesbeeck Rivers as on the 21st. The Commander at the same time visited the farms of the free men; and as the season for sowing Dutch grain is past, he recommended that each farmer should sow a good quantity of *mily*, or Turkey wheat, brought from *Gunea* by the *Hasselt*, as this was the right season, and as the slaves were acquainted with the mode of cultivating it; and whereas some persons did not seem very willing, thinking that they had crop enough on the ground, the Commander threatened to close the provision store, unless at least one muid of that grain was planted on each farm, for next year the seed would be too old, and then there would be no more to be had, &c.

26. The Commander went out again, to examine more closely the wood which extends from the mountain to the river Liesbeeck, and also the river itself; and found that the thicket from above, the whole way down to the river, is so closely studded with trees, that no opening is to be found, except where the wagon road, for the use of the free men, passes through, which opening may easily be closed by a bar so that no cattle could get through, though thousands of Hottentoots were

<sup>(1)</sup> EXTRACT.—“You may allow the Hottentoots to eat the sheep found dead upon the Island, provided no roguery is concealed behind the practice.”

It will be soon seen that within a few months the Company's 400 sheep died off, to less than 40. The supply of food furnished by the birds, &c. was sufficient to induce the overseer to decline receiving for the Hottentoots salted seals' flesh, “for they prefer the birds.” The convicts on Robben Island had, for a long time, no other animal food than the birds, eggs, and fish they could procure on the spot.

driving them ; this was about 2 hours' walk from the Fort, near Vasagie's dwelling, just below the foot of the Bosheuvel, where the Commander (when one day walking with the Commissioner Van Goens, and the Hottentoo who did not wish us to cultivate there) pointed out a site for a guard house, or small redoubt, to protect the cultivated lands thereabouts. It was found that the Liesbeeck could, with very little trouble, be rendered navigable for small boats.....

July 27. Nothing particular occurred, except that the interpreter Doman wished to go on board, to fetch the stipulated 2 bags of bread, 1 keg of brandy, and 2 or 3 pieces of pork and tobacco from each ship ; but he was informed, that the Caepmans must first perform their promise, (hitherto unredeemed) namely, to deliver the stipulated cattle and sheep for each ship, and on Sundays for the garrison, &c. and so long as they did not fulfil that engagement, they should get nothing whatever from the ships.

We did not, however, let it appear that they had already furnished us with some right to keep hostages, and thus to compel them to fulfil the stipulations into which they had entered.<sup>(1)</sup>

30. Received a letter from Robben Island : EXTRACT.—After taking leave of your Honor on the 25th.....we missed the Island and were driven so far to sea that we lost sight of the Island.....I thought that Eva was dead, as she was very sea sick, but on the weather improving she became quite well.

Aug. 2. The Chainouqua captain, Chainhantima, came again to the Fort, with 13 cows, which were purchased from him, and he was asked why he did not, as at first, bring a greater number, he replied, that the inhabitants were, for the greater part, everywhere supplied with brass, and were not likely to bring more cattle. Having shown to him, as had before been done to others, some samples of all the kinds of beads used in the voyage to the coast of Guinea, he attached little value to them, and least of all to the finest, asking for a few of the common red beads as a present, but not proposing to give any thing in return for them, so that brass is the best article of merchandise, with tobacco, brandy, bread, and rice given to boot, (*toegift*) on the conclusion of a bargain.

3. The chief departed after securing a present of brass, beads, tobacco, a rod of iron, bread, and brandy ; promising soon to return with a few cattle.

17. Both the slaves of the free fisherman M. Jochumst deserted ; Hottentoes were instantly sent in search of them. 20. The Hottentoes returned, reporting that they could neither find the said slaves, nor any trace of them. 22. The people living beyond the Liesbeeck, at Groeneveld and thereabouts, namely Harman's, Brinckman's, and Vasagie's companies, were informed—now that they were well supplied with cattle by the Company, as well for the plough as for milk and butter, it was necessary that some one of them—being Dutch and proprietors—should attend their own cattle daily with firearms, as they were not so safe from the Hottentoes as those on this side of the river—so that the cattle might not be again carried off, as it would be difficult, if not impossible for the Company, always to supply them, upon credit, with other draught and breeding cattle, thus diminishing the supplies to the shipping, as we cannot barter to our satisfaction from the natives, who bring nothing but old, worn out, useless stock ; so that every one must pay more attention to breeding, and that these orders for guarding the cattle might be the better observed, the said free men were informed, that if found negligent, the Company would resume the stock—and that it will be daily inspected to ascertain how the breeding goes on.<sup>(2)</sup>

24. A few sheep and calves are daily brought by the Caepmans and Gorachouquas, and sold for a certain kind of red beads, found among the residue of the Guinea cargo, and for which they seem tolerably keen, and more so than for brass, time will show whether it will last—it is to be hoped it may, for each sheep or calf bought with these beads, cost less than a stiver.

26. The Commander being out as usual visiting the free men's farms.....was informed that 14 male and female slaves belonging to the free sawyers, had deserted last night, and one belonging to the Commander himself, 2 of the female slaves were overtaken ; some soldiers were therefore sent to assist in the pursuit, there being no Hottentoes so near at hand as to be employed in time, besides that the interpreter Doman like a rogue endeavours to thwart (*contramaineren*) the Company in every thing, and is three times worse and more mischievous to the Company than Herry ever was in his life, as shown by proofs daily brought to light, and by the testimony of Eva, who openly declares that he is the chief opponent of the Company, and he reproaches her as a sycophant and a

(1) See this policy touched on in Despatches of January 15 and March 5, 1659.

(2) On the 20th a Resolution was passed to supply each farmer with 6 cows and 50 ewes out of the Company's stock, then consisting of 240 horned cattle, and upwards of 600 sheep ; the grounds stated, being the necessity of rearing better cattle than the old and sickly animals procured from the natives ; and the orders from Holland to increase the stock of cattle.

flatterer, making her very odious in the eyes of her countrymen, saying that she speaks on the side of the Dutch, rather than of the Hottentoots, and calling out when she comes to interpret any thing, "see! there comes the Hollander's advocate again, she is coming to deceive her own countrymen with a parcel of lies, and to betray to the last," and other expressions tending to make her odious; so that it were to be desired that this scamp? (guyt) had never left the Cape, and that he could be, decently, and without any disturbance conveyed to Robben Island.<sup>(1)</sup> In the evening the free men's two boats returned with 3500 lbs. of salted seals' flesh.

Aug. 28. Two more female slaves were found; they signified that their men would have cut the throats of the sawyers at night, if they could have found knives. The free burger Herman Remanjenne came with 2 slaves, who had escaped from him, requesting a chain to fasten them in, which was granted. . . . .we therefore desired 2 of Caepmans' people who were at the Fort, to be informed, through Eva and Doman, of the desertion of the slaves; they were desired to warn their people that there were now 30 slaves at large, that they should seize them so that we might put them in chains, otherwise they might attack the Hottentoots, take their cattle, weapons and all, and when once armed could no longer be resisted, but would increase, a third of them having their wives with them, until they got the better of all the Hottentoots, who, having only small mat houses, were not so capable of defending themselves as the Dutch, but would be easily overpowered—and other arguments which might serve to induce them to assist in the search.<sup>(2)</sup>

September 2. The Chainouqua captain came again with 31 cattle, old and young, which were all bought for brass and tobacco, after which, as usual, presents, &c. were given. The following Resolution was passed:—

Whereas Chainhantima, (as he says) in the name of the chief of the Chainouquas, having urgently requested, as has been done before by several of the principal Caepmans and Gorachouquas, that we would release Chamy, alias Jan Cou, and Boubo, alias Symon; promising that (in lieu of the conditions entered into by Caepman, as to delivering cattle, which it is impossible for them to fulfil) they will now and then bring such a number of cattle as will far exceed that quota, (*taxt*)—and, indeed, the Caepmans scarcely dare come hereabouts any more on that account, but if we give up those persons to them, they would then have more confidence in our nation, of whom they are now much afraid, which Eva as well as Doman confirms, alleging that it would induce them to bring us more cattle, and make them better disposed towards us. Seeing therefore that we cannot procure any certain knowledge that said Chamy and Boubo are the murderers of the boy, and seeing that there is no other charge against Chamy or Jan Cou, than that during the visit of Mr. Cuneus, he took away 13 sheep, it was resolved to have him brought hither, that it may be seen what effect his release will produce in the first instance. The other is strongly suspected of the murder, although the principals—of whose guilt we are most certain—keep away, and will apparently never be found. As to Herry, every one calls out with equal urgency, that we should kill him; it was therefore resolved that (for the present at least) he should not be brought hither.

### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council, &c.

1658. Sept. 2. . . . .Our last letter to you is dated the 16th April. . . . .we have since received your letters of the last day of August 1657. . . . .and of the 22nd February, 18th and 31st March, and 10th April, of the present year, upon which we must briefly remark, that the expenses of our Cape establishment have reached a large sum, and are daily increasing; we have therefore seen cause once more to direct you, to conduct every thing there in the cheapest manner possible—for this purpose you will as much as possible avoid any new and extraordinary works, and in particular the newly projected redoubts, for they would only entail upon us new expenses, more especially as you state yourself, that the free men live in tolerable security, independent of the proposed redoubts. Should they be disposed, after they have spread themselves a little further, to construct a place to which they may retreat in case of need, we do not object to assisting them, provided the work appears to be necessary, and that they, according to the conditions they have agreed to, defend it

<sup>(1)</sup> See the first mention of a Hottentoot called Doman, or Domine, "because he is a very simple person" on the 12th Dec. 1655, (p. 78) where the name is improperly printed Damon.

<sup>(2)</sup> A Resolution of this day—passed with the view of preventing further desertion, provided for placing fetters upon the Company's male slaves, and permitting the same to be done to any of the free men's slaves, whose masters might desire it. The grounds stated are, that the Guinea slaves were found to be as much inclined to desert as those from Angola—28 were now at large, and as they were esteemed "much more cunning, insolent, daring, and courageous than the Hottentoots," so, much greater violence was anticipated from them than from these native tribes, who say they are afraid of them, &c.

and keep it in repair, but every thing must be done gradually—and too much work must not be undertaken at once. The officers who have last arrived have reported to us, that during their stay at the Cape, they received a very small supply of vegetables, this intelligence was somewhat unexpected, as we have always understood from your letters that there was an abundance. . . . . you will arrange accordingly to have an abundant and constant supply of roots and vegetables—our chief object in forming the establishment, and that object must of necessity be first attained, when there must follow, in due order, the cattle, and a supply of fresh meat, to secure a sufficiency of which, no pains must be spared.<sup>(1)</sup> We can at the same time easily understand that in this we cannot at all times succeed to our wish; the ill will of the Hottentoots must be in some measure overlooked, and submitted to? (de quaet willigheit van de Hottentoots moet zoo wat ingezien en te gemoet gegaen worden) and although they will not consent to any trade, we are not to take their property from them by force, as we do not perceive that adequate grounds have, at least as yet, been given for that course, meanwhile we must direct our attention to breeding, so that we may in time subsist upon oxen, cows and sheep, of our own.<sup>(2)</sup>

### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

Sept. 3. The boat was sent to Robben Island with the following letter:—EXTRACTS.—You will receive by the decked boat 3 months' provisions, among it 60 lbs. bread and 60 lbs. rice for Herry and Boubo. . . . . let the Hottentoo Chamy or Jan Cou come with the boat, but keep Herry and Boubo; do not give Herry any work, except attending, under your direction, to the rearing of the young lambs, as he is old and unfit for work. You will receive for them 3 lbs. tobacco, so that (in addition to these three months' bread and rice, and abundance of birds and fish,) they may now and then have a smoke, to encourage them to attend well to the sheep. . . . . but Boubo may help to carry shells.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

This day 6 cows and 1 sheep were bought from Chainhantima, and presents, &c. were given him.<sup>(3)</sup>

5. Twelve Company's slaves deserted with their irons. . . . . The sergeant and fiscal returned, they had been on horseback quite behind the Leopard's Berg, to beyond the African mountains, they had seen many traces of people on foot, but could not tell whether of slaves or Hottentoots. . . . they had also seen thousands of harts, elands, &c. but as little to be overtaken on horseback as a bird on the wing.

7. A party of Hottentoots from the camps of Caepmans and the Gorachouquas, brought an ox and a sheep for liberating Jan Cou, and 2 young bulls with 3 sheep for Boubo, promising to do their best to induce the natives to fetch us cattle, and praying that we would release the two persons named; on which Jan Cou, who had been brought from the Island, was released; we said that we did not desire any thing in return, but upon their persisting, the ox and sheep were received, being, however, dearly paid for with brass and tobacco, besides treating them all round with bread and brandy, until their stomachs and their heads were full, and they departed half drunk, and well satisfied. They had meanwhile requested the liberation of the other, namely Boubo or Symon, offering the two young bulls and three sheep; but we told them, that we could not fetch him before the next trip with the boat, and that we would in the mean time see whether so great a number of cattle would be brought for sale as they now promised, &c.; they said that they would show us proofs to-morrow, &c.

8. (Sunday.) Nearly all the free men gave up to the Company, fully half of their slaves, male and female, they dared not venture to keep them any longer, as it is evident that the slaves are naturally altogether inclined to desertion, although they are treated as well as possible, (by de best van alle.) 9. This morning the last missing slave—the worst one, was found also, so that, with exception of the 7 Angola slaves who deserted a long time since, all the Company's slaves are at home. . . . . 13 cattle, young and old, and 31 sheep, were bought to-day, chiefly for beads and tobacco; according to Damon and Eva, two bitter enemies? (twee harde partyen) more will be brought daily.

<sup>(1)</sup> The dispatch proceeded to remove the impression that salting meat for India was one of the objects of forming an establishment at the Cape.

<sup>(2)</sup> These reiterated disapprovals of the policy proposed by Mr. Van Riebeeck with relation to the natives, and various less equivocal expressions of disapprobation of his conduct in other respects, called forth a lengthened explanatory vindication, for which, see March 5, 1659.

<sup>(3)</sup> A Proclamation was this day issued, prohibiting the trade in ivory, rhinoceros horns, and ostrich feathers, with the natives, but it was permitted to purchase from them other trifles, as "land tortoises, ostrich-egg shells, milk, and such like, so long as our masters do not give orders to the contrary."

Sept. 11. Six cattle of different ages were bought for brass, and 26 sheep, chiefly for beads and tobacco.

12. The trade continued in quantity and quality as yesterday.

13. Proclamation of Commander in Council, &c.—Whereas the barter of cattle with the natives of this country was forbidden by Proclamation on the 4th May last, by order of our honorable masters. Notwithstanding which prohibition some persons still contrive to carry on the said trade in secret; aye! worse still, even purchase sick and scabbed sheep, which have not been received by the Company, but rejected, and which, though these Hottentoes could not have taken them home alive, they manage to get rid of, at the dwellings of the free colonists, for fully 10 times as much as the best and most healthy sheep are worth,—to the great hinderance and injury of the trade of the Company. The free burgers are therefore again warned to desist from those practices, and especially from bartering, directly or indirectly, any slaughtered sheep, under any pretext whatsoever, on pain of a fine of 6 reals for each offence.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus done, &c.

14. Bought to-day 4 cows and 26 sheep. 15. Bought 6 cattle and 31 sheep from the Cochoquas' people, who daily urged us to release Boubo, alias Symon, from Robben Island, because he had sprung from their race; but he is *causa movens* of all the disputes, &c.

17. Last night some of the best sheep were stolen out of the Company's corn house, (2 hours' walk from this) and as the guard—who seem to have been negligent—this morning found two sheep still before the door, and bound with a striped garter, this theft has not been committed by Hottentoes, but is ascribed to some of the free men; orders were therefore issued for inquiry, &c.

18. Resolution of Council.—Seeing that the cattle trade has proceeded very briskly since the liberation from Robben Island of the Hottentoo Chamy, alias Jan Cou, which seems to have rendered these natives better disposed towards us, &c.; and seeing that we are daily urgently desired, even by the Cochoquas, (true Saldanhar) to release the other, named, in their language, Boubo, but by our people, Symon, who is, as they say, descended from their tribe. As they promise also to give us every satisfaction, by bringing us cattle, and henceforth to deal with us more kindly than ever before; having considered also the slight advantage to be gained by any further inquiry after the murderer of the boy; and that whenever that event is mentioned it seems to create an alarm among the natives, who fear that we are always keeping an eye upon some of their principal men; whereas, on the other hand, it would be safer and more profitable for the Honorable Company to encourage in them a greater confidence towards our nation, in order—through familiar intercourse with them—to become acquainted with whatever may have been hitherto concealed from us. Considering besides the present danger—according to the intelligence yesterday received from Robben Island—that the said Boubo should chance to die,<sup>(2)</sup> which might raise a suspicion among the natives that his death was caused by some injury done to him by us, and create a degree of suspicion and distrust, which should be assiduously averted.

Upon all these considerations it is at length finally resolved and appointed that he shall be fetched hither from Robben Island, the sooner the better, in order to be restored to his friends, thus to avert all distrust, and especially to generate more and more among these natives a good opinion of our nation.

But with respect to Herry, no one whomsoever of these natives intercedes for him, with the sole exception of his niece, the interpreter Eva, who pleads for him in the Commander's house, like Esther for her uncle Mordecai; but we persuade her that he has himself no desire to come hither, and is willing to end his days there in quiet, as all his countrymen hate him, and would kill him; on which account we, out of pity, shelter him there from his enemies, giving him food and lodging,

(<sup>1</sup>) A Resolution of the 30th Nov. 1657, stopped the issue of European provisions to the free colonists; permitting them in lieu to kill a sheep occasionally. Their request to be allowed to form a bartering party, was refused, on the ground, that the harvest was approaching, and that the natives would endeavor to murder the party; in support of which were cited the warnings of trusty Hottentoes to the last party—and the narrow escape of the boat's crew at Saldanha Bay, who were stated to have barely saved their lives by swimming to their vessel. The farmers were, however, permitted to buy such cattle as might be brought to them, and recommended to do all in their power to induce the natives to come to their houses for that purpose. On the 24th Oct. it was made an offence to admit natives into houses, lest they should bring ivory for sale. For the first of many remonstrances of the free colonists against the Company's fiscal arrangements, see 23rd Dec. 1658.

(<sup>2</sup>) Extract from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

In the evening the boat returned from Robben Island with the following letter. . . . .EXTRACT.—Symon, the Hottentoo, is sick, and can scarcely carry any more shells; he is getting very lean also; he is pleased therefore to send two blacks, and then we can keep the boat going.—Sept. 15, 1658.

and that we are accordingly resolved to keep and protect him there a little longer. Thus done and resolved in the Fort the Goede Hope, day and year as above.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK, ROELOF DE MAN, JAN VAN HARWARDEN, AB. GABBEMA.

Which Resolution being divulged to the said Hottentoots, by the interpreter Doman, caused great joy among them.

The ensign and fiscal having been out at night with some people inquiring into the sheep stealing . . . . . Hendrick Jansen Schayk, of Montfort, instantly confessed the fact, stating that none else was concerned except Willem Pietersen, of Nimiguen, a free farm servant of the Commander, the ensign and fiscal were instantly sent to fetch him—Schayk being meanwhile placed in the guard house. The men who had been sent out in search of the slaves returned, having been out 10 days without finding any of them; they had in every direction seen rhinoceroses and elephants, by hundreds together, and many elands, harts and steenboks—also wild horses, which the Hottentoots were daily urged to catch, but they seemed to be little inclined. . . . .

Sept. 21. The sheep stealers above named were again examined before the Council, strengthened by the free burger councillors; they adhered to their former confession. In the evening the boat returned from Robben Island with a load of shells for the lime kilns, bringing, as directed, the Hottentoot Boubo, alias Symon; he was very well received by his friends, who had ready 2 fine young bulls, and 3 sheep, for his liberation, those were indeed accepted, but not for the release, being, like the former, paid for with brass, beads, and tobacco, which the Hottentoots considered a particular act of courtesy, promising to do their best to have cattle brought to us, as they were now satisfied in every thing; for they never speak in favor of Herry, he being a person who, as they say, never did any thing but harm to them, and who had given cause to all the differences which had arisen; he might therefore, as far as they cared, stay all his life on Robben Island, so as to create no more dissention, or prevent them from visiting us and trading with us; they would also try and catch us some young horses from the side of the mother, but as to harts, and elephants' teeth, which we have so long, and from the first, urged them to bring, they had no means of procuring them, as the first mentioned animal was too fleet for them, and the other too dangerous to be attacked, &c.

23. Pieter Otegn, the youngest son of Gogosoa, the fat captain of the Caepmans, brought 3 sheep for sale, and Doman and Eva asked leave to pay a visit to their friends, requesting, in return for their services in interpreting, some brass, iron, beads, tobacco, bread, and brandy, that they might have something to take to their mother and friends, such as the Cochoquas, and to make us known to them, &c. Perceiving their good intentions the request was granted, and they were recommended to encourage their friends and all the inhabitants which they—that is Eva—might visit, to fetch us somewhat more cattle, also young horses, elephants' teeth, civet, amber, seed-pearls—a sample being shown and given to them—*item*, all kinds of skins of elands, harts, steenboks, &c. in all which she promised to use her best endeavours, and hoped that we should soon witness the result. Towards evening she took leave, expressing her thankfulness for the presents, in good Dutch, and with much politeness, (*beleefde minen*) and on getting outside and into Doman's mat huts, she immediately put on her skins, and sent her clothes home, so that she might put them on when she should again come into the presence of the Commander's wife; promising that meanwhile she would not forget the Lord God, (whom she had learned to know in the said house) but would always think of what she had learned, &c.

24. Eva set out at an early hour, leaving a message that she hoped to be accompanied, upon her return, by people with many cattle. Doman went soon after, also giving hopes. While the Commander was out visiting the corn lands, the junior merchant, R. de Man, bartered for brass and tobacco, 5 young cattle and 15 sheep.

25. The boats returned with 3210 lbs. of salt seals' flesh for the slaves. . . . . the sheep stealers were again heard in presence of the burger council, and more of such fellows discovered. . . . . In the evening a great lean leopard sprang upon, and killed a foal, close to the Fort, and within four paces of where Wouters Cornelis and his slaves were working, a slave went up to the leopard and killed him with an axe; the foal was, however, quite dead, a loss to the Company, considering the want of horses here, of fully 100 guilders.

26. In the evening Doman came with the 3 sons of the Caepman captain, who had been formerly seized. . . . . they had been hitherto afraid to come, but witnessing the release of Chamy and Boubo, their confidence was quite restored; they brought 4 cattle and 13 sheep, which were all bought for brass and beads, they expressed themselves quite secure, and more confident in us than ever—particularly if we would keep Herry away from the Cape, and on the Island.

27. Chainhantima. . . . . brought 14 cattle and 21 sheep, being asked to let his people catch

some young horses and harts, and bring them here, with promise of high rewards; he answered, that they ran too fast, and that Hottentoots were not used to take so much trouble for any thing.

Sept. 28. Most of the forenoon we were occupied in examining the sheep stealers, it was found that two servants of the free carpenters, named Pieter Cley, and Dirk Vreem, were also guilty. . . . . This day 10 cows and 70 sheep were bought from the Cochoquas, chiefly for beads and tobacco; Eva seems to be doing much good among them, and, as we yesterday heard from the Caepmans and Doman, she intends to visit several other tribes, whom she has promised to encourage to come to us with cattle, &c. and to acquaint themselves with the good nature of the Dutch; she may become more serviceable to the Company than her uncle Herry has been.

Oct. 1. The four sheep stealers were most graciously sentenced by the Council, assisted by the *Borgerraden*—as this is the first serious crime that has occurred among the free men of the Cape—namely, the chief offender only, to be flogged with rods, and banished to work in chains for 16 years, another for 5 years, the two remaining receivers and stealers, each 6 years, and all 4 to stand as a public spectacle with a sheep's skin upon their head and shoulders, with confiscation of all their property, &c. *naer uso*.

2. The said sentence was executed. 3 cows, 1 calf, and 12 sheep, were bought from the Hottentoots, more would have been brought, but that they say that all the inhabitants have been suddenly seized with a great sickness; to learn the truth of this, Doman has this day gone with these people, on his return he will no doubt have a fine tale to tell us.

5. Doman returned, having been, as he says, with the Cochoquas and Chainouquas, whom he had invited to come with some cattle, and from whom 60 sheep were this day bought, mostly for beads, and 10 cows for brass and tobacco.

8. Doman came again to-day, with some of the Chainouquas, with 16 cattle, and 48 sheep, which were bought for brass and tobacco; we heard that Eva was with the Cochoquas, doing her best to incline them to bring their cattle hither, according to the statement of even Doman, her greatest enemy, who, seeing that her endeavours to serve us are so successful, always turns back with the strange Hottentoots, with whom he has come twice, that he may ingratiate himself with us as much as the said Eva; but it is our opinion that he never dared to go further than the camp of the Caepmans, about 5 hours' walk from this, at the Leopard's Berg; and that, when there, seeing some Saldanhars approaching, he joins them, by way of appearing to have brought them, for whenever he, coming a little in advance, tells us of more people coming, they appear in reality; so that we think he only watches for them, that he may join any that are coming; for the Commander managed to keep him in conversation while the junior merchant De Man purchased all the cattle, Doman always wanted to go out, saying that he would help the Hottentoots in the barter, and other proofs besides; so that it appears the every-where-travelling-Eva does the Company the greatest service by conciliating these tribes. 9. Although Doman was absent we bought 5 cows, and 9 sheep, from strange people.

11. The Commander went out early with the officers and their wives, to see the fine crops. Mr. De Man meanwhile attending to matters at the Fort. . . . . where 8 sheep, brought by the Hottentoots, were purchased for beads and tobacco; the natives said that if it was fine weather to-morrow, many cattle would be brought for sale. 12. In consequence of the bad weather only 5 sheep were bought.

13. Doman came again, and with him some Caepmans, with 9 sheep—which were bought of them; asking him why no more were brought, he said he did not know, but that he thought that in 5 or 6 days more would come; he having (as the others say) never dared to go any further than the Caepmans' camp, but Eva was with Oedasoa, the chief captain of the Cochoquas, doing her best to induce him to visit us. 14. 2 cows and 7 sheep were bought from the Caepmans.

15. Two old slaves who had deserted, were found almost perished from hunger and thirst. . . . . so that we perceive more clearly every day, that they go away from a natural disposition to run, (een lopende natuyr) and are not harboured by any of the Hottentoots.<sup>(1)</sup> 16. 1 cow, 1 calf, and 8 sheep, were bought from the Caepmans.

18. Sent the ensign Jan van Harwarden and the fiscal to inspect the stock at Robben Island, according to verbal instructions, with the following letter:—EXTRACT. . . . . You will receive here-with 1 lb. of tobacco and 6 pipes, so that you may occasionally give Herry a bit.

19. . . . . On the Island are 444 good sheep, and here on the main 578, so that, thank God, the Company has now 1022 sheep, and the free men about 300, altogether more than 1300, besides the

(<sup>1</sup>) See Resolution, 22d June, (p. 128) and the subsequent measures, founded on a presumption to the contrary.

daily increase by barter—for to-day 23 were bought.....of cattle the Company have more than four hundred and the free men about 200, young and old, in all hard upon 600..... Two free servants of the farmers came to complain that some of the slaves had tried to kill them.....

Oct. 20. [A slave being asked] on what they would have lived, as they had seen that nothing could be found to eat here, he replied that they depended upon Hottentoots' flesh, from those whom they would kill here and there, according to the custom of their country, where they ate those whom they conquered in war; being asked how they would get the better of the Hottentoots, as they had no weapons, and the Hottentoots were well armed with assagays and bows and arrows, he said that they would try to overpower one or two first, so as to get their weapons.....

21. The free man Jurien Jans arrived with three men of the ship *West Vriesland*, which had anchored in Saldanha Bay in a most distressed condition from scurvy—had assisted them with 12 sheep, purchased from the natives before their arrival.....<sup>(1)</sup> This day we bartered from the Chainouquas at the Fort, 14 cattle and 24 sheep. Doman (who had been 3 days absent) returned in the evening, requesting, in the name of the Caepmans and Gorachouquas, that we would assist them with 20 soldiers to attack the Cochoquas, who lay in great strength behind the Leopard Mountains, and to assist to take their cattle (as numerous as the grass in the field) as that tribe was endeavouring to injure them, and had committed several hostilities. The said interpreter being hereupon asked where Eva was, said that she was at present in the camp of the Cochoquas, with the wife of *Ngonomoa* their chief, that people being governed by two chiefs, or, as they call them, captains—*Ngonomoa*, the said chief, and *Oedaso*, the second—with whom we do not doubt Eva is doing her best, to invite them to come to us, as they had never in their lives been so near; we doubt not also that the Caepmans and Gorachouquas wish to resist them, but finding themselves too weak, desire our assistance, promising that they would procure us a great quantity of cattle by robbery, &c. Doman was therefore told, that the chief men of the camps of the Caepmans and Gorachouquas should come to us, to speak with us, and to concert a good plan, &c.

But our object is still the same at which we have long aimed; namely, to entrap them with their cattle behind the Gevelbergen, and then to entice the Cochoquas and other Saldanhars as near as possible, so as to try to deal with them in all friendship, without any hinderance from the others, thus also to keep these Cape fellows in the better subjection, or even under such entire restraint that we may compel them to fulfil the conditions to which they agreed, &c. for which purpose appearances are favorable, and we must proceed with caution. Meanwhile it is fortunate that Eva has gone to those true Saldanhars, as she will fully explain to them our inclination for a peaceful intercourse with them. Doman also says that we must not expect Eva here, before the camp of the Cochoquas is close by; but as they (according to his statement) were committing hostilities against the Caepmans and Gorachouquas, the latter would not willingly see them here, and therefore desired our help, and that, to stop them, and to take their cattle, we would assist with 20 soldiers; with this answer to his request Doman departed.

23. While the Commander was absent, Mr. De Man bought 2 oxen, 3 cows, 2 calves, and 19 sheep, from the Cochoquas people, Doman did his best to make those people disliked by us; among the rest finding fault with said cattle, and on the Commander's return, inciting him against them as much as possible, and saying that Eva spoke nothing but ill of us to them, but, as before observed, we believed the contrary; and as Doman very urgently requested the assistance of some men for the purpose mentioned on the day before yesterday, he was answered, that the chiefs or captains of Caepman and Gorachouqua's camps, and the lame *schaepman*,<sup>(2)</sup> must first come to the Commander in the Fort, to speak with him upon these affairs, and to arrange a good plan, &c. on which he said that he had sent to them for the purpose.

24. Resolution of Council.—Whereas it appears that notwithstanding of our former Proclamations of the 4th May and 13th Sept. last, prohibiting the free men—by orders from our honorable masters—from bartering cattle from the natives of this country, or Hottentoots; yet, nevertheless, such is still practised by some persons, and especially by the free borger Jan Reyniers, this day last detected, and who continues undauntedly and insolently to contravene the orders of our honorable masters; and furthermore, for this express purpose, detains these natives at his house, so that live

<sup>(1)</sup> By a letter inserted in the Journal it seems that this ship had sailed from Holland on the 18th of May with 351 men, 72 of whom had died, and 150 were landed, being sick with scurvy—the people they had sent to seek for refreshments had returned without seeing either natives or cattle, and they had not strength to raise the anchor.

<sup>(2)</sup> See March 10, 1654, (p. 46,) and July 2, 1658, (p. 131) for "*Ankaisoa the Siginman*," for a definition of which term see Despatch of 14th April 1653 (p. 31.)

stock are very seldom brought to the Fort, without his managing to secure, at the least, his own share of the sheep by fair means or (as he lives in the road) by force, and to slaughter and consume them, instead of attending, in the first instance, to the increase of the stock, as is done by the other free men. And, furthermore, such private barter is found to tend, in no inconsiderable degree, to the prejudice of the Company's trade, which is now brought on so good a footing. The Commander and Council having observed the audacity of the said Jan Reyniers—with consent of the free burger counsellors now present, on this account, as well as on account of the offences committed by Jan Reyniers—have thought fit, again, and for the third time, to warn and order every one, whether Company's servants or free men, as they are warned by the publication and affixing of these presents—that no one whomsoever shall presume to barter, directly or indirectly, on any pretext whatsoever, any cattle slaughtered or unslaughtered, on pain—instead of the prescribed penalty of 6 reals—of a fine of 25 reals for the first offence, and 50 reals for the second offence, one third for the benefit of the informer, and the rest *naër uso*. But should any one venture to transgress against this order a third time, or oftener, the fiscal shall be ordered to institute an action against him, for disobedience and resistance to the ordinances and commands of the lawful sovereign, issued by order of our honorable masters, for the service of the Company, and for the public good.

And whereas it is also complained by the Hottentoots, that the said Jan Reyniers, on calling them to his house, and being unable to agree with them, compels them by force to part with their property, and beats and pushes them, which consequently is likely to create animosity in place of good will. *Item*, it being perceived also, that the access of the Hottentoots to the houses of the free men, in the country, and far from the Fort, not only affords a good opportunity for the said prohibited cattle barter, but also that the said natives (who begin to become very cunning) can thus procure the means of spying out and examining all the localities, in order to injure the free men, and to steal their cattle, aye! (which may God forbid!) to murder them all at night or at unseasonable hours, for the interpreter Doman said, 2 or 3 days ago, in order to set us against the Cochoquas, that they had asked him, if the Dutch houses could not be burned down, and whether they kept a watch at night. It is therefore thought right to warn all the free men of this also, and to notify to them by these presents, that henceforth, and until further orders, they shall not allow any more Hottentoots to come to their houses, still less to enter them, on pain of a fine of 6 reals, in order, as far as possible, to avoid all such injury and inconvenience as aforesaid; as well as any burning of the ripe corn, &c. on which account also all are admonished to keep a strict watch over their houses.<sup>(1)</sup>

Thus done, &c. 24th Oct. 1658, and published and affixed on the 28th.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

Oct. 25. A slave deserted from the free sawyer J. Cornelius, although he is a man who treats them better than any. . . . .bartered 11 sheep from the Cochoquas, chiefly for beads. 27. bartered 7 sheep. 29. One ox and 39 sheep were bartered from some of the Cochoquas.

In the evening Eva came to the Fort, stating that the Caepmans had plundered her of all her baggage when she went from the Fort, and that her mother (who lives with the Caepmans) had not caused it to be restored to her; that she had then gone on to her sister who lived with the Cochoquas, being one of the wives of one of their two greatest captains, named Oedasoia, who had not seen her since her infancy, where she was very gladly received; that she had taken every opportunity of informing Oedasoia minutely of the customs of our nation, in particular of our inclination for a friendly intercourse and traffic with them. She had also told how she had been brought up in the house by the Commander's wife, that she had learnt our language, and in some measure our religion, &c. That Oedasoia was equally well disposed towards us, and as a trial, had for some days past, had a few sheep and cattle brought to us by his people, and would very gladly enter into alliance with us, but was hindered by the Caepmans and Gorachouquas, on which account he dared not come to the Commander, whatever she could do to persuade him, with assurances supported by examples of our forbearance under the constant insolence and annoyances which we had from time to time received from the said Caepmans and Gorachouquas. Being asked, whether it would not be good that we sent some Commissioners with a present to Oedasoia, she answered, "yes," and that we should send some cinnamon, for which they are very desirous, also some cloves, nutmegs, mace, and pepper, to see whether they would like them—as well as some of the very

<sup>(1)</sup> For the object of these restrictions, see March 5, 1659: for the sentiments of the Directors on the subject, see Despatch of the XVII, 5th Sept. 1659, *infra*.

strongest tobacco and brandy that could be got, and one or two who could play on the violin, with their instruments, as they were fond of music; and that we should send any thing else that could serve to allure or amuse them.

She was told that Doman was daily putting us upon our guard against the Cochoquas, saying that they were much incensed against us, and would burn our houses, kill our people, &c. and that he had therefore asked us to lend 20 soldiers to fight the Cochoquas, and take their cattle, because they were now almost all sick, and at their weakest, &c.

She replied, that Doman lied, and was good for nothing, he spoke with a double tongue, trying only to incite the Dutch against the Cochoquas, the latter against the Dutch, and therefore Oedasoia dared not come, for otherwise he could easily have driven them out of the way, but that they threatened him with our power, for which all the natives are so afraid, that when they hear us spoken of, or see the houses, and in particular the Fort, from a distance, they shake and tremble with fear; how then should they think of doing us any injury as Doman said; that Oedasoia had said to her that we must not assist any of the Hottentoots, but let them settle their own affairs, in war or peace, as they chose, &c. we told her that this was our wish also, as shown by the conditions of the peace concluded with the Caepmans, conditions with which they did not comply, for they tried to keep back the Cochoquas, whom they had promised to invite to come to us, &c.

She answered, "Yes, I was present, and I told Oedasoia, who replied, why then do not the Dutch take their cattle?" on which she said, that she had rejoined "they are such good patient people," and so forth. She said further, that she would have returned sooner, but that she had been very sick, as also her sister, Oedasoia's wife, whom she had taught how to pray to our blessed Lord, to which (as she said and signified by action) all the people listened with tears in their eyes; not laughing, like Doman and the Cape people did, whenever she spoke of our Lord, but those people had told her that she must learn every thing from us carefully, and then teach them, for (said she) she had always prayed night and day when she could not sleep, until her sister also had recovered, and that she had then taught her how to thank God for her recovery, which, as before observed, was very pleasing to them all, desiring further instruction, &c.; but that Caepman and Gorachouqua were very angry with her, and would have killed her long since, but that they feared us; we replied, that we were rather afraid on her account, because she had been so long absent, she said, "Oh, no sir, be not troubled on that account—they dared not, they are too much afraid of you sir"—and other statements of the same nature—too long to be detailed.

Oct. 30.<sup>(1)</sup> The compliance with which resolution the ensign Harwarden set off at 10 A.M. with a party of 15 men, Eva, and 4 of Oedasoia's people; taking with him an ox to carry the presents, consisting in 15 lbs. of brass, 2 bunches beads of various colors, red, lavender, violet, milk-white, &c.  $\frac{1}{2}$  gross tobacco pipes, 7 lbs. tobacco, a case with 4 tin flasks of Spanish brandy, 1 do. with beer, 100 lbs. of bread, some cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, mace, pepper, and ginger, also some white and black sugar, all which articles and others Eva had mentioned. She and the 4 Cochoquas wished that the Caepmans and Gorachouquas should not accompany them going or returning, but that all might be done without them, which, agreeing with our wish, was so arranged. . . . . Meanwhile the Caepmans did not know what to make of it, neither dared they ask the object of this mission; and it was very fortunate that the interpreter Doman was just then detained on board, his presence would have been very inconvenient, for he is very insolent in pushing himself in on all occasions; when he landed in the afternoon and heard of the mission, he was very angry, asking why we made friends with the Cochoquas, who were the enemies of the Caepmans and Gorachouquas; we told him, that it was our endeavour to be friends with all the people living here, without excluding any one, if they would but live and trade on friendly terms with us, and that if the Caepmans and Gorachouquas were apprehensive of any annoyance, they should, as had been often offered, retire behind the Gevel Bergen of the Cape, where we said we would safely protect them, (we thought we would safely keep them) on which he and Pieter Otegno answered, that Caepmans' camp had already retired to the Steen Bergen and the Kloof Pass, in order to proceed to the Hout Valley, upon the nearer approach of the Cochoquas.

31. The interpreter Doman came to the Commander, and said, that to a certainty the ensign and his people would never return, but would be killed by the Cochoquas, and that we must not then fancy that it was done by the Caepmans. In reply to this very suspicious *pre-excuse* he was answered, that we knew much better, namely, that the Cochoquas and other true Saldanhars desired nothing but amity and trade with us; and that if any harm befel our men, it would be

(<sup>1</sup>) A Resolution of this date authorizes the sending of a party, under the ensign, with presents, upon the grounds above stated.

ascribed to none but the Caepmans, &c. and be revenged on none else; they had better therefore take care what they did or planned; on this Doman answered, "yes, so I hear, the Commander will quite make friends with the Cochoquas and all the Saldanhars; that is not good, and it is Eva's fault, and Caepman is very angry," and so forth,—admitting, however, that Oedaso's greatest wife is Eva's sister; a fortunate thing for the Company.

Meanwhile Chainhantima . . . . . came to the Fort without cattle, asking leave to go on board of the *West Vriesland*, which was acceded to, that we might keep him friendly to us, because for some time back he had brought us many cattle; according to Doman, he is partial to the Company. . . . . In the evening the ensign returned from the Cochoquas, with all his men, and one of that tribe, bringing 3 cows, 2 calves, and 19 sheep, as a present to the Commander from the great chief Oedaso; they were paid for notwithstanding; our presents had been very gladly received, and our men very well treated, but he could not make up his mind to come, excusing himself by pleading that his greatest wife was in an advanced state of pregnancy, and sick besides, and next to her was Eva's sister. He was a middle-aged man, without any beard, small and lean, very stately, and much respected by his people, it seemed as if neither he nor any of his people had ever before seen any Christians, and he asked whether the Dutch captain was also descended from a great family, and what were his ancestors, and those of the said ensign.

This was replied to according to the exigencies of the case, and the ensign was regaled by them throughout the night; he in return amused them with the violin, and with various buffooneries by a certain soldier, to their general entertainment; our people only slept a little towards morning, and after getting as much sweet milk as they could use, they took their leave, being escorted by fully a thousand men about a half hours' walk from the camp. Oedaso assured the ensign that he would gladly live on amicable terms with the Dutch Commander, and allow his people to sell as many cattle as they could spare; but as there was no pasture for their cattle nearer, and no water to drink on the way (which the ensign declared to be true) they could not well come any nearer; but if the Commander sent brass and beads, he would allow his people to barter. The ensign said that he had been in the camp of the army of the States, (having served long) but that he had never seen so many people together, that they consisted of several villages—being alike in stature, living in very large round mat houses, of at least 30 or 40 feet diameter; Oedaso in particular had 3 houses of his own that were much larger; and such a store of assagays, bows and arrows, as if it was an actual armoury; his sleeping place was on a very fine mat, in a hole in the ground, like all the Hottentoots; he was also clothed in skins, and so greased over, that the fat ran in drops down his body, which was the highest mark of distinction; the cattle were so numerous, that there was no end of them to be seen, and in half a day they would eat bare all the pasture round the Cape, and all possessed by the Company and free men; this morning the sheep alone were issuing from the kraal for three hours, and the cattle no less; that the oxen were larger than any oxen he had ever seen in Fatherland, being, according to his account, fully 2½ feet broad in the back, and so high, that he, though a tall man, could barely see over them, or reach their backs with his elbow.

In short, these are very powerful people, and very rich in cattle; they said they could easily, if they chose, make the Caepmans creep into their holes, but they cared so little for them that they would not even rise for them, unless they became too troublesome; so that we need not spare the Caepmans, &c. on their account, and if we were inclined to go thither, the trade with their people was open, and permitted; but, for the reasons stated, it was too far to bring large herds to the Cape. The ensign also said, that, if he had had any brass with him, though he did not arrive there until late yesterday evening, he could have quickly bartered a good many cattle; but that he told them that he had come solely to deliver the presents from the Dutch Commander to the chief Oedaso, on which he was brought in, his ox immediately put with their own cattle, and arrangements made for the safety of our people and their luggage; on which, the following Resolution was passed by the Council<sup>(1)</sup>

Nov. 1. Every thing prepared for the mission to the Chochoquas. Last night 2 deserted slaves

(1) Thursday, the last of October, 1658.—Having heard from the report of the ensign Jan van Harwarden, who returned this evening, the favorable disposition of Oedaso, one of the two chiefs of the Cochoquas, or the most powerful of the true Saldanhars, who has thrown open to us the traffic with his people, and who, in consequence of the distance, and the scarcity of pasture and water in the intervening country, cannot well come any nearer—lying about 9 hours distance to the N. E., with innumerable cattle—and the wife of said Oedaso being in truth the sister of Eva, and through her intervention in consequence of the kindness shown to her, they appear to be well inclined towards our people—and probably towards a good market. It is shortly resolved to prepare a good quantity of merchandize of brass, beads, tobacco, &c., in order again to send the ensign—escorted by soldiers as yesterday—to endeavour to barter a good quantity of cattle, &c. Thus done, &c.

of Steven Jansz returned of their own accord half starved. 2. The ensign Jan van Harwarden set out two hours before day on his mission, with 17 soldiers, and a wagon drawn by 6 oxen, and laden—besides a second present to Oedasoia—with some merchandize for the purchase of cattle, to wit:—1000 bunches of red beads, being 45 *mas* or pounds—3 brass chains, 866 lbs. of brass, in bar or wire, 60 dozen or 5 gross of tobacco pipes, 105 lbs. tobacco. The second present consisted of 7 mingelen brandy, 2½ do. spanish wine, 12 lbs. brass, 13 brass bells, 10 do. schellekens, 1 brass chain of 4 dt., 1 lb. tobacco, 1 *mas* of beads. Trusting in God that we may procure a good number of cattle in return.

The ensign was ordered to show the said Oedasoia every kindness, and, through the intervention of Eva, his wife's sister, to advance our interests, and to try to induce him to lend some of his people to help our men to drive the cattle that might be purchased, which could scarcely be effected by our people, from the cattle being unused to them, &c.

Meanwhile our Cape Hottentoots seemed somewhat surprised that our people had set off so early, and before they thought of it, with the Cochoquas. This was also the case with the Chainhantima, who also set out to-day, promising, that in a few days he, as well as the Cochoquas, would bring us many cattle, and would try to retain a preference in our favour, &c.; for his greater encouragement, he received a small present upon his departure. May the Almighty grant that our affairs may prosper on all sides, and correspond with their present promising appearance.

Nov. 6. The wife of the ensign Jan van Harwarden being (after the nature of woman) somewhat uneasy about her husband, who was expected to have returned to-day from the Cochoquas, to whom he had been sent on the 2nd (as then noticed.) Some free burgers—who were not farmers—offered to go and see what had become of him and his companions, provided that the Company furnished them with food, powder, and lead; and also assisted them with some merchandize, that they might try to purchase some cattle for the Company, receiving something for each head bought . . . . . which party of volunteers or adventurers [7 names are given of “free tailors,” “free fishers,” “free mowers,” &c.] it was agreed to furnish as desired, and to pay them 30 stivers for each sheep; they received a present for the chief, and the merchandize asked for, and the whole 7 set off this evening to the fisher's hut at Salt River, intending to start at midnight, and if possible to be with the ensign before midday, and to bring or send us the first intelligence. The first volunteer of these 7 free men, Elbert Dirks, having accompanied his father in law, the ensign, on his first visit, was chosen chief of the party, the others promising to acknowledge him as such, and to support him on all occasions during this journey; may the Almighty conduct them, and bring them safe back.

7. About 10 A. M. the ensign returned with all his men in good order, 203 sheep, and 25 head of cattle, young and old, which were bought, the first 100 sheep and 7 cattle from Eva's brother in law Oedasoia, the second great captain, and the rest from the first great captain of the Cochoquas, named Ngonomoa, to whom also he had gone, but the demand for beads was soon satisfied, and all their brass wire disposed of before they could look round, so that it would seem that if they had been furnished with a larger supply, they could have procured double the number of sheep; but with regard to cattle, the natives parted with them very reluctantly, whatever quantity of brass was offered. The barter at Oedasoia's would also have gone on better, had not some of the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, joined them, who instantly created some difficulties in it—this was also observed by Eva—and it was this which led the ensign to resolve on going on to Ngonomoa, from whom he procured the rest, and in consequence of the brass wire being expended had turned back yesterday morning, with 2 young Caepmans who had acted as interpreters at Ngonomoa's, &c.

The ensign further stated that at Ngonomoa's also, the cattle were in number like the grass in the field, and therefore the natives were of necessity obliged never to stay long at one place, as the pasture was instantly eaten bare, and this was the cause of their *trekking* so from one place to another. There was an opportunity also with 20 or 30 soldiers, of taking from them 15,000 or 16,000 sheep and cattle without striking a blow; and this Ngonomoa was the very person called by us the Swarte Captain, who was himself with the Commander at the Fort on the evening before Herry carried off the Company's cattle 5 years ago; he then inquired about Herry, and on hearing, gave a faint smile, which he can affect as well as a *menisten* preacher (stillen grimlagh, dat hy soo pertinent can als een menisten vermaender) the Commander has also constantly kept his eye on this Swarte Captain, in order to take from him a good booty in revenge, for he has not been here since, and it has therefore always been thought that he was equally guilty with Herry.

The other great captain named Oedasoia, (Eva's brother in law) although smaller in person and only the 2nd captain of the Cochoquas, was a much more stately and dignified man, and by no

means so mean or given to begging as that Ngonomoa, who is, like all his people, much given that way; these are also the same persons of whom the ensign, when in the interior in March last, during the visit of Mr. Cuneus, was warned that they were trying to waylay him, to murder him and his men, on account of the brass and tobacco.

*Item*, who, a few days before the robbery by Herry, when this same ensign was fishing in the Salt River—had driven him over, and intended to kill him, &c. so that this man is still somewhat indebted to the Company for his misconduct, and therefore, as before observed, we have always kept an eye upon him, hoping that he might once more come as near to the Fort, and with as few people as in the year 1652,<sup>(1)</sup> when he lay with 2000 head of cattle, between Salt River and the Fort, and daily came to display them, although not a single head could be bought; as he also did in the year 1655, when Mr. Van Goens, who saw it, was on his way to Europe;<sup>(2)</sup> and in the latter part of the same year Mr. Frisius coming here, also saw as many cattle hereabouts. Mr. Frisius accompanied Commander Riebeeck to their camps,<sup>(3)</sup> when they would sell no more cattle than before, and when he was just such a wheedling beggar as now.

Nov. 8. The following Resolution was passed:—It having appeared from the late journey of the ensign Jan van Harwarden, which—as more than 200 sheep and 25 cattle were procured by barter—has been very successful—that the people of Oedosoa are fully supplied with brass, and that Ngonomoa's people were chiefly desirous of brass wire, though neither of them part willingly with their cattle, but prefer selling sheep; and, whereas, from the great numbers of their live stock, they never halt for 1½ month upon one spot, but, like flying camps, as soon as they have eaten one place bare, *trek* to another, so that they have to be sought for, just like the birds of the air, and should be looked after while they are still in this quarter, in order to procure from them as many cattle, and of such kinds as may be possible. It is therefore resolved, after due deliberation, to take another trip, the sooner the better, principally to try to procure for the said wire, and such beads as may be asked for, about 1000 sheep, and for bar brass, about 80 or 100 cattle—and if the whole quantity cannot be had from Ngonomoa, to go on to the camps of the Chainouquas, which lie, according to the statements of the Hottentoes, chiefly in a tract of country from 10 to 20 hours' journey in the direction of Cape False; these two great Cochoqua captains lying mostly in the middle of the country, and the Chariguriquas towards the coast of Saldanha Bay. So that these three, of whom the Cochoquas are the most powerful, almost shut up the whole tract of Africa which lies between the two seas, of India to the East, and of Ethiopia to the West, or almost intersect the whole country with their encampments, moving hither and thither, in very fine vallies between the mountains; and therefore, now that they are so near, should, as aforesaid, be looked after; it is therefore resolved to prepare every thing for this third journey, against to-morrow evening, and to send out the said ensign with 18 or 19 of the best soldiers, and to stow the baggage, including a moderate present for the said chiefs of the camps, in a wagon to be drawn by oxen.

Thus done, &c.

The ship *West Vriesland* sailed in the night, taking our letters for Batavia<sup>(4)</sup>. . . . . a half aum of Cape beer, as a sample, and 12 young ostriches, for presents to the Indian potentates, particularly to the Emperor of Japan, &c.

9. About 9 P. M. the free travellers (who went out on the 6th to look for the ensign) came home, and reported that they reached Oedasoa (Eva's brother in law) early on the 7th, and found them busy loading their oxen, in order to remove, that they procured only 30 sheep from them, and that they were unwilling to dispose of any more; Eva said the same, telling our people that the natives had now sold all they intended parting with, and that our men should therefore go home; she said she would go into the interior with her sister, and afterwards, perhaps, come to visit the Commander. She said she would remember our word, for, (said she in Dutch,) she had a Dutch heart in her breast, and would never forget the Dutch, but would do them every good wherever she was able, &c. She was, like her sister and brother in law, according to their national custom, mounted upon an ox, like a great lady, instead of travelling on foot with the rest.

10. 2 hours before day the ensign Jan van Harwarden was again sent out with a wagon laden with brass, beads, tobacco, &c. and accompanied by 7 soldiers, to the first, or greatest captain, Ngonomoa. . . . . two of the trusty Hottentoes of Caepmans' people went with him, one named

(1) See Dec. 13, (p. 23.)

(2) See April 16, (p. 60.)

(3) See Nov. 24, (p. 76.)

(4) On this occasion happened the first of numerous desertions, not only of Company's servants, but of the colonists, who, after incurring debts to the Company, got themselves concealed in the ships. On the 11th was issued the first law against quitting the colony without permission.

Cleyn Jan, a sharp boy of 13, and the other called Siginman, above 30 years old, who had before travelled with the ensign, and proved faithful, to serve him as interpreters, as Cleyn Jan had done on the last trip, for he spoke very good Dutch; Doman dared not go with him, for Eva had exposed him to the Cochoquas, and divulged to them that he was always advising us to assist the Caepmans to make war upon them; this makes him stay close to the Fort, not daring to go to the distance of  $\frac{1}{2}$  myl, for fear of being killed. Of Herry nothing more is said by any one, and nobody appears to care for him; but in consequence of that affair, they are much afraid of our nation; it seems that Eva, (who is in such high favor with her sister) quite forgets her uncle Herry, probably in consequence of her youth, for she is not above 16 or 17 years of age at the utmost, and when last here, said that her sister would procure a husband for her, one who had many sheep and cattle, and is a great captain—time will show the result.

Nov. 11. Hendrik Boom came to say that a slave had deserted from him, and that Vasagie's slave had, like Steven's, returned, half starved; he was therefore ordered not to punish his slave, so that when the slaves see that there is no food to be had in the country, and that they are not punished when they return, they may all come back of their own accord, &c.

14. About 1 P. M. the interpreter Doman came to the Commander, with one of the Cochoqua Hottentoes, who had been yesterday sent from the camp of the chief Oedaso, Eva's brother in law, with the following letter without date, written in pencil by the ensign Jan van Harwarden: (1)

15. The Hottentoo was sent back with the following letter to the ensign, &c. (2)

16. About 1 P. M. the ensign returned with 105 sheep and 11 cattle, reporting that no more were to be had from either of the Cochoqua chiefs, that they had now moved further inland, without staying more than 2 or 3 days on one spot; as to the Chainouquas, from the information he had received, they could not be reached in 3 or 4 weeks, and from the Gorachouquas nothing in the world was to be had. It thus appears that one and all of these tribes are over supplied with brass and beads, or have sold all that they wish to part with, being only the refuse of their flocks, as appears by the daily deaths among them, although they excuse themselves by pleading the loss of cattle which they have this year sustained by death, (which seems to have some truth in it); but, at the same time, they are as full of cattle, as the fields are of grass, aye! so that the land will scarce suffice to feed them; and yet this people are so reluctant to part with them. We must therefore discontinue our journeys for some time, until the natives come again next year, when they have promised to trade with us again. Of elephants' tusks the ensign saw only 2 or 3, but a greater number of rhinoceros' horns, which he did not purchase, wishing to stimulate them to procure the other, and also to catch some young horses, which are so strangely colored, and so streaked, that such are not to be seen in any [other] part of the world—and from their rarity are beyond all price, as seems from 2 or 3 bits of their skins now procured, the one of a young foal, and the other of an old horse, of which they make shoes like the *minnebroeders*.

As to catching harts to fetch their skins here, they sung the same song as about the horses, these animals ran too fast, and they were not in the habit of taking so much trouble, being well contented with what they had from the breeding of their cattle, the skins of which they also wanted for their clothing; so that there is daily less appearance of any profit from these articles.

But for agriculture the capabilities are great, for there is abundance of very fine arable land every where, and not at all subject to the South Easter, as hereabouts, for the ensign says that during his absence he has felt no wind to speak of, although he could see, from the Table Mountain being covered, that it blew strong here, which was the case for the 8 days in succession, during which it blew as hard as it has done during the 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  years of our stay here. So that within 1 to 3 days journey with wagons, there is no want of ground fit for cultivation, but abundance is discovered

(1) SIR, We have not quite attained our object, but have got, from the Negerie of Captain Ngonomoa, 80 sheep and 11 cattle, and getting no more, we were obliged to leave him, and to proceed North, to below the *Clapmuts*, where we found the Captain Oedaso, but from him we got nothing; to visit others is not advisable, as the roads could not be passed by the wagon, and it would be fully 12 days before we could find them, so we must return, we are still well, &c.

(2) Your letter without date was delivered to us by the Hottentoo who brings you this, we are glad to hear that you are all well, though you have not succeeded in getting a great quantity of stock, having but 80 sheep and 11 cattle; from which it seems that the one as well as the other is inclined to part with none but their worst stock, or the refuse, as may be seen by the daily deaths; you therefore did well not to risk our people further inland, nor to stay too long with the Ngonomoa, or Swarte Captain, so as to incur danger of being surprised and massacred by him, as has been formerly the case, since the Company has had possession, when you were threatened, when in the country, on account of the brass; besides that we keep his misconduct upwards of 5 years ago, in fresh recollection; you may, however, in passing, once more visit the Corachouquas, or tobacco thieves, if they do not lie too much out of the way, to try what is to be purchased; but be upon your guard, for they also are treacherous thievish rogues, and do not lose time, for the barley is ripe, &c. In the Fort the Goede Hope, the 15th Nov. 1658.

every day; and with regard to the Hottentoots, by the increase of the number of free men, we shall daily have less injury to apprehend from them, &c.

Nov. 22. One of the *Harp's* crew, who was engaged clearing out the river, [i. e. the Liesbeeck, in order to prevent cattle being driven over] was bitten by an adder.....there were no Hottentoot doctors at hand, or we should have employed them, having seen proof of their skill.

28. The Company have now 1396 sheep and 420 cattle, the free men 350 sheep and nearly 200 cattle.....

30. It was resolved to prepare timber, in order to make a great crael at the Company's Corn *Schuyr*, that the cattle may be kept there at night—the best pasture being there, so that by day they may graze from that place to the Bosheuvcl, and sometimes upon the great plain beyond the Liesbeeck and the corn land of the farmers, who reside on the further side of that river.....as well as for the sake of change of pasture, which is rendered very necessary by the great number of our cattle, that while we graze at one place, the grass may be somewhat restored at another..... it was resolved also to make stalls for the sheep and cattle, on both sides of the crael behind the Fort, with lofts over them for corn, which crael will soon require to be renewed, as the earth walls moulder away, and are pushed down by the horns of the cattle, so as to give constant work, and lay the crael quite open.....

Dec. 12. This day a lean cow, and 9 ditto sheep were bartered from the tobacco thieves, or Gorachouquas, with whom were some of Oedaso's people, who were well treated, &c.....

19. The Commander returned from Robben Island; nothing particular happened during his absence, except that 4 sheep were bought from the Caepmans. 20. All were well employed at the corn lands, one mowing, another ploughing, a third riding the crops home.....

23. In the afternoon came both the free burger counsellors, Steven Janz and Hendrick Boom, and delivered to the Commander the following petition:—(1)

30. The Cochoquas brought 23 sheep, with intelligence that Oedaso, their chief, (Eva's brother in law) was severely wounded by a lion, and that Eva would come to the Commander's house in a few days.

31. In the evening the interpreter Eva came with some of the Cochoquas, and 25 sheep, which were bartered for brass, beads, and tobacco. She confirmed the news of yesterday, stating that Oedaso, her brother in law, or sister's husband, had been dreadfully wounded in the arm by a lion, she feared he would die of it, as he could eat little or nothing. This would be unfortunate, for he is much attached to us, more than the other chief of the Cochoquas, named Ngonomoa. Oedaso met with this accident while he was out—at the repeated request of Eva—with a great number of men, trying to catch some young horses, and to shoot elephants, for ivory, [MS. decayed].....sprang boldly upon the lion, one seizing him by the ears, others by the mane, tail, and legs, while others tore his mouth open with their hands, and thus extricated his teeth out the arm of their said chief, and then killed the lion with their assagays. Since this mischance, their inclination to hunt horses and elephants has quite left them, and it will be very difficult to revive it.

Oedaso would have much wished before his death, to visit the Commander, but the distance was so great, and water so scarce, in consequence of the drought, that great thirst must be suffered;

(1) This was the first attempt of the colonists to procure some relaxation of the Company's mercantile system. A few passages are relevant to the subject; the notes are a few of the replies of the Commander.

EXTRACTS.—We, Free Burgerraden and undermentioned Free Burgers in general, and no one excepted.....became free to maintain ourselves by farming, for the term, and on the conditions expressed in our *erybrief*; we were expressly promised to be allowed to trade with the inhabitants called Hottentoots, and now that we have become free, and have expended our labor upon the land—that trade is forbidden; and, what is more, we may not purchase from them the flesh that they bring to us.\* We, Free Burger Counsellors and Free Burgers, desire, before we deliver our corn to the Company, to know what we are to receive for it, for we hold the muid of corn to be worth 10 guilders, &c. We do not intend to give it for less, and if we do so, we will not cultivate another foot of land; we therefore will have a price fixed, and what is more, in writing, signed by your Honor and your full Council, and deposited in the care of our Burgerraden, so that we may rely upon it, for we will no longer believe words, we are paid on all sides with fair words, but no deeds.....(†)

Therefore let a price be soon fixed, for till that is done we will not cultivate any ground, for we will not be slaves to the Company..... As we are in great danger of one day or other suffering great injury from the Hottentoots, of which the Company's servants are in no danger, for we are the protectors of our land.‡

Signed, [14 names, 7 of which are signed with marks.]

\* In reply it was urged, that among these conditions was, submission to the Company's Regulations; that the cattle trade had been forbidden by the Company, and that the Cape Council had forbidden buying meat, so as not to raise the price, and because the Hottentoots brought nothing but the flesh of animals that had died, or were diseased.

† To the price demanded there was not any objection, but the threats of ceasing to cultivate, were severely censured, as seditious.

‡ "They were told that they would be themselves the cause of danger, so long as, contrary to established orders, they suffered the Hottentoots to be at their dwellings, and allowed them to spy out every thing. The redoubt Corenhoop had also been built for their defence, and a beginning was made in deepening the Liesbeeck; the Company's cattle were kept beyond their corn lands for the express purpose of protecting them and their property, a very different thing from their being the protectors of their land," &c. The affair ended, for the time, in a conciliatory speech, and a glass or two of wine to each petitioner, but the remonstrance produced important concessions.—See Despatch Sept. 5, 1659.

there was also great danger of lions. It was Eva's wish, therefore, not to return immediately, but to stay here a while, in order also to learn something more of our religion, as recommended and desired by her brother in law, her sister, and other people, who, (according to her account) had learned so much from her, that they could feel in their hearts the truth of what she told them of God, and of his service; and therefore they had let her instruct many young children, and she had taught them to pray, and to thank God, &c. before and after eating, on lying down to sleep, and on rising. *Item*, that whenever she spoke of our religion, (at which some of them had at first laughed,) Oedasoia had so far exerted his authority, that every one must now listen with equal reverence, and therefore no longer, [MS. decayed] when opportunity served, would visit the Commander's wife, and her husband Oedasoia would visit the Commander, for the sake of society, like sisters and brothers, with some little children whom they would leave here, that they might be taught from their youth upwards. Nine of the Cochoquas who had accompanied Eva, were, at their own request, admitted to evening prayers, and lodged within the Fort at night, as they would not willingly sleep in the houses of the Caepmans, nor eat with them. The Caepmans and the interpreter Doman scarcely dared to speak a word to these Cochoquas.

Eva also told us of an event unfortunate for the Company, that Chainhantima (one of the chiefs of the Chainouquas, who has been often mentioned, and from whom the greater number of the cattle have been bartered for the last two years) was some days ago on his way hither, with his wife, of the race of the Chobona, said to be the chief *Heer* of all this promontory, (*hoek*), and rich in gold, &c. intending to bring his wife with all her jewels (which she received from the said Chobona, as fully detailed in our journal and letters of last year) in order to show her to the Commander; but that, meeting on the way the great encampments of the Cochoquas, (consisting of the two most powerful hordes of all these Hottentoots—namely under the chiefs Ngonomoa and Oedasoia, Eva's brother in law, as last year minutely noticed in our said journal and letters) he was attacked by the said Cochoquas; and Chainhantima losing the battle, his said wife. . . . . into their hands, and together with others of [MS. decayed] which is for the present frustrated—most unfortunately, and to the great injury of the Company. Chainhantima, having saved himself by flight, had therefore gone to his chief, the ruler of the Chainouquas, who is said to have gone with his camp to the Chobona to ask for redress for this affront, or for the aid of men that he may take revenge upon the said Cochoquas—the result time will show.—Finis.<sup>(1)</sup>

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1659. Jan. 15. . . . . To come to the point then; our affairs here are, thank God, brought into a proper train, agreeably to the intention and orders of your Honors, both as regards cultivation, and the increase of cattle, by breeding, and by purchase from the real Saldanhar, who have been found, after frequent journeys; consequently we have now an abundance, so that we can not only support ourselves, but already begin to have to spare. . . . .

Herry, who, by dint of his thefts and faithlessness had become a petty king, we have expelled from his kingdom, deprived of all his cattle, and placed as an exile on Robben Island, where he still is; a measure which has been taken in very good part, indeed as a kindness, by the natives of the country, who do not wish him ever to be brought back, but rather that he should be killed; during this affair we have also had something to do with the Caepmans, and peace has been concluded with them, under conditions which they do not fulfil, and they have thus placed themselves under great responsibilities; as have also a certain tribe called the Gorachouquas, (who are rich in cattle,) by their tobacco stealing; payment for which may in time be sought from both, and would have been exacted, had we procured the horses which have been promised; for, with 20 mounted men, in lieu of the intrenchment, and at less expense, we might master all the native tribes, and particularly these two said Cape hordes, who possess enough of very fine cattle for the Company, and who are also, since Herry's ruin, brought into such perfect subjection, that none of them all dare any

(1) The original Journal from 1652 to the end of 1658, is bound in one thick volume, a great portion of which, at the bottom of the pages, has rotted away; the blanks thus caused have been filled up from the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Tydschrift*, in which periodical publication the Journal has been very accurately printed from a copy, which is generally very correct, taken while the original was complete. The ensuing volume of the Original Journal has lost several leaves, and commences on the 4th Feb. 1659; it is uncertain whether the hiatus can be supplied except at Amsterdam and Batavia. From the Despatches of Jan. 15, and March 5, it would, however, appear probable, that there were no transactions with the natives in Jan. 1659, of such importance as to influence the events of the ensuing May.

longer think of doing the slightest injury to a child of the Netherlanders; so that, thank God, the free men here now live in a state of perfect quiet, and have this season reaped so abundant a crop that scarcely one half of it can be housed in our granaries. The grape and the olive planted by the Commander are equally promising, as well as almost every kind of Indian or European fruit tree. . . .

Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1659. Feb. 4. Memorandum—for the free amateurs and adventurers about to set out of their own free will into the interior, to seek for other people, cities, or places, or whatever may be found<sup>(1)</sup> After which they departed in the name of the Lord, each armed with a good firelock and pistol. . . . .

7. The fiscal was sent out with the landsurveyor, and some men, to take the bearing of all the detached rocks around the Cape. . . . . the 5 men being provisioned for 7 days, so that they might at the same time discover where the Caepmans and the tobacco thieves are residing, as we have found out that the interpreter Doman with all *his* Hottentoes (for so he begins to call them, as a little community of his own, in imitation of Herry) departed very secretly last night. The Commander therefore went out to-day, to see whether he could find any of them, but without success, and warned all the free men to be on their guard, as this Doman (who has become very insolent since his return from Batavia) is less to be trusted than Herry.

8. Some of the Cochoquas. . . . . with 48 sheep and 4 old and young cattle. . . . . all for brass, they removed very hastily, apparently frightened by Doman, who is hidden somewhere near, as Eva thinks also, who did her best to remove their diffidence by persuasion, but it did not help long, for they set off, saying that they had more sheep near, and wished to fetch them. Eva asked for some tobacco for her sister and brother in law, the chief Oedasoia, which was given to her, and sent by one of his servants. The said Doman (who is angry with Eva because she gives us every kind of information) yesterday let slip an intention of causing our travellers to be surprised and killed on the road, so that we might attempt no more distant journeys of discovery, &c. of which we are

<sup>(1)</sup> A Resolution of Feb. 1, 1659, authorizes a party of volunteers, to go in search of the "Chobona, gold and pearls, &c." of the interior, and of the promised premiums. The following extracts of the Instructions contain some new information as to the names of the tribes, and the range of inquiry marked out for the travellers.

"But before coming to those points we shall inform you of the names of the tribes of this country, at least in so far as we know them, with certainty, and begin with this Cape people, (natie) of which Herry is exiled, so that there are now hereabouts only the Watermans, skulking among Caepmans' tribe—called Goringhonna, or Goringhaiqua, of whom the fat captain Gogosoia, who is well known to you all, is the chief. Next are the Gorachouqua, alias Gorachonna, the tobacco thieves, and which two tribes stay in this neighbourhood, because they dare not go near the true Saldanhar, who consist chiefly of

The Cochoquas, whom the ensign lately visited with some of you, consisting of 2 unusually powerful tribes and pastoral governments under the chiefs Ngo. . . . [MS. decayed] the Khomaiquas likewise rich in cattle, residing near the Cochoquas, and on good terms with them, who would, as Eva states, be the best guides to the Namanas, whom we would like to seek in the first instance, they live in stone houses, as you, as well as we ourselves, have heard from her and others. But as it is doubtful whether these would be willing to conduct you to that people, we would deem it advisable that you should first go to the westward of the Leopard's Berg on the Saldanha road to the *Hosomans*, being the little Charigurinaars or Chariguriquas, that they may conduct you to the great Chariguriquas, who, according to all our intelligence, have at least a knowledge of the Namanas or Namaquas, and can conduct, or at least show you the way thither. The Namana, as you have yourselves heard, is the ruler over all this Hottentoo race, living in stone houses, with walls black on the inside, clothed in dressed white skins—they in time will be able to conduct us to the Chobona, who has an authority over this Cape people still superior to that of Namana, very rich in gold, and where it is supposed [MS. decayed]. . . . as soon as you have found any people in permanent dwellings, and have learnt that they will be able to direct you to other tribes, we shall leave it to your own discretion whether you will travel further, or turn back from the Namana, but you should contrive at all events to induce some of those who live in fixed abodes or in cities, to come here, that we may give them a kind reception, to encourage them. . . . . should nothing particular be found among these Namanas, we should think it well to go on to the Chobona, or to the city Monomotopa, where the emperor lives, the country rich in gold, on the said river Spirito Santo, hoping that you will be prudent and observant, keeping correct notes of every thing, and taking care—

Firstly,—as soon as you cross the first river, to begin to set your course by the compass, and to note down how many hours and half hours, more or less, you travel on each course, in the form used at sea, so that a map may be formed for the information of our masters in Fatherland, this must on no account be neglected [MS. decayed. . . . .] where any mineral shows itself from which silver or gold could be extracted, also noticing whether the roads can be travelled with wagons—naming some remarkable places—asking the names of tribes, of the chiefs and the cities, so that they may be known hereafter.

Thirdly,—On falling in with any people, you must notice how they subsist themselves, to what chiefs they are subject, their clothing, occupations, religion, dwellings, fortifications, what articles they are most desirous of, whether they have among them honey, wax, ostrich feathers, ivory, silver, gold, pearls, tortoise shell, musk, civet, amber, fine skins, or any thing else.

Fourthly,—What useful fruits or roots the country produces; and should you touch on the sea coast, to notice the bays and rivers which discharge themselves into the sea, in what direction they extend—whether there are means of getting water and refreshments—if there are oysters, pearl mussels, or tortoise shell, fit for combs, or other work.

Fifthly.—The numbers of the inhabitants, with whom they are engaged in alliance, or in hostilities, especially [MS. decayed.]

Sixthly,—How they are disposed towards our nation, whether they are cruel or friendly, whether they have any reasonable policy; and that you may know exactly how to make your observations in writing, we give you for your information a copy of a specimen of reports drawn up by our masters. . . . and wishing you a fortunate journey under the guidance of the Most High, &c.

now warned too late, and matters must take their course, as directed by providence, who we trust will protect our people; but should we see Doman again at the Fort, we should think of securing him, &c.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to Chamber XVII.

1659. March 5. We have received your letters of the 20th October from the Chamber XVII. . . . . and subsequently those of the 22d Nov. and 6 Dec. 1657, and 14th April, 1658, from the Chamber Amsterdam, and also the two last Despatches from your Honors, dated 16th April and 22d September, to which we have now the honor respectfully to reply. . . . .<sup>(2)</sup>

Long previous to the receipt of your general letter of the 16th April, we had offered to the free men (who live far from the Fort, and who can procure ivory more easily than we can, and without our knowledge,) high prices, so as to get all the tusks into our hands, but as only 2 or 3 have been thus procured, all has been found in vain. As they might, however, get more for the ivory from the ships' people, we have now forbidden them, under high penalties, from bartering any thing whatever from the Hottentoes, as may be seen under the date of the 4th September, in our Resolution Book, and Proclamation Book, as also in the Journal.

*Item*, we have also prohibited them from any longer allowing any of the inhabitants access to their houses, so as to afford them the fewer opportunities for procuring tusks. This puts them to some inconvenience, on account of some services, and of the milk, which they can still procure from the natives, to assist in their *mesnage*, and which are very necessary to them, for the cows here give very little milk, and therefore we have tempered the rigor of this enactment by a more indulgent execution of its provisions; in order that we may not give them too great a disgust for their freedom. We are, however, satisfied that all the free men together, do not procure from these natives, enough elephants' teeth to furnish one for each homeward bound ship. . . . .

Coming now to the other object of the Company, namely, procuring in the first instance abundance of cattle, by means of barter, all our Despatches, Journals, and Resolutions, up to this date, are evidences of the exertions we have employed with that object; but it appears, more evidently from time to time, that this is entirely dependent upon the favorable or unfavorable disposition of these natives; and how patiently and circumspectly we have proceeded with respect to the natives—without the slightest hastiness—but with especial forbearance, does not, we believe, require any demonstration here. It must, indeed, have been represented by several of the Company's servants on their arrival in the Fatherland, that we should have acted with greater rigor, but these—namely casual observers, (*gemeene sy praters*) see the question from only one point of view, cursorily and superficially; whereas we now—independently of the inquiries of several Commissioners—speak

(1) No further mention of natives appears in the Journal until the 7th March; in the interval are mentioned, the death of ensign Harwarden, and the dispatch of a small vessel to the coast of Australia (then called *Zuydlandt*.) to seek, a fourth time, for the residue of a ship's crew, wrecked on the 30th April, 1656, in lat. 30° 40' a few of whom reached Batavia in a boat.

(2) The Despatches here enumerated refer generally to other subjects; in addition to the usual strictures upon the expenditure, disallowances, &c. they contain various observations which were deemed to call for lengthened explanation. The main points in this Despatch were replied to on the 5th Sept. 1659. A few more extracts will be found below.

In the Journal held during the first year of our abode here, may be seen, at various dates, and particularly on the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th July, and 18th September, what pains we took to catch some harts, at a time when we were stimulated by want and necessity, for at first these natives brought us no cattle whatever. We readily admit that in writing to your Honors we forgot to advert to the subject, because, from the wildness of those animals, we saw so little chance of catching any of them. . . . . with all the pains that have been taken by the free men and the Company's shooters, in consequence of the rewards offered, they have, from the shyness of that game, not succeeded in killing 7 during the 7 years of our abode here.

If, indeed, this country were inhabited, instead of lazy slothful Hottentoes—by active industrious Chinese and Formosans, we might, indeed, have something to hope for as in *Taiouan*; for in the interior we have seen together herds of hundreds and thousands. . . . . but unless Chinese, or other expert persons, come thither, there will not, in a hundred years, be a hundred killed on the Company's account. What may happen hereafter, when, in the course of time, the Colony has increased in extent, may be then ascertained, but it is our opinion that until then, there will be as few of the skins, as of the elephants' tusks, to be procured from the hands of the Hottentoes, because, as before observed, they are too lazy and indolent to trouble themselves upon any account, except in rearing cattle, from which, together with various kinds of wild roots, they manage to live. We had, indeed, at first some hopes of procuring ivory, (for a tooth which had been picked up was now and then sold to us at a very cheap rate, of which we sent to Batavia, in 1653, a sample of 10 tusks, weighing 54 lbs. and 49 sea cow tusks, weighing 41½ lbs.) But since that time, in all the 7¼ years, there have only been brought in 57 lbs. in 8 pieces, whole or broken, which were sent to Amsterdam, and from which it may be seen that the quality also is very indifferent, the tusks having been picked out of the sand, (in which they appear to have lain many years) by the Hottentoes. Every thing has since been done to encourage them to fetch more from other tribes in the interior, but however desirous we are, we perceive

from experience, which teaches that in the treatment of the natives, patience and circumspection must be carefully observed, as established rules of action, with a view, however,—supposing the desired end cannot be otherwise attained,—of availing ourselves of a due opportunity [of acting] against those who have deserved it, in such a manner as to secure that end; and then the rest, namely, the required extension of the cultivation would follow as desired, but, without this it is impossible, for we must have draught oxen (of which we have now, God be thanked, no want) if the other object (the agriculture) is to be (as it is now in a fair way of being) duly prosecuted. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>

In which enclosure, Gentlemen, you will also perceive what we have done, since our last letter, in the matter of Herry (now banished to Robben Island) and the Caepmans, and how favourably all has fallen out for the Company; that is to say, that subsequently the trade has been much better than ever before, and is now carried on in great tranquillity by the natives; so that the Company is now rich in small and large stock, and also in such security, that (how different from former times!) no Hottentoo any longer dares think of doing the slightest injury to the least child of our garrison or of the ships, nor to steal any thing, as they formerly used to do, with circumstances of great outrage—because they conceived (as it would now appear) that we dared not annoy them in return, nor take revenge, &c. of which they have now seen the contrary, in the measures adopted against Herry, as may be seen in our Journal for the early part of July.

To this measure we have been led to resort in consequence of the desertion of the slaves, as we were of opinion that they were harboured by the natives, and the annoyance suffered from them had so much increased, with insolence in words and deeds, that it could scarcely be borne any longer; and the senior merchant, Willem Bastinck, (in the Prins Willem) being then present, our council, assisted by him, adopted the Resolution which may be seen on the 22d June, first to seize the two principal Caepmans (who were then in the Fort) and 2 others who, not long before, had stolen some cattle from the free men; and, during the visit of Mr. Cunens, had taken 15 sheep from the Company. Herry then lay with his camp about half an hours' walk from the Fort, at Salt River, with a good herd of sheep and cattle (believing himself still in our best graces) and he suffered himself to be enticed by fair words into the Commander's office, when, upon the 3rd of the July following, the order was given to sergeant Jan van Harwarden, to surround Herry's camp with a party of soldiers, with concealed weapons, and then to fetch all the stock, great and small, to the Fort. Which was easily carried into execution by him in sight of Herry (who was standing the while with us upon the *Cat*) but not without danger to the sergeant's life from some bold Hottentoes, who opposed him

(1) The original runs thus: gemeene sy praters sient maer empassant soo eens van buyten aen, ende. wy spreeken hier—beneffens de genomen inspectie der Heeren Commissarissen—uyt ondervindinge, namentl'k, dat de patientie ende circumspectie op 't hoogste, en voor een principalen stock moet gehouden ende vastgesteld blyven, edoch met sulck een oogmerk omme de saeke siende niet anders te cunnen worden gebracht tot het michende doel, eens de slagh, op die het verdient hebben, voor d'E Compagnie soodanig waer te nemen, dat men daermede hetselve treffen mochte, als wanneer de rest, namentl'k, de vereyschte verder culture der landen, enz. wel voorts na wensch volgen soude, maer sonder dies onmogel'k, want trek ossen moeten der syn (nu Gods loff weynigh mauquerende) soudt t' ander oogmerk (den landbouw) nabehooren (gelyk 't nu in train is) gevordert worden, enz.

It was evidently intended that this passage should convey a satisfactory explanation of the policy so frequently suggested:—that of exacting from the natives the *anende profitable*, and of rendering the punishment of those who were deemed to “have deserved it” subservient to “the desired extension of the cultivation;” the narrative which follows contains an illustration of the same policy, and of its alleged advantages. This will perhaps, be more apparent from the original words, than from the translation.

but little chance of procuring any thing of the kind. And it is to be feared that there is no probability of time producing any change in this respect, for the Hottentoes will not move without their herds and flocks, and then they are so much afraid of each other—and so disunited, chiefly upon the question of pasture lands, that they scarcely dare go in any direction, but they instantly get into contention and fighting, soo men seyt, lustigh om de roosecrans. Thus, Gentlemen, it appears to us that there is no appearance of any profit from this source, or from catching harts. . . . .

The free men complained that it was very hard that they should be compelled to cultivate, or to cease cultivating this or that particular kind of crop, matters in which they would have willingly followed their own inclination. *Item*, that they should be prevented from bartering various articles from these natives, for the purpose of selling them to the ships' crews, &c.; and it may be fully seen in our Journal for the 23rd of last December, with what a seditious spirit, and what pertinacity they strove, as it were to compel us, with many insufferable threats; as also, how easily and speedily we made them change their tune, and by placing the matter in a different point of view, reduced them to subjection and due submission, your Honors may read under the same date—we trust it may afford you satisfaction—and be worth the perusal to see how quietly we made them hide their heads, and submit to the orders issued, or to be issued by your Honors, in accordance with their letters of freedom, and with their freeholds. The conditions entered into with Mr. Van Goens were also read, and it was shown to them that, instead of the reins having been in any degree straightened, they have been relaxed in various particulars.

All this we so impressed upon them, that we do not believe they will again dare to oppose themselves to the orders of the Company, but henceforth live in quiet; and, although such discontents should be in some measure shown, we trust to be enabled easily to appease them, and to look to nothing but the orders you may issue, to obey these, and cause them to be

with assagays, and one of whom he killed, wounding also 2 or 3 others, who, with the aid of some more Hottentoots, several times repossessed themselves of the cattle, but he as often overtook them on horseback, and besides those wounded, as before stated, shot one, and at last brought all the live stock to the Fort, being 110 very fine cattle, and 250 tolerably good sheep, which fully repays us for the stolen cattle, and the merchandize entrusted to Herry; while at the same time, by the killing and wounding of the said Hottentoots, the murder of the Dutch boy is partially revenged, but not punished.

All this (which may be read in our Journal of the 3rd July) took place on the same morning.

Herry was then seized and confined with the other people of the Caepmans, and all sat in equal fear that they would be punished with death for the thefts and annoyances committed against us from the first, each weeping and wailing more than another, in distraction and despair; some feigning themselves sick, &c. in hopes of being released; until at length the Caepmans implored for peace, and to treat for a new alliance—Herry's people also, although we had taken all their cattle, (which did not belong to Herry alone) and killed their chief captain—next to Herry—offering to think no more of it, nor of the taking of the cattle, than if these events had never happened.

So that we—pretending we did not care so much for them as they fancied, (but preferring peace to war) yielded, as it were, to their importunity, but told them that the treaty must take place with due state and formality, and that the captains and principal men of the Caepmans must appear in our front hall within the Fort, where every thing would be written down by us, while they should pledge themselves by shaking hands—on which a firm peace and closer alliance was concluded on the 5th July 1658, consisting substantially. . . . [see details more fully in Journal for July 5, p. 133] But as to Herry, they did not concern themselves about him, so no peace was made with him, but he was, as before mentioned, subsequently conveyed to Robben Island, together with 2 Hottentoots, who were somewhat implicated in stealing the Company's cattle, &c. and were suspected of the murder of the Dutch boy. These two have been subsequently, as may be seen on the 2nd, 5th, and 18th September, released at the earnest intercession of the Chainouquas, who state that they are descendants of their tribe, and upon other considerations, which may be seen at full under the dates mentioned. But as to Herry, he has been left there, with which all these natives, without exception, are so well pleased that it is wonderful. Aye! they even say plainly that they would esteem it a favor if we would cut off his head, as he has been, from the first, the main cause of all the mischief and coolness between them and us, with whom they now live securely with all faith and fidelity as countrymen and brethren, that is to say, while we only keep Herry out of the way. This has been promised to them, and the consequence is, that we now live together on the terms stated. Caepman has, however, excused himself from furnishing the stipulated quota of cattle, on account of inability to supply them out of the increase of his stock; and promising therefore to take the greater care to induce others to bring us the more; and as the trade goes on very well, we express ourselves so far satisfied to be paid by degrees; reminding them, however, of their obligation, now and then, when fewer cattle than usual are brought, so that it may not be altogether classed as a bad debt, but may help to keep them the better in subjection, to which they are, as before said, so far brought, that none of them dare think of doing the slightest harm to any of our people, they look up to us, indeed, as a servant watches the eye of his master, not venturing very near to the Fort with their cattle, (though much with their wives and children) apparently out of fear that we

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obeyed in every point, and to be equally strict and rigorous against all the contraveners of the regulations of the Company, and such as may try to secrete a single elephants' tusk, for which purpose the express commission which we procured for our Fiscal from Commissioner Cuneus, will serve to enforce more respect for the prerogatives of the Company, and the maintenance of the laws.

In agriculture, and all dependent upon it, we have, by the favor of the Almighty, advanced so far, that this residency can henceforth maintain itself, and begin to send some grain to Batavia. But, with what industry this has been prosecuted by us from the first, and how much we have striven to advance it, may be seen from the following statement, which is given in rather ample detail, in order that it may be all seen, as in a glass. Coming to which narrative, we must observe in the first place, with all due respect, that whenever we have been in any way apprised of the real intentions of your Honors, we have never been in the slightest degree wanting in industry and assiduity, but have exerted our best endeavors to give effect to your directions; and this is almost a matter of notoriety, for the Commander Riebeeck arrived here in the year 1652, on the 6th and 7th of April, with the ships *Drommedaris*, *Reyger*, and *Goede Hoop*, and was landed on a dry barren waste, without a place to live in, and with only a parcel of light materials, the largest piece of timber being only some trumpery beams, planks, and spars, in order, under your instructions, to erect such a fort, as would suffice for your purpose, without a single man possessed of any kind of skill—but with sick in abundance—without a single herb for our refreshment—and thus with some 90, weak, unskilful, sea worn, and scorbutic men, we had to commence the work, at which, it is notorious, they were so raw, that the Commander was obliged to set to work himself, as engineer, excavator, gardener, farmer, carpenter, mason, blacksmith, &c. and, next to God, had made such progress in the first year, that after 10 months, when the Company's homeward

may one day serve them *a la* Herry, and that they may thus lose all their riches, just as he did, for, upon our arrival in 1652, he was a naked beggar, without people, or any thing in the world, and had since grown up—out of the Company's means—to a rich Cape King, and is now shut out of his kingdom by us, and placed as a *Bandit* on Robben Island, where he must remain, would we live on good terms with his countrymen, (by whom he is much disliked); this is very necessary, for we have found that otherwise very little is to be had from them out of the interior—and the natives of the interior do not wish us to visit them, preferring (as they always say) to bring to us what they wish to part with—which has also succeeded very well since Herry was brought low—and still continues, so that the farmers are now so well provided with working oxen, cows and sheep, that, with God's blessing, we shall soon have abundance by breeding, for we have now, besides the free men's cattle, and the abundant supplies issued to the shipping.....340 cattle, and about 1300 sheep—and as we doubt not that sufficient will be bartered to supply the shipping and this garrison—these will greatly increase by breeding.

But although we are at present living so securely with the natives, and in such faith and confidence—we still—putting the intrenchments out of the question—turn our thoughts to the means of taking care of so good a herd of cattle (they are better than those procured by barter) so as to prevent them from being again driven away by dint of numbers; for though we are becoming daily stronger by the increase of the free men—the natives are daily becoming more cunning—and also because it is your desire that the free men should live in perfect security, and they are now beginning to extend themselves, the greater number of them living beyond the river Liesbeeck and more are coming who must be located. Besides, the pasture here often falls short for the large stock of the Company, and we also have often to look for more pasture on the other side, beyond the corn lands of the people who live over the river, so that at least 20 soldiers are required for the protection of the cattle there, particularly in the dry season, when there is no grass in the Table Valley and beyond the Lion Berg, (given to Commander Riebeeck as corn land by Mr. Van Goens) and as there are also many Hottentoots close at hand, we would, had we horses enough, protect the whole with 20 mounted men; indeed with that force we could fully and securely protect the lands and cattle of the Company and the free men against all the Hottentoots in the whole country, and keep them under whatever awe and subjection we might choose, at least as well, or rather much better than with the intrenchment, or any thing else that could be devised; we wish therefore that we had the horses—in which case the Company could soon be master of the fine cattle of the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, from whom we can barter nothing but the old, sick or lame, and they have still owing to them the same trick we served Herry; they were not included in the peace made with the Caepmans, as they were too proud to come to the Fort for the purpose; there are, therefore, still hopes from the settlement of the affairs of the tobacco stealing, and the taking of the cattle and sheep of the free men and the Company. *Item*, the claim we have upon the Caepmans for not supplying their promised quota of cattle for the shipping; both of which tribes we have had in the desired net, aye! so far, that we could have made ourselves masters of all their cattle, and which, (as we have learned through the interpreter Eva, the sister of the greatest wife of the chief of the Cochoquas, or true Saldanhars,) would not give that tribe any concern, but be esteemed as great a favor as the humbling of Herry, as may be seen under date the 26th July.....

We have stated above that we have learned many particulars respecting the interior from Eva,

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bound fleet, under Mr. Demmer, touched here, they procured such abundant refreshments, independent of a great number of cattle supplied to them, (an article which is dependent upon the barter with the natives) that the whole fleet, (which lay here between 6 and 9 weeks) were well fed with vegetables raised by our labour.....

We have said that we have acquired much information through Eva—she, on the other hand, begins to learn to read, and to be instructed to say her prayers, and in our mode of religion; of which she has imparted so much to the Cochoquas, one of the two head chiefs of which people is husband to her sister, that he has already desired his people to have their children instructed by Eva in the knowledge she has acquired from us, saying that in his heart he can conceive that it is for the greater part true, and that it proceeds from the true God and Ruler of all things, &c. That people show a particular good will towards our men, when they come hither with cattle, or when we have visited them. They have desired Eva to try to learn more from us, so that she may become better able to instruct their children in the knowledge of God, as may be more fully seen in our Journal of the last of December. *Item*, that these Cochoquas are a great and powerful people, rich in sheep and cattle—the said chief Oedasoia (being Eva's brother in law) was lately severely wounded by a lion, when trying with a great number of his people to catch a wild horse for us.....

We wrote you last year that one of the chiefs of the Chainouquas, (who has often brought us cattle) had married a wife who had been brought up in the Chobona's house, and wore many ornaments of gold and pearls. It has since happened that he has been so far worked upon by our importunities, that—in the month of December last, while Eva was in the interior with her sister—he set out in this direction with the consent of his chief—with a good number of cattle and people, and accompanied by his said wife (who wore very long hair, down to her feet) and her jewels, in order to show them to us. But when they had

and every exertion is made, with the aid of volunteers, to ascertain the truth of what we have heard; Eva has thus incurred much hatred from the Caepmans, and tobacco thieves, and especially from the interpreter Doman, (a worse *pest* than ever Herry was to the Company) because they—the Caepmans—always try to dissuade us from exploring the country, in order that, when they have done us an injury, and fled, we should not know where to find them. But all the passes are now so well known, even to Commander Riebeeck personally, who has examined them all, that there are no hiding places unknown to us; and with 20 mounted men, they could, as before said, be kept in subjection as we please, and we should be held in such awe besides, by the numerous Saldanhars, that none among them would dare to show us any thing but friendship; and, as before said, they would gladly see us take the cattle of the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, and banish them—for they give great annoyance to the Saldanhars by here and there acting as banditti, and stealing their cattle; on this account it is that the Caepmans never dare go far inland, but must always stay hereabouts, between the Saldanhars and the Company's garrison; we wish they were in our power, but to guard well the cattle to be taken from them, the said 20 horsemen are absolutely necessary, and, as already stated, they would suffice, not only to oppose these 2 Cape hordes, but to resist all the violence that could be offered to us by all the Saldanhars in the country, and therefore we the more seriously recommend the measure, as very serviceable to the Company. All further digging or fortifications for our own defence, or the annoyance of these natives, may then be entirely dismissed from our thoughts, and the free men also will be thus protected as is desired, and that without exceeding the number of 80 paid servants, as fixed by your order; that is to say, if we make over the farming, by hire, or otherwise, to free men. Should your Honors have sent, or intend to send, large Dutch horses, we would require 12 large cavalry saddles with holsters and pistols; otherwise the light English saddles are better, for the Batavia horses (now increased to 16) of which only 5 or 6 are fit for use, are rather small, almost like English ponies? (*tellen*) or light French horses.

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1659. March 7. Meanwhile the travellers returned to the Fort, reporting that they had found the country so dry, and every where so scarce of grass, as well as of water, that they were, from this cause alone, compelled to return, having not only suffered great thirst, but been in want of grass for the oxen, one of their oxen had perished from hunger and thirst—and the rest were—like the travellers themselves, very lean; they had indeed fallen in with the Chariguriquas, who did their utmost to dissuade them from going on to the Namaquas, so that they were forced to travel without guides, and could advance no further than to a certain great river which ebbed and flowed, and which they therefore concluded, ran into the sea. Beyond this river (as they were informed by the Soaquas, or banditti, a very wild people, without houses or cattle, but well armed with assagays and bows and arrows) and at the distance of 7 or 8 days' journey, lay the Namaquas, but as they perceived that beyond the river the country was equally arid, and full of stony hills, and that little water was to be had, they were compelled, from fear of thirst, to return. They considered that they had travelled fully 90 mylen, on various courses, mostly on the north side of Africa;

come within 3 or 4 days' journey of this place, they fell in with the Cochoquas, with whom they had shortly before had some dispute, and the Cochoquas being very strong, they attacked him, and killed, among others, his said wife, defeating him, so that he narrowly escaped with not more than 10 men.

This is much to be lamented on the Company's account, who might otherwise have acquired from this woman some exact knowledge of the Chobona country, more particularly as the said chief had promised that some of our people should return with his wife to the Chobona country. This must now, unfortunately, be postponed, for Eva says that the chief has returned to his tribe, who will now all go to the Chobonas for justice, or for more men to take revenge upon the Cochoquas; so that we may soon hear of a great battle between these two powerful tribes, for both have many thousands of men fit to carry arms. As far as we can learn, Chobona, or Choboqua—whom we suppose to be the emperor of Monomotopa,—resides as nearly as we can ascertain, inland to the N. E. in cities and castles, rich in gold and ivory.

..... It would also be a good thing for the Company at the Cape, and highly necessary, that the wives of the free men should come hither, and with them some stout farm girls; for the best farmers are not always to be found among the married men, as Mr. Van Goens would have desired for the good of the Company. Many good farmers may be found among the unmarried, who would readily marry, if there were any *stoff*; they are also younger and healthier, and apparently would be longer lived than some of the married. These young men have desired us to apply for girls that they may marry and fix themselves..... some people might be disposed to bring females with them, in order to leave them at the Cape, where we might keep those that were in good condition, and let the others pass on, for we hear of many things occurring between this and *t'Patria*.....

from the reckoning kept by them, the distance did not exceed 30 mylen, so that their journey has produced little.

March 12. Sent the boat to Robben Island with the following letter:—

EXTRACT.—A month's provision is sent for the 7 Dutch and 2 boys, and a month's slaves' food for the black convict Pasqual, 2 male slaves, and 1 female, as also Herry—being 4 in all, whom, with exception of Herry, you will keep busily employed carrying shells.

26. Mr. Van Almond, with some captains and merchants, went out with the Commander to inspect the cultivated ground of the Company and the free men.....

April 1. Mr. Van Almond sailed for Batavia.(<sup>1</sup>)

6. This being the anniversary of the taking possession of this Cape, public thanks were returned to the Almighty for the blessings and success extended to us. 8 and 9. Nothing particular except that the Commander went out to inspect the free men's cattle, and to assist those requiring such aid, with some oxen for the plough.

May 4. In the afternoon we received intelligence that the Hottentoes of Caepman's camp had driven off from our people 7 of the Company's work oxen, which were feeding a little way into the wood behind Table Mountain, but that our people had taken from them in return a loaded pack-ox, and had broken the arm of a Hottentoo by a shot. Orders were instantly given to the corporal of the volunteers and Company's farming overseer, Pieter Cruythoff, to pursue the said cattle with 10 soldiers, to the Hottentoo encampment, to try to reclaim the cattle, (if possible) without hostility, and to tell them, in the event of refusal, that the peace concluded with them, which they had almost (*genoechsæm*) violated, would fall to the ground, &c.

5. This morning early, our said people returned and reported, that they reached Caepman's camp, consisting of two parties, and lying just below the Kloof Pass, about 11 o'clock last night; that the Caepmans were much alarmed, and instantly ready to restore our cattle, as also one, the private oxen of the Commander, which they had carried off some time before; but 2 other draught oxen belonging to the Company, stolen a day after Mr. Van Almond's departure, besides various others, stolen long before, from the free men, had been, as they said, devoured by the lion. Our people wishing to bring a sheep from them (for tobacco) for food, they were quite unwilling to supply them; upon which our men took a sheep, and paid for it, the Caepmans not attempting to oppose them. Our party thought that with 40 men, at most, they could have beaten up the said camps of Caepman, and brought all their cattle to the Fort; (Gogosoa, the fat captain, was chief of the largest, and one Ankeysaoa, of the other; altogether they had fully 100 or 120 men capable

(<sup>1</sup>) From the Despatch of the Governor General, 15th Dec. 1659, it would seem that in common with all the Admirals or Commanders of Company's fleets, Mr. Van Almond was a Commissioner; he does not appear to have issued any written orders.

1659. March 17. Arrived the English ship *Dolphine*, from Bantam 7th Jan. in a most distressed state from sickness.... were not able to lift their anchor, and begging assistance to bring them into the proper anchorage, 25 men were accordingly sent from the *Princes Royal*. 18. He unbent his sails, intending to stay here a good while for the recovery of his crew. 25. The English ship, in consideration of their destitute condition, was (in compliance with a resolution passed by the Council, assisted by the commander Van Almond and the captains of the outward bound fleet) supplied with an anchor and cable, &c. at a price to be fixed by a Committee of Captains. On April 17 a Resolution allows a party of Portuguese to aid in navigating to English vessel whose crew had died off from 50 to 29.

1659. April 23. It being found that the free colonists were supplying Company's ships with sheep and pigs from Dassen Island, and that they had even arranged that the English ship should touch there for similar supplies—some soldiers were placed on the Island "to prevent such injurious obstacles to the needful increase of live stock."

1659. May 1. A Resolution of this date, after stating the selection of two burger members of Council, out of four nominated by the free men, thus provides for embodying the armed colonists.

And, whereas it was provided more than 2 years ago, for the greater peace, quiet, and security, and for defence against all tumult, uproar, or hostility on the part of the Cape Hottentoes and banditti, that all the free farmers and burgers should keep themselves constantly well provided with fire arms, and with which arms they were supplied accordingly. It is now further resolved, for the maintenance of discipline and regularity among them, to form them into a company of *schutters*, under the requisite officers, that is to say—as in the case of the Company's garrison here—one sergeant, 2 corporals, and 1 drummer, which officers, with exception of the drummer, shall be annually changed at the choice of the borgerraden, and for that purpose the said borgerraden, assisted by the sergeant and 1 corporal, shall nominate a double number of competent persons, among whom, as in the case of the borgerraden, the Commander and Council shall choose and appoint for the ensuing year, such military officers as they may deem most advantageous to the public, which officers the *schutters* shall then be bound to obey. There being chosen for the first year, as sergeant and commanding officer, the retiring borgerraedt Steven Jans, the farmer Herman Remanjenne, and the free miller Wouter Cornelis Mostert, as corporals; which said officers and the men under them, shall be guided in all respects by the orders established at Batavia for free *schutters* and burgers—that is to say—in as far as may be applicable to the circumstances of this residency and of the colonists; the necessary articles shall be drawn up for their guidance, &c.

A similar Resolution was enacted on the 1st May, 1660.

of bearing arms) but as our party had no order to that effect, they left them at peace. But as these Caepmans are fast accumulating guilt by infringing the conditions of the peace, it were not amiss that they were for once well paid off, (like Herry) to which the Saldanhars much incite us, and the free men as much so, believing themselves quite equal to the defence of their own persons and property, and desiring rather to incur the risk of any injury the Caepmans can do them, than to be daily plundered in their cattle and their crops. The Commander went out to make defensive arrangements in case the Caepmans should make any attempt upon the out of door property, cattle, &c. of the Company or farmers—but, on ascending the Bosheuvel, (which commands a view over the whole flat between the two bays, &c.) he saw the Caepmans retiring, with all their cattle, quite to the angle of the Steenberg, where they will halt for the night at the Tent River, a usual resting place when travelling to behind the Steenberg, or to the Bergh Valley, &c. where Mr. Van Gocns rested when he examined Bergh Valley.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council.

1659. May 7. We wrote you last on the 2nd September. . . . . when we replied to the principal subjects touched upon in the letters which we had at that time received from you. We shall now only briefly state, that we are anxious to learn what quantity of grain you have reaped this year, and whether it is sufficient for the full supply of your garrison. You do well to make trial of every thing that will grow there; the next accounts will apprise us how the rice, and also the vines succeed—every kind of crop must be tried in various ways; the first, or the second failure must not be considered as establishing any rule; and therefore the cultivation of hemp, linseed, beans, and peas, must be repeated, and a further trial made with small quantities. If the grape succeeds there you will receive further information as to the mode of managing it.

That you have (in compliance with the order of the Governor General and Council, as expressed in their letter of the 17th Dec. 1657, [see p. 117] which we also have read,) been careful to keep the Cape residency upon a reduced scale, and not encumber yourself with too many works, accords with our intentions—and you will be pleased to continue the same line of conduct; without incurring many extraordinary expenses, or unduly hastening the work there; there are many things which must await the operation of time. On further consideration the export of horses from this quarter would be too troublesome and expensive; you must, therefore, do your best with oxen.

We approve of the memoir which Mr. Cuneus left you in the place of instructions, you will therefore be guided by those orders until you receive further directions. . . . .

We could have wished that the jacht *Maria* had been able to touch at the Island of St. Helena Nova,<sup>(1)</sup> to ascertain what is to be found there in the way of refreshments, or otherwise, more particularly because we hear that the English Company has dispatched 2 ships to St. Helena, in order to take possession there, and to build 2 Forts for the purpose of retaining it as a place of refreshment for their homeward bound ships. Consequently should this purpose be carried into effect, it is probable that henceforth they will not admit us there so easily as has hitherto been the case; or, that they will insist upon receiving in return, some accommodation for their ships at the Cape.

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### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1659. May 7. This day the Commander received intelligence that his dwelling or farm house, at the Bosheuvel, was burnt to the ground by their own fire, from the inside of the house. The free men delivered the following petition—to wit:—

To the Commander Jan van Riebeeck and the Council of the Fort the Gocde Hope, &c. The free farmers, fishers, borgers, and others, who have all subscribed their names, beg to intimate to the Commander and Council, that which your Honors also know well, namely, that much injury and annoyance is caused to us daily by the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, as well by stealing our tobacco, and other produce from the field, and the ironwork of our harrows, aye! of our ploughs also, but principally in our cattle and sheep; which offences your Honors have hitherto passed over unnoticed, supposing that it would get better; but now, sir, you have yourself seen how the Caepmans, who always put it off upon others, have also stolen the Company's cattle and sheep,

(1) It is hardly necessary to state, that the Island of "St. Helena Nova," like the city of Monomotopa, had no existence, except in the Books and Atlases from which the Company drew a portion of their information.

which were in our presence found in their possession, in the very act (op heeter daet) or at least in their camp; besides, they have again become so daring, that they would lately have killed Capt. Jan Symons Rentmeester, and the mate of the ship *Arnhem*, had not rescue been at hand; and we have most clearly seen that when Herry was punished for his insolence, then all were in fear and in good subjection (devotie.) We, therefore, unanimously request that effectual vengeance may for once be taken upon the Caepmans also, and that we may retake what we have lost (onse schade moghen verhalen) for they have made us too weak in cattle to keep our ploughs going. We therefore pray the Commander and his Council to grant our request, for we can defend ourselves against all injury and surprise by the Hottentoots, if you will only be pleased to let the Company's cattle be grazed under the charge of soldiers, above and on the further side of our corn fields, as was for some time done, to our great security, for then we should be better able to protect ourselves against them than now, when, according to your orders, we must show them every kindness, which is vexatious to us, as they are always doing mischief and injury to us by stealing, principally our cattle and sheep; we now await the desired answer, and we shall take care to be prepared and alert with our arms, and to attend whenever you may be pleased to order us out, whether by day or by night, at least one man from each house—some 2, others 3, or 4, and so on, as each can muster. *Actum* at the Caep d'Goede Hope, *Ady* 7th May, *Anno* 1659. (Signed) Hendrick Hendricks Boom + his mark, Herman Reymanjenne, Philippus van Roon, Jacob Cornelis Rosendal + his mark, Jacob Cornelis + his mark, Willem Coenraedt + his mark, Casper Brinckman, Symon Intvelt + his mark, Jan Martens de Wacht, Carel Broers + his mark, Jacob Cloutten, Henrich Ellebrecht, Otto Jansen van Vreede + his mark, Jan Reyniers, Cornelis Claessen + his mark, Johannes Rietvelt, Pieter Cornelis van Langesout + his mark, Frans Gerritsen.

March 8. Oedassoas people brought 32 sheep and 5 cattle, which were all bought—the sellers were well treated and informed of the insolence of the Caepmans, and how we had taken from them no more than the number of oxen which they had stolen from us, although one of the thieves, while driving the cattle, had his arm broken by a shot, of which wound he had yesterday died, whereupon the Cochoquas answered, that the Caepmans should be well satisfied and surprised that we had not entirely ruined them, as they daily gave us cause and sufficient provocation; upon which they were informed that we would not willingly injure any one, and would prefer living at peace with all the world, &c. The interpreter Doman trying meanwhile to push in a word, was severely checked by Oedasoas's people (een woort willende in 't capittel brengen, creegh lustigh wat clop) and Eva said, that Oedasoas was very likely to attack the Caepmans soon, as he also had been much annoyed by their thefts of sheep and cattle, their chief riches consisting in what they procured by plunder, they had therefore well earned a punishment, if he did not think that we would be offended.

### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to the Governor General and Council, Batavia.

1659. May 17. The position of affairs at the Cape may be seen amply detailed in the accompanying copy of our last Despatches to Holland, which we transmit for that purpose, as well as to avoid prolixity and troubling you with too much writing upon one subject.

We must, however, add that the barter of cattle with Oedasoas, the brother in law of our interpreter Eva, and the chief of the powerful Cochoquas, continues to flourish as before, so that much salt beef and pork is saved, by the issuing of fresh meat to the shipping, as well as to this garrison; and the best of the live stock being reserved for breeding, will in time produce a superabundance of fine cattle.

The plough also is well employed, now that the commencement of the rains has softened the ground, much seed has been already sown, and we look forward with hope for a divine blessing upon this and all our undertakings. But the Caepmans who live close to us, or in this vicinity, begin (contrary to the conditions of last year) again to give us some annoyance, now and then making away with some of the best cattle, and resuming their former rudeness and depredations upon the people belonging to the ships, nor do they leave either our garrison or the free men at peace.

The free colonists have, therefore, already requested that they may be attacked, and have all their cattle taken from them, &c. as in the case of Herry. We have, however, as yet done nothing further in that matter, except taking from their camp as many cattle as they have recently taken from us, warning them at the same time to desist from such conduct, otherwise the peace would fall to the ground, as may be seen detailed in our Journal—herewith transmitted, under date the 5th May, and to which we beg to refer.

It thus appears that these Caepmans cannot keep quiet, with whatever degree of forbearance and circumspection they are treated, except now and then after resistance has been offered, and then but for a short time; for when some time has elapsed, or they have forgotten it, they constantly resume their former evil courses.

It would therefore seem to appear, more clearly every day, that they are naturally treacherous and thievish, and that we can scarcely keep them under proper subjection, &c. or live with them in tranquillity, without adopting other measures; for they have broken the articles of peace in every particular, and exerted their utmost endeavors to separate and estrange (diverteren) us from the real Saldanhars, and them from us. It is, therefore, our earnest and respectful request, that, as we could send no accounts to Holland by the last homeward bound fleet, and consequently could receive no reply from that quarter in 2 years—in which time much might occur—that you, gentlemen, would be pleased to furnish us with your directions upon this point, and upon whatever more may occur before the departure of the next homeward bound fleet; or, should you not see fit to issue any order, that you will at least be pleased to furnish us, for our guidance, with a wiser and more mature judgment or advice than any we can well form, in matters of such importance, with so small a council; for, we would not willingly resort to any formal hostilities with these Caepmans, without your advice, except in case of absolute necessity; although we have not the least doubt of our superiority, and are also pretty certain that the other inhabitants would not be in the least degree concerned for them; we believe also that our force, and that of the free men, is sufficient, under God, to protect ourselves against further annoyance from them.

The case, in our opinion, turns upon this question. Is our cause so good as to justify the Company for employing other means than longer forbearance, in order to reduce them to better subjection, and to force them to desist from their robberies and other annoyances; and, whether they have not well deserved to lose all their cattle, and that those who could be taken alive should be banished like Herry. This course would, in our opinion, be very serviceable to the Company, for they will not desist from doing all in their power to keep the other inhabitants away from us; and, besides, from the fine young cows that would be captured, our stock would be so much augmented, that we need care little about the barter of oxen.

And for the promotion of cultivation, and the encouragement of the free farmers, it would not be unserviceable, but highly necessary, as we should thus procure so great a number of good ploughing oxen that the present colonists could be abundantly supplied, and many new colonists enabled to turn over a good quantity of land.

The oxen that the Company have now on hand, are not enough to enable us to supply all the present farmers, together with some new ones, or separated partnerships, so well as is required; for the stock that is bartered is lean, old, and worn out, and the only good cattle are those produced by breeding in the course of time, but which must be older before they will enable us to yoke more ploughs.

Having thus briefly pointed out the position of the case, we shall anxiously expect the reply of your Honors, trusting that the matter may not, in the mean time, become so urgent, as to force us to come to extremities, but that we may, by patient circumspection, &c. as much as depends upon us, avert them, at least until the receipt of your answer. . . . .

When we had written thus far, and were about to conclude, and to deliver this to the officers of the said boat, the *Boede*, we have, this moment, received intelligence that the Caepmans have taken from the colonists of Vasagie's company, 10, and from the new free men, of Roon's company, 6 working oxen; and also beaten one of their servants almost to death; so that we fear we shall be obliged to come to hostilities with them sooner than will be agreeable to us; for it seems that all measures of forbearance and friendship towards them are unavailing. Four of the free men having yesterday pursued the cattle in question, were unable to overtake them, although they got so near to them that they say they saw the interpreter Doman and one Symon, (formerly banished to Robben Island) driving the cattle, &c. As the captain only awaits these despatches, we break off somewhat hastily.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1659. May 17. This morning early we received intelligence that yesterday afternoon the Caepmans' people had stolen from Vasagie's company, 10, and from Roon's, 6 draught or breeding cattle, that they had been pursued by 4 free men, who returned this afternoon, and reported that

(1) For the reply to this among other Despatches *vide infra* Dec. 15, 1659.

the interpreter Doman (who has not been at the Fort for some days) was found among the thieves and drivers-away of the cattle, and had been mortally wounded and killed (geslagen) by their servant who was in charge of the cattle.

May 18. The Commander went out to visit the farms, and on approaching the houses of Otto and Stevens, he learnt that their neighbours, Brinckman's company, beyond the river, had just before had 3 fine cattle driven off, and Vasagie's party one head, that the cattle had been herded by a Dutchman (though, contrary to the order, without a gun) and by a slave, which slave brought the report; and that the interpreter Doman and some Hottentoots had yesterday evening driven off the whole of Brinckman's cattle, but on pursuit with fire arms they had been recovered.

Seeing, therefore, that the thefts, robberies, and insolence of the Caepmans progressively increase, that they have already brought two farms to a stand, and that the rest also would soon be ruined—more particularly as we see that the farmers (whatever warnings they receive to guard their cattle by at least one Dutchman armed with a gun—an expense which the breeding of their cows and 50 ewes will amply repay) are so negligent that even in these perilous times they seldom provide their herd with a gun; in consideration of these things it was arranged, with their general consent, to provide each house with a good soldier, for the express purpose of herding their cattle, namely 4 for the 4 farms on this side of the Liesbeeck, and 5 for those beyond, one also for the Commander's private farm at the Bosheuvel, being in all 10 Company's soldiers, one billeted upon each house, under whose care the cattle will be somewhat safer, and the people also will be more secure in their houses by night against any other attacks by the Hottentoots. The Company's fiscal, sergeant, and corporal, were ordered to make daily rounds to enforce due regularity on the guards. Meanwhile, towards evening, a corporal was sent out with the landsurveyor and 3 soldiers, with three days' provision, secretly to discover whereabouts the Caepmans lay, and what numbers of men and cattle lay together &c. with orders, upon discovering them, to send back 2 men, one of whom should be the surveyor, with a report to us, while the corporal and the other 2 men should remain concealed near their camp, following them, should they decamp, until our further orders; the free men also received a hint, so that, should any thing be found, they might be prepared and ready with their arms, and orders were given to the Company's people that they should quietly make every preparation, &c.

After which the Commander, on coming home, stated these matters to the members of the Council, that they might reflect upon them over night, and be thus enabled to arrive at a more matured conclusion as to what measures should be adopted for the suppression of these robberies, in the manner most serviceable for the Company, and for the public tranquillity; for which purpose, as the free men are chiefly affected by peace and by disquiet, the borgerraden were also summoned.

19. Resolution of Council.—The Council having been convened by the Commander, and the small number of its members having been, for various reasons, increased by the addition of the sergeant and free borgerraden, and a vote having been allowed in this case (as being one of importance) to the fiscal and secretary of the Council, Abraham Gabbema.<sup>(1)</sup> The Commander made the following *harangue*, in order that each might give his advice after due consideration, and that such Resolution might be taken, as the good of the Company's service, and the tranquillity of the free colonists, with respect to the natives of this country, shall seem to call for; and also (in as far as depends upon us) as may be consistent with the honor and approval of God, so that our deliberations may be aided from above with the spirit of true wisdom and of prudence, and may—instead of a punishment—be sanctified with his divine blessing. In whose name then, the said Commander proceeded to submit:—

Firstly,—The malicious robbing, stealing, and other annoyances committed within the few last days by the Caepmans, with the participation of the interpreter Doman, who having gone to Batavia with Mr. Van Goens, and having returned with Mr. Cuneus, has become much too knowing, and is now a much greater plague to us than Herry ever was, being acquainted with all the circumstances of our people, and having also learnt to handle fire arms, which have hitherto, thanks to God, been kept out of his hands at the Cape, although he has persuaded his tribe, that during rain we cannot keep our matches alight, and thus can hardly shoot, as is well known to all.

And further,—besides the annoyances daily suffered by us—that it is the design of the Caepmans to carry off, if possible, the cattle of the Company and the free men, in such dark rainy weather as they imagine will prevent us from shooting, while they, being provided with assagays and bows

<sup>(1)</sup> On the 27th May the unexpected Hottentoot war and the want of Members of Council, from the illness of the sergeant, are the grounds stated for allowing the fiscal a permanent seat in Council, subject to the approval of the Governor General and Council, and for employing a new secretary.

and arrows, could fight as well as the Netherlanders, which Eva fully confirms, warning us to see to it, that we may not find it out too late.

For the Commander having yesterday caused some of the Caepmans' Hottentoots, (who hang about the Fort, pretending that they have nothing to do with the others, though they are nothing but spies) to be asked through Eva what the Caepmans wanted, and whether it would not be well if some of them were to accompany 2 or 3 of our people to the Caepmans, to ask what was the matter, and to try to bring any differences which might be found to exist, to a friendly settlement; these Hottentoots were not to be induced to go there; and Eva afterwards told us distinctly, that Gogosoa, the captain of the Caepmans had tried to prevail upon his people to keep quiet, by asking them whither they would be able to retreat when the Saldanhars come down in great numbers; but that his people, at the instigation of Doman, always spurned this advice, and that they were not inclined to let us have any peace, for they could not even leave their own neighbours and countrymen unmolested. Eva was also of opinion, that if we sent such a friendly mission proposing to make peace, they would think that they had already got the upper hand, an opinion in which they would be confirmed by Doman, and which they would continue to entertain until such time as they had generally felt with severity (*terdegen*) what the Netherlanders could do.

Besides all this and much more, it was also suggested at full length by the Commander, that it should be considered whether—to say nothing of former offences—cause enough had not now been given for a hostile attack upon these Caepmans (in compliance with the request of the free men) and for doing them as much injury as possible; because our honorable masters were of opinion, as expressed in their general letter of the 2nd September, 1658, that (up to that time at least) no sufficing cause had been given.

That such cause had now, in our humble opinion, been given, and that we also deemed our cause just before God, and such as we could answer for to him.

That it should further be taken into consideration, whether the proposed attack would conduce to the true object; namely—not for the sake of the booty of cattle, nor exactly for vengeance or revenge, which belongs to God alone; but in order to be hereafter enabled to live in security and on friendly and familiar terms with the natives of this country; that it is most important that the Company's ulterior objects, of discovery, and of intercourse with the inhabitants of the interior, may not be frustrated by the insecurity of the roads, and by the natives of the interior being alarmed by the attack to be made on the Caepmans, &c.

Also, that no one should persuade himself (with the free men in their late petition) that dispositions are to be improved by hostile measures, for on the contrary they would be more and more exasperated and embittered, and that the Caepmans would endeavour in revenge to do us all the injury they could devise; so that with respect to the interests of the free colonists there were greater difficulties in the matter than they could well conceive, such as the firing of their houses, barns, ripe corn, and the like, which they knew as well as we did, had been already threatened by the Caepmans; and that Doman had said that he had seen the same done by the Bantammers at Batavia; so that this cunning fellow would instigate them thereto, and, being the best informed, would instruct them in every thing, &c.

The Commander accordingly warned all the free men, that it would be very inconvenient to the Company again to reestablish those whom it had once set upon their legs, far less would the Company think of compensating any loss they might hereafter sustain in war, but that each must bear his own burden.

On which all the free men, publicly assembled on the Company's corn land, assured the Commander and the junior merchant Roeloff de Man—in the presence of the free *borgerraden*, and in the name of them all, that, conformably to their petition of the 7th instant, which is inserted in the Journal, they adhered to their declaration of never having contemplated any thing of the kind, still less would they pretend to any claim upon the Company; but that they would take all the danger upon themselves, aye! much rather than live any longer in disquiet, and be plundered by those with whom they only desired to have the most friendly intercourse; that they therefore persisted in their said petition, for it was becoming worse from day to day; they only begged that the Commander and Council would be pleased to assist them with the Company's forces, so that they might act, not only on the defensive, but on the offensive also, that they might be allowed to take revenge, for which purpose they knew themselves to be strong enough, and better able to act offensively, than to defend themselves against their pretended friends.

The Commander and Council (assisted as before mentioned) having carefully weighed and considered all in the premises which required consideration, it was at length unanimously thought

fit and resolved—after much mature and prolonged deliberation, as indeed no other means whatever of attaining quiet and peace with these Cape people could be discovered—that we shall take the first opportunity, as being the best, to attempt suddenly to surprise and attack them with a strong force, taking as many cattle, and as many male prisoners as possible, avoiding at the same time, as much as possible, all unnecessary bloodshed, but keeping the prisoners as hostages, so as thus to hold those who may escape, in check and subjection—in hopes that quiet may thus be restored; the rather as we are assured that the true Saldanhars their enemies, will care as little about them as about Herry, but will come more freely, and deal with us more confidently than before, as these Caepmans have always been found to be the chief preventers of that intercourse.

For the execution of which resolution, orders were given to hold all in readiness, and the Council preferred a prayer to the Almighty that he would be pleased to assist us with His help and blessing.—Amen.

Thus done, &c.

Extracts from the Journal, *continued*.—This Resolution had not been passed an hour, when there came tidings that all Brinckman's cattle (about 30) and all his sheep, (above 70) and also the rest of Vasagie's and Roon's cattle had been taken, and that Brinckman's comrade, Symon Intvelt, after firing his gun at the Hottentoots, had been attacked and miserably murdered by assagays, having fully seven wounds; a slave had also been wounded; Doman was among them, and had himself picked up and carried away Symon's gun. He was pursued by 7 free men, but we fear will not be overtaken, and that the pursuers will run some risk. Orders were instantly given to send some soldiers to the free men's houses, to defend them as much as possible from further disasters, and every preparation was made for the prevention of more mischief, for 4 of the farms are now entirely ruined and brought to a stand still, in the midst of the ploughing and sowing season, to the great injury of the agriculture, &c.

The moment this report arrived at the Fort, all the Hottentoots hereabouts took to flight with wives and children and all.

May 20. All the Company's stock were brought to the Fort, excepting the working oxen, which were left at the corn land to continue the work, and the greater part of the sheep, for which we have no housing here; and as we see that the Caepmans are not to be won by kindness, and that they threaten to take all our cattle before they leave off, and to kill all who try to prevent them, &c. full permission was given to every one to seize or shoot them wherever they are to be found, that is to say those who can be caught near the houses, or are met elsewhere, so that each may stay at home to protect his own property, until other orders are issued for taking the field for that purpose expressly, when our spies return with certain intelligence as to where we can best get at them, to annoy them the most effectually, and at once impress them with a proper panic.

Eva alone stays in the Commander's house, and, seeing and hearing all the preparations that are made—for understanding Dutch well, they are not to be concealed from her—she seems much dejected; she said that those who were still at the Fort yesterday wished to entice her away also, but she preferred staying here, being only fearful that some of Oedaso's people, when coming hither, might be killed. This we assured her we should take care to prevent, but that we had now borne the insolence of the Caepmans too long, and had even on Sunday last requested them, through her, to make peace, which they not only would not accept, but had besides cruelly murdered a free burger in the afternoon, and, in addition to what they had taken before, had carried off more than 70 sheep and 40 cattle; a matter which was most displeasing to the Almighty, when committed by such men as they were (who did not know him) and that God therefore allowed us, not only to offer all possible resistance, but to do them all the injury in our power, in order that, as they would not be influenced by kindness, they might be brought to a better understanding and behaviour by force, to which righteous cause God would lend his support and his aid.

In the evening the spies returned, and reported that they had no where discovered any thing whatever—that is in Hout Bay, Berg Valley, or in any part of the country about this Cape, and that, as might be seen by the growth of the grass, and by its not being trodden down—there had been neither cattle nor encampments in that quarter for the last six months; it therefore appears certain that they have retreated to the country beyond the African Mountains, where they will be as easily caught as the bird that flies. In the evening there came news that all Jan Reynier's cattle also were taken from close by his house, chiefly through his own carelessness, as no one was attending them; he had come to the Fort with his wife, leaving no one at home but his partner and a slave, the cattle having been left out somewhat too late, on the further side of the Fresh River.

Heard also that fully 20 Hottentoots had been seen at the Boshevel on the Commander's land,

about 3½ hours' walk from the Fort, intending to carry off the cattle, but they had no opportunity. More soldiers were therefore sent out to the corn land of the Company, of the free men, and of the Bosheuvel, to take care of what each still had, and all working parties from the wood, &c. were called in, so as to keep securely the Company's cattle, a very fine herd—and which they boast that they will come for in rainy weather.

The seven free men, who pursued Casper Brinkman's cattle last night, were driven back by the Hottentoots who had taken them—about 20 in number—but they had followed very hastily, chiefly armed with pitch forks, only 2 or 3 having guns; thus their own carelessness is chiefly to blame, which the Hottentoots—having perceived it from time to time—know well how to turn to their own advantage; and especially Doman, who encourages them on in every thing, and upon whose person we have therefore placed a reward of 100 guilders if alive, and 50 if dead, also for others of the common robbers, 20 guilders living, and 10 dead, women and children half price; to earn which premiums, several artisans among the free men, and those who have now lost their cattle, intend, and have offered to be employed, that we may try to get hold of the robbers, and particularly of Doman, when it is probable that these robberies will be somewhat checked, and some panic produced, which may God grant.

May 21. Very wet dark stormy weather. Especial prayers were this day offered up to the Almighty, to turn from us his chastening hand, which we now feel severely, in the mortality among our cattle, and the robberies and murders by these barbarous men. Prayers are also to be preferred to-morrow; after which the volunteer free men will go out against the Hottentoots.

Jan Reyniers came to ask leave to bring his wife to the Fort—and the free men of Otto, Stevens, and Harman's parties retired to the Fort with all their sheep and cattle before their wagou—with exception of 6, not daring to stay longer in their houses for fear of fire. The fiscal was out to warn the wives and children of Hendrick Boom and other free men, to retreat in case of need to the redoubt Corenhoop, or even to the Fort. The Company will try to keep their cattle at the Schuyr, and the Commander his, at the Bosheuvel, to the last, as the Hottentoots are eager to get hold of them, and our people are looking out for them in their turn—God grant them courage, so that we may get hold of some rogues. It is most pitiful to witness the flight of the poor farmers from the rye and wheat daily sown, and nearly all in the ground, and much of it showing green. Each farmer is now disposed to keep only 6 oxen at home, to watch for the Hottentoots as much as possible, and in case of need to save as much of their moveables as possible with their wagons and their oxen.

And the better to overtake the Hottentoots when running, in which they are too quick for us, it was resolved to release from irons all the slaves (who are much excited against them, and would gladly eat them)<sup>(1)</sup> and employ them against the Hottentoots with half pikes in the first instance until they get assagays enough.

We are now obliged to have more than 40 men with the flocks and herds at the Fort and Company's Schuyr, besides those sent out for the better defence of the free men; so that there are now at the Fort only a sergeant, a corporal, and 2 men, to keep watch at the gate; all work is at a stand still, and it were to be wished that we had a ship here that we might get some little help. J. V. R.

The burger H. Boom has built a very good house, upon which he has expended all his means, having had 17 or 1800 guilders to his credit, having drawn no wages for nearly 6 years; he now remains at home with his wife, and the 2 soldiers sent to his aid (a little too boldly) resolved to abide the uttermost and to defend their *goet en bloedt*, having 5 children, and many fine cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry, &c. as long as possible, before retreating to the redoubt, whither the wives and children of Jacob Cloeten and Jan Martens have retired, leaving their husbands at home, as before stated, to take care of their houses, and see what it is to come to.

Meanwhile the fiscal was sent out, among the rest, to have a stronger *crael* made at the Company's farm, for all the cattle cannot be kept here for a week, but must graze further off, and cannot be brought every day to the Fort, or kept here, excepting a few of the oldest to slaughter for the

(1) Notwithstanding of two previous notices of cannibal propensities in the newly imported slaves, Mr. V. R. does not appear to be quite serious here; speaking of the feelings of the slaves towards the natives, the original states them to be "seer op deselve *gebeten*, en haar wel willende *eten*." The play which seems to have been intended upon the double meaning of the word *gebeten*, should be considered before forming any definitive judgement upon this instance of the good taste of Mr. V. R. or that of the Angola slaves. The measure was sanctioned by the following Resolution:—

1659. May 21. Resolution of Council.—For the reasons stated in this day's Journal, it is thought fit to release all the slaves from their chains, and employ them also in chasing and overtaking the Hottentoots, they being active and strong, and necessity urgently requiring this course for our better defence; we hope that the Lord will be pleased to grant that it may tend to the best, &c.

garrison, and which must be kept close at hand for slaughter, before they die in the fields, or cannot be fetched alive, or good, from a distance. 30 soldiers were ordered to take care of those, the best cattle, i. e. 20 to guard the Company's cattle, and 10 the free men's, the free inhabitants here at the Fort assisting in keeping the guards and patrols—some volunteers besides have gone out to lie in wait for the Hottentoots; and preparations are made for arming and encouraging, to the same end, the convicts from Batavia (thus earning their freedom) and some slaves, for whom assagays, according to their instructions, are making after the fashion of their own country, which they can manage better than the Hottentoots; orders are also given to take care that the slaves' wives are kept here, to prevent the men from staying away, as they seem much attached to their wives, and will not easily part with them.

May 22. Prayers were offered, according to yesterday's resolution, for God's help and blessing in these perilous and distracted times. Some Hottentoots were again seen near Reynier's and Boomtjen's houses watching the cattle; this wet weather is very favorable for them, as no one can keep his gun dry, which—from Doman's instructions—they know well, and therefore choose such opportunities.

Several of the free men are so timid and panic struck that they fled last night to the redoubt Corenhoop, leaving their houses a prey to the Hottentoots, and on all sides cultivation is at a stand, no one daring to go into the field to plough or do any other work, and that just at the sowing season, so that the sixth part will lie fallow. The fiscal was therefore sent out on the 23rd to awaken a better spirit among them, and to order—1st. Those who had lost their cattle to bring their ploughs, harrows, and other farming implements to the Company's schuyr or the stone redoubt, that they might be secured, and not broken up for the iron, or stolen by the Hottentoots. 2nd. Those who still have cattle, but dare not plough with them, to send them to the schuyr or the Fort to be grazed. 3rd. To warn every one that the supply of match will not last 14 days, and therefore to spare their match as much as possible, for which purpose they must keep lighted charcoal at hand, which is better than portfire? (*poplont*) and gives fire instantly. 4th. That no one shall abandon his house, though he may bring his wife and family, corn and moveables, to the said redoubt or schuyr, for should the Hottentoots perceive this fear and panic among our people, they would become still bolder, and would fire the houses, which must be particularly guarded against. 5th. That the Commander's private farm servants at the Bosheuvel (on the remotest frontier) shall hold out to the last, continuing their farming operations as usual, keeping at the same time a good watch—and his carpenters to make all haste in placing a fixed *corps de garde* against the crael. 6th. That every one shall take good care of what property he has left. 7th. That the parties sent out shall, in the first instance, use every endeavour to get into their hands one or more Hottentoots alive, to be employed *per force* as guides, to enable us with greater certainty to find their camps, and to attack them with a greater force. 8th. All the free men, who are not engaged in farming, to assist personally, and with their wagons and oxen in cutting down and conveying from the wood 800 palisades, of 10 feet length, and thick enough to construct the crael directed to be placed at the schuyr, for the protection of their cattle and property, &c.

The fiscal reported in the evening that Vasagie's people were so much afraid, that though they had a soldier with them, they would no longer stay in their houses at night; and, having taken an account of each person's loss, he found each to have been robbed, and to have retained as follows:

Jan Reynier's partnership, 2 owners, lost 6 draught oxen, 12 milch cows, 6 heifers, total 24 head—having retained 1 cow, 1 calf, 1 Cape and 5 Dutch sheep. Brinckman's company, besides the death of his partner Symon Intvelt, robbed of 10 draught oxen, 7 milch cows, 2 calves, total 19, and 67 [sheep?] having kept only 5 sheep and 1 calf.

Vasagie's company, 2 owners, robbed of 8 draught oxen, 6 milch cows, and 3 calves, total 17.

Roon's company, consisting of 3 partners, being the newest free men, who have not yet ploughed a foot of land, robbed of 6 oxen and 2 cows, total 8—kept only 2 cows.

So that the Caepmans have robbed those 4 companies of 68 cattle, 67 sheep, and thus entirely crushed their farming; their loss cannot be made up this year out of the Company's present stock, which chiefly consists of cows, and young bulls, still unfit for work, &c. . . . .

24. Some Hottentoots were seen watching for the Commander's cattle at the Bosheuvel, 2 or 3 of them might have been caught, had not one of the free adventurers, who was lying behind some bushes, shown himself too soon, when they saved themselves by flight; for they are too fast for our people, and are to be got at by stratagem alone.

25. The Commander went round all the free men's houses and gave orders for the first parade of the Cape *schutters* . . . . . to take place every Sunday after service, when one of the Council shall

attend and serve out to each man a glass of brandy before dismissing them, as many backward characters may be enticed by the brandy.....

May 26. Arrived the *bootjen* from St. Helena, bringing, instead of 22 tons of rice shipped for this place at Batavia, only  $2\frac{1}{2}$ —so that of 60 tons we have got but 19—and besides, the Caepmans and tobacco thieves with their adherents have very suddenly attacked us, &c.

27. Dark rainy weather; news came that the free sawyer L. Cornelis, of Sevenhuisen, was attacked yesterday evening in the wood by 50 or 60 Hottentoots, but only wounded in the neck with an assagay, for, on his servants' coming up with guns the Hottentoots fled: they could not catch nor wound any of them, they ran so fast—but they kept 5 assagays that were thrown at them..... The wound was trifling; about 30 Hottentoots were near the Bosheuvcl, but being pursued by some men with guns, and some slaves with assagays, they escaped. 28. Rainy weather; no Hottentoots showed themselves.

29. Fine weather; Steven Janz came to report that some people had broken into his sheep house in the night, but on being discovered, had fled. Soon after came Hendrik Boom, saying that 17 of them had last night broken into his cattle crael, and were driving out cattle, when, on his coming out with his servants, they fled; the darkness prevented them from making any use of their guns; they found the apparatus which the natives use to make fire, from which they conclude that it was their design to fire the house, from which God preserve us, for, as there is in many of the houses much unthrashed corn, the loss would be irreparable. In the afternoon a soldier was brought from the Bosheuvcl, with two assagay wounds in the calf of his leg, he reported that about 11 A. M. 3 or 400 Hottentoots attacked 4 of them, who were guarding the Commander's 25 cattle at the Bosheuvcl, and after half an hour's fight, had carried off 11 cattle; Doman led the Hottentoots and threw 5 assagays at said soldier; they could not wound any of the Hottentoots, as they managed to avoid the shot, and got off with the said booty. Thus the Commander's private farming on the furthest frontier is also in vain, 25 morgen of land there sown with fine white wheat, and more than 1200 vines planted on the hill are quite ruined, &c.

30. In conformity with yesterday's resolution,<sup>(1)</sup> a good party was made up and sent out under command of the sergeant, with 20 of the worst cattle, to be grazed, under 1 or 2 sentries, near the Bosheuvcl, and among the farms over the river, while the party should hide themselves before day among the bushes and shrubs whence the natives usually make their first attack.

31. The Commander went out with 4 horses and 6 soldiers to visit the several farms, and to show himself, with so small a force, near the place where our ambuscade lay, hoping that the enemy would be induced to come, as they had given out that they meant to look out for the Commander, thinking that then, they would have the mastery over the whole establishment; but on arriving at some distance behind the mountain, it became very dark with light rain, he therefore turned back and put it off till another opportunity. The free men, on seeing the preparations making for their defence, by planting guns, &c. seemed to be somewhat inspired, and ready to lend their oxen to drag the guns to the spots fixed, and also to assist in cutting palisades for the intended strong crael.....under promise, however, of payment for their trouble, for in these disturbed times we want hands for this and other work.

June 2. Resolution of Council.—Sergeant Thys returned this morning about 9, reporting that last evening 50 or 60 Hottentoots (led by Doman and others who were known) had come rather near to where he had concealed his people in three ambuscades, and apparently he could have given a good account of them, &c. had not his men been prematurely discovered through the carelessness of the free burger H. Remanjenne, and the design was consequently frustrated. It was therefore resolved to resume the attempt, the sooner the better, and for that purpose, that the Commander with Captain Foran, of the Huylen, the Fiscal, 3 or 4 horses and some soldiers, should go out beyond the Bosheuvcl, as if for the purpose of a visit to inspect the farms of the colonists—to which visits the

(1) 1659. May 29. Extract of Resolution of Council.

For the better resistance of the present depredations of the Hottentoots, it is resolved, upon mature deliberation, to employ all the free men, who cannot cultivate the ground, at 10 stivers *per diem*, so as thus to increase our strength as much as possible, and to be enabled to send out some parties to form ambuscades, &c. provided that this arrangement shall have effect only while the service of the Company shall require it, and while the said depredations continue. It is also thought fit, for the greater intimidation of the robbers, to place 2 5-pounder guns at the Company's Schuyr, with which we may also command the dwellings beyond the Liesbeek? (overluyden) and a 2-pounder on the redoubt Corenhoop, where there is now a similar gun, so as to protect—to the North, the farms of Hendrick Boom and Jan Reiniers, and that of Stevens to the South. Also a 4-pounder at the Bosheuvcl, for the better protection of the sawyers; and 20 of the worst cattle shall be sent out with the said parties, so as to be left, slightly guarded, as if at pasture, to entice the Hottentoots to approach the places where our men will place themselves in ambush.....

Hottentoots are accustomed—to return in the evening with the same number of men, and to let the serjeant stay out again with 18 or 20 of the best soldiers, chosen from among the Company's servants and the free men, who will be sent out to the Bosheuvel secretly at night, and be placed near where 30 of the worst cattle, herded by 5 men, are placed as a decoy, to deceive the Hottentoots in one way or other, and if possible let them at length feel a severe blow; for, with our present small force, nothing can be done to them in any other manner.

It is also resolved to add to this party some of the most active slaves, armed with assagays, so that they may try to overtake some of the Hottentoots in their flight, and get hold of them alive, &c.

June 3. The Commander and his attendants went out, for the purpose mentioned in yesterday's resolution, and learnt from the cattle guard that they had seen the said Hottentoots still at the Bosheuvel, and had kept up a conversation with them, by shouting, for they kept out of gun shot; Doman and other known rogues were the first among them; they said they did not wish to do the Dutch any harm, they only wanted to have all the cattle. Caspar Brinckman, who has been robbed of all his cattle, stated, that he also had spoken with the robbers, who asked him whether he had got any more cattle from the Commander, for in that case they would soon have them also, and would drive them to their camp, which was so far off and so well concealed that we should not soon find it: we must therefore take the greater pains to try to catch some of the rogues, who shall be compelled to show us their camp, so that we may contrive to give them a good fright, for it is evidently necessary that they should be intimidated.

7. Wet weather as before, to the prevention of our operations; our people who are out against the plundering Hottentoots can effect nothing, neither can they effect any thing against us, thus, during the whole week, they have been vainly trying to get at our cattle, and we have been trying, vainly also, to get at their persons; but we will hope that we may once fall in with them in fine weather, and that the Lord God will be with us. (1)

(1) On this day (June 7) was passed the following Resolution of Council:—Whereas it has pleased the Almighty recently to visit our transgressions, with destructive sickness among the live stock of the Company, and with depredations upon that of the free colonists by the Hottentoots, through the sanguinary war, most unexpectedly waged upon us by the savage men of this country, to our great injury and oppression, and to the utter ruin of some of the farmers; although we always have been, and still are in every way disposed to live on terms of the greatest friendship with the said people. Seeing, however, that our wishes were unavailing, and that we were compelled to take up arms, to oppose their violence—in which there is hitherto no abatement. It is therefore thought fit to hold a service of fasting and prayer every Wednesday at 4 P. M. to implore that the wrath of the Almighty may be turned away from us, and that he may be mercifully pleased to extend to us his blessing, and his help against these our enemies, so that we may obtain and maintain the superiority over them, (*victorie crygende ende behoudende*) and may then renew our former friendly intercourse. This shall be intimated to the congregation after sermon, on the ensuing Sunday, so that each may prepare himself, and proceed at the appointed time to the usual place for holding divine service.

#### 1659. June 4. Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to Governor-General and Council, Batavia.

Since our last letter of the 17th May, sent by the *Bode*, which vessel left this roadstead on the 18th of the same month, matters have proceeded so far with the Hottentoots, that they have come to open war, having very suddenly assailed us with robberies and murder, so that all the 4 farms are ruined and brought to a stand. It thus appears (God mend it!) somewhat too late, that the hopes hitherto entertained, that they might be won to a better understanding by kindness, have been vain, and that this is not to be effected, except by force and through intimidation.

In order to prevent the cultivation from being entirely annihilated—for they have already ruined the greater portion of the farmers, and forced many to abandon their dwellings) we have addressed ourselves with all diligence to our defence, as your Honors will perceive in the continuation of our Journal, since the departure of the *Bode*, and in the Resolutions therein inserted; but we have scarcely been able to effect any thing more than to defend the cattle, buildings, and moveables which were still left to us in the country; for between 30 and 40 men, at least, were required to protect the Company's large cattle, about 300 in number, and about 500 sheep here, besides those on the Island, (among which there has been a great mortality); besides 10 men necessarily sent to protect the live-stock and houses of the free farmers; and even with this force, the cattle are far from safe, as they require such frequent change of pasture, that they must be daily grazed at least 2 or 3 hours' distance from the Fort, and should a few Hottentoots venture to break through the guards so far that they can only contrive to get among the cattle,—the cattle are quite lost to us, for the Hottentoots are so swift of foot that our men cannot possibly overtake them; we have therefore added to the cattle guard some nimble slaves, whose irons have been taken off; they have been armed with assagays, and we hope that as they are more accustomed to us than before, they will behave with fidelity—they have also a great dislike for the Hottentoots, but still it is an experiment—tried out of necessity, and is not unattended with danger.

Mr. Van Goens, who inspected this place while on his homeward voyage, was also satisfied that 30 or 40 soldiers were required to guard the cattle, and that even with that number of attendants, the cattle would be but insufficiently secured from these nimble Hottentoots, (as may be seen by his letter addressed to your Honors from St. Helena, in June 1655, of which an extract was communicated to us); a fact of which the Caepmans and their adherents alone have now most completely convinced us; contrary to the ideas and statements of some persons, who always thought and said, that we could manage them by compulsion, like children.

This is true enough, if we had them once more so completely in the snare as they were 3 or 4 weeks ago, but so long as they avoid that, and keep their cattle camp so well concealed, or so far off, as they, in all probability, will now do, to prevent us from

June 11. The boat sailed for Dassen Island to fetch oil, and also seals' flesh for the slaves.

15. Wet weather; in the evening the Commander, the Fiscal, and another on horseback, went out with eight soldiers, on foot; when we had gone a good half hour from the Fort we learnt that, not a quarter of an hour before, Hendrick Boom had been robbed of all his cattle, 30 in number, and 34 sheep, by about 20 well known Hottentoots, headed by Doman; that the cattle were grazing in the nook, on the slope of the Wintberg, under the charge of 3 men, one being armed with a musket, and 2 with short firelocks, of whom one was wounded in the shoulder, one only in his sleeve, and the third was killed by 5 assagay wounds; we thought to overtake them with the horses, but they drove the cattle so quickly over the flat, that we could not once get sight of them; so the Commander returned late at night, without effecting any thing, having here and there issued orders to try whether we cannot catch them at night in some of the passes and avenues which they must necessarily use, as they thus contrive to hide themselves, and wherever they see but few people and a fair chance, they carry off the cattle; this is the fault, chiefly, of the farmers themselves, and particularly of this Hendrick Boom, because he will always, contrary to our orders, graze his cattle so far from the others in these perilous times. They even

getting at them, they will be enabled to do us infinite injury with their small parties in different quarters; that is to say to the cattle, and the country farmers; as to the Fort, with God's help, it will not be in so much danger, if we could only keep 40 or 50 men to defend it; at present we have not a fourth part of that number, as the greater part of the garrison are wanted to oppose the Caepmans and tobacco thieves in the country; for by these two tribes alone, having together from 6 to 700 men capable of bearing arms, we conceive that we have been attacked, and against whom we could do little more than guard the passes, and take care of what was left us; we have also exerted ourselves in assisting the plundered farmers to sow the land which was ploughed last year. Doman, our late interpreter, threatens to have the crop fired as soon as it becomes ripe, but with God's help we trust things may improve before that time, for we think of drawing some reinforcements for a short time from any large ships that may arrive, employing the weaker people in defending the Fort and farms, and taking the field with our old hands. This addition to our numbers will leave us very scarce of food, as we have this year landed no provisions from the ships that have passed. . . . . But if the Lord grants a good crop and preserves it from being burnt by Hottentoots, it will go a great way; still we trust that you will be pleased to supply us with a stock of rice—in case of accidents, so that we may not be reduced to absolute want; this would be especially necessary to encourage the free men, whose spirits have been somewhat depressed by the Hottentoo war; while we are doing all in our power to encourage them—with actual assistance as well as by words, and by proceeding vigorously with the Commander's farm, (instead of abandoning it) though a great portion of the cattle have been stolen—hoping that the Lord will send us some change for the better, for otherwise a continuance of this war will form a serious obstacle to the advancement of agriculture among the free colonists; and this would be a great pity, for the grain crops as well as the vine—and all kinds of fruit, including the olive—appear to thrive well.

No one has remained with us in our houses, or in the Fort, but the interpreter Eva, and she distinctly alleges that it is all the fault of the late interpreter Doman, and that he has thus acquired much respect among his Cape people, and receives the greater part of the plunder, by which (as in the case of the pretensions of Herry) he will try to play the part of a little king, and to increase his numbers by the addition of all the banditti.

Eva seems, however, to assure us that none of the true Saldanhars are in the least concerned in the war, and that her sister's husband, Oedaso, the 2nd chief of the Cochoquas, will send some people to us, as soon as the weather improves, to learn whether we suspect that he is concerned, and that such messengers will be distinguishable from others by their bringing cattle with them; this is very desirable, not only for the continuance of our old trade with them, but that, through her interpretation we may form a closer alliance with them, &c. Upon this, however, little dependence is to be placed, as the robbers attack us in greater numbers every day.

Those who have now made war upon us are, the tribe shortly named Caepman, but in the Hottentoo language, Goringhaincoina, under the fat captain Gogosoa, with from 2 to 300 fencible men.

His adherent Ankaisoa, a small party of people, but very rich, especially in sheep; who, upwards of 4 years ago, received a great kindness from us, our surgeon having cured a hurt he got in the knee, by the bite of a lion, and from which he is still lame; with this man, who is generally encamped close to the Caepmans, Doman generally lives, and they have called in the aid—independently of all the strandloopers and vagabonds of Watermans, Herry's late people—of the tobacco thieves also, a tribe called Gorachouqua, under their chief Choura, who has alone fully 6 or 700 fencible men, and is tolerably rich in large and small cattle. This tribe was recently at variance with Caepman and his allies, and did him much injury, which frequently happens, until Caepman, who is always the weakest, begs for peace.

Those are the three who have now made war upon us, threatening not to leave off while either the Company or the free men have a single cow or sheep; as appears from their doing all possible injury to the sawyers, and their coming on with stronger parties every night. They have already murdered a worthy burger, almost killed a boy, wounded the sawyer Leendert Cornelis (known to Mr. Van Almond) in the neck, and some others with assagays, which they manage with great dexterity, and lying concealed behind thickets and bushes, suddenly attack our people in every quarter, and render the roads so unsafe that the farmers can scarcely venture to go anywhere except in strong parties, well armed; but had we received so many horses that we could always keep 20 good riders in the country, we could keep the course clear, and well protect the present circle, (circul) of the colonists (which does not extend further than the Bosheuevel, about 3 hours' walk from the Fort) against these banditti; as Mr. Van Almond will have fully perceived, who is well aware that our ideas of further extension go no further, as we conceive that within that space there may be found quite as much arable land as the objects of our Honorable Masters can demand; and that the extent described is required for the simple purpose of grazing the Company's cattle, (while as numerous as now, or as much more so as we hope to see them) and that extent at least, for we are often obliged to send them further, when the soldiers who guard them serve at the same time to protect the colonists; and so long as these robberies and disturbances by the Hottentoots continue, we much fear that with less than 110 or 120 or more men in garrison here, it will not be possible to keep the work going on, and to oppose these Hottentoots, *per memorie*. . . . .

force the soldiers who are given to each of them to guard their cattle, to herd them apart; otherwise they would have been strong enough to defend each other, for 10 of the Company's men are ordered to attend on them, and they have 10 of their own, thus 20 in all, within musket shot of each other, and 6 men besides who attend the Company's sheep and working oxen; and had they not separated, they would not have suffered this disaster; but it seems that each prefers his own inclination to well considered orders, through which chiefly Hendrick Boom has lost his sheep and cattle, and his cultivation and dairy is, God better it! in the dust.

June 17. Just after 12, Doman made an attack with from 50 to 60 Hottentoots upon the Company's cattle, and those of Harman's company; it was during a very dark and severe shower of rain, when one could not see 5 *roe*, close to the Company's schuyr, between the Company's orchard and the bridge opposite to Harman's houses. Harman, whose cattle were nearest the bridge, got them over it, and saved them, but 29 of the Company's were taken away, and 4 driven to death, and our men, from the wetness of the weather, could only get 2 or 3 shots at the Hottentoots, the rogues managed to avoid the balls—as they can do most cleverly—and they fled with the cattle at such a rate, up the acclivity of the Wintberg,<sup>(1)</sup> and then down again over the Brakke River, somewhat to the North of Jan Reynier's dwelling, that none of our men, nor of the free men, all of whom were on their legs, could get up in time to intercept them there, or any where else; and had not our people been very quickly up, we should have lost the whole herd, for at first there were fully 20 Hottentoots among the cattle, and the rest placed themselves in battle array to keep our men off; but as they managed to fire, notwithstanding the rain, the Hottentoots dared not stand, but were put to flight by our people, and the greater portion of the cattle, all but 29, retaken; and, had it been dry weather they would have all been retaken, and probably some of the Hottentoots shot besides; our men could only perceive, that one Hottentoot threw away his assagays, and that another, after a shot was fired, fell so that he rolled over and over 3 or 4 times down the hill; but whether he rose again of himself, or was carried off by some of his companions they could not say: the other saved himself by flight, so we cannot ascertain whether he is wounded severely or slightly. This statement is according to the report of the fiscal, from the information he collected, having been sent thither upon the first intelligence.

19. The crael at the Schuyr having been completed with thick trees, and posts planted side by side, like a palisade, so that the cattle can be secure at night; all the Company's cattle, and most of the sheep were sent thither, and all the free men's stock also.....as the pasture at the Fort would not suffice for them all, and being all there together, they will be guarded by about 40 men, besides the parties out here and there lying in wait.

20. Resolution of Council.—As it is hoped that by the measures last adopted, the cattle which still remain to us (among them many fine young oxen, that will next year be fit for the plough) may be well protected, and that a party of 30 or 40 men may be mustered besides, in order to pay a visit to the Caepmans at their encampments, the situation of which, up to this day, we have been unable to discover, as we have secured no prisoner who might be induced by compulsion or otherwise to point it out. It is therefore, after long deliberation, finally resolved, to fetch Herry from the Island, and to employ him as aforesaid, (well secured) amusing him by fine promises, without any intention of fulfilling them, (onder beloffte van goude bergen, sonder meninghe van effecten) for which purpose, as the weather was fine, the rowing boat was sent thither as soon as the Council was over.

Thus done, &c.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK. R. DE MAN. A. GABBEMA. G. VAN CAMPEN, Secretary.

Immediately on the Council rising, the fiscal went out on horseback according to daily practice, to see that all was in proper order, and, on coming to the angle of the Wintberg, one of the fisher's servants ran up the hill from the river, to apprise him that some Hottentoots had shown themselves there, though he could not say how many, and that they were advancing quickly; the fisher's wife had meanwhile fled to the redoubt Duynhoop, which was close by, whence she brought the intelligence to us at the Fort; on which all the necessary preparations were made for defence, and the Commander, looking out from the roof of the *Cat*, saw them, and the fiscal with the fisher's servants going up to them, they seemed about 20 in number. On this some musketeers were sent out—and also the groom on horseback; but before they had gone  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the way, we could see through the telescope that the fiscal was coming with them in this direction round the high sand hills of Salt River; we thought that they had taken him prisoner, but on their reaching the Fort, we learnt, God be thanked, that it had turned out more fortunately, and according to the constant predictions

(1) Now called Devils Hill.

of Eva—namely :—That they were 7 persons with 15 sheep, sent expressly by her brother in law, the chief of the powerful Cochoquas, who, after the usual greetings, made the following harangue, to wit :—First. That their said lord presented to us his assurances of firm and unalterable peace and closer friendship, although Caepman had tried to detach him from us ; that they and the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, had some weeks ago, just before the last stormy weather, sent to him and his *confrater*, Ngonomoa, presents of brass and tobacco, and asked for his assistance, or for permission to remove into the interior, to escape being further injured by the Dutch, or having their people confined in the Fort ; saying much harm of us, to lower us in his esteem, incite him against us, &c. but that they, Oedasoia and Ngonomoa, not believing the Caepmans, &c. despised and rejected their presents, and sent them back, although Ngonomoa, (being rather covetous) would gladly have accepted them. They had also called home all their people from among the Gorachouquas, so that they might suffer no injury when the Dutch might attack that tribe. We answered that that was very prudent, and very pleasing to us, as it would have given us great pain, if any of them had sustained any injury among those rogues, &c.

They proceeded to state that Ngonomoa had suffered himself to be so far persuaded, or intimidated by the Caepmans, that he had some hesitation about sending people to the Fort, warning Oedasoia to take care how he acted, &c. that the two chiefs had differed so much on the subject, that Oedasoia told the other to go away with his share of people and cattle, and that he would take care of himself, &c. that he was sufficiently old and wise, and did not need instruction from Ngonomoa when he should make war or peace, &c. and that they then separated ; Ngonomoa being inclined to watch the termination of the dispute, and keep out of the way, not in any way assisting the Caepmans and Gorachouquas, but, if all went well, proposing to trade with the Dutch as before.

But Oedasoia was, at the instance of Eva, (from what she had often said of us) resolved to send some people to the Cape to hear how matters stood, and whether the Commander was seriously disposed to make war upon the Caepmans, &c. so that he could depend on him, and then talk further with each other on the mode of ruining them ; with that object, and to give him the greater confidence, he requested that his wife's sister, Eva, and some Dutch, might return to him with his people, promising to take care that not a hair of their heads should be injured, but that he would bring 10 or 12 houses close by, under the Leopard's Berg, behind the Salt Pans, and would send his greatest and favorite wife, Eva's sister, to the Fort with our people, and a strong escort, to convey to us words of comfort from his own lips ; that he would say, for his own part, that when both joined against them, the Caepmans and tobacco thieves should not be much longer able to make any disturbance ; we should only take care that they stole from us as few cattle as possible ; as to those already gone, we should give ourselves no concern, as he believed our loss would be repaid twice over ; and he would, besides, sell us so many that we should not be in want. He was only delighted that we had become the enemies of the Caepmans ; and hoped that we might never think of making peace with them again, as he on his side never could do, because those rogues were in the habit of never remaining long at peace, and could not live satisfied without robbing and murdering, that they were always trying unexpectedly to surprise one tribe, or another, when at the weakest. This they had once done to him, Oedasoia, when he had been defeated by other tribes from the interior, and when he lay, with his few remaining people and cattle, in his houses, wounded and helpless, or was scattered in flight, and concealed here and there—then it was that Caepman not only carried off the greater portion of his remaining cattle, but also slew and cruelly murdered all who could not offer resistance (this Eva had often told us) down to women and children inclusive, they even ripped open the pregnant women, and trod the immature fruit under foot ; which event happened shortly before our arrival at the Cape, and he could never forget it ; but having recently recovered his former strength, and those wounds being healed, he would have paid them off, if he had not suspected that we were in close alliance with them, as we were residing here upon their land, where he now hoped to live with us in friendship, in place of those wicked creatures, and to have free access to trade with the Dutch. We said that such would be very agreeable to us. These ambassadors were well entertained, and the embassy gave great encouragement to all the burgers and free farmers, who now perceived some prospect of procuring enough of other cattle—but to resume the narrative—

These ambassadors also said that Oedasoia had collected some Rhinoceros horns for us, and that he had caught a young horse, intending to have sent it alive to the Commander, but it had been, unexpectedly, rather too deeply wounded by an assagay, and had died ; but that he hoped to get another, or more, which could not be so soon done now, in consequence of the wound received in his elbow from the lion, by which (in their words) he was forced to keep the house like a woman : as

to elephants' tusks, when he had spoken further with us, and made a firm alliance, he should, at a convenient opportunity, do his best, and send some people into the interior for the purpose, &c.

They were told that if Oedaso, their lord, wished to come to the Fort, a wagon should be sent for him, and a proper lodging furnished, in order that he might be cured by our surgeons, with whatever entertainment of eating and drinking he might prefer, &c. this Eva told them, and they said that when they returned to him with our people, and with her, they would mention it to him and impress on him our kind offer.

They were asked, through Eva, if they would *empassant* point us out Caepman's camp, that we should send with them so many soldiers, that we hoped at once to give Caepman a great overthrow, which would, at the same time, give Oedaso a sufficient proof as to our being in earnest: they replied that they had no orders to do that, but indeed to say to us, among the rest, that we may rest assured that Oedaso, on hearing their report, would find means enough of giving us information and guides, in order to accomplish the total ruin of his old, and our new enemies; that we should meanwhile only take good precautions against any further injury, and have a little patience, without being in too great a haste to take the field against them. They also said (when shown the great assagay of Dornan and some others which we had got in various *rencontres*) that they had now seen proofs enough, and they leapt up, apparently from joy, on seeing it; they said also that Oedaso was grieved to the heart that those rogues should have carried off the cattle which he had so kindly sold to us; but that we must have patience, and harden our hearts against them as hard and implacably as his was hardened, for his heart would never relent towards the Caepmans, but remain like iron. That when Oedaso did [said?] that, they knew well that he had some design in his mind, and would soon disclose it to us, and satisfy us that the rogues would be quickly disposed of, and that, through his friendship and alliance, we should have full satisfaction, with a quiet trade, and should live as peacefully as could be desired.

At night we heard that the Hottentots had tried to break into the house of the borger Otto, in the night, and to murder all in it, but that they fled on being fired at. Otto was most unfortunately shot in the leg with 5 balls, from the same gun, by his partner Rosendaal. The fiscal and surgeon were sent out to dress the wound, and for further information.

Yesterday afternoon the row boat came to the pier very early with Herry, but as Oedaso's people were here, and as Eva knew nothing of his arrival or of his having been sent for, we directed, for several reasons, that without landing, he should be forthwith taken back to the Island; so that this scamp must have recently undergone a variety of sensations, of anxiety, and of joy; for yesterday when he first heard, from the crew of the *Schaapjacht*, of the events with Caepman, he pretended to be very sick; and immediately after, seeing a boat coming expressly for him, he seemed in the agonies of death; seeing our people produce the clothes, shirt, coat, and hat for him to put on, he thought he was quite restored to favor; but, when he reached the pier, and found that he was to be instantly sent back, his conjectures must be left to imagination. The sheep at the Island, which had exceeded 500, had all died but 100. . . . there has been some mortality in the sheep here also—though not so much, but we have suffered more from the robbery of the Hottentots; it would seem that it has pleased the Lord to visit us, for some time back, with affliction from all sides, but we hope soon once more to receive his blessing.—Amen.

June 21. The said messengers asked to speak with the Commander and his Council again, and in a private room, that they might make a further disclosure of their master's commands; and their desire having been acceded to, they thus began again.

"Oedaso has ordered us to propose to the Dutch captain, that he shall never more consent to a peace or a treaty with the Caepmans, or with the tobacco thieves," on this it was answered, that if Oedaso meant as sincerely towards us, as we to him, we would make that promise. They replied, "That's good, and we assure you out of his mouth, that he has no other intention than to help to destroy the Caepmans entirely, which they have fully earned from both sides," they repeated what they said yesterday, and further, that whenever any of our people had visited them in the interior, with the Caepmans for guides, the latter had always asked Oedaso to deliver the Dutch, and in particular the late ensign Harwarden, into their hands; but that he had told them, they were rogues, and that it was his wish, on the contrary, that they should bring the Dutch home without injuring a hair of their garments.

That the Caepmans were particularly mortified by the Commander sending Oedaso presents by a wagon, which they and their adherents would fain prevent by a war, but, if we were resolved never to make peace with them, except with the concurrence of Oedaso, there was a chance of laying a snare for them all, so that not a single individual should escape.

We said "yes," and to make them still more inclined towards us, we told them that now it was compulsory upon us not to fail to ruin the Caepmans; that, otherwise, our God of the heavens, whom Eva also had now been taught to know, and of whom the said robbers neither knew, nor desired to know any thing whatever, would punish us, because the blood of his people, which these rogues had so murderously shed, cried to him for vengeance, and that we were bound to take such an interest in the matter, that we must pursue them without intermission.

They answered, "that is the word Oedasoá expected from the Commander, and he therefore sent us hither in his name, and also to make it known that all the natives, to a great distance inland, have heard so much of the goodness of the Dutch, that all are only anxious to see them or come near to them; and that the Caepmans have always endeavoured by every means to keep them off," but now that they had heard this word from the Commander, we should find that every one would try to bring us every product of the country—if they only knew what we would have—the whole way to the Chobonas inclusive, where also, they said, the name of the Dutch was favorably known. On this it was answered, that we had long tried to find out so great a lord, in order to form an alliance with him, and that we would willingly furnish any thing in the way of trade that could be desired by him, or by any of the inhabitants of the whole country; they need but think of what they desired, and whatever we could not procure from Holland, we could fetch in ships from India, and all parts of the world.

Here the ambassadors observed that this was what Oedasoá had long wished for, but had always been misled by the Caepmans; that it was now his intention, upon hearing the said word of the Commander, to come here with his camp and live here, instead of Caepman, and to furnish us with as many cattle as we wished, so that he might thankfully enjoy those benefits (*deucht*) which the Caepmans had so long ungratefully shared, and which they thus villainously (though consistently, as the messengers said, with their character) repaid with robbery and murder.

That when Oedasoá came to live close by, he would perhaps come in person to visit the Commander, to enjoy the kind treatment of the Dutch, like two brothers of one heart and soul. This was they said Oedasoá's feeling. And now that all was sufficiently settled, they requested to be dismissed immediately, with a wagon, and as many people as the Commander thought fit to send, so that when the embassies had taken place on both sides, we might proceed to settle the mode of attacking Caepman, whether in conjunction, or each in separate quarters.

We gave them to understand, through Eva, that the fiscal had gone out for a wagon, and for the people whom they wished to have with them; but they insisted on departing forthwith, lest Oedasoá should be too long in suspense; on representing to them, however, the impossibility of being ready before to-morrow morning, as our people were all out in different quarters looking out for the Caepmans, and could not be at home before night, that the wagons also were out at the corn field, and that we wished to send Oedasoá a present, becoming so great a man, by the hands of a person who could speak to him in our name—they seemed to be pleased, and suffered themselves to be persuaded to stay until morning; and were meanwhile well entertained with food, drink, and every kindness:—God grant that they may be as sincere as we are, and then indeed this negotiation may tend to something good for the Company; for these people tell us that we have only to mention what we want, and, if it is in any way attainable, they will do their best to fetch it for us, be it where it may, and that they will also do all they can to protect our people when travelling in the interior, &c.

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1659. June 21. Resolution of Council.—Seeing that there is no reason to doubt, from the negotiation with Oedasoá's emissaries, that the said chief of the Cochoquas, or true Saldanhars, acts uprightly with the Company, according also to the opinions entertained of him by every one from the very first—he is now encamped with many thousand men about N. E. from this, straight across the bay, beyond the wreck of the *Haerlem*, and about half a day's journey off.—

Considering also that it is absolutely necessary to accept his offer of a closer and firmer alliance, and not to entertain the least idea of rejecting it, or of allowing the messengers to depart without an assurance of our disposition in that respect; as well because his force is too great for us to oppose, as that war with him would be too expensive for the Company; for we see already, that, with all the Company's force, and that of the free men, we cannot prevent the murders and robberies committed by these two small tribes, the Caepmans and the tobacco thieves; and therefore it would be very imprudent to bring more enemies upon our shoulders, but is most necessary that we should make friends, particularly with those who have always conducted themselves discreetly, and from whom the Company has always procured the greatest number of cattle by friendly traffic—and who, should they see their messengers (who have come to us confidently and at great peril during this time of war) sent back, except with due respect and the desired communication—and that the Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas alone could thus annoy us—could, with their innumerable forces, reduce us to much greater difficulties, and give us something very different to do, aye, so much so that not only could no one live in any detached situation in the country, but we could not work with safety in the Company's gardens here, nor fetch any firewood—which we have to bring from a distance—and for other reasons, too long to detail.

It is therefore, in consideration of these and other important and urgent reasons—resolved and appointed, after very full

June 22. About 8 A. M. our party, 13 in number, set out with Oedaso's ambassadors and Eva, with various articles as a present, in a wagon drawn by 6 oxen—they were escorted to beyond the Brak River by the fiscal and 2 mounted men, who are daily out watching the paths of our enemies. God grant that the said chief (*Heere*) may be sincere, and that our party may return uninjured, with the desired communication.

23. In the evening, long after the gate was shut, our party returned from Oedaso, with 6 commissioners sent by him, among them his sister's son, and the interpreter Eva. The sergeant reported that the presents had been most thankfully received, that some people had been sent a good distance from the camp to meet the party; and that on learning our favorable disposition, Oedaso had desired them to say—striking at the same time his hand against his breast, as if to catch at his heart—“see there! it is impossible to pull this heart of flesh out of my bosom, but, were this possible, I would send it to the Commander; let him take to him, however, the soul which it contains, that it may be united with his own, so that they may no more be parted; and say that I intend soon to visit him, that our hearts may be welded together like two pieces of iron, and so hardened that no power in the world can break or cleave them asunder.”

And as to the plundering Goringhaiquas and Gorachoquas, he was rejoiced that we could now perceive that they were nothing but rogues and banditti, that it was his particular province and vocation to punish such people, that he should consult with his Council—(being some of the oldest of his people) and with the Commander face to face, and would inform him how they were to be caught, as having more knowledge of the localities of the country and the nature of the people, which knowledge he would impart to us, and instruct us fully. The sergeant having stated, among other things, that all that we wanted was the assistance of 1 or 2 of his people, to point out to us where the enemy was to be found, when, with God's help, we knew how to subdue them; he replied very briefly, (being a man of few words, but of remarkably quiet civil manners, gansch weynigh van woorden: maar een bysonder stil geciviliseert man) “That is good; the Commander need not be so hasty, but exert a little patience, when I come to him I shall tell him all, and give him such good advice that he will be satisfied that a little delay will cause no loss, but will produce the greater advantage and victory over the robbers.” Upon this he very civilly desired that our people, who had only arrived there this morning—would set out, and having presented them with 2 sheep for food, he gave them a hasty dismissal—Eva and 6 of his people accompanying them without arms, and having only sticks in their hands, as proof that he entrusted them entirely to our protection.

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deliberation, to accept the said Oedaso's offer of a closer and firmer alliance, with expressions of our satisfaction, and to accede to his request, that we would allow his wife's sister, Eva, (whom the Goringhaiquas had said that we kept confined in chains) to return to him with the messengers, accompanied by as many of our people (who would show the same trust in him as his messengers had shown in us) as we chose, whether many or few was to him indifferent, so that through the faithful interpretation of Eva, he could speak more distinctly, and disclose his designs and proposals for the ruin of the said Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas (our enemies and his) and concert good plans.

And having ascertained by civil inquiries of the said messengers, that they persist in saying that 10 Dutch were enough, and seeing that although a hundred should go, their reception would be just the same, were the intentions of this chief (*Heer*) evil, considering the great numbers of his people; and if we were to detach a great number of perhaps our best men, a misfortune to them would cause us too great a loss, and unduly weaken the garrison should our said enemies attack us during the absence of the detachment; it was therefore resolved—to enable them to resist a good number of natives—to send 13 of the best soldiers, under the command of the sergeant, with a wagon, that they might the better defend themselves, and also to convey the presents to Oedaso with becoming dignity, which they seem to regard as a great honour, and which, as they say themselves, will spread the reputation of their chief through the whole country, highly gratify him, and create an impression of our inclination for an indissoluble friendship and alliance. Our people were accordingly directed, after the proper compliments and delivery of our presents, to say to Oedaso in our name:

That his first embassy and offer of alliance was very pleasing to us, and that we, being equally disposed thereto, had thought fit not only to allow Eva, his wife's sister, to return to him, but also to send commissioners to assure him of our friendly sentiments, as a mark of which the Commander had sent him these presents, requesting that he would receive them as from a brother of one heart and mind, and that he would send our people back with an answer as soon as possible—as we had done with his men—accompanied also by commissioners from him, or by himself in person, that we might discuss matters with each other; that, should he be pleased to direct some of his people—either alone, or assisted by a few of our men, to act as spies, and to search for our enemies and his, it would be very gratifying to us; and that, when he had led us to the enemy, we would soon show him how much in earnest we were in wishing to do them all possible injury.

Should Oedaso propose an immediate attack by some of his people, assisted by our 13 men, they were desired to decline it for the present, as there were so few of them, pleading, from policy, the want of orders; but listening to the plans of attack proposed by him, &c. and saying that they should report the same to the Commander, with whom he might treat further, either personally or by his commissioners; saying also that he might allow his people to come freely with cattle to barter at the Fort—for the council did not deem it advisable—on various accounts—to send out any merchandize at present, but to try to induce the natives to bring their cattle to the Fort, so as to be more secure, less subject to apprehended dangers, and for other weighty reasons. Thus done, &c.

JAN VAN RIEBECK, &c.

He was very thin from the constant pain of the wound received from the lion, in the first horse-hunt (which he had made for us), his doctors had done him no good, and he hoped for better assistance from ours. His wife, Eva's sister, was not very well either. At the first meeting Eva and she could not speak to each other for joy, and thus Eva could not interpret for our people, but lay with her arm over her sister's shoulder, a proof of her affection. Oedasoia excused himself for sending us no cattle, as there had been among them, ever since he had received his wound, a great mortality; but he would still see that we should not want.

Eva stated (agreeing with the report of our party) that as soon as our men arrived, Oedasoia sent out all the people and women, calling in only his council, or the elders of his people, and said to them, "Although I am wise enough to attend to the duties of my station, and to govern my people, &c. still as it is your province to assist me with word and deed, being old men, who have lived long in the world, and had much experience of the course of events, and whose place it therefore is to convey to me your opinion upon every emergency, and in particular now; you will therefore lay before me your opinion, as to what measures are now called for by my interests and those of our people." "Whereupon" (said Eva, who was all the while present, leaning on her sister's shoulder) she said "oldest" (so she called him in Dutch) after a little consideration, and consulting with the others, answered as follows:—

"Oh King!" (*Koninghou*)—thus the elder addressed him, said Eva—"we perceive that at this moment great good fortune hangs over thy head; for, whereas thou, and under or next to thee Ngonomoa, are the mightiest of all the land, for such is the number of thy warriors that all must retire whenever they think that thou dost approach; besides that thou art of a kinder disposition than Ngonomoa, and more beloved and feared than him; when it is heard that thou hast entered into an alliance with the Dutch people, the whole world will esteem thee the most fortunate lord, (*Heere*) of the whole land, and from all sides they will press to secure thy friendship, on account of the enjoyment of the merchandize of the Dutch, which thou alone canst have in thy hands, and in thy power, an advantage not to be understood by the Gorachouquas or Goringhaiquas, in consequence of their predatory disposition, still less could they avail themselves thereof:—be thou therefore prudent, and come to a good understanding with the Dutch, and continue in the same, otherwise there would instantly be another who (on perceiving the slightest coolness between thee and the Dutch) would forthwith endeavor to acquire a greater hold upon their confidence, in order to work thee out of their favor, &c. as thy enemies are now thrown out, who have made enemies of such a clever people, from whom so much of profit and of enjoyment is to be had, independently of that respect for their power, which has deterred even thee, during all the time since those people have begun to establish themselves here, from even thinking of attacking these robbers, the most inconsiderable of thine enemies, lest the Dutch should be offended thereat, as these robbers have always persuaded thee would be the case. It may therefore easily be imagined in what respect thou wilt be held by the Dutch, seeing that thou alone art a hundred times stronger than those robbers, who when compared with thee, are but a handful against a *land-full*."—These are, said Eva, the very words, in substance, spoken by the elder to Oedasoia, on which he answered, that he looked on the matter in the same light, and intended to turn it to his advantage. Our people confirm this statement in so far—that they heard about as much of the matter as Eva has given in translation, and that he spoke and consulted with the old men before he gave an answer. From this it may be seen that he is a powerful chief, and of much weight, as he is provided with counsellors, and debates every thing with them; and it is therefore to be hoped that something good will be effected with him; may the Almighty bless what has been commenced. It is at all events better to form alliances with those who are inclined to trade, and to friendly intercourse, than with those whose natural disposition chiefly tends to every kind of depredation; with such people we have been hitherto too much connected, and on too civil terms, and we have now some hopes, according to all appearances, that we are about to have intercourse with good people, who are kindly disposed towards us, and who, instead of robbing us, offer to help in protecting us against the robbers, and to fetch us all we desire out of the interior—and cattle also, the thing for which we have long wished and laboured—among whom also we may, in due time, and with better prospects of success, spread a knowledge of the Gospel, for Eva already begins to impart to them the rudiments of a knowledge of God, acquired by herself. Eva further states that Oedasoia told her, that some of the cattle first stolen from us by the Caepmans had been offered to him by them, together with some brass and tobacco, and that they said, "there are your cattle, accept them again, and let us settle our old differences, &c." on which he answered "No, I should thus be a rogue towards others, if I should receive from the hands of robbers, that which I have once sold; whenever I am so disposed I can easily

send and fetch them, leave me therefore with your stolen goods," and so forth; that he was, from the first, desirous of apprising the Commander of this circumstance, for which purpose he had, three several times, sent out some people, but that they had been as often compelled to return unsuccessful, in consequence of the late wet, cold, and stormy weather, so that, until now, in spite of his good will towards us, he had been obliged to put up with their conduct.

June 26. The Commander went out with some burgers behind the mountains, to point out several narrow passes through which the Hottentoots, about 7 years ago, had driven the Company's cattle, scattering in those places, some iron crow's feet, (voet angels) so that, should the cattle be again driven off from the Fort, our people may know where to pursue, and that at the same time the progress of the robbers may be checked as much as possible, &c. those being places where our people have nothing to do, as being unfit for corn land or for pasture, and consequently where there is no danger of our people being injured; of this the ships' crews shall also have notice.

Oedaso's 6 people departed about noon with some brass, tobacco, knives, &c. as a present, and with our compliments to their master—they were accompanied by Eva, for however we urged it they declined being attended by any of our people, as Oedaso has forbidden it, lest our people should be fatigued by the frequent journeys; he had requested that Eva might come, and go as she chose, but he particularly wished her with him now, to teach him how the fruits and other dainties sent him by the Commander, were to be dressed for food; he said she should not stay long away, but should come back, when he came to converse with the Commander face to face, and to have his arm dressed by our surgeons; now, although Eva's departure at his request excited the suspicions of some among us, still we could not think of detaining her against her will; for then nothing could be properly done with her; and if left at liberty it will give them more confidence in the rectitude of our intentions, &c.

27. The Commander rode out to visit the farms of the free men, to excite new courage among them, to give directions at the orchard and the corn land—to clear the paths, &c. he found some of the farmers busy ploughing, and others (who had lost their cattle) digging in their gardens, so as to have, this season, some vegetables in lieu of corn. 28. The Commander went out again for the same purpose, but somewhat further, and round the Boshevel, where we could see over the whole flat from one bay to the other; but there were no camps of the Caepmans to be seen, and the late wet weather had filled the flat with water in large lakes or *meeren*..... Arrived the ship *Orangie*, had sailed 12 February with 410 men in pay, of whom 15 had died and 40 were sick.....

29. Our party returned<sup>(1)</sup> very early, reporting that they had found Oedaso very unwell, and that he replied that he should have come nearer with his camp had he not been prevented by sickness, but he hoped to come within 3 days, or, if he continued so weak, he should ask for a wagon; he seemed ashamed of the presents always sent him, in return for which he would have sent us some cattle, but that he would rather bring them himself, when he came to the Fort, &c.

His *confrater*, or second, Ngonomoa had also come there, and had joined Oedaso, he was the first to meet our party on the way, and received, with great thankfulness, a small present made up out of the tobacco and brass which was sent for Oedaso; he conducted our people to Oedaso, with whom he spoke, and from whom he procured, at his own request, one of the 2 small flags with which Oedaso was provided, in order that his people might be known to be friends when they came to the Fort with cattle; Ngonomoa also intended visiting the Commander; the Caepmans had, the day before yesterday, made off with 21 of his cattle, which were herded only by a boy; this increases the enmity betwixt them, to the advantage of the Company, at least we hope so.

In the afternoon came 5 people from Oedaso, saying that he intended to visit the Fort to-morrow with Eva—and towards evening came 9 more, with 15 sheep, who confirmed the intelligence. It was thought advisable, notwithstanding, that the fiscal should go out to-morrow to meet him, if the weather should be fine, with a wagon, so as to convey him more conveniently.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) 1659. June 28. Resolution of Council.—It is resolved to send, this very day, an express mission of 7 persons, to Oedaso the chief of the Saldanhars with a present of tobacco and brass, in order the sooner to entice him hither; the party shall inform him that there is now a ship in the Bay, and that if he will be pleased to visit the Commander now, we shall see what can be found that may be useful to him; that we may thus procure an earlier opportunity for further negotiation, &c.

(2) 1659. June 29. Resolution of Council.—In order to be enabled to effect something worth while against our enemies, while this ship lies here—to avoid detaining her—that she may leave behind the fewer people, to save time, and for other

On the 24th a Resolution was passed imposing upon two free men a fine of 10 reals for ascending the walls of the outwork and cattle crael in the night, and taking away by stealth the sentry's arms, which he had laid down, though not asleep..... and beating him when he asked for his arms, "a crime of dangerous consequences in these very perilous times," and which offence "out of pure pity for the wife of the said Elberts, was not brought before a military court."

June 30. Heavy rain in the morning, but on the weather clearing up, the fiscal set out on horse-back for the purpose mentioned, accompanied by a wagon and 11 men, with some presents for Oedaso, and his confrater Ngonomo, who must be first passed, and might be offended if his authority were not also acknowledged, &c.

July 1. Last night a good many Hottentoots made an attack on the Commander's farm at the Bosheuvel, but to no purpose, as there was a good watch kept, our people could not, however, reach any of them with their firearms.

Resolution of Council.—The fiscal, A. Gabbema, this evening returned from Oedaso, the chief of the Saldanhars, reporting that he had found the chief very unwell, and on that account, as well as on account of the illness of a child, of whom he appeared to be very fond, still unprepared to visit us. He also appeared to be not altogether satisfied with the interpreter Eva, for misleading us and inducing us to take so much trouble in travelling hither and thither, to no purpose; he said that he wanted no wagon to convey him, as he could not bear the jolting of even an ox, according to their custom, and that consequently we must await his recovery, (and seemingly his child's also) when he would come on slowly. It may therefore be presumed that Eva mentioned the wagon chiefly on her own account, that she might not have to walk; and in other things she has probably told us more than Oedaso desired her to translate, and it seemed as if he shewed some displeasure with her, without, however, displaying any change in the desire he had expressed for a closer alliance with us, and for war against the Caepmans; assuring our people that as soon as possible he would visit the Commander in the Fort, to speak with him, as he before said, mouth to mouth, and to concert measures. And as the fiscal in passing, understood from Gonnomo, (who from various circumstances appeared to be subordinate) and also from Eva, that it was fixed that Gonnomo should have come with her to the Fort, but that on coming to Oedaso, he was kept back by the latter, who had desired the fiscal to tell the Commander to take no more trouble in sending to him, (as if concerned that so much trouble should have been taken) that the Commander might depend on his coming, when he and his child were better; or otherwise he would send Gonnomo with Eva.

But as he could not consent to send, at the request of the fiscal, only 1, 2, or 3 men to show us where to find the encampment of the plundering enemy, and as our people, on leaving Oedaso's crael, met 3 Hottentoots going thither with an ox, which had on its horns a string (*touw*) like the Company's working oxen, both circumstances gave cause to some strange misgivings among us; it was therefore resolved by the council, (strengthened by the captain, merchant, and serjeant of the ship *Orangie*) after full deliberation, again to send out 10 of our own men as spies, to search for our said enemies from the high Steenberg of this Cape—through the high sand hills of False Bay, quite to the *Hottentoots Holland*, about E. S. E. and, in a direct line, 10 hours' walk from this, behind the first range of hills; so that, on the return of these scouts, we may further deliberate upon what should be undertaken for the benefit of the Company; meanwhile being as well prepared against the said Oedaso as against the plundering and open enemy, who last night made another attack on the Bosheuvel; awaiting the further disclosure of Oedaso's intentions, and trusting that God will rule all for the best, &c.

2. 10 people were sent out as spies, with orders to stay at the Bosheuvel until midnight, so as to lead the Hottentoots, who are watching the cattle from the Bosbergen, to think that the party are sent only to defend that farm; and then to set out over that height, along the foot of the Steenberg to the sand hills of False Bay, so as secretly to search for the Caepmans' camp.

3. In the afternoon intelligence was brought, that a party of upwards of 300 Hottentoots had been seen behind Bosheuvel, occupied in dancing and leaping, on which orders were instantly sent on board to land a party of armed soldiers, to be sent out, there and elsewhere, against those triumphant enemies. The people of Steven's and Reynier's parties stated, that all along the Bosbergen was full of Hottentoots, so that they scarcely dared trust themselves in their houses.

The junior merchant of the ship *Orangie*<sup>(1)</sup> stated, that being this morning in the fisherman's hut

important reasons, it was resolved to send another mission to Oedaso to-morrow, and, to show him the more respect, that the fiscal shall go, with a wagon, as if to fetch him; with some more tobacco, beads, brass, and brass buttons as a present; with orders to induce him, by all possible kindness, to accompany the party back, or, should he still further postpone his visit, to entreat him kindly and earnestly, that he will only lend a few of his people as guides, as we have soldiers enough to defeat the plundering enemy, and that our only difficulty is that, we do not know where they are, as none of the spies we have sent out have as yet succeeded in finding them. Thus done, &c.

(1) 1659. July 3. Resolution of Council.—Seeing that, according to the report of the fiscal Abraham Gabbema, no people are to be had from Oedaso, to show the way to the encampments of the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, so that it was deemed advisable to send out 10 spies the day before yesterday, to endeavor to find them; as furthermore this ship, the *Orangie*, cannot

at the Salt River—Oedaso's people who had left the Fort with good presents, and were on their way home, had been very insolent at the said fisherman's hut, and would have forcibly compelled the fisherman's wife, who was alone in the house, to give them bread and tobacco; but that the woman having seized a gun and held it in their faces, they went away, using very contemptuous and shameful gestures and threats; so that we know less every day as to how matters are situated, and who are friends, or who enemies; our suspicions are increased by the circumstance of Oedaso's people always coming and returning unarmed, which leads us to think that they are not such enemies of the Caepmans as is pretended through Eva's interpretation, because we observe that the robbers every day show themselves in greater numbers, and because the fiscal stated, among other things, that yesterday he found very few people in the encampments of Oedaso and Ngonomoa; besides the circumstance of their having met some of Oedaso's people driving an ox with ropes on its horns.

July 5. Our spies returned in the morning,<sup>(1)</sup> reporting that, according to their orders, they had carefully examined the country all the way to *Hottentoots Hollandt*, but had seen nothing whatever, aye! neither sign nor trace of Hottentoots or cattle; it was so wet that they were constantly marching in water, were wet up to their waists day and night, and had been very cold; so that in this winter season, little else can be done than stand upon the defensive here and there, trying to preserve that which is still in *esse*, and sending out as adventurers (waeghhalsen) ambushed parties, with cattle to decoy the Hottentoots within reach of them, as was begun to-day, for which purpose some of the new men were mixed among the old, to make them acquainted with the roads and mode of operation.

In the evening fully 40 of the Saldanhars of Oedaso or Ngonomoa came to the Fort with only 8 sheep, they signified that they could not understand us, and it was signified to them that they should always bring Eva with them to interpret.

6. The said sheep were purchased, and after the sellers had been entertained they departed well satisfied. This day several parties were stationed in different places in the mountains, to lie in wait for the Hottentoots, just as they lie in wait for our cattle, so that, as we are unable to find their camp, we may catch one or more to act as guides.

7. Some of the free men stated, that of the Saldanhars who left the Fort yesterday afternoon only 5 or 6 went straight home with the flag, that the others turned back in the fall of the evening, that 7 of them hid themselves in the Bosbergen, and that the residue, being somewhat under 30 in number, passed through the Lion kloof behind the Fort, being the road to Hout Bay, on the outside of the Gevelbergen and along the sea shore; and as this might have been arranged in order that they might come through the Kloof Pass, and the two parties form a junction in the Bosbergen, thus to lay some plan against the Company's cattle, or those of the free men, a party of 11 men were therefore sent round within [i. e. to the left of] the mountains to occupy the Kloof Pass, through which the said natives must pass, and on meeting them there, to harass them as much as possible, for they can have nothing to do there but to steal, &c. and, if it comes to the worst, we can tell Oedaso, through Eva, that we never expect to meet any one there but robbers, and that he should keep his people out of that—or whatever may suit at the moment. But should these people not be seen at the said Kloof Pass, it may be presumed, that all our enemies lurk in the Cape Mountains, whither these Saldanhars are gone to speak with them, and consequently, that they are all false rogues together.

give any assistance towards a grand attack upon our plundering foes, without delaying her departure for Batavia, for in all probability our spies will not return before the evening of the day after to-morrow, or Sunday morning, and then no expedition could—even if the weather continues favorable—take the field before Sunday night—and we can only march by night, to avoid discovery—so as to fall upon our said enemies before dawn, for they are too nimble for us by day, and no more to be caught than a bird in its flight.

All these circumstances will therefore prevent us from having the assistance of a strong force from the crew of this ship, without delaying her departure beyond Monday or Tuesday, when, at the furthest, she will be ready to sail.

But seeing, at the same time, that we are too few in number, during these times of trouble and of war, to undertake any expeditions (exploiten) with a view to protecting the Company's cattle from the depredations of our said predatory enemies—and the houses and farm steads against injury from fire or otherwise.

It was therefore resolved, after full deliberation, in order not to delay this ship a single moment, not to detain her for any expeditions, but in lieu thereof, to exchange some persons, more useful afloat than ashore, for an equal number of soldiers, and to strengthen our garrison besides with 25 or 26 men—ascertaining meanwhile what can be done on the arrival of the first ships, and what turn matters may by that time have taken, &c.

(1) 1659. July 5. Resolution of Council.—The spies sent out last Wednesday having returned this morning, without having been able to find any thing, or to discover where the Caepmans, our enemies, are encamped, and thus much more time must elapse before we can attempt to bring any force against them. It is therefore resolved to dispatch the ship *Orangie* on Monday, &c.

This gives us a motive for keeping a closer watch; it is only to be wished that they do harbour there, when we should almost have them in a trap; to examine into this the Commander intends going out himself, and also to point out the several passes and outlets to the inexperienced, to show them how to guard them, &c. In the afternoon, when busy despatching the *Orangie*, there arrived, thank God, the ship *Slot van Honinghen*. . . . . 341 men in pay, &c.

July 8. About 8 o'clock came the interpreter Eva with more than 50 of Oedaso's Saldanhars, bringing with them the young ox which the fiscal, when lately returning from Oedaso's camp, had met driven by some of that chief's people towards his camp; Eva said that they had found it upon the road tired by overdriving; it was one of those which the Caepmans had stolen from us, and which Oedaso, until now, had taken good care of, in order to restore it to the Commander; and that he did not wish for any thing in return except a fathom of tobacco as a reward to the finder: making at the same time his apology, returning his thanks for the last presents sent him by the fiscal, and saying that he did not know at that time what he should do for shame that one of the greatest of the Dutch should be sent to him with a wagon, which, as he felt, had made it necessary that he should come himself, but that this was frustrated by his illness arising from the wound in his arm; as also by the illness of his youngest child, and the recent death of his wife's mother (who was the mother of Eva also) 2 or 3 days before, and for whom they were still mourning.

Among these people there were 5 who were to speak with the Commander himself, and among the 5, one of the old men whom he had charged with conveying to us his secret message, which he had desired Eva to interpret, and with the purport of which secrets she was still unacquainted. His said Commissioners desired to rest and to wait until to-morrow morning early, that they might then, as they did on the first occasion, fulfil their orders. This was consented to, a resting place was shown them, and suitable entertainment afforded them and all their attendants, as soon as the 25 sheep and 3 cows which they had brought had been bartered from them. Eva said that Ngonomoa himself had wished to come, but Oedaso did not wish it, and said that if his health improved, Ngonomoa and all the chiefs and great men of the Cochoqua camps (and who knows their number!) should attend him, if he came himself.

Questioning her often upon this point, we found some discrepancy in her story, for she directly contradicted herself by saying, that as soon as Oedaso had shown us where the Caepmans were,

Where the Despatches convey the same details, and the same sentiments, which have been already given in the Journal, and refer to any thing of less importance than war with the natives, they might be omitted as redundant. This is not the case with the letters addressed to Batavia during the hostilities of 1659. But even where some repetition is thus caused, it will not be useless—for, the Despatches are, down to 1786, complete; whereas the Journals for several years are wanting. A comparison of the tenor of the Despatches with that of the extant Journals, will therefore convey some idea of the contents of those which are not to be found in the Colony. And this comparison will be more particularly useful, because there are periods when entire harmony appears to have subsisted—as far as was known to the Government—between the colonists and the natives, and when the annals of the colony present little or nothing for extract, beyond the negative evidence which proves such to have been the case. The following extracts are taken from a Despatch from Commander Van Riebeeck and Council, to the Governor General and Council, Batavia, dated 7th July 1659:—

According to the prediction of the interpreter Eva, as stated in our last letter, dated June 4, her brother in law, Oedaso, (who is the chief of the Cochoquas, or true Saldanhars) sent 7 persons to us, on the 20th, being the first fine weather, to keep up the cattle trade, and to offer to enter into a closer alliance with us; the Caepmans having up to that time, taken many cattle from us by cunning as well as by very bold attacks, and having murdered another person, and wounded many, as may be seen circumstantially detailed in the accompanying Journals, to which we beg to refer, in order to come the sooner to the negotiations opened with the said Oedaso on the 20th June. This chieftain, (*Heer*) (who seems to be of a very civil and magnanimous disposition) expresses himself very favorably inclined towards us, and it is hoped that we shall be able to maintain with him more amicable relations than with the Caepmans and their adherents, from whom we have never experienced any thing but annoyance and robbery, to the diminution of our live stock, and to the great injury of other work thereon dependent; while upon the other hand, we have every reason to hope for permanent trade and friendship from these people, to the great advantage of the colonists, who have recently been much encouraged in consequence.

But after various missions had been exchanged betwixt us, we saw cause daily to place less reliance upon him, and even supposing that all turned out well, and that some good agreement were concluded with him, we still observe that there are among his people also, shameless beggars, who, when unable to procure what they want from our people by importunity, endeavour to take it by force when they find them alone, or unable to offer any resistance.

According to our view of the matter therefore, we shall be always subject to much trouble and contention, and chiefly in consequence of trying to protect our establishments with the proposed number of 80 men—even although there were free men—so difficult is it to keep the cattle out of the hands of these nimble savages, as from the number of the cattle they must be grazed at some distance, and often *cracked* at night at the Company's farm, about 1½ hours' walk from the Fort.

Thus we can scarcely hold all in security with less than 120 men, unless we had cavalry, for which we can now furnish but 4 tolerable horses, the rest being young foals, and some mares, (in all but 14) which are quite knocked up by ploughing, and only fit to breed from.

If, therefore, it were possible and practicable that some horses could be sent us by each of the homeward bound fleet, or by a single vessel, so as to enable us to mount 20 men, we could dispense with 10 or more of the number of the garrison.

We therefore submit the proposal to you, Gentlemen, with great respect, and will anxiously await the receipt of your

he intended to remove with all his camps, and that she was therefore come, in order to get for him a good quantity of tobacco, a stock that would last a long time; she also allowed it to fall from her, with a half suppressed sigh, that she should never see the Dutch again.

Afterwards in the evening when talking with her again, she said that Oedasoia did not know what ailed the country hereabouts, because every day many cattle and great numbers of sheep died off, and this was the reason (to his great shame as she said) that he could not accommodate the Commander with any cattle, in return for the many kindnesses he had received, and that he had therefore resolved to decamp, and seek better pasture in the interior, but that early to-morrow his commissioners would first give us a further explanation.

July 9. This morning the Commander invited the 6 commissioners from Oedasoia (one of whom was his son) into his office within the Fort before the Council; when the chief of them had nothing to say, but that their master could scarcely imagine that we had any serious intentions against the Caepmans, and that they had therefore come to hear it once more, exactly.

On this it was answered: How could Oedasoia think so of us, that we were not of the same race of men as the Caepmans, and that he was, and therefore insincerity might rather be presumed by us against him, than by him against us, (though we asserted that we had never thought so, nor entertained the slightest suspicion) which we (but this we did not tell them) nevertheless begin to entertain, aye! more and more daily, and that they are daily concerting in what manner they can best entirely ruin the Company's establishment here; which is the more to be suspected from the following arguments advanced by them:—namely, That Oedasoia warned us to be well on our guard, because the Caepmans boasted (how should they know this unless they were in daily communication?) that they would not only soon carry off all the cattle still in the possession of the farmers, but would also sooner or later murder them, and their wives and children, to the fishers hut and the redoubt Duynhoop inclusive; explaining how they meant to set about it, in order at last to surprise the Fort, the earth walls of which they had courage enough to climb over, and when within, to break open all the houses and to knock the people on the head, and other similar statements: they said they had heard from Doman that he had long since examined, with this object, every particular about the situation of the Dutch, and that he lay near this, ready to commence immediately with the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Ankeysoa, and all the strandloopers and vagabonds he could scrape together; we should therefore be on our guard, for Oedasoia was inclined to remove to seek other

directions, informing us whether, upon the grounds above stated, we may increase the strength of the garrison to 120 men, and continue it at that number, which in such perilous times we conceive to be the very least number that will enable us to save what we have got. . . .

But for these unfortunate depredateions we should have had abundance of corn, and most of the farmers would have cleared off their debts to the Company, and possessed, besides their houses and cattle, their freeholds without any incumbrance; but instead of this—the unexpected war has again reduced them to poverty; the Commander having little better to anticipate with his private farm, (which being the outermost, is subject to daily and repeated attacks.) Indeed his servants scarcely dare to stay there, and they would have been long since withdrawn—as they are kept there at great expense, and with great uncertainty as to the result—but that he dared not do so for fear of too much weakening the other free farmers, who, it is to be feared, would, in that event, entirely abandon their farms; to prevent their courage therefore from sinking, the Commander resolved to hold out to the last—hoping that the Lord will be pleased to send better days—for else all the free men are much to be pitied.

It is most surprising that whatever endeavours we make, and wherever, and however far we search, that we can no where find the camps nor houses of these robbers, though we see their persons every day in the hushes in all quarters, watching for a favorable opportunity of stealing and driving away our cattle; so that at present we can scarcely conceive in what manner we can offer them any annoyance, or any resistance, except by maintaining the defensive with a greater force than formerly, and we have therefore, (besides exchanging some of the free men's servants, whose time had expired) increased the garrison with 25 additional men, intending to seek for them as much further as possible during the ensuing waning moon, (hreeckende maen.) And, however dangerous are these present times, when indeed we daily expect to hear nothing less than that one or other has been attacked and murdered in his own dwelling, still these poor men—that is to say the greater number of the free men, are, notwithstanding, so utterly reckless and careless of their lives, that whenever any ships are in the roads, they may be daily seen as intoxicated as irrational creatures, with the strong drink they procure from the shipping; and this is more perceived since these troubles begun than before, which is most lamentable and unfortunate, nor can it be easily prevented, as spirits are landed in many places at night; and when the free men come to the stores for their provisions, none of them pay in money, and as they have been ruined by the war, we can hardly send them away without any supply. The farmer Jan Reyniers always paid for his provisions from the first in ready money, but he must now take them on credit, because he has lost all his 6 working oxen and 18 milch cows. If these depredateions continue, the establishment of free farmers will, therefore, be any thing but profitable to the Company—and we therefore hope that the Almighty will be pleased to stay his chastening hand, which has been severely felt in our cattle, in which the mortality has been such, that out of 500 ewes, almost all in lamb, that were on Rohhen Island when Mr. Van Almond sailed, and which we had hoped would this year have increased to 1,000, all have now died but 40. The mortality has not been so great here on the main land, where, including the sheep which the free men have returned to the Company, we have between 6 and 700, and a little under 300 cattle of all ages, which we have great difficulty in protecting from the robbers, whose mischief may the Almighty speedily check, and only permit that we may find them, so that we may give them a good fright, &c.

pasture for his cattle, among which there was a great mortality, and he would not be soon back here, and therefore requested rather a large quantity of tobacco, bread, and other articles, so that they might last him for a considerable time.

On this we rejoined, and asked, whether they had not orders to allow 2 or 3 of their men to accompany some of ours, and to show where our said enemies lay? To this we could hardly elicit any answer, but at last it came out, that they must first tell Oedasoia that we had desired this urgently; and here Eva, being rather closely pressed (*wat nau onderflastende?*) let it escape her that they would not like to do that, but that they would point out to us from the Fort here—at a distance, in which direction they were to be found; she further said, that Oedasoia was astonished that we constantly insisted upon having guides, as he imagined that, if we were in real earnest, we could find them ourselves, and that therefore he could not come to any other opinion than that we were desirous of trying to make peace with them again.

Hereupon we replied: “That is good, that you tell your thoughts candidly, and as Oedasoia is disposed to remove, we shall not detain him, but proceed against our enemies alone, as time and circumstances may serve, for it is as pleasant to us to fight alone as with his assistance, we will not reject his friendship and alliance, and his offers of assistance, &c. but receive them cordially, and we are sincerely disposed to be on good terms with him. The negotiations upon matters of warfare, which have passed between us for some time back, first arose from his own proposition, but if his object went no further than to talk with us upon those matters, and to carry on trade with us, we are very well satisfied.”

On this Eva (as soon as she had interpreted as above) said these identical words: “Yes, Mynheer Van Riebeeck, Oedasoia will do so, and his people now say that all is done,” (meaning thereby that the negotiation was complete, and the matter well arranged and fully understood on both sides;) and they now requested their dismissal, that they might make an early report to Oedasoia, who was ready to set out as soon as possible for the interior; thus leaving us to manage with our enemies just as we please—and troubling himself as little about the matter as if it were nothing at all!

We therefore said: “That is good, and we would have it so, namely, that Oedasoia’s people should come and go, to fetch and sell us sheep and cattle; but, they will please to take care that they never come without a flag, nor to any one’s house, nor any where except directly to the Fort, more particularly because they say that the Caepmans intend to come with cattle, and a show of friendship, in that manner to execute some treachery, so that Oedasoia’s people may not innocently suffer some disaster, which, though we could not prevent it, would cause us much concern.”

They answered through Eva, that they would take good care, and that when any people come without a flag, even though with cattle, we should not consider them friends, but do what we liked with them; and that Oedasoia had recommended that we should no more come into the interior with wagons, not even to him, as the Caepmans were lying in wait for such parties, and for our people every where, though they had not dared to attempt any thing while he had been in communication with us; but that so soon as they knew that he had removed, they would attack us with much greater force than before.

Whereupon, after receiving presents and abundant entertainment, they departed well satisfied, Eva saying, “Mynheer Van Riebeeck, take good care, I shall not return for a long time, your land will now be very full of war.” And although these circumstances are calculated to excite many strange suspicions, and though all the offered friendship of Oedasoia may have been false, and assumed chiefly to get his wife’s sister, Eva, out of our hands, still it was not deemed advisable, for several reasons, to keep her here against her will, but to let her go with every possible mark of favor, (*de maet seer vol gemeten*) in order, on discovering in due time that there has been nothing practised but knavery, to lay hold of the most favorable opportunity of settling the matter in the most profitable way.<sup>(1)</sup>

Our suspicions are increased by the fact that Oedasoia’s *secunde*, named Ngonomoa, is the same person whom we were in the habit of calling Swarte Captain, and who in 1653 was with us at the Fort, on the evening before Herry first stole all the Company’s cattle; and accordingly, should we find ourselves attacked by greater numbers of enemies, we shall quite suspect that all is done by them in conjunction, on account of the brass, tobacco, bread, and other articles which they, from information given by Doman, will expect to secure by robbery, and which Doman (as they also say) has boasted that it would be easy enough to accomplish, and that after destroying the Fort,

(1) For an exposition of this policy, *vide supra* p. 155—for the proposed mode of applying it, *vide infra*, Despatch, Oct. 20, 1659.

the ship people might be prevented from landing, or, that the parties employing in watering and in fishing, might be first asked for tobacco, and then killed.

Thus it may be seen that there is little appearance of peace, but much of war; may the Almighty bless the Company with his support and help, to preserve our handful of people, against this landful of savages.

This morning the party who had lain in the Kloof Pass, returned and reported that they had seen no Hottentoes, nor any appearance or traces of any, and they also met some of our scouts who had been searching the hills in every direction, but who, up to this day, had found nothing.

July 11. The boat arrived with Herry<sup>(1)</sup>. . . . . being called before the council, and interrogated on several points, he seemed to think it scarcely possible that Oedasoia would unite with the Caepmans, though he might have so far agreed with them as to promise that he would not help the Dutch against them, nor interfere in the dispute; though indeed he could well believe that some vagabonds (such as there are under the best governments) might join the Caepmans for the sake of booty.

And as to showing us where they are, or whither they are gone, they could hardly be traced during this rainy season as they had many hiding places, but that they might be found in the dry season.

Our wood rangers and other parties were, however, called in, that they might be sent to-morrow to the place where Oedasoia's people pointed from a distance that the Caepmans and their adherents lay.

12. 9 of Oedasoia's and Ngonomoa's people brought 5 sheep, which they sold, without having any thing else to say.

Resolution of Council.—Having this day caught, in the fishermen's hut, a certain Hottentoo from the camp of the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, our greatest enemies, and having secretly, and unknown to the Saldanhars who are now here, through the interpretation of Herry, (who has been fetched from the Island) and by dint of threats and otherwise, brought it so far that he has not only pointed out from a distance where the said Gorachouquas, together with the Caepmans and Ankaisoia are encamped, but has promised to act as guide, and to conduct our force thither; an opportunity which has been, with great pains and trouble, vainly sought after for some time back.

It is therefore unanimously resolved by the council, after full deliberation, (assisted by the officers of the ship *Honinghen*) that as the Lord God has also given us an opportunity of reinforcing ourselves from said ship, without occasioning to her any delay, that the present occasion shall not be let slip, but that all shall be prepared for marching to-morrow night—that they may not be discovered by day—in the name of the Lord, with full 80 men from the said ship, and 70 Company's servants of free volunteers—to try, if possible, to fall upon our said enemies by break of day, and, with God's help, to inflict upon them such a blow, that they will become so intimidated, as henceforth to allow our people, who are settled here, and much exposed, to enjoy more peace and quiet.

To lead which expedition the fiscal Abraham Gabbema is appointed commander in chief; the three divisions, each of 48 to 50 men, to be commanded, in lieu of captains, by the sergeant of the Fort, Pieter Everharts, the sergeant of the *Honinghen*, Francois Dominuer, and the corporal of cadets, Pieter Cruythoff, with 2 corporals from the Fort, and 2 from the ship. And, for the better encouragement of the men, it is resolved to abide by the premiums before fixed, being for Doman, if living, 100 guilders, for other common Hottentoes 40, and half as much if dead; and as to cattle, in proportion to the amount of the booty. It is also thought fit to send 6 or 8 slaves, armed with assagays, to carry various articles, and to drive the cattle. Thus done, &c.

13. The said army marched out when it was dark, with fine weather. . . . . May the Almighty grant them victory, and that they may return in health. Amen.

(<sup>1</sup>) 1659. July 10. Resolution of Council.—As we have been unable to procure from Oedasoia, the first captain, or chief of the Cochoquas, any people to guide us to the encampments of the Caepmans and Gorachouquas, (our declared enemies) so that we might attempt something of consequence against them, with the help of the crew of the *Slot van Honinghen*, now here; and as we have been hitherto unable—however closely we have watched—to catch any of the banditti for that purpose, it is resolved, after deliberation, to send the boat as soon as possible to fetch Herry back hither, to try whether we can learn any thing from him (knowing as he does much better than us, all the roads and hiding places) which may contribute to the service of the Company, and to the annoyance of our present enemies. *Item*, what is to be believed of Oedasoia, and whether he will make war on the Caepmans, or join them; or any other inquiries that may suggest themselves, &c.

1659. July 13. Resolution of Council.—In the afternoon there were assembled in arms, and with 4 days' provisions, a body of more than 80 soldiers from the ship *Honinghen*, and about 70 stout men of the garrison, or free men, who were ready within the Fort to commence the expedition resolved on yesterday, for the annoyance of our savage enemies here. And although the fiscal has been appointed commander over this large force, that all may be conducted with the greater prudence, he having made

July 14. In the afternoon about 20 of the ship's soldiers returned ; they had marched for 4 hours, and had gone as far as the Leopard Berg, when they could proceed no further ; this will somewhat weaken our force, but, with God's help, if they only find our enemies, it may yet go well. . . . . Arrived the ship *Hoff van Zeelant*, 362 men, of whom 9 had died ; and 15th, the *Achilles*—190 men, of whom one had died, the rest well. . . . .

16. The fiscal returned with his 3 companies of soldiers, and reported, that yesterday morning, with the aid of the Hottentoo prisoner, they had found the spot where our enemies' camps had recently been, but that the enemy had removed and fled, not half a day before ; they resolved to pursue them, but the ship's soldiers were so weak that they could hardly go any further, and Herry said that it would now be very difficult to find them, as they dared not pitch their whole camp together, nor stay on one spot for an hour, either by day or night ; besides, that they had their sentinels on every height and hillock, and in every bush and thicket, who could see our people, and tell where they were going, and thus easily avoid our party ; so that little is to be done except by surprises and sudden attacks, for which—together with what the Almighty may be pleased to send—another opportunity must now be awaited.

In passing the place where Oedasoia had lain, they found that he and Ngonomoa had decamped, when, upon the application of a little torture (wat pynigende) to the prisoner, in order to learn whither both had gone, he confessed that Oedasoia had made an agreement with our enemies, to help to protect them, and that they must therefore be now together, for he had agreed to let them go as far inland as they chose, that they might hide themselves from us ; from which it would seem that Oedasoia has misled and delayed us, until the Caepmans should effectually conceal themselves ; thus no more reliance is to be placed on the one, than on the other, we must attend to Eva's last parting advice, and take good care of what we have left.<sup>(1)</sup>

19. This morning there was again a *rencontré* with 5 Hottentoes, who attacked a soldier while fetching 2 cattle from the Company's Schuyr to the Fort, and after throwing some assagays which passed through his clothes, they made off with the cattle, but being intercepted and surrounded near a passage through which they had to go, by the fiscal and 3 mounted men, who were on guard, quarter was offered them and declined, and they assumed the defensive, so that the fiscal, who had first came up on horseback, was obliged to retreat ; but when he had reloaded his gun, (which he had discharged to no purpose) and was joined by the 3 other horsemen, they shot 2 whom they had surrounded—the 3rd was shot by another who was near—and as they thought, the 4th also. The groom, Christian, after speaking with Doman, and after the latter had refused to accept quarter—struck him with a shot, so that the blood spurted from his body, but he escaped notwithstanding ; which is very unfortunate ; but, on the other hand, this will strike a little terror into his companions. Christian was wounded in the back by an assagay, and another horseman in the side and through the arm ; the fiscal and the 3rd horseman got off with whole skins ; but the fiscal, when among them alone, was in no slight danger. From this affair (seeing that 5 Hottentoes dared to oppose themselves to 4 mounted men) it may be easily seen, that when they are close pressed, they can show desperate courage, and will rather die than be taken.

Upon hearing this news from the fiscal, some soldiers and the surgeon were sent to meet the wounded men, and the rest to fetch the heads of the said slain enemies. The horsemen confirmed the report of the fiscal, although only one known Hottentoo was found, the other two (of whom one, while lying shot upon the ground, was twice run through the body by the wounded horseman ;

(1) July 17. A short letter of this date to the Governor General and Council, merely states the failure of the expedition, and urges the dispatch of the horses and of a supply of rice.

several journeys into the interior, and being thus acquainted with the nature of the roads, and of the encampments of the Hottentoes. The Commander, notwithstanding, representing to the council the great interests dependant upon the result of this expedition, gave them to consider, whether it would not be as well, aye, better, that the Commander should in his own proper person accompany the expedition, to strike the greater fear into our enemies, and give the greater encouragement and courage to our people, as also that he might be at hand and ready to assist the said officers upon every emergency with his advice, and to renew and refresh their memories as to his intentions, &c. On which the above named members of the council unanimously advised and concluded, upon the several important grounds stated, that the Commander ought not to go into the interior so far from the Company's establishment ; that they deemed the fiscal quite capable of conducting the expedition, and that—as representing the Commander—they were quite ready to respect his authority—and further, that the lowest officer, of any experience, including the ship's officers, who also assisted at these deliberations, deemed himself sufficiently informed upon every needful point ; yesterday's resolution was therefore adhered to—namely, that the Commander should remain at home.

It was also thought advisable—as the Hottentoo prisoner understands little of our language—that Herry (being also well secured) should accompany the expedition, that he might enable the other properly to understand, and to comply with our intentions, in pointing out the camps of our enemies. Thus done, &c.

and the other, besides the shot he received from the fiscal, had his neck cut half through by the groom's sword) could not be found, it would seem that they had been dragged away by those who escaped, or some others, for the one who was found (one of the nimblest and greatest rogues) was still alive when brought to the Fort; he said that 13 of them, (from the camps of Caepman, Ankaisoa, and the Gorachouquas, which lie near Saldanha Bay) had this morning gone into the Kloofs of the mountain—that Oedasoia had agreed with those camps, to let them have a place to retreat to, but that he and Ngonomoa had crossed the country, and passed the Berg River, about 15 hours' journey distant.

The 8 remaining robbers were watching for further booty; which they got too, without hinderance, namely, the six ploughing oxen of Vasagie's party, among them 4 fine oxen recently given to them to enable them to turn over the rest of their old land. Thus the cultivation is now quite crushed, and only four farms, besides the Company's, and the Commander's private farm, are in a kind of half existence.

These cattle could not be recovered nor overtaken by our people, though briskly pursued, but if we had horses enough, they might have been overtaken, like the others this morning—there lies the difficulty, otherwise we might perhaps have given them another blow.

July 20. (Sunday) The free men on coming to church said that yesterday evening they saw a great number of Hottentoes beyond the Liesbeeck, and that last night they heard them making a great noise and singing; but there are now such strong guards with the cattle, that we hope they will not be able to get many away, without loss of men to themselves.

21. The Commander again inspected the cultivation.....in returning he heard that some Hottentoes had again shown themselves beyond the river, but the truth of this is somewhat doubtful, for they have made no attempt.

23. This afternoon 15 persons—besides the usual cattle guards—were sent out, divided into 3 parties to lie in wait for our savage enemies (as they do for our cattle,) at their principal passes. There did not remain 10 men exclusive of the workmen in the gardens and elsewhere—to guard the Fort—and these have to mount all the guards, &c. at night.<sup>(1)</sup>

29. ....Having learnt from the Hottentoo prisoner that Herry's people, called Watermans, are living in the Hout and Berg Vallies, whence they always come through the Kloof Pass, behind the Bosheuvel, to annoy (*besteecken*) our people; the corporal Elias Giers was this morning sent thither with 10 soldiers, to search for their huts to the furthest point of the Cape mountains, to lie in wait for some of them, and to harass them as much as possible, for they pass through the said kloof to meet the Caepmans on the great flat, and when thus combined, make sudden descents from bushes and thickets to rob our people of their cattle.

In the evening the free men reported, that they had to day seen some Hottentoes above and among the thickets of the Bosberg and the Wintberg. The sergeant was therefore sent with four mounted men, and some soldiers from the farms, in the night, to try if they could find them, and dislodge them.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to the Governor General and Council, Batavia.

1659. July 29. Since the dispatch of our last letter of the 17th instant, by the *Honinghen*, the Hottentoes have been again at work, having taken some of the free men's cattle, and thus ruined the farm of Vasagie's party also, as may be seen in the accompanying Journal for the 19th of last

(1) 1659. July 22. Extract of Resolution of Council.—The Commander (now that so numerous a Council have assembled) having submitted—with all the particulars—the present state of the war with the Hottentoes here, and that 15 to 20 volunteers or adventurers had offered their services for an attack from Saldanha Bay—whither they might be conveyed in the free men's vessels—and whence they would attack our enemies—who have retreated in that direction, from behind; and the Commander having requested each member's advice and opinion on the subject, as also that of captain Jacob Bartels, an old and experienced person..... It is, after taking all the attendant difficulties into consideration, finally resolved, that the proposed measure is not advisable at present, as we have hardly enough men to occupy and defend our establishments here, and it is thought preferable to guard these, and to lie in wait for any who come here to steal cattle and to commit murder or arson; also that we may not attack undesignedly any of the encampments of the Saldanhars, and thus bring upon us too many enemies, seeing that those we already have, give us full occupation. Thus done, &c.

The daily notices in the Journal between the 23rd and 29th do not advert to natives; on the latter date a small party, sent by sea to sound Saldanha Bay, are ordered "to sleep on board or on the island, so as to sustain no injury from Hottentoes, you will attempt nothing against them, but when ready to return, should any of them come to you, you may bring them with you, that is, any of our enemies, but no others, and you must not expose yourselves to any danger."

month ; and also that there were then two of them overtaken by the fiscal Gabbema, with 4 horses, and killed, another being mortally wounded and taken prisoner, while Doman narrowly escaped, after receiving a shot in the back.

The said prisoner, who was one of the Caepmans, and spoke tolerable Dutch, being asked why they did us this injury, declared that it was for no other reason than because they saw that we were breaking up the best land and grass, where their cattle were accustomed to graze, trying to establish ourselves every where, with houses and farms, as if we were never more to remove, but designed to take, for our permanent occupation, more and more of this Cape country, which had belonged to them from time immemorial. Aye ! so that their cattle could not get at the water without passing over the corn land, which we would not allow them to do ; that they consequently resolved (as it was their land) to dishearten us, by taking away the cattle, (with which they could see that we broke up and destroyed the best land ;) and if that would not produce the effect—by burning our houses and corn, until we were all forced to go away:—that Doman had also put it into their heads, that after all the houses in the country were destroyed, the Fort could be easily surprised—as the earth walls were built with a slope—and thus the Dutch might be forced quite to abandon the country, &c.<sup>(1)</sup> ; but of this, with God's help, there is no fear ; the country houses are, however, in great danger, and we have enough to do to keep the free men from quitting them ; indeed many would long since have abandoned their dwellings, had we not sent some Company's soldiers to their assistance, which is rather expensive to the Company, but which we resolved on, for the protection of the agriculture and live stock, until we receive an answer, and further orders from your Honors ; these we may expect a year sooner than from Holland ; for we have found it to be barely possible to defend and save what we still have, with less than 120 men, unless indeed we get the horses, when we could dispense with from 10 to 20 men. We therefore still urgently beg that the said horses, as well as the rice, may be sent ; for, upon horses, to mount cavalry, the preservation of all our establishments at the Cape entirely depends ; and, considering the fertility of the soil, it would be most lamentable to see those establishments ruined.

There is not now the remotest chance or hope of catching horses in the interior, still less of doing so through the Hottentoes, for they now know too well how much annoyance they might thus suffer, as they could be so easily pursued and overtaken, &c. &c.

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1659. July 30. The sergeant returned and reported that they had searched every where with great care, but had found nothing. We learnt also from the Hottentoo prisoner, that when they go out against our cattle, they never light fires, day or night, so as not to be liable to surprises.

31. The Commander went out with the junior merchant R. de Man, the fiscal, and sergeant, examining several spots in which to station concealed sentries, and in particular to determine how the Company's cattle and those of the free men could be, in the best and cheapest manner, secured within the area necessary to the purposes of the Company (den begrepen circul nodigh tot Comp. intentie) from these savage robbers, with fewer men than we must now employ ; this examination could not be completed to day, so that it must be daily renewed.

August 1. The Commander went out with the same persons as yesterday, with the addition of some of the principal farmers, and first examined the main passage taken by the Hottentoes with cattle, which was about 500 roods broad, and which will require to be fenced with posts and rails, like the cattle fairs in Fetherland, so as to prevent the passage of cattle ; and 2 guardhouses. . . . . no final resolution was yet formed, but every person, particularly the farmers, were recommended to endeavor to devise some better scheme, and to lay it before the Council. . . . . for the cattle are now so confined and crowded together, that they cannot get half enough food, and many die in consequence.

4. The Commander went out accompanied as on Thursday and Saturday, and for the same purpose, and found, that from the crooked tree between the dwelling of Harman and Brinckman, to the wood of the sawyer Leendert Cornelis van Zeevenhuysen, (lying close by the Kloof Pass) a

<sup>(1)</sup> A passage published by Mr. S. Bannister, ("Humane Policy," App. cxiii) as translated from "Dapper's Africa," and stated to be told from La Croix at p. 511, vol. 15, of the "Modern Universal History," appears to allude to the circumstance mentioned in this Despatch. The arguments of the natives against European encroachment will be found more fully stated in the Journal *infra*, April 6 and May 5, 1660 ; and Riebeeck's Despatch of May 4 ; and noticed, from Batavia, Dec. 15, 1659 ; and from Amsterdam, Aug. 21, 1660.

wooden railing, as before described, could be very easily made, so as to prevent the Hottentoots from driving any cattle away, much better than any ditch or intrenchment. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>

This morning returned corporal Elias Giers, who had been sent out on the last day of July, round behind the Hout and Berg Vallies to the hills and dales of the southern point of this Cape, to examine every where for the Hottentoots who had there concealed themselves, and who, together with the Caepmans, had always done us the greatest injury, and given us the greatest annoyance; which corporal reported, that on last Sunday morning, between 9 and 10, and about 18 hours' march from this place by the shortest road, beyond Berg Valley and Mr. Van Goens's Berg, behind the Schorbergen, (thus called as being high, precipitous, and rocky) almost at the furthestmost projecting angle of the Cape, close to the sea shore, just within the northern angle of False Bay, or the southern angle of the Cape Schorbergen, and in some bushes, betwixt two high steep moun-

(1) 1659. Aug. 9. Resolution of Council.—As we perceive by experience more and more every day that these savage tribes do not seem inclined to allow us any peace, notwithstanding that they have twice sustained rather severe checks (*tamelyke nederlagh ende affbreuck*) in their persons, weapons, and houses, as well from the fiscal Gabbema, as subsequently from the corporal Elias Giers; yet they daily persist in their endeavors to take the few cattle still left to the Company and the free inhabitants, to prevent which it is hardly possible to devise any means except by keeping strong military detachments in every part of the country, at an expense extremely burdensome, and excessively displeasing to the Company. On which account the Commander has for years back endeavoured to devise some means of preserving the cattle, with a smaller garrison and at less expense; especially within the past few days, in the presence of the members of his Council and principal burghers and farmers. After great trouble it has been ascertained that the Fresh River Liesbeeck is so deep, and the banks so steep, from the house of Jan Reyniers to the crooked tree above that of Jan Martens of Vrielants, inclusive, if only cleared of the rushes, that no cattle can be driven through, except at three or four narrow places, which may be easily deepened, and the Hottentoots thus compelled to cross between the sea coast and Reynier's house (a measured distance of about 500 roods) or betwixt the said crooked tree and the wood of the free sawyer Leendert Cornelis van Sevenhuysen (an estimated distance of 11 or 12000 roods) to be enclosed by embankment or otherwise. In some places the digging is deemed of uncertain advantage, from the sandiness of the ground, except with the aid of great labour and expense in forming a wattled fence, which might be easily set on fire; and in other places, from either the general hardness of the ground, or from its stony character in particular spots—this work could only be accomplished by severe labour and at heavy expense. The latter objection applies also to the mode of guarding the cattle by large parties of soldiers daily, and that without obtaining any certainty of preserving them, for the Hottentoots are so particularly dexterous in getting among the herd, and then in making off with them, as from their swiftness of foot they are not to be overtaken except on horseback, and we have only four horses that are tolerably fit for the saddle, and to keep that number of riders daily employed would not be less expensive to the Company:—Yet notwithstanding we must either continue our mode of defence, or adopt some other.

It was at length found out, after much deliberation, that (as the chief object is to prevent the cattle from being driven off) the cheapest mode would be to enclose the said distances,—instead of the toilsome, tedious, and expensive mode of embankment,—with a fence, like the cattle markets in Fatherland, that is to say a paling with two high rails  $4\frac{1}{2}$  rynland feet above the ground, and 6 inches thick, to stop the cattle. There shall also be a daily inspection of the fence to see whether the plundering Hottentoots may have any where broken down the fence during the night—this they could not do at any other time without placing their lives in danger, and as at night the cattle are kept in good strong pallisade crails, they could not take them so easily as to depend upon getting them through immediately, for by night they cannot take them without using force and making some noise, when all would be ready to assist; but by day they know well how to get clear off with them, particularly in dark hazy or rainy weather, when our men cannot use their firearms, or see the enemy at a distance while approaching. All which being duly considered, it was resolved and appointed, forthwith to have the said distances fenced as above described—because it is the cheapest mode, because we can, by daily examination, take care that it is not broken down—because it will be sufficient to stop the cattle, and because the cattle kept within it will be secure (for there is enough good pasture) as then it will include no other corn land than the Company's, Stevens', Vredens', Boomtien's, and Jan Reyniers'—in all about 170 morgen—and where no more land can be granted, in order always to keep pasture enough for the cattle within the enclosure, according also to the well grounded opinion and order of Mr. Van Goens.

In the line of this fence, 100 roods from the Liesbeeck and Salt River, and also at the Sand Hills on the coast, it is also resolved to erect two wooden guard houses of 12 feet square, for at those spots is the best look out, and the greatest thoroughfare of the Hottentoots and Saldanhars; a third guard house shall be placed near the crooked tree between L. Cornelis and the farmers of Vasagic's party, opposite to the Cleyhevels and the Bosbergen, under the protection of which the greater part of the free men, and the Company may graze their ploughing oxen.

And that the work may instantly proceed, it is resolved, that the Company's woodmen and carpenters shall make the fence from Jan Reyniers to the sea, and the 2 lower guard houses, as being highly necessary. And that the greatest distance shall be made by the free sawyer L. Cornelis, who has 8 free servants in his employ, and has therefore hands enough; which work was offered to him for 16 st. per roe according to measurement? (*t' eynde maet t' eynde gelt*) the timber being cut and prepared by him in the wood, but to be carried out and conveyed to the proper place at the Company's expense. The timber to be of the following dimensions:—in each roe 2 posts, 6 inches in diameter at the smallest end, and 8 feet in length, the 3 feet which are to be sunk in the ground to be charred to prevent decay: to stand 5 feet out of the ground, with rails of like thickness but 13 feet long, to be fastened on the top of the poles and scarfed together, as also another rail 4 inches thick, half way down, so that cattle may neither pass over nor under—with the further condition that the work shall be finished in 3 or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  months, and he paid on measurement, one half in cash—and the rest in liquidation of his debt to the Company—by which he will be speedily enriched, (*glad sal te hoven wesen*) hut L. Cornelis asked a day or two to think of it, which was granted, the Commandor intending to examine the work more closely next week.\*

Thus done, &c.

\* It was next week discovered that the Company might save 1000 Spanish Dollars in nails, &c. by adopting a different plan for one portion of the line, i. e. a hedge of dead bushes, or *pega-pega*, and as L. Cornelis declined enriching himself in the manner proposed, the Company hired his best hands at 10 stivers per diem and their food, until "this highly necessary work should be completed." On the 20th Sept. 1659, the offence of injuring this fence was declared to be punishable by 3 years labour in irons, and a fine of 100 reals; and on the 7th Nov. the colonists living beyond it were ordered to make a similar fence each along his own land; along the paling was planted a hedge of "bitter almond trees."—*Resolutions of Council.*

tains, he perceived the first *spoor* of Hottentoots and their dogs; that following said traces, he soon fell in with their encampment of three mat huts, in which were about 18 men capable of bearing arms, and about an equal number of women and children; they could hear that the Hottentoots were busied in hammering assagays, and could have surprised them very suddenly, but that their dogs began to bark, when they sprung out of their huts quite naked, and without any skins round them, fled in great alarm with women and children, and hid themselves in heath and bushes; the said men, who were all well known, and were accustomed to live at the Fort, called out to our people, that they were Vismans, alias Watermans, who (as they said) never had any concern in taking the cattle; but they had been much too frequently seen stealing cattle, by our men, some of whom still felt the wounds of their assagays. The corporal had, however, got so far into communication with them, that they would have come to him, and thus he could have easily made them prisoners, had not a gun gone off unexpectedly, when, after they were already advancing towards our people, they instantly retired, and tried to save themselves by flight, which our men perceiving, in order that their journey might not be in vain, pursued them, and got hold of their chief captain, who was rather old, (and used to be Herry's comrade) and shot two others, one of whom our people called Siginman, who had been kitchen boy to the Commander, whose upper lip was brought by our men, as also that of their said captain, (named Trosoa), because he would not go to the Fort with our men, and because it was too troublesome to carry him so far over the mountains; he would, otherwise, have made a very good match for Herry, when chained together. The third, on receiving his death wound, fell from the summit of the steep mountain to the very bottom, where it was impossible to get at him, so that they could bring no mark of that one; they were, however—on their tendering their oaths, that he had been shot, and was dashed to pieces, by falling from the steep mountain—allowed the premium for him also, being in all 60 guilders for the said 3 persons.

Our party also entirely broke, demolished, and destroyed their huts, and all they contained, besides 50 assagays, quivers with bows and arrows, and skins, and threw them from the summit of the high rocky mountains at the southernmost point of False Bay, into the sea; so that the remaining Hottentoots were left without weapons, and as naked as when they were born.

These 15 fellows endeavoured to stop our party at some narrow passages between high precipitous rocks, from which they rolled down large stones in such a manner that it was impossible to pass, the stones being followed by others which they had disturbed, or breaking into fragments, in their course. Our party had thus to seek other outlets, and frequently met the like obstruction; but not being able to get near enough to reach any of them by a shot, they determined on returning to the Fort, after having effected this much; for they could do no more against the other 15 Hottentoots, who were stript so bare and naked, that they had no longer the smallest piece of skin to cover them, and which, independently of their 3 killed, is a very great injury and annoyance to them (*schade ende affbreuck*) particularly the loss of their assagays and bows and arrows, and the destruction of their houses.

The three killed were, as before mentioned, the captain who succeeded Herry, of a rather advanced age, and named Trosoa; the late kitchen boy, called by us Siginman, and by the Hottentoots, Heybua, one of the most crafty of them; the third, who was struck in the back, and who fell from the summit of the high rocky mountain, was not known.

Among the 15 remaining, were the following well known cunning blades, who were in the daily habit of fetching firewood, and doing other services for different persons at the Fort, and also every where among the free farmers in the country; who had always done us the greatest mischief, and, in particular, were the champions in the war now waged against us, and always present in the attacks upon our cattle—namely, as called by the Hottentoots, Corabinga, alias, (that is, called by our men) Platneus, Egutha, alias Hooghenlaegh, Moescha, alias Cleyne Lubbert, Kaikana Makoukou, alias Claes Das, Kherreby not named in Dutch, Goegoe, alias Ceesje Goegoe, Heybinga, alias Hans van Neurenborgh, Loeckhoeve, who used to lead the plough oxen for Vredens' party, Bismee, late kitchen boy to the junior merchant Roeloff de Man, Hovrr, alias Willem de Visser, Beymakoukoa Danhou, alias Orenbare, Guasso, alias Dicknavel; the other three dared not come so near as to be recognized by our people; those who have been named were of Caepman's people as well as of Herry's, and they said that Doman and some others known to us, whom they named, were in Caepman's camp near Saldanha Bay.

Fine cloudy weather; the vines were pruned, and a good many cuttings divided among the farmers, and almost forced upon them, for only a few have planted vines along the sides of their houses, but the Commander has prepared more than 2 morgens of land for vineyard. It now

begins to be the proper time for planting and engrafting the olive, and all kinds of European and Indian fruit trees. . . . . the Commander intends planting to the breadth of 2 roods round his corn land and vineyard, so as to prevent fire from reaching the ripe corn, an accident to which it is very subject in the dry season, for then the Hottentoots are in the habit of setting fire to the withered shrubs and dry grass. . . . .

Aug. 8. Hottentoots were seen watching the cattle, from several parts of the Taeffel, Bos, and Wintbergen, and, notwithstanding of this, our people will not continue to carry their guns when going along the road; and in consequence, an unarmed free servant was almost surprised by two Hottentoots, had he not made a timely retreat to the mounted guard; the guard ascended the hill side, and found many places where the natives had been engaged in digging out roots for food, but they managed to hide themselves in caves and bushes, so that none of them could be found. A party of 10 men with flintlocks, were therefore sent out under corporal Mathias Benedictus, with orders to search throughout the night, and to conceal themselves during the whole of the next day, to try if some of the Hottentoots could not be surprised. 9. In the evening the corporal returned, reporting that he could see nothing.

In the evening the Commander's private farm servants, and afterwards the Company's gardner, and others reported on their arrival, that 5 Hottentoots had been at the house of Casper Brinckman, and had spoken to his servant, asking for his master, but that the servant, being a new comer, could not understand them, and Brinckman was at the Fort; the servant, although quite alone, invited them to come into the house, but they did not venture to go thither; the gardener meanwhile passing with a gun, they went towards him, and he, perceiving that there was but one assagay among the five, laid down his gun, and they approached each other until within gun shot, and would also have got into conversation, had not the farmers Herman Remanjenne, and Jacob Cloeten come towards them from their houses—which were close at hand—carrying firearms, when the said Hottentoots took to flight towards the African Mountains.

The prevailing opinion is, that these Hottentoots had no evil intentions, as they had so exposed themselves, and wished to talk with our people, apparently concerning peace; to afford a better opportunity for such communications, all our people were ordered to attempt nothing against such natives as might come without weapons, except to endeavour, by a show of friendship, to get hold of them, promising our men the same rewards as if the prisoners were taken in war; and should more than one be thus induced to come to the Fort to ask for peace, half premium should be paid for the rest; may the Almighty grant that, in accordance with the hopes we begin to entertain, this endeavour may have the desired result; still the fence will be equally necessary notwithstanding, for although we make peace with them, they will never be to be trusted; the less opportunity is left them, the more secure will be our intercourse, and the less inclination will they have to steal and drive off cattle; it is ascertained by the experience of the whole world that opportunity often makes the thief, therefore the people were set to work according to the resolution of this day. . . . (1)

12. This day died the Hottentoo prisoner (named Eyckeman) who had been wounded in the affair with the fiscal on the 19th July, and in order that his death should not be known to any of the Hottentoots, (not even to Herry and the other prisoner, who have been long kept apart from the deceased) the garrison were all ordered, upon meeting any Hottentoots, to conceal his death, and to say that he had been sent to Robben Island, of which Herry and the other were persuaded, and which in point of fact took place, for the body was sent in that direction in a boat, and quietly sunk, with weight attached to it, on the way thither, so as to give less trouble of interment, and for other reasons besides.

14. In the evening one of the mounted men brought word that they had seen three Hottentoots on the southern slope of the Wintberg, where it was too steep to pursue with the horses; orders were given to send out in the night to try to find their fires, and to endeavour to get hold of them. The horseman said, that when he saw the concerted signal of the flag on the redoubt Corenhoop half mast high, and a small flag on a pike directed to the spot where the Hottentoots were seen, they ran up the mountain as fast as wild deer, clearly perceiving that the signal referred to them.

15. The horsemen, returning in the evening, reported that nothing could be seen of the said Hottentoots.

18. It being found out that the Guinea slaves intended to run away and go to the Hottentoots, the males were forthwith put in irons, so as to prevent this injury to the Company; for if these bold people should join our enemies, they could do us more injury than a hundred times their

(1) See page 187.

number of Hottentoots, besides instructing the latter in the art of war, for several of them have been present in the wars of Europeans in Guinea.

22. The Commander took a round of inspection.....about 600 roods of the fence were completed, the Company's plough was going, and the free men all busy in their gardens and finishing their sowing.....may the Almighty protect the ensuing crop from burning by the Hottentoots, and we may still reap more than last year.

Aug. 28. The boat returned from Saldanha Bay.....they had twice seen Hottentoots, once 7, and once 19, who had been carried over to Schaapen Island in the free men's boat, both parties behaving kindly to each other, no cattle were procured, because they were shore people, who lived by fishing, and were well known to our men, they had heard of the robberies committed by the Caepmans, but had no concern in them, they said that the Caepmans were at present between Saldanha Bay and the Cape.

Sept. 2. All busy upon the bush fence or *pega-pega*.....with Gods help the work will soon be complete, if the Hottentoots will only (as they have for some time back) leave us so long in peace, they will not be able to drive away the cattle so easily as they have hitherto done, but will encounter some obstacles. 12. Found the bones of the soldier missed on the 30th Aug. at the skirt of the Lion Hill, 30 roods from the beach.....presumed to have been devoured by a lion.

### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council.

1659. Sept. 5. We have received from you during this year, three letters.....dated the 5th Jan, 1659, the first [fifth?] of March, and the 26th April.....on which we will briefly observe, that perceiving that you are now supplied with slaves to your contentment, we have resolved to undertake no more voyages to the coast of Angola, or to that quarter, as the appearances of profit are not such as to justify a heavy outlay for an uncertain return; besides, those places are within the jurisdiction (district) of the West India Company<sup>(1)</sup> without whose special authority and consent no traffic can be carried on there; we may therefore henceforth dismiss that trade from our minds, and you will do well also to turn your attention elsewhere, and to confine it to what is to be done at the Cape..... We had indulged a hope that the harts, so abundant there, would have contributed something towards the refreshment of the crews, but as you state that from shyness they are not to be got at, indeed, that during all the time you have been there, you have not been able to procure 7 head, they appear to afford a poor prospect of advantage—which will, however, be fully compensated by the sheep and other stock, which we are happy to learn from you thrive well there.

We are well satisfied to hear that you have proceeded so far in the production of grain, that you will no longer require to draw your supplies from abroad, as it occupies too much space, and encumbers the ships. We observe that by the last homeward bound fleet alone you received 60 tons of rice, a rate of supply which could not be longer continued, and you will therefore consider it your last.

Brewing beer would be most useful, as it is very refreshing for the crews, and especially the sick; but if we must send you so bulky an article as the dry hops from this quarter, it will turn out an expensive beverage. We shall once more send you some plants, to see whether they will vegetate, but you must expect no more, and get on as you best can. In many countries wormwood is used instead of hops, and it makes very tolerable beer, you may try that; we can send you enough wormwood-seed, but hop-seed is entirely unknown here. The beer sent us as a sample, was not particularly good.....

The free men must be encouraged as much as may be without injury to the Company, so as to make them the more contented, and not to excite in them any feelings of disgust. To prohibit them

(1) The most remarkable particular in which the Charter of the Dutch West India Company differed from that previously granted to the East India Company, was that it contained a clause empowering the Company to colonize any fertile and uninhabited lands within the limits of the charter. No such authority has been observed in any of the Charters successively granted to the East India Company.

1659. Aug. 25. A wooden guard house, 12 feet square, 8 feet high, with a projecting breast work of 3 feet, was placed on a high sand hill near the shore to prevent the plundering Hottentoots from driving away the cattle along the beach by Salt River, and called *Kyck Uyt*..... 27. The foundation of another stone guard house, named *Keert de Koc*, was laid "on a sandy bushy hillock, directly in the middle of the Hottentoots passage, or thoroughfare, between the Salt River and the Liesbeeck, fully 340 roods from the Kyck Uyt—the Salt River running through between the two."—*Resolutions of Council*.

from allowing any of the inhabitants (*ingesetenen*) access to their houses, in order to prevent their purchasing any elephants' teeth, an article which, notwithstanding, you represent as of trivial importance, and by which prohibition the free men are deprived of the services which they would otherwise procure from the said inhabitants, would, indeed, be rather hard if the prohibition were rigidly enforced, and we are of opinion that the offence must be passed over by connivance.

The sum to which, in our letter of the 16th April, 1658, we limited the extent of credits to be granted to the free men, will require to be in some measure increased, as we observe that you have already done, for the reason advanced by you, that the first outlay for preparing the ground, is so considerable, and the return during the two first years so small. We have not included within that sum the cattle with which you have assisted them, as they cost the Company almost nothing; and in like manner the slaves, although both must be charged to their account. At the same time a due discretion and moderation must be exercised in making these advances, preferring the industrious, from whom an earlier repayment is to be expected, before the indolent, which will have the effect of stimulating the others to more exertion.

As to the price of the grain, we perceive, from the reasons stated by you, that we have fixed it somewhat too low, and therefore accede to the terms you propose, namely 50 reals of 48 stivers, or 120 guilders, per Indian ton of 3000 lbs. of wheat, and other grain in proportion.<sup>(1)</sup>

When matters shall have advanced so far that you have sufficient food, and abundance of grain in store, we would be inclined to consent to their planting tobacco, and selling it to the crews of the ships touching there, but not to receiving it from them on the Company's account, as, judging from the sample formerly sent by you, it is of very indifferent quality.

Neither can we see any difficulty in allowing them to sell and exchange their breeding sheep one to another, but as to the rams, we cannot permit them to sell these to the captains of the passing ships, but that you receive them for issue to the ships on the Company's account, and at the established rates; and for the further encouragement of the said free men, we shall cancel and remit the debt incurred by them for their first year's seed corn. . . . . We will hope, that in time, and upon further search, something profitable will be found in the interior, and you therefore do well in exploring the country by land expeditions.

As you represent that Herry has given sufficient cause for what has befallen him, we also shall conclude that such has been the case.<sup>(2)</sup>

We were formerly in some degree inclined, upon your earnest solicitation, to send you from hence some large horses, but having considered the expense, and the risk of their dying, it has been postponed; and we shall now be still more reluctant, as we perceive that your stud has increased to 16—and that in the Cape itself there is to be seen as fine a race of horses as are to be found in any country; consequently, even should you be unable to catch any of them, still you will in a short time have procured a sufficient number by breeding, upon which therefore you may, and also must henceforth depend.

As before noticed, it is highly satisfactory to learn that you are now supplied to your contentment with oxen, cows, and sheep, and must now direct your attention to the means of bringing the stock which you issue to the shipping, into somewhat better condition, for great complaint has been hitherto made of the dryness and leanness of the meat.<sup>(3)</sup> The practice of the Company's servants and free men concealing themselves in the homeward bound ships has become very prevalent, to the great injury of the Company, as well as of the Colonists, especially where the fugitives have besides left considerable debts behind them; it will therefore be necessary to provide against this practice, by proclamation and severe punishments, &c.

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### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1659. Sept. 15. The Commander went out to examine the fence of dead bushes or *pega pega*; some of the heaviest cattle were driven against it to test its efficiency, but they could not break through—1150 roods had been made by 30 men in 20 days, the greatest difficulty is its liability to fire, 3 persons were accordingly appointed to guard it against fire. . . . . a third guard house was

<sup>(1)</sup> *Vide supra* notes to p.p. 124—151.

<sup>(2)</sup> See however the Despatch of 21st August, 1660, for a further explanation of these sentiments.

<sup>(3)</sup> In reply to complaints of the insufficiency of the supplies of fresh meat, Mr. V. R. transmitted on the 26th April, a list of issues, from which it appears that, in the course of twelve months, 29 ships, most of which contained from 150 to 450 men, had been supplied with 148½ head of cattle, and 352 sheep, during their stay at the Cape.

ordered to be erected and to be called *Hout den Bul*, &c. . . . . as the Hottentoots are now allowing us a little peace. . . . .

Sept. 20. In the afternoon a signal was made from the guard house Kyck Uyt that they saw Hottentoots, on which the mounted guards and fisherinen, and some people from the Fort were sent in that direction, the riders coming there first, perceived, (as there was a small flag shown,) that it was Oedasoa's people with 7 or 8 sheep, and the interpreter Eva, who came into the Fort with the party sent out, (whom also they had met) like good friends. After delivering compliments from her brother in law, and making some trivial observations, she said that she was directed by him to tell us, that the Caepmans had asked him to give Eva to them, so that they might employ her to ask us for peace; on which he Oedasoa had answered, that they had Doman, who also had been brought up in the Commander's house, and could speak enough Dutch; but as he was severely wounded, having, in the affair with the fiscal, been shot by the head groom of the Company's stables, behind on the shoulder blade, the shot passing out through the breast; and 3 others still lying severely wounded, and none of them daring to come to us—he had undertaken to inform us through Eva, that they would restore one half of the cattle and sheep that had been taken, as the plunderers had consumed the residue, and all the Dutch sheep, &c. On this Eva was asked, whether Oedasoa had not answered, that this was a bad offer, and if they ought not to have offered twice as many as they had stolen from us; she said that he had told them that they must offer the same number that they had taken; and to that settlement he Oedasoa was inclined, if possible, to bring it; begging that we would be contented with the offer, as he, upon their continued entreaty, had promised to join them as mediator; on which they were informed, that our resolution would be communicated to them when they were ready to depart.

21. Bought 8 sheep from the said Saldanhars. Talking again with Eva, she told us that the Caepmans were very angry with Doman, blaming him daily with being the cause of their being deprived of the enjoyments of the intercourse with the Dutch (*genot en den ommegangh*) from which they must now be banished, besides the loss of 8 of their best and bravest men; and 3, besides Doman, lying severely wounded, not without danger of dying of their wounds; that consequently there was much disunion among them, and no less weeping and wailing among the women; that the Gorachouquas had also lost 2 of their best men in that affair, and were thus also afraid for us, they had in consequence parted from the Caepmans, after committing some acts of hostility; so that Doman was now in disgrace with them, and had humbled himself (*t' hooft in schoot geleyt*) to Oedasoa, to induce him to ask us for peace; that the latter had sent Eva to tell us, and to request as a favor that we would pardon them, and renew the former friendship, because in consequence of these proceedings (against the Dutch) they found their imaginations haunted by enemies, and could never lie down to rest, without fancying, that they heard the Dutch shooting in every direction, and fearing that they would again suffer a severe surprise from them.

Eva was then asked if they had not earned twice as much, &c. she answered "yes" and Oedasoa had told them so, but the Commander must forgive the poor cowards (*arme bloets*, these were her words) for this time, Oedasoa would do his best to content us, and to get us back all the stolen cattle.

She received for answer, that, if they brought them all back—in consideration of Oedasoa's request,—but by no means on their account—we would speak about peace, and that some of their chief men might accompany her to the Fort, &c.

22. Eva and her companions set out in the forenoon with the answer above stated, having all received some presents, as well as some for Oedasoa and his wife; but in passing the redoubt Duynhoop, and finding no one there but the black wife of the free man Jan Sacharias,<sup>(1)</sup> they took from her a pair of tongs, and an axe, and also beat her; she called to Eva, who, she says, would not come to her, but only slapped her hand on her thigh, and passed on.

In the evening we received a report that 13 Hottentoots had been seen in the morning near the Bosheuvel, who passed above the *pega pega* towards the side of the Bosberg, behind the wood of L. Cornelis, and then went back into the wood. What was, or may still be their object, is uncertain. At all events it is clear that there is no knowing what to believe of Eva's message, or of this people, and that we must be constantly upon our guard. 7 of the cattle guard, one of them a corporal, were sent to Leendert's Bush, with orders to put the free men and Company's servants upon their guard, and then to watch near the said bush to ascertain what attack the said Hottentoots have in

(1) One of several formal marriages between Europeans and female slaves from the East Indies, which are noted in the Journal (the slave being always first emancipated) is that of Jan Sacharias.

contemplation, whether upon the sawyer, on account of his saws and other tools, or upon the Commander's farm at the Bosheuvel, which being the outermost, is the most difficult to support.

Sept. 23. The Commander went out early, and at the Company's orchard met the corporal and his party, the said Hottentoots had attempted nothing, nor had any thing been seen of them. The Commander took with him the corporal and 4 of his men, as he had but 6 with him, to make another ordinary round of inspection, so that all, seeing the Commander daily busy in every direction, might be the better kept to their duty, and that any Hottentoots who might be near, should see that they were strictly watched.

30. The Commander, after the usual round of inspection. . . . . fixed the site of the third guard house, for which the timber was now ready, and named it Hout den Bul; 21 men were employed scarping the banks of the river, so as to make it more difficult for Hottentoots to drive cattle over.

Oct. 3.—This day the Hottentoo prisoner was sent to Robben Island by the *Schape Jachtjen*.

14. The free man Pieter Jans came to report that, near the Bosheuvel he had been surrounded by 9 Hottentoots, who, after some conversation, requested that he would fetch them a flag from the Fort, that they might thus be enabled to speak with the Commander without molestation, &c. A flag was given him, and a soldier sent out with him, being followed unperceived by 3 of the mounted guard. He returned to the Fort in the evening, accompanied by the Hottentoots, being some of Herry's people, called Watermans, who, on the 3rd of last August, had been attacked in the Cape Mountains, by corporal Elias Giers; they offered their excuses, saying they had not any fault, in commencing the war, or stealing the cattle, which had been done by the Caepmans under the command, and at the instigation of Doman; they therefore begged that our men might no longer be sent out against them, but that they might be permitted, as before, to live about the Fort, with their huts and women and children, to render us all services, such as fetching wood, water, fish, &c. as possessing no cattle, or other riches but what they procure by fishing; and from which our common people have been in the habit of deriving much assistance. On being asked where the Caepmans lived at present, they said they were not on such terms as to be much together, but that they had heard some time ago, that they had taken refuge with Oedaso, in return for which he had received from them several cattle of those they had stolen from us, and they therefore thought that they had all retreated far into the interior.

Being asked whether they would not go and seek them for us; they said that this could not be easily done for some time, but that if we would grant their request, to be allowed to live about the Fort for the purpose above noticed, some of the Caepmans would be visiting them by night or at other times, to try to find an opportunity of talking about peace, &c.

Herry was placed behind a thin partition, where he could overhear all this conversation, so as to ascertain from him whether they were lying, &c. but on being afterwards asked, he said that they were all his people, and that they spoke truth.

The matter was therefore submitted to the Council, that it might be deliberated upon to-morrow whether these Hottentoots should be released or detained, &c.

15. The following Resolution was passed:—<sup>(1)</sup> Upon which Resolution the said Hottentoots

(<sup>1</sup>) 1659. Oct. 15.—Resolution of Council.—As the S. E. wind blows too strong for any communication with the ships, so as to invite the captains to assist in the deliberations of the council respecting the Hottentoots now here—a matter which, however, will not admit of delay, but ought to be discussed the sooner the better. The matter was therefore taken in hand by the daily council of the Fort, and after several observations it was considered that it would be inconsistent with every rule of justice and equity, to imprison persons, who, although enemies, (and, though they try to excuse it, concerned in the theft of our cattle, &c.) came voluntarily to offer to make peace, more particularly as these naked creatures have nothing whatever, and their detention would create such aversion and distrust among others, that those in whom the Company is rightfully and chiefly interested, would never venture to trust themselves hereabouts. But on the other hand, if we grant to them, upon their urgent entreaty, a free access as before, and wink at the offences they have committed, the others will venture to come the more confidently to this neighbourhood, and thus we may, in due time, find a better opportunity of taking our proper revenge, or of entering upon, and enforcing such conditions, as will be the most beneficial to the Company and the Public, and as may be deemed expedient, with relation to the circumstances of the case and of the time;\* more particularly because the fence to prevent the passage of cattle is still incomplete, and as we can do little with all our force but protect our cattle, much dimi-

\* For the sentiments and directions of superior authority upon these proposals, *vide infra* March 12, 1660.

On the 25th Sept. arrived the *Erasmus*, which vessel had sailed from Batavia on the 16th Jan. having lost 30 men by sickness and with 86 still alive; they had put into an unknown Bay on the West Coast of Madagascar, between lat. 15° and 16°; during a month's stay there they had made two unsuccessful attempts to communicate with the inhabitants, upon which the ship log-book contains the following reflexion:—"It is surprising to find the shores of so great an inlet of the sea uninhabited, in the island of Madagascar reported to have more than a hundred kings; but it is said that those barbarians carry on the most execrable devastations among each other, whence it happens that many of the inhabitants of the coast, who are often too weak to offer resistance, remove to the mountains, and thus the West Coast of this mighty island, is found by strangers to be desert and uninhabited."

(being provisionally reconciled) were set at liberty, conducted by the fiscal beyond the furthest free man's dwelling, and shown where they were to appear, and by what road they were to approach when they desired to return.

Oct. 17. Four of the said Hottentoots returned to the Fort with the Commmander (who had met them while out) saying that to-morrow, or the day after, they would come with their wives, children, huts, and the rest of their people, again to establish themselves hereabouts, &c.

18. The free men's vessel returned from Saldanha Bay with some fish and eggs; the free men said that they had seen there some of Oedaso's people, and of the tobacco thieves, and had bartered from them about 20 sheep; that they had also offered cattle, which our men were obliged to refuse, having no means of conveying them, and from want of merchandize, otherwise had there been any means of transport, they think they could have procured a good number,<sup>(1)</sup> and also as the natives were kindly treated by them.

20. As the Watermans are coming again to live at the Fort, as mentioned on the 15th, Herry was secretly sent off to Robben Island with the Schapejachtjen, without his people being told any thing about him, and they asked about him no more than if he had never existed.

Nov. 1. This day was gathered the first Dutch rose grown at the Cape, from a rose tree brought here last year. . . . .

nished by the consumption of the shipping, so that we must turn our attention to the means of procuring others in greater number—by barter, as being the most advisable mode—and this could not be brought about by detaining these persons, still less could the Caepmans, our principal enemies, be so far enticed back that we could choose our opportunity for taking effectual revenge, as we could have often done before, and which it is to be hoped we shall in due time be able to do again, if we release these people; or at least that we may be so far reconciled that they will restore to us some of the plundered cattle, and let us then the more securely carry on the traffic of which they are now trying to deprive us, by estranging Oedaso from us as much as possible, and by making every one inimical to us. To counteract this some means must necessarily be adopted, and nothing better can be thought of at present, than allowing these Watermans to go and return freely, for after all, we cannot prevent them, or any one else, from examining every thing around us at all times; and it is to be hoped that these people, seeing that we are every day making ourselves stronger, will be the less disposed to disturb us again, we keeping at the same time a very strict and rigorous watch, continuing equally upon our guard in every direction, and proceeding as before in the completion of the barrier, and other defences, &c.

(1) Some merchandize was forthwith sent to the surveyor, then engaged in surveying Saldanha Bay, with instructions to buy some sheep from the Cochoquas. *Resolutions of Council.*

#### Extract of Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to the Governor General and Council, Batavia.

1659. Oct. 20. Since our last letter of the 29th July, forwarded in duplicate by the *Hoff van Zeelandt* and *Achilles*, the Hottentoots have allowed us some peace, and kept quiet; there seems to be some fear produced among them, as well by the first defeat they received from the fiscal, as stated in our last letter, as in consequence of a subsequent affair with the corporal Elias Giers, who, with 10 men, found them among the Cape Hills, killed 3 of them, and destroyed their assagays, houses, &c. as detailed in the annexed copy of the Journal, under date Aug. 3.

They have thus left us good leisure, to strengthen our defences by three guard houses, and some fencing of posts and rails on which we are still engaged, and which will check them in driving off our cattle

On two separate occasions, some of them have also shown themselves at a distance, trying, as they said, to get into communication with our men, never daring to approach within gunshot, but always running away again, as we imagine, from fear.

Since that time Eva has come to us with upwards of the 20 of her brother-in-law's people, with intelligence that he had, upon the repeated entreaties of the Caepmans, promised that he would intercede with us to make peace, that he had taken them under subjection, and that they offered to restore our half of the stolen cattle, &c. On which Eva was sent back to Oedaso with the following message:—

That we were well disposed to make peace, not for the sake of the Caepmans, but on account of Oedaso's intercession; but that they should at least bring back what they had so treacherously stolen, and that, should they agree to this, some of their chief men might come with her when she next visited the Fort, to speak about peace. But, Gentlemen, we dare trust less and less every day to Oedaso and Eva, as may be more fully seen under date 22nd September; thus we cannot say what turn matters may take, but will look up to Providence for the best, trying meanwhile to make ourselves so secure with the said fences, &c. that our cattle may not be again so easily carried off.

And should it appear at last that Oedaso is only trying to amuse and deceive us, we have it in contemplation (once our defences are complete, and the cattle safe within them) to detain some of his people when they visit the Fort, until, according to his offer, he puts our enemies into our hands, or brings us to them, so that we may ourselves attack them, and force them to adopt a better line of conduct, &c. but we do not believe that we shall come to this, before we are favoured with the result of your more mature judgment, and approval, which we look for with the next return fleet, unless in the event of absolute necessity, and when the nature of the case will not admit of delay—when we hope to act, according to the exigencies of the moment, in the manner most servicable to the Hon. Company—with the portion of knowledge and deliberation which the Lord has been pleased to bestow.

Since Eva's departure the Watermans or Herry's people—who were visited by Corporal Giers, as before mentioned, came to us on the 14th, and requested leave again to reside at the Fort with their families and huts; this was acceded to, in order the better to entice the Caepmans also, and to watch our opportunity to deal with them, as may be seen in the Resolution of the 15th. . . . .

With the ship *Gecroonde Leeuw*, which we daily look for, we trust to be able to advise your Honors of any further change in the Hottentoot affairs, &c.

Nov. 7. The free men's boat, the *Penquin*, returned from Saldanha Bay . . . . an dalso the Company's vessel, with 18 sheep, formerly bought there by the free men, and placed on Schaapen Island; on this occasion no trade had been found there, but they heard, from the Strandloopers, that the Cochoquas had retired into the interior.

24. The fiscal was sent to Saldanha Bay to examine it further . . . . . as the English appear to have occupied St. Helena for themselves . . . . .

30. The free men's boat *Zee Leeuw* returned from Saldanha Bay, with intelligence that they had received from the other vessel 24 sheep . . . . . 18 had been bought from the Hottentoes there, since their departure.

Dec. 2. The farmers were every where busied in mowing their brown wheat;—the rye and barley was a very good crop, and was mostly housed, the white wheat, which is later in ripening, promises, thank God, equally well; and according to every appearance (notwithstanding the check which the agriculture has sustained by the Hottentoo war) this crop will be very successful, if the Lord God be only pleased to permit that we may reap it in such quiet as we have enjoyed for some time back; for, as yet we have seen none of the mischief threatened by the ill-disposed Hottentoes in burning the corn, for which God be thanked.

8. The *Penquin* came from Saldanha Bay with 21 sheep, which, together with 8 more that were placed on the Island, were bought from Oedasoa's people . . . . . The Company's vessel was to follow; Eva, who wished to speak with the Commander, was in the Company's vessel; Oedasoa was lying in Saldanha Bay with more than 16000 of his Saldanhars; further particulars, and what Eva has to say, we shall learn on the arrival of the fiscal.

Herry and the Hottentoo prisoner had, some 8 or 10 days ago, made off from Robben Island during the night with our men's boat, which was so leaky that there was no doubt they had not been able to keep it afloat, or that, if they succeeded in reaching the coast, they must have been drowned in the surf (which breaks very high, and in 7 or 8 lines) the rather that it blew at the time a smart breeze from the westward, making a lee shore for them, which is still worse; orders were, however, given for 5 men to search the shore as far as Dassen Island, to try whether any thing of them can be found.

9. Corporal Elias Giers and 5 men set out early, for the purpose above stated.

13. The corporal returned with his men, and reported that about 1½ day's journey from this, in a sandy bight, near a place called by our people the Zant Zee, from the high sand hills, he had found a boat with 2 small oars, drawn high up on the shore, but he could no where discover any traces of men, he therefore went on to opposite Dassen Island, but found nothing. He brought with him an oar, and an iron thowl pin; from this it fully appeared that the boat in question was the same with which Herry and the other Hottentoo had fled from the Island, and, to all appearance, they have escaped; what Herry will now take in hand time must teach—opinions are at variance upon the subject, some expect harm, and others good, and that by bringing the Chainouquas, in some respects his best friends, with many cattle, as he did on a former occasion,<sup>(1)</sup> he will again try to earn pardon, and will appear at the Fort, once more to reign over his old subjects the Watermans. This day the first ripe cherry was plucked at the Cape.

14. The *Schape Jacht* returned from Saldanha Bay, with the fiscal, &c . . . . . Eva said that she had come of her own free will, and at her own desire, with the consent of her brother-in-law, Oedasoa; that she had delivered to him our message, namely—that we would, upon his intercession and request, make peace with the Caepmans, upon their restoring all the stolen cattle and sheep, &c. That he had given them this answer, and required to see the stolen cattle, but they had not shown him the fourth part of them; that he had given them his flag notwithstanding, desiring them to send their commissioners to the Fort, offering to restore all the stolen cattle, and to behave better in future, &c. as he was now about to remove further inland, and would not have them with him any longer, although they had earnestly entreated this, he had refused it, and told them they should try to make peace again with the Dutch, before they were suddenly surprised by them; that the Caepmans had promised to do so; that they would stay at Saldanha Bay with the little Chariguriquas; as the great Chariguriquas and the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, had gone far into the

(1) See 23rd June 1655, p. 64.

1659. Dec. 3. A Resolution of this date provides for the discharge from further banishment of 3 of the persons condemned on the 1st Oct. 1658, to 5 or 6 years in chains for sheep stealing, more especially for their good behaviour during the Hottentoo war.

interior for fresh pasture, as had Ngonomoa, Oedaso's *secunde*,—and he would soon decamp himself;—so that if we had a galiot now, we might, by entering the Bay with a foreign flag, lure our said enemies nicely on board, and surprise and seize them very conveniently; but it is to be feared that Herry, if he has found them, will put them well on their guard, and tell them how we lately employed him with a party of soldiers in trying to find them, &c. Eva is of opinion that he dares not tell them this, and that, to bring himself in favor again, he will come to the Fort with many cattle from the Chainouquas, with whom he is still on very good terms, whose captain Chainantima, (of whom much has been written—he whose wife, of the Chobona race, and dressed in gold ornaments—was killed by the Cochoquas) had been driven away by his master, the Chainouquar, because in that battle he had lost so many of his tribe on his wife's account, and Chainantima was now living with the Caepmans, with 5 houses and many cattle.

The interpreter Doman had recovered from the shot he had received through his shoulder, but his arm was disabled; he dared not return to the Commander, fearing that he would be hanged; the rest longed much for peace, though as yet none of them would venture to go to the Fort. The next time will show, and we must hope for the best from the Almighty. This afternoon the chief surgeon, Mr. Wiljam Robberson, of Dondey, discovered a great treachery of 4 English, 4 *Schotten*, 3 Dutch Company's servants, a black convict, and 15 slaves, who had laid a plan to destroy the crew of the *Erasmus* who were at work in the wood, then the Company's servants at the Schuyr, then to scale the walls of the Fort, and murder all in it, down to the youngest child, and then seize and make off with the *Erasmus*.<sup>(1)</sup>

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#### Extracts of a Despatch from the Governor General and Council in India, to Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council.

1659. Dec. 15. We have received your Despatches, with the accompanying documents, of dates 7th and last of Nov. 1658, 16th Feb. 19th and last of March, 14th April, 17th May, 4th June, 3rd, 17th, and 29th July of the present year. . . . . On perusal of your earlier letters we observed with satisfaction that every thing at the Cape, in particular the cultivation and the rearing of live stock—was in a prosperous condition; this led us to hope that, as a matter of course, the Company had fully attained its principal object there; but we subsequently learnt, to our sorrow, that the long smothered fire of discontent among the Hottentoots, had burst into flame, and that they had commenced—without having received any cause of offence—to steal the free men's cattle, to lay waste the corn fields, and thus to do us all possible injury; aye, even—in their way—to wage open war against us. Under these circumstances you had no alternative, and could only offer all the resistance in your power, in your own defence, and, in as far as possible protect your establishments from those attacks. It appears from your reports, that you have hitherto obtained but slight advantages over the enemy, in consequence of their agility in availing themselves of their native woods and fastnesses, and that they, on the other hand, have already done so much damage, that the best of the free men have been ruined, and have become entirely dispirited. We fear that this unfortunate blow, with whatever degree of courage you may have encountered it, will shake the Cape Colony—which has already cost the Company so much expense—entirely to pieces; and that

(1) During the rest of December the Journal is occupied with details of the desperate plot above noticed. On the 12th of March a Resolution was passed that, as the trial of the 8 conspirators, (among whom are named Pieter Barber, of Hamstede; Jacob Born, of Glasco; Patricq t'Jock, of Glasco, &c.) would occupy at least 10 days, and detain the fleet, they should be sent to Batavia to be tried. No further mention of natives appears until the 12th Jan.

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#### Extract of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to Governor General and Council, Batavia.

1659. Dec. 28. Since our last letter by the *Malacca* [i. e. Oct. 20] very little change has taken place in the affairs of the Hottentoots, except that Eva returned in the boat coming from Saldanha Bay, at her own desire, only stating that Oedaso had handed his flag to the Caepmans, that they might thus be enabled to send Commissioners to the Fort to speak about peace, though what will come of it, time must show. Meanwhile, thanks to God we have had an excellent crop, &c.

Herry and another Hottentoo prisoner have escaped from Robben Island, in a small boat with 2 paddles, used for fishing and communicating with ships, and it would seem that he has landed safely on the main, as the boat and oars were found when sought for, about 1½ day's journey from the Fort, drawn high and dry upon the beach, as may be seen under date 13th Dec. What conduct he will pursue towards us time must show, but Eva thinks, that—as he did when he first stole the cattle—he will invite the Chainouquas to come down to us with many cattle, and thus try to be restored to favor; this is much to be desired, so that all may be put to rights again, for this has been a very disastrous year.

The danger which the Company's possession has encountered since the departure of the *Malacca*, of being entirely destroyed by our own people, your Honors will hear fully from the officers of that ship, &c. . . . .

JAN VAN RIEBEECK, &c.

the Residency there, producing no return, will always be a burden on the Company. We never entertained any high idea of the Cape scheme; there was far too much said at the commencement, of what we must now see turning out most unfortunately; however, what is done cannot be undone. We are at present so situated that we can scarcely give you any directions; time will show us what must be done hereafter. At present, however, there is nothing for it, except to stand up stoutly to your own defence, and to await the orders which our employers may issue in the present emergency. The more important points we must leave to their Honors, without giving you any special instructions, but we may thus far authorize you, provisionally, and according to the exigencies of the moment, somewhat to increase the strength of your garrison, a burden which their Honors aforesaid need not bear any longer than they choose.

When the matter is fairly looked into, it must be concluded, that, now that the Hottentoots have been once roused, the Company will not easily obtain a peaceful possession, but will be constantly embroiled with one or other of the native tribes, for, ever since our first establishment there, they have displayed signs of jealousy, as may be sufficiently ascertained from the reasons which a certain Caepman prisoner<sup>(1)</sup> has given for their commencing the present war, namely, that they were not inclined to suffer us at the Cape any longer, because you had occupied, for your own use, their best and most productive lands, which had been theirs from time immemorial, and which put them to much inconvenience; a grievance of these savage men, which we must certainly admit, is not entirely unfounded, and in which, notwithstanding, we shall not be able to give them any satisfaction while we continue to reside at the Cape. What else then can follow, but ceaseless alarms and disturbances, in which the Company must be constantly engaged at great cost, for we cannot conceive for a moment, that with a force of 20 mounted men, you will be able to keep the enemy in check, and to protect all the lands as far as the Gevel Bergen against their violence, as they will without doubt become bolder in time, and give you more trouble in maintaining yourselves there than is very apparent at present. We will hope, however, that it may turn out contrary to our opinion. The worst of all is, that when we are once firmly established any where, we cannot easily be brought to resolve upon abandonment, a circumstance which is frequently attended by nothing but a long train of expenses, which, in spite of the most rigid economy, greatly embarrass the Company, and we shall perhaps find, in the end, that this has been the case at the Cape. Meanwhile we long to learn, from your next letters, what has been the result of these difficulties, and to what remedial measures our honorable masters will resort.

We agree with you that the desertion and concealment of free men as well as of Company's servants at the Cape, ought to be met by severe punishments, for it would otherwise be impossible to keep the Cape Residency any longer in existence, and, as far as is dependant upon us, we shall endeavour to provide accordingly. At the same time innumerable complaints are made to us that the free men cannot earn a subsistence there, and are thus compelled to fly by hunger and privation, as many of those who hid themselves in the last homeward bound fleet alleged in their own defence; of such pleas they would naturally avail themselves, and they are therefore not entitled to much attention. Of the 4 persons whom you state to have hidden themselves in the ships bound to Batavia, only one—a ship's carpenter—has been found here, we have banished him to *Orrust*, there to labour, in the first instance, until he has redeemed the debt he owed at the time of his desertion, as to which, had he been forthwith sent back, you would not have known what to do, he can, however, be sent back to you hereafter.

We have charged Mr. Pieter Sterthemius, Counsellor Extraordinary of India, with the command of this fleet, and have also given him, according to the directions of our Masters, a Commission to examine the Cape Residency on his way, rendering to their Honors, upon his arrival in Fatherland, a proper report upon its state and condition, which could not be done last year in consequence of Commander Koedyk passing without touching; and we were also deprived of the verbal report of Mr. Van Almonde, as he died on reaching the coast of Java—but as both our hon. masters and ourselves are usually furnished with sufficiently ample details from yourself, this is of the less consequence.

And that you may at last have the use of the horses that are so much required, particularly in the present war with the Hottentoots, we have thought fit to ship 2 in each of the eight homeward bound ships, notwithstanding that some encumbrance will be caused by the extra water and the forage, but that must be put up with, so they be only all landed alive, which, from the length of the voyage, is rather doubtful.....

In the Castle, Batavia, 15th Dec. 1659.

JOAN MAETSUYKER, &c. &c.

(1) *Vide supra* p. 186.

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1660. Jan. 12. Some fires were this day perceived at the Leopard's Berg; on asking the opinion of Eva and of the Watermans, they said that they thought those must be the fires of the Caepmans, our enemies; on which 7 Dutch were sent out as spies.....

15. The spies returned, reporting that they had not been able to find any thing whatever, although we every night saw the fires in one and the same spot.

18. The free men's two boats came from Saldanha Bay with dry fish and 20 sheep, bartered from Oedaso's people, who still lie thereabouts, and the Caepmans, our enemies, with them; almost all of which Caepmans had been with our people in their vessel, as also Doman and Herry; they said that they and the fat captain were disposed to come with their camp and to reside with us again, provided that the vessels, on returning from the Cape, brought a letter signed by the Commander, the junior merchant R. de Man, and the fiscal Abraham Gabbema, also some tobacco and 4 pieces of brass wire for their chiefs, &c. which they would accept as a token of peace, and then some of them would come to the Fort. The Caepmans also said that the Commander has such faith in Eva (hou't Eva soo aen) but Oedaso only lets her stay, or come and go, as agent, that he may know what we do or intend to do, which she always tells him.

They would not believe that we had allowed the fishers or strandloopers to reside at the Fort again; and said, that when they were satisfied of that, or saw one of them return with the boat, they would then be the more disposed to believe that the Commander's anger was now entirely over; and that the reason why they had made war upon us, was, that we every where broke up the best land with the plough, and they thought to prevent that by taking away the oxen with which we did it, also that some farmers had done them much injury, in particular Jan Reyniers<sup>(1)</sup> and Hendrick Boom, who had once hanged up one of them with a strap, but he was cut down by Jacob Rosendaal, and his life thus saved.

That now, seeing that we were strengthening ourselves against their attacks, and as they consequently found it impossible to drive the Dutch from the Cape, they wished again to make peace with us, and to live as before.

Herry also requested to be allowed to live at the Fort as before, with his wives, and he would take care that we should get plenty of cattle from the Chainouquas, &c.

They said also that if Symion In'tveld had not fired upon them, when they came to take his cattle, they would not have stabbed him to death with assagays, nor the servant of Hendrick Boom either; for they had only come for the cattle, and those persons had, by offering resistance, been the cause of their own death<sup>(2)</sup> otherwise they would have done no harm, but only taken away the cattle. When they were asked why they wished to come to the Cape and make peace, they said it was their birth place, and their own land, full of pure water, after which their hearts always longed, that in Saldanha Bay all was dry and brakish; and that Oedaso would not allow them to lie on the best places and rivers, and had told them that they must arrange with us, so that they might live in peace and quiet in their own country.

This being told to Eva, she confirmed it, but added, that it might be that Oedaso would wish us to make peace with the Caepmans, but not with true affection, nor in the soul, which soul and heart must be reserved for him alone, as a brother; and for the Caepmans, feigned peace, such as they designed to make with us, and that we must nevertheless take great care that we did not again trust them. She said that Oedaso had impressed upon her that she must always keep us in mind of this, and that the Commander should continue to acknowledge him as the greatest *Heer* of this country (as he was in reality) and as his own brother; that he would not turn away his heart from him, and above all that we should not ally ourselves too closely with the Caepmans, nor trust them any more, as he saw that they would not fail, one day or other, to find an opportunity of again doing mischief, however favorable a peace might be made with them. Whereupon Eva was assured that her brother in law Oedaso was so deeply engraved upon the Commander's heart, that no one could remove the impression, &c.

21. The two vessels were sent back to Saldanha Bay, and with them the Hottentoo Claes Das, one of the fishers, or Watermans, (who, upon their request, had been again suffered at the Fort,) and notes to the effect following:—

“ Note for Gogoso, the fat captain of the Caepmans, and for Doman, with a small roll of tobacco

(1) A Resolution of Council of March 22, 1660, provides for re-employing Jan Reyniers in the Company's service, as sailmaker, at his own request, as he had been “entirely ruined by the Hottentoo war,” &c.

(2) See July 4, 1659, (p. 133) where the same plea is advanced by the opposite party.

a flask of brandy, 4 pieces of brass wire, and consent, that he may come to the Fort with Doman, and all his Cape people, to speak with the Commander about peace," which was, at the request of the said Caepmans, signed by Jan van Riebeeck, Roeloff de Man, and Abraham Gabbema.

"Note for Herry, with a small roll of tobacco, and consent, that he may come to live at the Fort with his house and wives, if he will only see that many cattle are brought to us," signed as above.

Feb. 7. The Commander visited the farms, and found the free men busy ploughing down the stubble, or thrashing their corn.

16. Arrived the *Loenen*, from Batavia, with 60 tons of rice, and other supplies for this garrison.

17. Arrived from Dassen Island, the *Penguin*, with eggs and fish, and the *Sea Lion*, from Saldanha Bay, with 25 sheep, bartered, 8 from our enemies the Caepmans, and the rest from the little Chariguriquas, with whom Herry now lived; they said that Herry, on receiving our consent, would have gladly come in the boat, but as Claes Das (who is now chief of the Watermans in Herry's room, and who had been sent to satisfy the Caepmans—who also are at Saldanha Bay—that the Watermans are allowed to come to the Fort) was in the boat, and as Herry and Claes were not very good friends, they had declined bringing him, upon some other plea. This will strengthen his confidence in us, and be a good thing for various reasons. Our people and Claes Das further reported that Pieter Otegro and Khuma alias Jan, 2 of the sons of Gogosoa, Doman, Gotiko Platneus or Corabinga, both the Symons, and some more of the principal Caepmans, had said that they would soon come to the Fort with commissioners and as many of the stolen cattle as were still alive, and not eaten by them, in hopes that the Commander would receive them, and would enter upon and maintain a firm and inviolable peace with them; and that they were already far advanced upon their journey hither.

Ngonomoa, the other chief of the Cochoquas, whom we always used to call the Swarte Captain, had united with the Gorachouquas or tobacco thieves, our other enemies, and separated from Oedaso; it may therefore happen, (as Caepman now asks peace in compliance with the advice of Oedaso, as it would seem, and as the Gorachouquar is too proud to make peace with us, though his people have caused us great annoyance,) that these two large tribes will not be disposed to let us live in quiet; but as we have now got horses, and as they are very rich in cattle, we shall be able to indemnify ourselves much better upon them, than upon these indigent Caep- and Watermans, &c.

25. This day we measured the circuit of the Cape settlement (omslag) and found, that from the seashore at the first guard house, the Kyck Uyt, round outside all the Company's and free men's arable land, and over the height of the Boshevel to the sawyer Leendert Cornelis, at the Bosberg, was a distance of 3673 roods, that is, from the shore to the principal projected station of the mounted guard, 1320 roods, and the other portion 2353 roods; along this line it is intended to plough, to the breadth of one roe, for the purpose of planting and sowing, as thickly as possible, bitter almond trees, and all kinds of thorns and brambles of rapid growth; so that no cattle nor sheep can be driven through; like the divisions of jurisdiction betwixt the territories of some Dukes and Lords in Cologne and Germany, with here and there guard houses and watch towers with bars, to protect the farmers from external attacks, for which the guard houses and bars already made, will answer; the ploughing and planting being deemed the quickest and cheapest mode, as the ploughing will not occupy above 2 or 3 weeks, and as the bitter almonds will be ripe in the end of March and beginning of April, an abundance can be collected and sown with the first rains, and thorns

#### Extract of Despatch to Batavia.

1660. Jan. 21. Since our last of the 29th December the Hottentots still continue quiet, but for some days back fires have been seen inland, and we have tried in vain to find out by whom they were lighted. . . . it begins to appear that our plundering enemies, the Caepmans, are disposed to be reconciled to us, according to the reports received from our people, who have been at Saldanha Bay—as may be seen in the annexed continuation of our Journal, under date 18th instant, time will make us wiser—and having nothing further to communicate, &c.

1660. Jan. 31. Very severe South East wind, with extraordinary showers of rain; the *Erasmus* rode it out. This overland wind has never, at least since the Company has been established here, driven any vessel from the roads, though they have indeed dragged their anchors, only to hold the faster, however strong has been the gale, and this Saturday it was almost like Mauritian hurricanes or Japanese tuffans; if the N. W. wind blew so in the winter, it would be impossible for any ship to lie in the bay. . . . .

1660. Feb. 2. By orders from Holland small vessels were sent out to cruise for the homeward bound fleet, to apprise them of St. Helena being in the possession of the English, and to warn them to avoid touching there, as well as passing through the British Channel, as, from the tottering condition of the English Government, it was very uncertain whether war might not ensue.

In a letter dated 17th Feb. 1660, addressed to Mr. Sterthemius, Admiral of the return fleet, there is this passage:—"As to the Hottentoo war, all has been quiet for some time, and they begin to ask for peace," &c.

planted at the same time, and in 4 or 5 years this hedge will probably have grown to a thickness and strength sufficient for the purpose, as these bitter almonds shoot up as quickly as any European willow, and grow so thick, that when mixed with the said thorns and brambles, it will be difficult for a man to get through, and still more so for any cattle, except through the gates at the said guard houses, with consent of the mounted guard, within which fence our whole concerns, farms, woods, &c. can be nicely enclosed in a semicircle, and well protected against invasions of the Hottentoots.

March 1. The whole homeward bound fleet appeared before the bay in good order. . . . . The burger H. Remanjenne and 2 others who had gone inland as far as Saldanha Bay without our knowledge, visited the Caepmans there, giving out that they had come to try to buy some cattle. Under this pretext he had procured 6 sheep and a lean cow, and they sent with him three of their people, with whom he this evening arrived at the Fort. They requested the Commanders to permit Herry, Doman, and some others to come to the Fort with a present of cattle and sheep to treat for peace, promising that they would henceforth conduct themselves like good friends, and never again injure us or our people, &c. which was answered as required, and acceded to. 2. The 9 homeward bound ships and the *Loenen*, came to anchor.

3. The three Commissioners from the Caepmans were sent back, accompanied by the said H. Remanjenne and a soldier, each provided with some brass, tobacco, brandy, &c. as a present to their chiefs, and with a note permitting them to come freely to the Fort to treat for peace, &c. which, for their greater satisfaction, was signed, in their presence, by his honor Mr. Sterthemius, and by Commander Riebeeck.

4. The *Sea Lion* arrived from Saldanha Bay with some eggs and fish, and 20 sheep, bartered from the Caepmans and Chariguriquas, which Caepmans had all moved off in this direction, saying that they were coming near us with their whole camp to barter with us. Herry had embarked with them to come hither, but the Caepmans had made him land again, wishing him to accompany them over land, fearing that if he came here alone, he would speak too privately with us, &c.

10. Towards evening the burger H. Remanjenne returned to the Fort with Herry and Doman, and a whole squad of their people, bringing with them 10 cattle and 5 sheep, in order to treat for peace; they were received, and the negotiation postponed until to-morrow; the said burger was, with the sanction of Mr. Sterthemius, rewarded for his trouble with 25 reals of 8.

11. This day the said 10 cattle and 4 sheep were accepted as a present from the said Caepmans, and there was given to them in return, so much brass, tobacco, and beads, that they were well paid, besides their entertainment in meat and drink, &c. and it was also provisionally agreed with them, that they might freely come with their camp, houses, and cattle, to beyond the Bosheuvell, in order there to speak further regarding a treaty of peace.

#### 1660. March 12. Extracts from a Memorandum for the guidance of Commander J. VAN RIEBEECK, until further Orders from Holland or Batavia.

Notwithstanding the amply detailed Orders and Instructions successively issued for your guidance in the advancement of this Colony by MESSRS. VAN GOENS and CUNEUS, which scarcely leave room for any thing additional—more particularly as we find that you have duly and zealously complied with the orders of our masters—still, to give effect to the commission entrusted to us, we cannot omit to refresh your memory with the following directions:—Recommending you above all to persevere in your exertions, until the true object of our masters in taking possession here, shall have been attained, and this will not be the case until the cultivation of the soil (which, thanks to God, has this year succeeded beyond all expectation, in spite of the Hottentoo war, so that fully 32 tons of grain, wheat, barley, oats, or rye, have been secured in the granaries) is prosecuted with zeal and in real earnest, and the quantity produced is so much increased, that you can, not only maintain yourselves without annual supplies from Batavia, but furnish the shipping as required, and export a considerable quantity to India. There appears to be a very fair prospect of your succeeding to this extent, in the event of peace, for nothing seems to be wanting but oxen for the plough, and should a peace—for which they have again asked—be concluded, you can be in no want of oxen, should you even send an express mission to Saldanha Bay. . . . . In this necessary work the free men should be encouraged and assisted, especially because, during these troubles, they have been robbed of their best draught oxen, and, through subsequent mortality among the cattle,

On the 9th the *Loenen* was sent to Saldanha Bay, with orders to try to purchase some cattle from the Chariguriquas.

are now entirely without them, and thus the cultivation might be entirely stopped, for it appears that the theft of 119 oxen has caused more than 200 morgen of land to lie waste.

Besides assisting them with cattle, you will, in compliance with the orders of our masters, avoid restricting them too rigidly at first, so as not to destroy their inclination for the work; but allow them to build their houses, and buy, sell, and exchange sheep and cattle among each other, without hinderance,<sup>a</sup> as also, in as far as may be without detriment to the raising of corn, to cultivate and to sell to the shipping as much tobacco and other herbs as will meet the consumption—for they cannot well produce too much of these articles; and daily experience shows us, that though the Company's garden is almost constantly full, and though the ships are supplied abundantly—still private individuals are inclined, notwithstanding, to lay out their money upon other supplies, preferring one to the other;<sup>b</sup> and besides, it is a matter of indifference to the Company whence the supplies of vegetables come, so that the shipping have as much as they require, and the health of the crews can be properly recruited. This is the main reason of our continuing to keep possession here. And although the vegetables are, as before noticed, sufficiently plentiful here at present, still every exertion must be used to collect as many cattle and sheep<sup>c</sup> as are in any way to be had, as, without fresh meat, vegetables go but a small way in the refreshment of the crews, particularly of those of the annual homeward bound fleet, (who cannot well touch at St. Helena, now that it has been taken possession of by the English). . . . . And although, through the faithlessness of these savages, matters have gone so far as to burst out into an open war, during which we have suffered no small injury by the theft of our cattle, and otherwise; you will, notwithstanding, seeing that there is no advantage to be gained by war with these people, endeavour, on a due opportunity, to accommodate matters with them, particularly if, as has happened already, they again come to request it;<sup>d</sup> but at the same time you should not and must not trust them further than you can reach with a stick,<sup>e</sup> for no reliance is to be placed upon their words or promises; and it may be depended upon, that they will not adhere to them any longer than the first moment when they can break them with advantage to themselves; and on this account I agree with you that the garrison ought not to be reduced at present to less than 120<sup>f</sup>—for, from the distribution which we have examined, I cannot conceive that the present establishments can be properly protected, or in any degree defended from the insolence of these barbarians, with a smaller number, unless according to your hopes, that on getting the horses (which have now arrived) you could, even supposing the war to continue, keep the country hereabouts so clear, that the outposts could be in a great measure dispensed with.<sup>g</sup> This, experience will teach, but it would be a most desirable thing if you could meanwhile collect such a quantity of stock that, in the event of another rupture, we could subsist from the increase of our own cattle; for this purpose we conceive the construction of the stone redoubts Keer't de Koe and Corenhoop, and the wooden guard house Hout den Bul, below the Bosbergen, with the hedges you have lately made, will be very useful, for the openings for theft of the cattle are almost cut off, and something more may be done by sowing and planting a thick hedge along their principal thoroughfares, as you have pointed out, and propose commencing in the rainy season.

But, as to your proposal of revenging ourselves upon them after peace and reconciliation, I should conceive that it might, indeed, be easily effected; but then, whether it be permitted, as consistent with our obligations as Christians, and whether we are accordingly at liberty to act thus towards these irrational and blinded men, and according to the proverb, to repay them in the same coin—is very much to be doubted; besides that I should deem that course one which would not redound to our credit, nor would it be sufficiently dignified towards them, for it would seem as if we could do nothing to them in any other way; such a course these savages could not reconcile with justice, and therefore would have good cause to regard us with suspicion hereafter, and never to trust us again. I should therefore deem it best to allow past events to pass unnoticed,<sup>h</sup> and to try whether we cannot convince them by kindness—should that fail—there will be opportunities enough of making them pay for both offences together. . . . .

PIETER STERTHEMIUS.

The following marginal annotations appear on this paper:—<sup>a</sup> This has been allowed more freely than the terms of the order; and by the Resolution of Feb. 21, 1661, they are allowed to buy and sell cattle and sheep among themselves.

<sup>b</sup> This is also our opinion, and this is liberally permitted. <sup>c</sup> In this especially every possible means have been employed.

<sup>d</sup> Complied with and—<sup>e</sup> This also as far as in our power.

<sup>f</sup> Cannot be defended by less, for to rely upon the guards of free men would be to place all the work at hazard; if the Company, therefore would hold this Residency safely, they must make up their minds to keep this number in garrison. Aye, even to keep their own cattle secure, when at the same time the Colonists will be protected.

<sup>g</sup> The outposts, of both horse and foot, it is highly necessary to continue, according to the proposal submitted.

<sup>h</sup> This is our chief maxim also upon this point.

1660. March 13. Proclamation.—Pieter Sterthemius, Counsellor of India, Commander of the Company's return fleet, as also of this Fort the Goede Hope and further establishments at the Cabo de Boa Esperance, and Council, make known.

That whereas it has fully appeared to us that Company's servants as well as free men and inhabitants of this place,—notwithstanding of an interdict of the Commander and Council of the Fort the Goede Hope, issued on the 24th Oct. 1658—to the effect that no one whomsoever should suffer any of the savage men of this country to come about their farms or to enter their houses, but should send them away, so as to afford them no opportunity of examining our proceedings, or again carrying off the cattle of the said free men, or doing them any injury;—and yet the said natives are harboured notwithstanding, above all during the present emergency. Every one whomsoever is therefore *de novo* expressly forbidden,—whether Company's servants or free inhabitants, to harbour, or suffer to come about their houses, or upon their farms, any of these natives, but upon any of them approaching from the interior, to show them the way to the guard house Keer't de Koe, that they may there enter through the barriers fixed for the purpose, and proceed to the Commander and Council in the Fort;—thus to avoid all apprehended mischief, of burning the houses or ripe corn, stealing cattle, and all other annoyances, as well as to obviate and prevent all espionage, under a penalty, against any one who may be found to have contravened this order, of 12 reals of 8, to be applied as usual; such being deemed for the service of the Company and for the public good.

Thus done, &c.

PIETER STERTHEMIUS.

20. Admiral Sterthemius sailed with the whole fleet.

23. The *Loenen* returned from Saldanha Bay; had seen no Hottentoes, excepting naked Strandloopers,<sup>(1)</sup> and still less procured any stock.... 24. The free men of the *Penguin* had all deserted from the colony with the fleet.

#### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1660. March 16. In our last letters, of March 5, 1659, and of the 16th April following..... we have, at great length (indeed almost in the shape of a formal report) detailed the state and condition of your Honors' Residency and Affairs at this place, replying at the same time to all your public and private communications, up to the 2d September inclusive..... We have also received your last general Despatch of the 5th September 1659, which we shall now respectfully proceed to answer *en masse* with that of the 7th May. But first, regarding the war which the Hottentoes have very suddenly and unexpectedly waged upon us, very shortly after all the winter fleet from Holland, and the homeward bound ships had left this roadstead, at a time when we had, in obedience to your orders, reduced this garrison to a very small number, and furnished ourselves with farmers instead of soldiers.

This, the interpreter Doman—who had accompanied Mr. VAN GOENS to Batavia, and had learnt far too much there—did not fail to observe, and, with his Caepmans and adherents, turned it to his fullest advantage, having installed himself as Captain General, as it were, over the bands collected from the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, and some people of their ally Ankaisoa, who was formerly cured by our surgeon of a hurt in the knee received from a lion. To these resorted, at the call of Doman, all the Strandloopers and banditti, and when thus united, they very suddenly attacked us upon all sides, and in a short time carried off from the Company, but chiefly from the free men, 148 of the best draught and milch cattle, and 113 sheep, as specified in the accompanying list, thus entirely ruining 5 farming establishments, and half ruining those of the Company and the Commander, which are the most extensive of all; and that at the worst and most injurious time of the year, in the beginning of May, at the commencement of the ploughing season.

Our prospects here were thus very suddenly changed, and every thing of which we had been enabled to give such favourable accounts in our last letters, appeared to be going to ruin, for we had at the very first many people wounded, and in quick succession 2 killed; and being, as before observed, so short of people, we did not know where to turn, or how to defend ourselves against this sudden predatory warfare, and our difficulties were increased by our having at the same time to defend our agriculture, and the fine stock of cattle which we had collected. This may all be seen noted in our Journal (commencing on the 4th May, the date of the first attack, just one day after

(<sup>1</sup>) On the 1st May a Resolution of Council alludes to this information as one reason for discontinuing the voyages of this vessel—left for the purpose by the Commissioner—to Saldanha Bay; another reason "is, that it will be better and more profitable to entice the natives to the Fort."

the *Naerden* sailed) with short marginal references. And that we may not here go into any unnecessary detail, we shall only show, as briefly as possible, how we, during those troubled times—while defending ourselves as well as possible, for we could do no more, and, indeed, could scarcely do that,—still managed to struggle on with the cultivation, so that, although we have broken up no new ground, we have sown all that was in crop last year, and the Lord has been pleased to bestow such a blessing upon our labours, that we calculate upon thrashing from the crop now secured in stacks or barns, a full third more than last year, when we had in all 32 tons, of which the Company had above 19.....

Meanwhile the ships *Orangie* and *Honingen* putting in here, we were compelled to increase our strength to 120 men, and it pleased the Lord so to bless the Company's arms, (first on the 19th July in the first rencounter, when the fiscal Abraham Gabbema and 3 horsemen killed 3 Hottentoots, and severely wounded their leader, the interpreter Doman, though he escaped; and afterwards on the 4th August, with 11 soldiers under the corporal Elias Giers, when also 3 were killed, and a whole nest of robbers disturbed and dispersed—one of the killed being the chief of the Strandloopers, named Trosoa) that they have since been somewhat intimidated, and, for a long time afterwards, left us unmolested, giving us time to draw breath, and to devise measures for our greater security. We have accordingly discovered a mode of securing the cattle by 3 guard houses, and a fence of posts and rails, &c. as may be seen by our Resolutions of Aug. 9 and 13, which work is also begun, and so far completed, that, without danger of their lives, they cannot easily drive off so many of our cattle again. But still it is certain, and we are daily more confirmed in the opinion, that however favorable may be the terms of a peace concluded with these natives, we cannot be secure with a force of less than 120 men; for it is more evident every day, that on perceiving any chance of success, they cannot abstain from plunder, not even the true Saldanhars, who used to seem so much more reasonable than the Caepmans and their friends, for they also have become bold and troublesome through familiar intercourse, and are not to be relied upon, as may be seen in various entries in our Journal, under the dates which we shall specify, and which clearly appears in the negotiations opened on the 20th June with Oedaso, chief, or king, of the Cochoquas or true Saldanhars, (brother in law of the interpreter Eva, who was brought up in the Commander's house) which negotiations at first promised great advantages, and according to Eva, who, of her own accord, staid with us during the war, bore at first every appearance of sincerity, but were found to be also full of hypocrisy, and they have been subsequently no further trusted than as pretended friends, as may be found under the dates of 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, and last of June, 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, and especially the 9th, as also the 12 and 16th of July, 20, 21, and 22nd September, and 14th December, where all our transactions with them are noted, and which will also appear from the following brief narrative.

Being then, as aforesaid, thus suddenly assailed by war and annoying robbery, Eva, who alone had staid with us in the Fort, told us that neither Oedaso nor any of his people were concerned in the war, that the war was quite contrary to his inclination, and that he would consequently seize the opportunity (for the sake of the advantages to be derived from the Dutch, which the Caepmans had so long and so ungratefully enjoyed) of their gross misconduct, to enter into a closer and more intimate alliance with us. For this purpose, it was said, that on hearing of the war, and when the weather became fine—for it was then very stormy—he would send his people, who would be known by the sheep which they would bring, to enable us to distinguish them from enemies. All this fell out, as stated, on the said 20th June, as then registered in our daily notes. This was followed by a variety of missions and negotiations on both sides; but the more earnestly we endeavoured to come to any good and certain treaty and conditions, the more we perceived, and more distinctly every day, that it was all nothing but outward seeming and hypocrisy. For at first it was broadly stated that we had only to sit still and take good care of the cattle and property we had remaining, they would soon destroy our plundering enemies, restore us our cattle, and henceforth supply us by barter with as many as we required.

When this came to nothing, and we proposed that he should supply us with a few guides, so that we might find our enemies, and attack them ourselves, his next pretence was:—That he would furnish us with a great number of his bravest warriors, that we might attack the enemy in conjunction, but that we must not be in such a hurry, he would take care to let us know when a favorable opportunity should present itself.

But when from this also nothing came but wind, and when we insisted upon having only 1 or 2 men to show us where they lay, for the purpose before stated, then at last, on the 9th July, the deception came to light. For he then conveyed to us, through Eva, (whom he almost employed

as his resident agent) and his people, that he must *trek* further into the interior to seek change of pasture, and could not well induce any of his people to conduct us to the Caepmans; but that we were at liberty to manage with them according to our own *fantasye*, kill those we could get hold of, make slaves of them, banish them, whatever we liked, for he placed at our unlimited disposal all who should try to rob us, or to give us any annoyance, were they even his own people, and that he would never be displeased with our conduct in the matter, &c.

But quite the reverse has appeared, as we have learnt from the Hottentoo prisoners, and from Herry, namely, that he has, for his own advantage, taken the Caepmans under his government, seeing that, without his aid, we had, in the two rencounters above mentioned, impressed them with a panic, he contrived very adroitly to seize the opportunity of taking them under his protection, as if upon their urgent request and entreaty, and of then assuming the capacity of mediator, in order to treat for peace, as recorded on the 20th and 21st September.

But what is to be believed or conjectured upon this part of the subject, it is not very easy to determine; it would at least appear that Oedasoia is not desirous that we should make too firm a peace with the Caepmans, for, now that they are beginning to sue for peace, Eva is always urging upon us (see Journal 18th Dec.) that Oedasoia has ordered her always to keep us in mind that the Caepmans do not mean sincerely, but are dissembling, and that we must take good care not to believe them too far, but that we also should make only a feigned peace with them.

And above all that we must take care never to be estranged from him, but be for ever allied like brothers; he thus appears to be under an apprehension of being supplanted by the Caepmans, should they be reconciled with us, and still it would seem, notwithstanding, that he would not relish their being ruined by us.

The conclusion to which we have been thus led, is:—that we have here to do with no people but such as we require to watch narrowly, one tribe as well as the other, and that this is not to be done with less than 120 men; for, it is not by any means impossible that this Oedasoia may have contemplated assisting the Caepmans secretly, in order that when they had somewhat prepared the way he might chime in, and thus, while hoodwinking us, join our enemies in an endeavour to expel us from the Cape, as Doman has often enough pretended to be practicable, though the attempt has, God be thanked, been unsuccessful, and they now begin themselves to ask for peace, &c.

And, however necessary it may be that we should only have to defend ourselves against foreign enemies, it is a sad truth that treachery sometimes lurks among our own people, as has been experienced during this year of tribulation, so denominated with justice, as in addition to the said war, we have had mortality among the cattle, and treason among ourselves, from some traitors, Company's servants, as well as servants of the free men, who had planned a most unheard of massacre and destruction at this place.....

To return to the matter of Herry and the Caepmans, our late, and perhaps our present enemies, (a subject which we dropped, in hopes that we might have something further to communicate before closing this despatch)—Herry and another Hottentoo prisoner contrived to escape from Robben Island to the continent, on the 8th of last December, in a small two-oared boat, kept there for fishing; he was afterwards seen at Saldanha Bay by some of our sealers, and came freely on board their vessel, requesting permission once more to reside at the Fort. At the same time Doman and almost all the Caepmans came to the said free men, in their vessel, and requested that they would bring from the Cape a letter, with a little tobacco, as a token from the Commander that they might come to the Fort to treat for peace; and on the 2nd of March three of them appeared at the Fort, with some of the free men, who returned on the 4th with a letter signed by Mr. Sterthemius—of which a copy may be seen in the Journal of the 3rd—on which it followed that on the 11th of the same month, Herry, Doman, and Peter Otegno, one of the sons of the Caepman chief, with a retinue of about 30 men, appeared at the Fort, bringing 10 cattle and 5 sheep as a present—which, together with their offer of peace, were accepted by Mr. Sterthemius and us; and also a provisional peace acceded to, by which they were allowed to live close by, with their camps and cattle, in order then to treat and arrange the conditions of a firm and inviolable peace. So that, thanks to God this heavy cloud of war has passed over, and there is every appearance of our procuring cattle, and of setting busily to work with the plough. We trust also that the inconvenience of being again robbed, is no longer so much to be apprehended, in consequence of the fear they entertain for the horses, seeing that a good many have been brought from Batavia by the present fleet, as also for the hounds brought by the fleet, (which they had intended to have used at St. Helena, but have now left here,) for which these natives are very much afraid, and by which they may be greatly annoyed. In short, gentlemen, all our troubles and difficulties are, thank God, past and gone, and pleasing prospects are fully restored.....

JAN VAN RIEBEECK. R. DE MAN, &c.

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1660. April 6. This day peace was renewed at the Fort with the captain and chief of the Caepmans, Herry, and all the principal and oldest of the tribe; it was promised, upon both sides, no longer to molest each other, but, of the stolen cattle, there were none remaining that could be restored; and in lieu of the cattle the Caepmans engaged to do their best to induce other tribes to bring us as many as possible out of the interior in due time. They dwelt long upon our taking every day for our own use more of the land, which had belonged to them from all ages, and on which they were accustomed to depasture their cattle, &c. They also asked, whether, if they were to come into Holland, they would be permitted to act in a similar manner, saying, "what would it signify if you remained here at the Fort, but you come quite into the interior, selecting the best for yourselves, and never once asking whether we like it, or whether it will put us to any inconvenience." They therefore insisted very strenuously that they should be again allowed free access to the pasture. It was at first objected that there was not grass enough for their cattle, and for ours also; they said in reply,—“have we then no cause to prevent you from procuring any cattle? for, if you get many cattle, you come and occupy our pasture with them, and then say the land is not wide enough for us both! who then can be required, with the greatest degree of justice, to give way, the natural owner, or the foreign invader? they insisted much upon their natural right of property, &c. and that they should at least be at liberty to gather for their winter food, the bitter almonds, and roots which grew there naturally; but this also could not be acceded to, because on the one hand, it would give them too many opportunities to injure the colonists, and on the other, because we this year had need of the bitter almonds ourselves, for the purpose of planting the projected hedge or live fence—(a reason which was not stated to them) but they insisted so much on this point, that this word must out at last:—that they had now lost that land in war, and therefore could only expect to be henceforth entirely deprived of it, the rather because they could not be induced to restore the cattle which they had, wrongfully and without cause, stolen from us; that their country had thus fallen to our lot, being justly won by the sword in defensive warfare, and that it was our intention to retain it.

In opposition to this they complained much that the colonists, and others living in the country, had given them much annoyance, with now and then perhaps stealing a sheep or a calf, &c. taking from them their beads, earrings, and bracelets, and giving them to their slaves, also with beating and pushing, &c. without the Commander knowing exactly about it all (in which there is some truth) and that they therefore, not being able to bear this any longer, had resolved to take revenge by stealing the cattle; and thus they roundly maintained that they had cause enough.

In reply to this we reminded them of the numerous instances of punishments enacted by us against those of whom they were accustomed to complain, for these and similar annoyances, &c. and that if they were not to be satisfied thus, but were always to revenge themselves by robbery and theft, peace could never be maintained betwixt us, and they would lose still more of their land by the right of conquest, unless indeed they had the courage to expel us, in which case they would become, by virtue of the same right, owners of the Fort and all, and would continue such so long as they could hold it; and if they were disposed to try that, we should consider of what we must do.

On this they said, that this was a recital of past events, and that they were contented henceforth never to think of molesting any of our people, but to complain to us of any that molested them, in order that they might, after due inquiry, be punished by us, according to their deserts, as they also would do upon their side, and that they would wait for some day when the Commander went out, that he might point out to them the roads they must take, and the limits beyond which they must remain, &c. this was postponed until the departure of the ships now in the roads. The peace was then concluded, and the chief Gogosoa, Herry, and all the principal people, about 40 in number, received presents of brass, beads, and tobacco, and were so well entertained with food and brandy, that they were all well fuddled, and, if we had chosen, we could have easily kept them in our power, but, for many weighty reasons, this was not deemed expedient, as we can do that at any time, and meanwhile their disposition can be still further sounded.

8. The Caepmans and their retinue went home, apparently much rejoiced at the peace agreed upon; may the Almighty grant that it may be quietly maintained. This being the annual fast, the clergyman Walrand preached upon the subject of our arrival here, and the blessings bestowed upon us by Providence.....

27. This day appeared at the Fort 3 commissioners from the chief of the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, who stated that their chief, named Thoro, had sent them to ask if they might, like

Caepman, be included in the peace, and be suffered to have access to the Fort as before, promising to do their best to see that we procured, from them and others from the interior, abundance of cattle, to our satisfaction, &c. on which they were answered, Yes, provided that, until further agreement, they should take no other road than directly through the barrier at the guard houses Kyck Uyt and Keert de Koe, which had been pointed out to the Caepmans, with a further declaration that we had got as much brass, tobacco, beads, brandy, Spanish wine, arrack, rice, and bread, &c. to barter to them, and to entertain them kindly, as we had horses, and other means of warfare for fighting the ill-disposed, &c. and that our intention had never been otherwise than now, namely to live on good terms with all the native tribes, and to send for from our country, and give to them whatever they could wish for, in return for what they chose to sell to us, &c.—this they understood—and were well entertained until the 28th, when they took their departure with some presents for themselves and their chief Thoro, and his brother Gaknigh, who they said was now living about 3 day's journey distant with G'onnomoa (*secunde* to Oedaso) and many cattle, with which he soon intended coming nearer, to sell us some of them.

Eva says that, from what she can learn from the discourses of these and other Hottentoots, we shall procure a great number of cattle this year, as the Hancumquas intended sending cattle through the Chainouquas, and that the chief Chainantima would be sent by the Chainouqua chief to dispose of them. The success we shall learn in time, but at present matters have a promising appearance.

April 30. The following resolution was passed, respecting the people who had concealed themselves in the last fleet.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to Chamber XVII.

1660. May 4. But to continue the subject of the said Hottentoots. Upon the 6th of April last we renewed the peace with the Caepmans, as may be seen fully detailed in the accompanying continuation of our Journal, where your honors will perceive, among other matter, the reasons advanced by them for (in their way) making war upon us last year, arising out of the complaints—there noticed—that our people, living at a distance, and without our knowledge, had done them much injury, and also perhaps stolen and eaten up some of their sheep and calves, &c. in which there is also some truth, and which it is very difficult to keep the common people from doing, when a little out of sight; so that they think that they had cause for revenge, and especially, they said, upon people who had come to take and to occupy the land which had been their own in all ages, turning with the plough and cultivating permanently all the best land, and keeping them off the ground upon which they had been accustomed to depasture their cattle, so that they must consequently now seek their subsistence by depasturing the land of other people, from which nothing could arise but disputes with their neighbours; insisting so strenuously upon the point of restoring to them their own land, that we were at length compelled to say that they had entirely forfeited that right, through the war which they had waged against us, and that we were not inclined to restore it, as it had now become the property of the Company by the sword and the laws of war; and that as they could not make up their minds to restore the cattle which they had wrongfully stolen from us—a claim which we were ready to waive—they must just do the same as to their present claims.

Aye, they insisted so much on this point, that the conclusion of the peace seemed to become doubtful; and your honors can perceive from this narrative, how these tribes are situated with relation to the Company's Residency here, and that consequently we must always maintain with great caution, a defensive attitude; and to take good care of what we now possess, is, as stated in our former letters, impossible with a smaller number than 120 in garrison.

We have not as yet thought fit to detain their persons, in order to oblige them to restore the stolen cattle, because they came of their own accord to ask for peace, and also because we did not deem that object of such consequence, as impressing other tribes in the interior with a belief of the good nature of our nation, &c. in order that they might bring their cattle with the greater confidence; the supply of cattle is the most essential thing, and, from these Caepmans—as often advised—nothing worth mentioning is to be procured.

We shall anxiously expect a communication of the intentions of your Honors; it may be seen

<sup>(1)</sup> i. e. To close their accounts, and confiscate any monies that might stand to their credit—the deserters on this occasion consisted of 20 Company's servants and 18 free men and servants, *knechts*, independent of 19 who were detected and brought on shore. The first portion of the ensuing despatch is filled with strong complaints upon this subject against the ships' crews, the garrison, and the colonists.

from the last letters addressed to us from Batavia, that their honors were of opinion, that whenever these tribes perceive a chance of success, they will never leave us at rest with their good will, this (agreeing with our own opinions) is well founded and rightly understood, and therefore, so long as the Hon. Company attaches any importance to this Residency, we shall have to be more on our guard than has been generally thought necessary, for which purpose the horses received from Batavia will be very useful, as also the French saddles, only that the bits and stirrups are wanting, &c. . . . When we had written thus far, three commissioners arrived at the Fort on the 28th April, from the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, requesting in the name of their chief, Choro, that they also might be admitted to treat for peace, and might be suffered to have a free access to us, promising to do quite as much as the Caepmans, to see that other tribes brought us cattle from the interior, so as to compensate for past troubles. This request was acceded to, for the reasons before stated, and as more fully detailed in the enclosed Journals; and we hope thus to make ourselves the more popular with the natives of the interior, so that they may come with abundance of cattle; of this the interpreter Eva, who lives with us, gives great hopes, saying that from what she can hear, we shall this year be supplied with more cattle than ever before. Whether the Caepmans and Gorachouquas will again try to carry them off, should not be deemed altogether improbable, but we shall not be looking on meanwhile, but arranging how to prevent them, by stationing mounted guards in every direction, and, should they only begin again, we hope so to choose our time, that they will have something more to complain of than on the last occasion; an unremitting watch must therefore be kept upon them, indeed upon all the native tribes of this country, (who, according to Eva's statement, are likely to come in great numbers, with a large quantity of cattle) as perhaps they are coming with a different object, and intend, with their united strength, to eject us from the pastures of their countrymen, the Caepmans. And as we must remain in some uncertainty, it is proper to be prepared, so that should such an attempt be made, we may, with God's help, give them such a further taste of our weapons, that they will avoid the like in future;—however, our hopes point to something very different, and are as high, indeed higher than ever before, and we are of opinion that our affairs will only now begin to be really prosperous, as the saddle horses impress them with a high degree of respect for us. May the Almighty extend his merciful blessing upon all, for the benefit of the Company. Amen.

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#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

May 5. Some of the Gorachouquas came to the Fort and stated that they had brought 12 cattle to Caepmans' camp, 7 or 8 hours distant, which they would bring to-morrow as a certain mark of the friendship they had offered; this is the custom among these tribes, the party who, after any war, makes an offer of, or prefers a request for peace, sends, when the offer is accepted, a present of 10 or 12 cattle, in return for which another present is given as a token of acceptance; and this we do with brass, tobacco, meat, and drink, &c. The cattle would have been sent now, but it seems these heralds would fain be previously well entertained, according to their covetous disposition, but well knowing that we do this to entice them the more, &c.

Towards evening the chief of the Gorachouquas, named Choro, came to the Fort with a retinue of fully 100 men, among whom were the greater part of his oldest and principal men, bringing with them 13 tolerable cattle of various ages, as a present, which they requested us to receive as a mark that we accepted their offered friendship.

He promised henceforth to live at peace with us, and to do his best to get people to come to trade with us to our contentment. The present was civilly received, with promises, in return, that we would maintain a friendly intercourse, and as the evening was at hand, we had the cattle driven into the crael, and treated these natives with rice, bread, tobacco, and brandy, telling them that we should to-morrow give them presents in return. Herry and Doman attended them as mediators and interpreters, and were consequently entertained apart with the chiefs, and permitted to sleep in the Fort. They again insisted much on our quitting their pasture land, though the Gorachouquas did not seem to care so much about it, wherefore Herry, Doman, and they were told, that it had been refused before, and that no more was to be said upon the subject, because they had lost it by the war against us, &c. The Gorachouquar evinced much satisfaction at our accepting his offered friendship, saying that his people should only pass directly through the barriers, or where we might choose to appoint.

Ankaisoa was also present, and was, at his request, included in the peace; so that we are now reconciled again with our three enemies, namely the Goringhaiquas or Caepmans, Ankaisoa their

adherent, and the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, who, about this time last year, began to make war on us. They are in number about 1000 active fencible men. We will hope that they are sincere in this peace, in which case there is a chance of again getting a good many cattle, according to the prospects held out by Eva.

May 6. Ascension. This morning, before the sermon, the said chiefs of the Gorachouquas, and their train were presented, in return for their gift, with brass, beads, tobacco, and pipes, of more than double the value of their said 13 cattle; and, after service, they were entertained with food and drink, and a tub of brandy and arrack mixed, was set open in the middle of the esplanade of the Fort, with a little wooden bowl, from which those people made themselves so drunk that they made the strangest antics in the world, with singing, dancing, leaping, and other wild pranks, one falling down drunk after the other, whom those who were still a little passable carried out of the Fort, and laid on the grass to sleep, all but the said chief, who kept himself somewhat decent, being not above half drunk, and 3 or 4 of the oldest of his people, but even of these some could not resist dancing; and the women sang and clapped their hands so loud that they might be heard 150 rods from the Fort; so that they seemed to be holding, after their own fashion, a great triumphal rejoicing for peace.

7. The said Hottentoots being again regaled with food and tobacco, departed well contented about 8 o'clock, being conducted by the Commander and 6 mounted men to the barrier between the guard houses, when some other riders met them from behind the thickets, and thus conducted them to the Brak River, where the passage which they are in future to use was shown to them—as well as the ground upon which they were not to come. They then crossed the river, and the Commander rode up along this side, to the Company's and free farmer's land, at a good gallop, thus getting quickly out of their sight, for the express purpose of shewing them the speed of horses, which produces much awe among them. . . . about 152 morgen were in cultivation—namely on account of the Company, 50, the Commander, 35 do., Jacob Cloeten, 10 do., Jacob Rosendaal, 15 do., Steve Janse, 16 do., Herman Remanjeune, 9 do., Jan Mostert 3 do., Casper Brinckman, 10 do., and Pieter Vasagie, 4 do.,—total 152. If the Lord will grant that each morgen produces on an average one third of a ton, we hope that man and beast will be pretty well supplied.

13. The first trading with the Caepmans and tobacco thieves since the conclusion of peace; 6 tolerable cattle, 1 calf, and 4 sheep were bartered from the Gorachouquas or tobacco thieves, for the largest sort of red beads, last received from Holland, which they seem to prefer to brass, and are also well pleased with the tobacco pipes with large bowls, so that the small kind are in no demand, and we must try to sell them among the burgers, so that the Company may get rid of them without loss, and if possible with some profit. Some of Oedasoa's people were also at the Fort with 9 sheep, which were bought for brass, beads, and tobacco; their chief message was, however, to ask for some tobacco for their said chief, in return for a fat wether sent to the Commander by way of present, and to preserve friendship. About one pound of tobacco, 6 pipes, and some beads were therefore sent in return, and his people, (about 20 or 30 in number) were well entertained with food and drink. They went out of the Fort to sleep at the Waterman's huts, because they were not allowed to smoke tobacco, or light fire in the front hall, which had a plank floor laid over a cellar, and in these cold nights they could not, with their slight covering, do well without fire.

15. Oedasoa's people set out towards evening with the said presents for their chief, and something besides for each individual, promising to bring abundance of cattle; and on this account they were the more royally entertained for these three days, with food, drink, and tobacco, which is somewhat expensive to the Company, and much increases the cost price; that would, however, not be of so much importance, if we could only procure cattle enough according to the promises of the natives.

19. The French ship *La Marischal*, [180 men, with a governor, bishop, &c. bound to the Bay St. Augustin, in Madagascar] was driven from her anchors and grounded near Salt River. . . . .

21. To the conditions<sup>(1)</sup> the French replied that they could not consent to give up their arms, as they required them to find food in the interior, and for the same reason they could not stipulate to keep their men within certain limits; although they were told that their arms would be restored as soon as their ship was afloat again, and that we would protect them from the natives, who are in such order that they lay down their weapons outside of the guard houses, and come hither unarmed, and, as to the appointed limits, the object was to enable them to keep their men in better order. . . . .

(1) Among the conditions demanded from the shipwrecked French, were surrender of their arms, keeping their men within particular bounds, and holding no public meeting for the Romish worship.

May 22. The French submitted to all the conditions.

24. Choro, the chief of the Gorachouquas, and his brother Gaking, brought 3 lean oxen and 2 cows to the Fort, with a train of between 40 and 50 men, who, upon the conclusion of the barter, had to be entertained with food, brandy, tobacco, &c. they were, however, good humouredly told, that henceforth no one would be entertained except the chiefs and those who brought cattle for sale, for it would become rather expensive if so many of them came with so *luttel* cattle.

27. The stable for the mounted guard for protecting the lands and cattle of the free men against the Hottentoes, being in so far ready that the horses may be kept there; the following memorandum was issued for general information:—The mounted guard shall punctually attend to the following orders: 1st,—That no Hottentoes whatever are allowed to pass within the limits towards the free men, but they shall be shown the way, and made to go to the guard house Keer de Koe, that they may proceed thence in a direct line through the barrier to the Fort, whether they be accompanied by any of the free men or not, for as yet it is not allowed to have any hangers on there, and therefore the corporal of the mounted guard is allowed to visit the free men's houses, if he only thinks that there may be any Hottentoes admitted, or hidden in the houses, whom, should he find any, he will bring bound to the Fort, as they only try to get access to the free men, for the purpose of looking out for a better opportunity of stealing cattle, &c.

2nd,—Neither shall they therefore suffer any of the free men's cattle or sheep to be depastured beyond the limits of the said mounted guard; and on seeing any such they shall instantly drive them in, and cause the owner of any cattle that may be found outside, or aside out of their sight, to pay  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rix-dollar for each head.

3rd,—On seeing any cattle driven out [M.S. decayed] they shall instantly ride up to them, and seeing that such is done by Hottentoes, they will without fail, attack them as enemies, see to get the better of them (*t' onder sien te brengen*) to retake the cattle, and, if possible, to restore them to the owners.

4th,—That they keep a strict watch upon the signals from the guard house Hout den Bul, and on seeing such, shall instantly send 4 riders thither to see what is the matter, letting the others meanwhile stay in the stable, until it is seen whether they are wanted, which they will learn by the discharge of a cannon from Hout den Bul; warning at the same time, in passing, the free men to bring in their cattle.

5. When they perceive any such mischief going on in the country, they shall let their flag be constantly pulled up and down, which signal shall be repeated at Keer de Koe, Kyck Uyt, and Duynhoop, and if these 2 watch houses make the signal first, in that case the guards from Hout den Bul shall go to them, and at the same signal all the Borgers from the Fort shall hasten to join them with all possible speed.

The following order was issued for the guidance of the guards at Kyck Uyt and Keer de Koe, and the redoubt Duynhoop:—

1st,—Whenever you see the flag at the *Ruyter Waght* pulled up and down, you shall make the same signal—this you will also do, in the event of your perceiving any mischief—of which the Fort has to be warned.

2nd,—So long as the French are here, one man from Keer de Koe must always conduct any live stock brought by Hottentoes, quite through to the Fort, and keep the French away from them—this need not be done when Hottentoes come without cattle or sheep.

3rd,—Above all allow no French, English, or Hottentoes to enter the watch houses, but on the approach of any French or other people, you will instantly close the door, and take your station on the platform, and desire them civilly to go away; unless they should use force, in which event you will defend your posts like good soldiers; at the same time keeping them in ignorance of your numbers.

June 23. This day was issued the following *Biljet*, entitled “A Warning”:

Public Warning.—Whereas, notwithstanding of the peace concluded with these native tribes, every one is sufficiently aware, that wherever they perceive an opportunity, they do not fail to avail themselves of it, to plunder our people of their live stock, &c. wherever they can.<sup>(1)</sup> All persons, without any exception, Company's servants and free men are, therefore, hereby expressly warned, that, as soon as they perceive the signals of alarm—(namely constantly pulling up and down the flags on the guard houses) each person shall drive his cattle into the nearest crael, and then proceed with his gun to the scene of danger, to the assistance of our people, and to the resistance of the predatory foe:—Actum, &c.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

(1) In the Parliamentary Papers (p. 12) is the following “Note” of the substance of this warning:—“The stealing of cattle

Sailed the *Nagelboom*, for Batavia, with 58 of the French crew.

June 24. The said Warning was duly affixed, and the orders to the watch houses were renewed, for these tribes, notwithstanding of the peace, are to be trusted no further than they can be seen; and because of the great carelessness of our people, which requires to be noticed, and all stirred to attend to their duty.

30. In the evening 10 of Oedaso's people came to the Fort with one cow and 8 sheep, which were all purchased, for beads, tobacco, and pipes; they did not ask for any brass in payment, but for a good meal, &c. which was given to them to conciliate them; although for some days back the sudden departure of Herry, Doman, and all the Hottentoots has led us to suspect that some consultation is going on among them, for the Caepmans, called Goringhaiquas, who had come quite close to us, removed after the departure of the ships *Phenix* and *Nagelboom*, and live close to Oedaso; the tobacco thieves, called Corachouqua, have united with Gonnomoa, the other or 2nd chief of the Cochoquas; Eva insists also upon accompanying these few people of Oedaso, that she may visit her sister. Whether this sister-visiting is merely to get away, and whether there is any scheme in agitation, it is difficult to guess; orders were therefore given to keep a strict watch in every quarter.

July 4. It having appeared to-day, as often before, that the burger Herman Remanjenne, in direct opposition to the orders of our masters, and to our proclamations, secretly carries on a trade in cattle with these natives, and also brings them to his house at night by stealth, and instead of increasing his live stock by breeding, kills at once 10, 12, and 15 sheep, and 2 or 3 cattle, and sells the flesh to the other burgers, to the shipping, and to the French who are now here, &c.; and we were apprised that he was about to return this night from the camp of the Gorachouquas, with cattle and sheep. The sergeant was therefore sent out in the early part of the night, with a party of soldiers, to watch for his return at his house; about 12 o'clock he found him and his partner Hans Ras van Angel, returning with . . . . . 6 sheep and a lamb, which he had purchased from the Gorachouquas. He was attended by 3 Hottentoots, who drove the sheep. This resort to the Hottentoots having been, for various reasons, prohibited, the said Remanjenne was brought to the Fort, also the 3 Hottentoots, named Heybe, Nantisa, Oedimackha, who being heard before the Council, in Harman's presence, declared—That neither they nor their chief were inclined or willing that they should go to the forbidden places with the free men, still less to sell them any cattle; but that Herman Remanjenne always came to them, and when told that their chief had stipulated with the Commander, that no cattle were to be bartered except at the Fort, he had answered that it was not a matter of so much importance, that the Commander wanted to have all to himself, and so forth; and that in this manner he had long carried on an indirect and private trade, slaughtering the cattle as soon as he brought them home, selling the meat to other farmers, and also at the Fort, as well as bartering it on board of the ships for . . . . . pork, bread, and cheese, but especially for tobacco and brass, to keep up the trade; that in this way, he had from time to time procured and destroyed between 400 and 500 sheep, generally employing them—the said three—to carry about the meat for him in bags, aye! even recently to the ships *Phenix* and *Neuteboom*, (which they were able to name) also that shortly before he had brought the flesh of 10 sheep to the burgers at the Fort, in his wagons below the firewood, of which he took a portion on board the ships, and sold it; they even named several persons who had in their presence paid him money for it, &c. They said also that he could make small copper chains, with which to purchase cattle, and that he gave for one as much as the Commander gives for 5 or 6 sheep and cattle. Harman pulled one of the chains out of his pocket, and gave it to the Commander, and confessed that he had been there

*continued to increase; and each inhabitant was bound to appear in arms against the Hottentoots whenever a signal should be given by hoisting a certain flag;*" whereas no notice has been found of even an attempt at cattle stealing, between the 19th July 1659, and this date. The notes referred to contain other material errors relative to the chief events of this period. The affray of July 3, 1658, upon the seizure of Herry's cattle by the Dutch, (*vide supra* page 132) is described (p. 11) as an attack upon the Fort by the Hottentoots, thus: "Fears, however, began to be entertained that a regular attack would follow, and preparations were accordingly made for defence" . . . . . "an attack was actually made with assagays, and a sergeant shot a Kaapman." It is stated in the same note, that "the free inhabitants amounted at that time to 97, of whom 20 were sick," the words thus abbreviated being (see p. 132) "the present garrison being in all, including farmers, gardeners, smiths, carpenters, masons, outside in the wood, within, and on Robben Island, no more than 97, of whom 19 or 20 are sick," &c. While no mention is made of the seizure of Herry and of his cattle—the leading events in 1658—it is stated (p. 12) that in 1659, "the division of the captured cattle was promised" and "part of the captured cattle was divided amongst the farmers" when in point of fact, no such promise was made—and if made, it could not have been complied with, as no cattle were captured during the war, or, excepting Herry's 110 cattle, during the whole term of Mr. Van Riebeeck's command. According to the Parliamentary Papers (p. 12) the term "tobacco thieves" was "a name given to the *Kaapmans*," and that "from their having been guilty of many murders and robberies."

It is but just, however, to distinguish *these* errors from such as have an uniform tendency to lead to, or confirm particular conclusions, or which are, otherwise, indicative of design.

about 3 weeks since, with the free men Jan Wiltschut, Jacob Cloeten, and Brinckman, where they had shot the young rhinoceros; that they had bought 8 sheep for himself, 5 for Cloeten, 3 for Jan Wiltschut, but Brinckman could get none, except some time before, when he bought 2 head of cattle, which, like the sheep, were instantly killed and sold; some of the flesh was even sold to the French, but how much they did not know. That last year, during the war, Harman had twice accompanied them to the Cochoquas, from whom he had bought sheep, and with whom he had spoken in secret. The said 3 Hottentoots persist in saying that Harman had taught them to shoot with a gun, as appeared at the shooting of said rhinoceros, when, after Harman had missed, one of them fired with a carbine, broke the animal's leg, and killed it with a shot from Jacob Cloeten's gun, which one of them carried on his shoulder. *Item*, that before the war he had also shown and instructed them and other Hottentoots, how they could do the greatest injury to our people, &c.

At all events it clearly appeared that he was aware that during the war a number of Hottentoots had long watched in the bushes, behind Steven's and Rosendal's houses, to attack the Commander when he went out; though he says, he first heard this after the renewal of the peace, &c.

It is also asserted by many, that during this war Harman could on several occasions have shot Doman, and three or four others, had he chosen to do so, but this he expressly denies; it appeared however, that in that troubled time, when the sergeant was lying in wait for our said enemies, with a party of men, of whom he, Harman, was one, the enemy were coming very conveniently into the trap, when he shewed himself, and thus gave warning to the enemy, who escaped,<sup>(1)</sup> whereby the Honorable Company suffered the failure of a scheme, by which at least 50 or 60 enemies were about to fly into the candle, and to be destroyed (*nedergehouden*) which would have produced a great panic among the rest, &c. He had also said that the mounted guard was a very good thing for the protection of their cattle, but was too much in the way to allow them to prosecute the cattle trade, and prevented the resort of the Hottentoots to the free men; and that those tribes should therefore agree to destroy, as they best could, the guard house, men, horses and all; this the Hottentoots said they had heard, but knew nothing as to its truth. It seems, however, that he sometimes knew of secret designs of these tribes, and did not disclose them.

He knew also much of the plot of last year, by the conspirators of the Fort, and of the ship *Erasmus*, most of them having been harboured at his house, where they were chiefly provisioned; he also knew when the affair was to commence at the Redoubt Corenhoop, for, upon the afternoon of the day on which we imprisoned the ringleader, and before the appointed time, he said: "This night there will be something wonderful done about the Redoubt, &c." All which, independently of the private cattle trade, contrary to the orders of the Company, being very suspicious matters, the Burgerraden were summoned to attend the Council, to deliberate on the subject, on Saturday next.

The said Hottentoots were released, with a warning that they must hereafter avoid forbidden paths, otherwise some misfortune might befall them, which, now that they had been warned, would be their own fault; as our men had orders to shoot any one they saw there; that those taken alive should not again be released, and that it would therefore be better that they should bring their cattle to the Fort, where they could trade in peace and security.

On this they replied, "Yes, that is good, but the Commander will not readily buy old or lean cattle or sheep, and the free men do not look so closely into the condition of the cattle, as they kill them instantly, and give as much of whatever we want, as we ask for them, even of iron." This is a kind of merchandize which it would be desirable to keep out of the hands of these tribes, as they only use it for assagays and other warlike weapons. The Hottentoots were, however, informed that there was enough of every thing to be had at the Fort. They replied, that though they could get rid of their lean and old cattle better among the free men than at the Fort, still they would not expose themselves to danger, but would fulfil the engagements entered into by their chiefs, and that they would not have done otherwise, had not Harman himself conducted them to his house, &c. From all this it appears that Harman has always been a great obstacle to the Company's trade. Aye! the said Hottentoots declare, that he and others had bought from them flesh (brought by them to the farmers' houses) of animals that had died a natural death, for which, not knowing that circumstance, they paid as much as for good meat; from which may be seen what would become of the cattle trade at last, the breeding, at the same time, not advancing, objects for which the Company sustains such heavy expenses for the refreshment of the shipping, and which are frustrated by those whom the Company has charitably raised from the dust, and who are still fed on credit.

(1) *Vide supra* p. 168.

There are now not above 90 sheep in the Company's possession here, on the main, and consequently the Commander, has had only one sheep killed, for the officers, in 2 months, so as to spare as many as possible for the ships; for during a long time back we have not had 1½ dozen sheep brought to the Fort for sale. The chief hinderance being apparently Harman's private trade, besides his spreading many tales among the Hottentoes, little to the benefit of the Company or the public.

July 10. The Council, strengthened by the Burgerraden, sentenced the Burger Harman Remanjenne to a fine of 20 reals, for his private trading, the last 6 sheep and 1 cow being confiscated for the Company. The other free men who had been also concerned, were pardoned, as having been misled by Harman; they were, however, warned to take care of their future conduct, as they should not escape so well again, &c. . . . . the sealers at Saldanha Bay had bought 10 sheep from the Chariguriquas, who had now retired to the interior; and there were no Hottentoes left at the said bay but Strandloopers.

21. The heaviest rain that has fallen since the Company took possession.

23. Meanwhile to-day, like yesterday, came 2 messengers from the Chainouquas (a very numerous people, having many cattle) with news that their chief was coming with a quantity of cattle to sell to us; as something is to be had from them, they were entertained with food, brandy, tobacco, &c. the Caepmans as usual attending for their commission as brokers.

Aug. 1. About 40 of Oedaso's people came with 9 cattle and 16 sheep, which were purchased. . . . . we had as usual to feed them with bread, brandy, arrack, &c. which much enhances the price of their cattle.

These Cochoquas reported, that Oedaso's wife, the sister of Eva, had died, which caused great grief to Eva, who now lives in the Commander's house.

4. In the evening came some of the Chainouquas of whom the Caepmans have recently said so much, such as that they would come with so many cattle that our merchandize would be exhausted; yet they made but a poor show, for they brought only 11 cattle, which were purchased for brass, beads, tobacco, and pipes; the people were entertained with food and drink, to entice them; they held out great hopes, that they would daily bring more, that these were sent as a trial, &c. they were lean cattle, apparently procured from the Caepmans, as it has often appeared to us, in exchange for their own; for the Caepmans contrive to induce the natives who come from the interior, to come to their camp, and thus they collect very fine cattle, and we only get their refuse; which on several accounts, but particularly in these ticklish times, we must allow to pass unnoticed.

8. This evening about 9 o'clock, corporal Elias Giers and his horse were drowned in the Fresh River, about two musket shots from the guard house Keer de Koe, he was somewhat drunk; the Company has lost a good soldier, and, in the horse, has sustained a loss of fully 200 Rds. as it was the very best Cape mare, and was in foal; the horses produce much respect from these tribes, in consequence of the miracles, (in the eyes of the natives) already accomplished by them.

### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council.

1660. August 21. We have received your letters of the 19th March and 4th May, to which we shall now briefly reply, postponing to another opportunity the further consideration of those letters, and referring you, for the sake of brevity, to our last letter to you, dated the 16th of last April. . . . .

We have, for some time back, and especially since the banishment of Herry, and the capture of his cattle, felt rather uneasy upon the subject, and apprehensive that the Caepmans or Hottentoes would endeavour to give us an unexpected blow, and we should, therefore, have been better pleased if, with reference to what has been done to Herry, we had exercised our patience a little longer.

Our sentiments upon that subject you must have seen from our former letters; and we now find, God better it! that our fears and apprehensions were not without cause.

The discontent shown by those people, in consequence of our appropriating to ourselves—and to their exclusion—the land which they have used for their cattle from time immemorial, is neither surprising nor groundless, and we should, therefore, be glad to see that we could purchase it from them, or otherwise satisfy them.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is no less pleasing to us, than it was necessary, that you have at length pacified these people;

<sup>(1)</sup> For further notices upon the causes of hostilities, *vide infra* Sept. 30, 1661, 9th April, and 9th May 1662. The suggestion of purchasing territory does not appear to have been carried into effect until 10 years later.

but on this we can place but slight dependence, and must be always well prepared. Those troubles, and the accompanying mortality among the cattle, must have thrown our Cape Residency a great way back, an effect which will also attend the desertion, by concealment in the ships, of so great a number of people as have arrived here in the last return fleet;—all loudly complaining of the poor state of affairs there, and of the hunger and hardships which they allege to have endured; now, although these statements—being advanced in their own defence—may be entirely undeserving of credit; yet at the same time, all the reports of the Company's servants, received for a series of years, concur and agree in this, that the state of matters there is not so prosperous, nor the hopes of improvement so great as is implied in your successive despatches, and consequently we have been unable to extend to the deserters in question the measure of either punishment or censure, which, otherwise, we were fully prepared to employ.....

The treason contemplated by a portion of the people is, likewise, no proof of the great contentment enjoyed there; these things concurring with one another, diminish, in no small degree, our hopes, and the inclination we have hitherto indulged towards the Cape.....

We have observed with dissatisfaction, that the General and Council have been obliged to send the *fluyt Loenen* expressly with rice and other necessaries for you; we could come to no other conclusion, than that you had raised so much grain by your agriculture, that you would require no such provision from Batavia. And, if we must supply the Cape with rice and other provisions by ships employed for that exclusive purpose, we must contrive other means of so reducing our establishment there, that the food required for the garrison, can either, be sooner raised by themselves, or more easily conveyed.....

We therefore say once more, that our efforts there must be directed to securing the means of subsistence, without help from abroad—that is to say, as far as concerns food, other matters are not of such importance, or of such bulk, and may be easily stowed in the ordinary ships. We will also hope that, as all is now once more pacified, we shall hereafter have no cause for complaint on this subject.....

To burden the Colony there with any duties or impositions upon food or drink, appears to be at present somewhat premature; on the contrary to give the people there the greater encouragement, they should be assisted in all that is reasonable, and that can be done without great inconvenience to the Company.....

Complaints have been made to us that you not only receive for the Company at the price fixed, the corn grown by the free farmers, without allowing them to reserve any thing for their household consumption, but that you compel them besides to purchase monthly from the Company all they require, at an advance of 25 per cent, this, if true, is far from giving us the highest satisfaction, as we cannot look upon it as any thing but exaction and extortion.....

At the urgent request of the Commander Jan van Riebeeck, and upon other considerations us thereunto moving, we have thought fit to consent to his removal from the Cape, and to send thither as his successor, in the same quality of Commander, and with a salary of 100 guilders *per mensem*, Mr. Gerrit van Harn, who has formerly served the Company in various capacities.

The said Commander Van Riebeeck shall therefore, upon the arrival of the said Van Harn, (after having informed and instructed him upon all points, both verbally and in writing, and after having duly made all over to him) remove to Batavia with his former rank, to be again employed in the service of the Company, &c.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1660. Aug. 23. Some Chainouquas and Cochoquas, conducted by some of the chief Goringhaiquas or Capepmans, came to the Fort with a good number of cattle and sheep, which were next day purchased—i. e. from the Chainouquas 36 cattle, from the Cochoquas 14, and 48 sheep, 35 of the cattle were chiefly lean old cows, 5 old oxen, 8 young oxen, and 2 sucking calves—for brass, tobacco, &c. besides an entertainment before and after the trading, and some presents to the chief people, &c.

26. In the evening, in spite of the foul weather, some of the Chainouquas came to the Fort, with 21 head of cattle.....which were all bought at so cheap a rate, for beads and tobacco, that each animal did not cost above one skilling. This tribe seem very desirous of beads, which cost

(1) For the answer to this despatch, see 9th April 1662, *infra*. It will hereafter appear that the intended successor of Mr. Van Riebeeck died on the passage out; and that Mr. Van Riebeeck continued in the command, until relieved, at his own request, by Mr. Z. Wagenaar (from Batavia) in May 1662.

the Company very little, and they care very little for brass, like the Cochoquas (our nearer neighbours) whose sheep thus cost  $\frac{1}{2}$  rix-dollar, while their cattle cost 2 rix-dollars, arising from the value of the brass; their cattle are eagerly purchased notwithstanding, when they will but fetch them, which, if Eva does not deceive us, they do out of a jealousy between them and the Chainouquas, Oedaso sending us the more cattle, lest we should fancy that he is not so rich as the Chainouquas—who, however, far exceed the Cochoquas in numbers of men<sup>(1)</sup> and cattle, and yet the latter are supposed to be fully 17,000 or 18,000 in number—consisting of several hordes (troppen) and always divided into two great camps, under the said Oedaso and his 2nd, named Ngonomoa.

The success of this trade, so much talked of by the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, we shall see in time, if the Lord is pleased to lend his blessing.

Aug. 27. . . . . Engaged strengthening the Fort, so that we may not be suddenly surprised by Europeans, who sometimes touch here, chiefly from France, or by people from Guinea, or other pretended friends or open enemies, for, since the Company has lost St. Helena, this place is of more importance than before; and we must, in the first instance, see to be in a condition to prevent an enemy from landing, when, unless by the weight of artillery, or by internal treason, the Fort will not be easily reduced; but we will hope, with the drummer, that it may never come to that, &c.

Sept. 5. Rainy weather, yet 28 of the Chainouquas came to the Fort, with 77 cattle and 18 sheep, which were purchased very cheap, 74 cows and 6 sheep for beads, and 3 cows and 12 sheep for brass, tobacco, and pipes, besides the usual entertainment of bread and brandy; yet including every thing, each cow did not stand us in more than 7 or 8 stivers; the sheep were however almost twice as dear, being chiefly purchased for brass.

These people had yesterday met our free hunters behind the Leopard's Berg, but were such strangers that they could not exchange a word; they wished to go towards the Caepmans' camp, but as our men knew that these would induce them to exchange their best cattle for old and lean animals, the said free men led them straight through to the Fort, and arranged with them, that, by way of protecting them against the wild animals, they would—(being armed with guns) accompany them on their homeward journey; our object is to keep these natives from the Caepmans, and to attach them to ourselves, so as to prevent this exchanging of cattle. It was therefore agreed to pay the free men, (who were to find food for themselves) 25 stivers daily while they should be so employed, and to pay them on their return in ready money, which creates eagerness; they were also recommended to take particular notice of all that might be procurable from that people, &c.

6. Some of the same people brought to the Fort 8 cattle, and 2 sheep which were bought, &c.

8. As the farmers Pieter Vasagie and Jan Coenraedt Visser do so little work upon their land, incurring meanwhile great debts to the Company, without displaying a proper zeal in raising from their land the means of paying the said debts—and after this had been suffered long enough, the Company's overseer Cruythoff was ordered to keep them at their work upon their own land, just as if they were Company's servants, until their land may be brought into such a state as may be worth the debts incurred already, or to be incurred upon it; and also that, through this example, others may be spurred on to their duty; for the Company is advancing every thing very cheap, feeding them, and has raised them from nothing; it is therefore but fair that they should exert some industry towards repayment, or that we should compel them so to do through the Company's authority.

11. 24 cattle bartered from the Chainouquas. . . . . In consequence of this trade two more good men entered into partnership in farming, receiving 30 morgen of land at the Bosheuvel, on the same conditions as others—namely, Cornelis Claesen, of Utrecht, and Dirck Mayer, of Lunenberg, who had both been 3 years free, in the service of others here, and had given proof of good conduct.

12. Four free men set out with the Chainouquas, for the purpose noticed on the 5th May; the Almighty be their conductor.

21. The free messenger J. Zacharias, the free fishermen P. Cornelis, and Carel Broers, with their free servant Jan Wolff, returned to the Fort after an absence of 10 days in the interior, with some of the Chainouquas.

(1) See, however, the fiscal's report, on his return from a visit to the Chainouquas, 25th July 1663, *infra*.

13. The Commander went out and inspected the farming, &c. among other things, he selected a fertile hill, behind Table Mountain, above the Company's bush, for the Company's *Wynbergh*, &c. 14. J. Hendricks of Utrecht caught in the Fresh River, the first eel taken at the Cape, twice as thick as a man's arm, fat and delicate.

After a journey of 5 days, they had reached the king of that tribe, by whom, as well as by his people, they were very well received and kindly treated, accommodated with lodging, and entertained with milk and mutton, &c. The said king or *Choeque* (which means the same as king) is named Sousoa and lies with his camp, and all his dependant hordes, whom he has collected about him, about 4 days' journey from the Fort, where he means to stay a good while, so as to form a closer acquaintance with us, and to trade with us, quite contrary to the conduct of the Saldanhars and Caepmans who live hereabouts, who always endeavor to keep the inhabitants of the interior away. This is however only done for the purpose of keeping us in ignorance of their encampments and pastures, and conducting themselves as if, but for their sufferance, and except in their company, no other tribes are allowed to approach us; and this is perhaps true enough, for they try to persuade the other tribes that this is the case, in opposition to our good and upright intentions, as appears more evidently every day; they have thus much enriched themselves in cattle; and none of them have any longer any brass or beads on their necks or arms, or in their ears, having sold all to these Chainouquas and Saldanhars for cattle; of which cattle, however, they will bring us none for sale except indeed their old and worn out stock; with this we still put up, hoping that in due time all the inland tribes will become more habituated to us, and satisfied of the upright intentions of the Netherlanders, to live on friendly terms with each and all of them, without distinction, and accordingly we now see other tribes are coming to us, and therefore it is not necessary for us to espouse the side of any party, but to treat all alike as good friends—taking especial care that the Goringhaiquas, or Caepmans, and the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, who last year made war upon the Company, do not prevent the trade; for we constantly find that all the inland tribes who have ever been visited, have received and treated our people with every kindness, and have endeavored to get into a more intimate acquaintance with us, to trade with us, &c.

This Sousoa, who is the real Choeque, or king of the Chainouquas, sent a young ox to the Commander, requesting in return, some red beads, as a mark of our disposition to form a closer alliance; saying that if our people would come to him to trade, he would sell us cattle enough; being very old, he could not well come to the Fort, but was very anxious to witness the customs of the Dutch with his own eyes, as his people told him more on the subject than he could readily believe, &c.; indeed, many of his people came fully a day's journey, with women and children, to see our 4 men, never having seen any other people than those of their own nation, and not knowing how to make enough of our people. The two who came with our men said that they had never seen ships before.

This *heer* or king being very old, had (according to the interpretation of Doman and Donkema, put into better Dutch by Eva) only one son, (this appeared to the free men to be the case) whom he had now charged with the government of his kingdom, in his stead, causing him to be acknowledged as king, and merely reserving to himself, during his life, the highest title, and all domains and riches, and also the highest honors, which his son—who was present—always showed first to his father, and then received himself from all the great men, in his quality of successor.

To all appearance, as well as according to the interpreters, this chieftain seems to be held in such awe, that neither Oedasoia nor any of his subjects, the Cochoquas, dare come to trade with us, so long as these Chainouquas remain so near us, but must make room for him, and come to wait upon him with presents of many cattle, &c. to show the respect which they owe to the neighbour and representative of the highest king, said to be the Hancumquar, who, indeed, also resides in mat huts, but never migrates from place to place, and whose subjects subsist, independently of breeding cattle, by the cultivation of the valuable plant *Dacha*, which stupifies the brain like opium, ginger, strong tobacco, brandy, or the like; and of which these tribes are consequently very fond.

The chief of these Hancumquas, as they tell us, always resides, in numberless houses, very far in the interior, about half way betwixt the two seas, and is the chief Lord of all the Hottentoo race; he is the chief lord of all the kings and potentates, for such is the signification of the word; for *khoe* means a high mountain, rich, fortunate, a king; and *baha*, the superlative, the highest of all, to whom all must show submission. He must therefore be the emperor of the Hottentoo race, and the said Chainouquar, with whom our men have lately been, must be one of the most powerful of the kings, being called *khoeque*, which is properly king. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup> It is said that Sousoa and his son Goeboe will bring their chief camp within one or 2 days' journey, allowing the others to remain at a greater distance; should it so happen it will be a fortunate thing for the Company, as,

(<sup>1</sup>) Here follows a treatise upon the relative dignity of the titles of *Humque*, *Hunque*, and *Khoesanhuma*, the proper title of the smaller chiefs, such as of the Caepmans and Gorachouquas, "though they arrogate to themselves the title of *Khoeque* over their own tribes, and thus often get them into war."

from his greater authority, there is more reliance to be placed on any treaty that may be made with him. What result the Lord may send, time will teach. Meanwhile Soesoa's two domestics (who accompanied our travellers) were well entertained, and fully informed of our wishes, through Eva, who has learnt good Dutch, and tolerable Portuguese. They mean to set out to-morrow with some presents which we promised to prepare for their chief; this pleased them much, more particularly when the Commander said, that he wished to acknowledge Soesoa as his father, and Goeboe for his brother; and to associate with them, in the same manner as with people of the same nature, whereby the old man (having now only one great son) should in his old days, thus procure another son, who was anxious to provide him with all he desired from all quarters of the world, by which his fame would be increased and spread abroad; indeed, that he might even be more highly regarded by the Khoebaha, whom he would be able, from his connexion with us, to supply with every rarity, &c.

These domestics, one named *Oocktis Koukoa*, and the other *Hankunma*, chief stewards of their master's cattle and sheep, were afterwards brought into the Commander's room, before a large mirror, at which they were utterly amazed, now thinking that they saw people in another room, and then, on seeing their own and other figures, imagining that they saw ghosts; so that Eva, Doman, and other Hottentoes living at the Fort, had enough to do to restore them to their right senses; in this manner we often have rare sport with strangers.

Sept. 22. The said domestics of Sousoa and his son Goeboe received for their masters, in return for the ox sent to the Commander, 6 bunches of red beads, 6 brass rods, a small mirror, 6 pipes, and from 1 to 1½ lb. tobacco for each, being about the usual price of 5 or 6 cattle; they seemed highly pleased with the presents, which they said would afford high gratification to their masters, and dispose them to come nearer to us, as soon as the rivers (which have this year been unusually swelled—so that they could scarcely pass with their cattle) had subsided—for these presents would show that the Commander was well inclined towards them.

To this we answered, that we were ready and eager to receive them with all honor and respect, and to entertain them, and to live with them during all our lives like members of our own families; and that whenever, according to their master's proposal, they had come nearer, and the country was drier, our people would visit them daily to barter, and we would gladly see their king at the Fort, to show him many things, for the purpose of discovering what was most pleasing to him, that we might then procure for him as much of that article as he might desire. After these and other discourses, calculated to invite and entice, each was presented with 3 bunches of beads, tobacco, pipes, &c. and being well fed, and their knapsacks stuffed with bread, they set out early in the morning of the 23rd highly satisfied, the Commander telling them through Eva, that he wished their masters might live a thousand years, and have abundance of children and cattle, these being the most acceptable compliments.

Some of our people offered again to accompany them as an escort, but they declined their attendance, on account of the toilsome journey, and the anxiety they would feel lest any of our people might be drowned in swimming any of the rivers, in which event their masters would never dare to come nearer, for grief and shame. They then took leave, and returned homewards highly pleased; may the Almighty grant that this strange people, may produce something good for the Company. They were utter strangers, indeed they had never been so near the coast as to see ships on the water, nor had they ever seen any other people than the Hottentoes of their country; and we must therefore take the greater pains to prevent their intercourse with the Caepmans, as much as possible; for which purpose nothing can be better than our people accompanying them with guns, by way of escort, and they accompanying our party to drive to the Fort the cattle that may be bought: this will be the most likely way of preventing the mischievous exchange of their fine cattle, for the bad cattle of the Caepmans.

27. About 30 of the Cochoquas came to the Fort, with 3 old cows, a calf, and 27 sheep, which were all bought, chiefly for beads and tobacco; Doman and Eva stated, that Oedaso had sent a complimentary message to Sousoa the king or chief of the Chainouquas, and to his son Goeboe, and that, after waiting 3 days, he had obtained Sousoa's consent to his continuing to trade with us for the present; and that, having come nearer, he would speak further on the subject with Oedaso. The Chariguriquas and Gorachouquas, had also paid their compliments; and the Caepmans or Goringhaiquas had managed to get employed as the escort of Sousoa and his son. Eva said, that

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On the 26th Sept. a notice was published prohibiting the farmers from riding firewood for sale—except once in the week—for the oxen supplied on credit by the Company, for the purpose of agriculture.

the Caepmans were too cunning for all the Hottentoots, and as to the Vissers or Watermans, such poor naked creatures dared not go any where, but must keep under protection of the Company, for the service of the Burgers, &c. in fishing, washing, scouring, &c. and in this way they are very useful.

From the favorable reception Oedasoia had met with from Sousoa and his son, Eva was in hopes that he would not keep so far away as formerly, but that she might occasionally see some of her people here; she was well aware that to be deprived of the tobacco, &c. would be to them the greatest punishment. On this we suggested, that instead of retiring to the interior, Oedasoia should go to the north side of Saldanha Bay, whither we could then send the *Perkyt* to purchase young cattle and sheep, as large cattle could not be transported in so small a vessel, &c.

This she seemed to perceive would be desirable, and she said that she would suggest it; should the plan succeed, we might trade in two places at once, here with the Chainouquar, and there with the Saldanhars; but they say that a certain other people, named Hessequas<sup>(1)</sup> (a name we have never before heard mentioned, [who procure?] real Dacha from the Hancumquas, who are a still greater people than the Chainouquas, and whose language is so different from that of the Saldanhars, that they can only communicate through Chainouqua interpreters) had expressed a desire that the Saldanhars, Caepmans, and all who are in this quarter, should make way for *him*, for he would no longer allow any one whomsoever to stay here any longer, or if they did not remove in due time, he threatened, from a distance, to drive all of them away, including the Chainouquar, and to live here alone, that he might trade with the Dutch; a right which he arrogated to himself as being the strongest, and he would therefore come here and take possession of all the country. Should he do so, something wonderful may be in the wind; time will teach us the result.

It at least appears that the longer the more strange people get intelligence of us, and all are equally anxious to trade with us directly, rather than through the medium of any of their intervening neighbours; on which circumstance we founded a better argument in advising the Cochoquas to go to Saldanha Bay, and the Caepmans to Hout Bay, where the *Perkyt* can get at them; but it is doubtful whether the Caepmans dare again place themselves in the trap, for hitherto they have kept themselves and their camp somewhat out of arms length of us, and have managed to get into greater favor with the Chainouquar than Oedasoia, (who seems somewhat haughty, and not sufficiently humble) probably because the Caepmans have observed that it will be scarcely possible much longer to deter other tribes from visiting us. Those tribes, on hearing of the arrival in the country of a people from whom all the merchandize is to be had, directly felt inclined to come, whereupon others still more distant, who were accustomed to procure their wares indirectly, will also hear of us, and thus the Hollanders will become known over the whole country; and in the course of time the inhabitants of Monomotopa may also send people hither, who then, on comparing our kind treatment with the imperious domination of the Portuguese, may be as well inclined to bring their gold and ivory to the Cape, as to Mozambique and Sofala, for they do not reside much more distant from the Cape than from Mozambique.

This is, however, a matter which will require years to bring about, but, for the reasons above stated, there appear some prospects of it. Two of the oldest of Oedasoia's counsellors who came with the said cattle barterers, desired through Eva that they might speak with the Commander alone, early in the morning; and therefore, on the morning of the 28th, they were called into his office, in the presence of the ordinary Council; they said that Oedasoia desired that the Chainouquar might not cause us to forget him, that he would not fail to trade with us as long as he was allowed, for which purpose he had asked and obtained the consent of Sousoa, to whom he would not otherwise have so far submitted. According to these elders Sousoa was the more disposed to grant his consent, in hopes of Oedasoia's assistance to oppose the threatened approach of the said Hessequa, otherwise they thought that Sousoa would not have listened to this request, for he bore no good will to Oedasoia, who had once, on finding Goeboe, the son of Sousoa, rather weak in men, carried off his wife, the lately deceased wife of Oedasoia, (Eva's sister,) thus this interpreter is sister-in-law to both these great lords, at least so she would persuade us; but others confirm her story.

This Goeboe has now to wife the sister of Osinghkinma, the daughter of Gogosoia chief of the Caepmans; and thus it is that the Caepmans are more in favor with Sousoa and his son.

Eva seems, like us, to associate with them all except the Caepmans, who are jealous of her

(1) The Hessequas, one of the most numerous and friendly of the native tribes, will soon be found occupying a great extent of country to the westward of the present site of Swellendam, and their name is first mentioned after 8½ years of intercourse with the natives. This circumstance reduces to their just value the native romances concerning the more distant "Lords" and "Emperors" of the Namaquas and Chobonas.

because they think that she discloses to us too many of their traditions, and too much of the affairs of this country, &c. and this is true enough, for though we occasionally detect her in a falsehood, we should, but for her, be in ignorance of many things.

Oedaso was answered as was fitting, that he need not fear, we were not disposed to part with the friendship of any one, but on the contrary to root ourselves firmer and firmer in the favor of all who come to us; and to satisfy him on that head, some presents, &c. were sent him by the two elders, and a hint given them as to Saldanha Bay.

They stated that Choro the chief of the Gorachouquas, who had long been encamped with Gonnomoa, had parted with him in dissention, in consequence of Choro having cunningly taken away Gonnomoa's wife, that they would have gone to war in consequence, but for fear of Sousoa, who it would appear, would have banished or degraded the party who was in the wrong. It seems, at all events, that all parties are equally afraid of the authority of Sousoa, and still more for the Hessequas, who have also two chiefs, great lords; all this awakens our curiosity and gives us daily more knowledge of the natives of this country—may the Almighty grant that from both quarters there may flow daily more prosperity to the Company.

Sept. 29. The free men's boats returned from Saldanha Bay. . . . . The crews said that they saw, on the south side of the bay, Ankeysoa, Caepmans' ally, with his half camp, they could only buy 2 sheep, from want of tobacco. Some of the Chariguriquas, whom they saw there, had asked them whether some strange people had not appeared at the Fort out of the interior, a proof that the knowledge of the advance of Sousoa in this direction has spread far, God grant that when they come they may trade willingly, and that the Company may come to a better understanding with them, than with those who reside hereabouts.

In the afternoon the chief or king of the Chainouquas, named Sousoa, came to the Fort, sitting on the same large ox with his son's wife, and led into the Fort by one of the mounted guard; where one of his people lent him his assistance to alight. He brought 33 cattle of different ages, which were all bought for beads, and 15 sheep, which were bought for brass, tobacco, and pipes, and good cheer dealt out to Sousoa and his people. He said that his people had told him that the Commander wished to adopt his son for a brother, and himself for a father, and that he had therefore come to visit his new son, to see what kind of a man he was, &c. to which a fitting reply was made, and professions of unalterable attachment were exchanged; he said that with that view, he would come nearer, so that we might the more easily visit each other for the purposes of trade—for which he seemed very eager—he was therefore entertained with cheese, fresh bread, and sugar in a pewter dish, and seated on a mat in the Commander's room, with the said greasy princess, his son's wife, a favor which had never been permitted to any one before, he was also allowed to hear the harpsichord (*claversingel*) all which seemed very gratifying to him, as also did the beer and French and Spanish wine, of which, however, he did not take enough to intoxicate him. His attendants were regaled in the front hall with biscuit and brandy, which set them singing and leaping, and led to a variety of strange *aperies*.

Sousoa and his son's wife having been shown the houses above and below, and being asked whether there were any other people in the country who had such houses,—they said “yes,” but rather differently constructed, and also residing in one spot; pointing to the ring on the Commander's finger, they said that the people in question had such gold, and showed, by the point of his little finger, the size of the shining white stones he had seen among them; real and false stones—diamond, ruby, and other colours—were then shown to him, with strung pearls, &c. but he said he had never seen any thing of the kind, except gold, and white stones, like diamonds; that he was well acquainted with the people called Cobona or Coboqua, and would endeavour to bring some of them hither, so that we might learn the truth, &c. and as a certain other strong tribe (also Hottentoots) was very jealous of his power, and tried to do him every injury, which they would now do still more, on account of his connexion with us:—he asked whether we would assist him with soldiers against his enemy, should he be attacked; on which we answered in the affirmative, provided that he could manage to supply us with a sufficiency of cattle, and to get the Chobonas to bring us their gold and precious stones, provided also that his enemies were none of our allies hereabouts, particularly the Cochoquas, with whose chief, Oedaso, we had made peace, &c.

He said his enemies were other people, and that in making this request he intended first to give proof of his disposition towards us; that the Commander did not as yet know what kind of a man he was, which time would disclose, that he meant to place his chief camp at Hottentoots Holland, about 1½ days' journey distant, so that we could converse together daily, leaving the rest of the people to move about according to their custom in flying camps, &c.

Oct. 1. Some of Sousoa's people came after him with 10 cattle, which were bought for beads, as also 5 sheep, which were bought for brass, and thus cost each as much as 3 cows, at 9 or 10 stivers; the chief expense is the food and drink for the number of people that constantly come.

2. As Sousoa was preparing to depart with his son's wife, and people, the following considerable presents were prepared for him, his wife, his brother, and another son who was with him; 42 lbs. brass, 8 lbs. copper, 6 doz. chains of beads and false silver, 3 pairs of bracelets of false stones, 4 lbs. tobacco, 4 lbs. red beads, 9 pieces of iron hoops, 15 lbs. brass rods, 2 axes, 2 cold chissels, 7 quarts brandy, 2 small looking glasses, and fully 100 lbs. biscuit; which, together with his three days' entertainment, seemed to give him high satisfaction; he had his son's wife mounted on a white spotted ox, and after passing the fisher's hut mounted himself on a red ox; having during the walk from the Fort talked much to Eva, and desired her to say, that if the Commander would but wait, he would find out that he was the man who could give him contentment, but that the goods which the Choboquas got for their gold and jewels, must pass through his hands, so that they, as well as we, might acknowledge him as the main channel of the trade; and that he had already given all his people full permission to come and trade with us. The ox on which his son's wife rode, had also been sold to us, but was lent to him, at his request, for the conveyance of his luggage; he promised to send it back, with more cattle, on the first opportunity.

Sunday 3. After sermon 13 or 14 of the Chainouquas came with 27 fine cattle, of which 24 were bought for beads; and 3, with 6 sheep, for brass and tobacco; they had not met their king, and said that more of their people would be here to-morrow with cattle, that they were already at Hottentoots Holland, where they would always rendezvous until Sousoa had established his fixed camp there.

This will be an annoyance to our neighbours, as that place was always their best pasture, and, since Sousoa's arrival, neither Caepman, Saldanhar, nor any one has dared to show himself, and the Strandloopers who always live hereabouts, never dare come into his presence; it would therefore seem that this Sousoa must be much respected—this appears also from the statements of Eva and Doman—the latter has been completely supplanted in the favor of the new people by Eva, who has ingratiated herself much with them, without losing sight, at the same time, of the favor of Oedasoia, but caring little about the Caepmans and others, and appearing to be rather against them than otherwise; they hate her accordingly, and though they fear her on our account, she appears to be disliked on account of the information she gives us about the country, regarding which, the truth is daily coming to light; this is very vexing to them, as it has been one of their principal maxims to keep us in the dark, for they always denied that there were Cochoquas, Chainouquas, or other tribes in the interior, but alleged that they, the Caepmans, were alone the true Saldanhar, the most powerful, &c. the falsehood of which appearing more fully every day, they now begin to creep into their shells.

5. This forenoon—agreeably to the intelligence brought the day before yesterday—31 cattle were bartered from the Chainouquas for beads, and 37 sheep for brass and tobacco. Among the natives was Eva's uncle Eyconqua, who brought us 2 cattle and 5 sheep for barely the half of 6 bunches of beads, and 17 lbs. of brass, with some tobacco, advanced him on the credit of Eva's word, three weeks ago, that he might buy cattle in the interior as the Company's agent, as cheaply as he could, receiving here the current price, and thus, with his own profit and the original capital, to become a thriving merchant. The original stock was therefore left in his hands a little longer, until he becomes a little richer; and it was explained to him, at the same time, how it would accumulate in time; this was our intention in the case of Herry, who ruined himself by his bad faith; when he might have thus become a rich man, highly respected by all the Hottentoots, instead of being, as he now is, a beggar not regarded or noticed by any of his countrymen, as Eva knows well, and this is therefore impressed upon her uncle through her, so that he may fully understand it, for he lives in one of the Chainouqua hordes, (under Sousoa) where he can procure the greatest number of cattle. If this should succeed it will be a very convenient thing for the Company to get cattle constantly through him, and therefore he was treated the better, to encourage him in so useful a matter, and some goods, &c. were in the same manner advanced to his grand father Heestkema, who had sold 5 cattle and 6 sheep on his own account.

9. Sousoa came again, with his brother, and 7 cattle and only 2 sheep—among the cattle was the ox he borrowed 8 days back, the rest were bought from him, although the sheep were brought as a present; this Eva did not think fit to interpret, as he had paid so little attention to what she had said, as again to ask for presents, &c. She expressed herself displeased with him, and ashamed that he should be so mean, saying that, she explained to them just what we said, but that she was

often induced from shame, to keep back what he and other Hottentoots said, and that now she had not dared to say anything, as from him, except that, as he had now made the acquaintance of the Commander, he had come to visit him out of civility; and that she knew that the Commander would give him meat and drink, and do him all honor, but that, for the rest, she knew the nature of the Dutch to be such, that they were liberal enough, and willing to make, and to preserve the friendship of all men; and that what they gave as presents out of liberality, was with the object of inviting all people to come to them, to make an opening for commerce, particularly in the articles of which he had already spoken as being more valuable than cattle, namely gold and jewels. This (said she) she could observe in the speech made by the Commander upon Sousoa's arrival to-day, namely, that he—the Commander—was very happy to see him back again, that he was very welcome, that he should receive all honor and good cheer, that he need only mention what he would prefer, as the Commander concluded that according to his promise he had taken his measures when at home, and had sent out people to fetch some gold and jewels, to show them; and had also encouraged his people to bring abundance of cattle, ostrich feathers, ivory, and skins of antelopes and other animals; when still greater presents should be given him, particularly upon his showing any gold or jewels, or any of the people of the country whence those articles are to be procured.

He was meanwhile entertained with bread and cheese, and sugar in a pewter dish, and with wine, and civil conversation.

Oct. 10. Sunday. At the usual parade, a volley was fired before Sousoa, and he was persuaded that such never happened except for great lords as we esteemed him to be; we treated him also with a tune on the violin and the harpsichord, and the like, and said that we did this to show our good will towards him, &c. and that when he showed us some gold and jewels (which he still said he would do) then we should again prepare a small present for him, &c. he soon understood very clearly from this address that he need look for nothing further, on this occasion, than the said good entertainment, and he therefore said no more to Eva about expecting presents; but expressed his surprise at the great quantity of brass, beads, &c. that was exhibited to him; we told him that they were all for the purpose of barter, and requested him to let his people come; this he said he had already done.

11. Westerly wind with hail and rain, Sousoa set off notwithstanding (with a present of a good quantity of tobacco, pipes, bread, brandy, and 8 lbs. of iron) in good humour, promising in due time to give proofs of the truth of his statements; he would have set off yesterday, but was detained until now, for the said present, that he might witness our mode of worship, and that we might thus have an opportunity of speaking with him on the subject, and of their creed, &c. this purpose was effected, and he set off well satisfied.

26. 2 cattle and 8 sheep were bought from the Cochoquas and Chariguriquas, 2 of Oedaso's attendants urgently requested, that the Commander would send the sergeant and some people with Eva to fetch their master to the Fort, as he wished to speak with the Commander upon affairs which could not be confided to every one.

They were told in reply, that it was very gratifying to us that Oedaso would come in person, to speak with the Commander as secretly as he might desire. It is probably to make a closer alliance with us, or to try to get some soldiers to assist him against his enemies: but we shall learn when he comes. As he can scarcely move his wounded arm, and cannot ride on an ox, he requested that he might have the wagon to sit in; orders were accordingly given to prepare the wagon for to-morrow, and to send sergeant Pieter Everarts and 11 good soldiers with Oedaso's elders, to conduct him to the Fort, that we may hear what he has to say.

27. The sergeant and 10 soldiers set out with Oedaso's 2 servants and Eva, with 6 days provision, and a wagon drawn by 6 oxen; may the Almighty be their guide there and back.

Nov. 2. This afternoon the sergeant returned with the king of the Saldanhars, Oedaso, and the 2nd in command Koukoso, and a good retinue of people, with only 19 sheep, 2 cows, 1 little bull, and 1 calf, besides a pack ox which carried his mats and luggage, and on which he might ride home.

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In the Records of the Court of Justice are two notices of criminal convictions, having some relation to natives, of which no mention is made in the Journal;—on the 4th October 1660, the slaves Willem and Class are sentenced to be flogged and branded, for deserting, concealing themselves in the sand hills, and trying to kill the pigs kept there. It is stated in the sentence, as a circumstance in aggravation, that “they killed the Hottentoot's dogs when discovered by their barking, which might have easily led to hostilities, at a time when we hardly knew how to show enough kindness to remove the suspicions of the natives.” On the 9th of the same month, Jan Zacharias was fined 25 reals, for bartering 4 sheep from the Chainouquas at the redoubt Duyrhoop. The only other conviction for the offence of infringing this privilege of the Company—prior to this date—is that noticed in July 10, 1660, [*supra* 212.]. Of upwards of 50 criminal convictions which took place during the 10 years of Mr. Van Riebeeck's command, none are against natives or Europeans, for offences against each other.

Upon their arriving in the front hall, Oedaso and Koukoso were led by the Commander into his own room, seated upon a mat, and welcomed, in the first instance, with a glass of wine and shaking hands, and then there was served up fresh wheaten bread, cheese, and sugar in a pewter dish, and it was stated through Eva that the great men in Holland always ate such bread, and out of such dishes, but not the common people, &c. Herry, who was in the Fort, joined the party, (daer mede byvoughen) but dared not seat himself on the mat, nor Doman either; and after some friendly conversation, of no importance, with Oedaso, and also between him and Herry, he took a slice of bread, and gave it with his [own] hands to Herry; Doman was sitting somewhat behind, and at last got a slice from Koukoso, who also helped himself from the dish. And Oedaso helped his daughter, a fine well shaped wench, not darker than a fair *mestice*; neither was he ugly, and all the people from the interior are fine well built men; it is a great pity that they so disfigure themselves with grease, &c.

Nov. 4. This afternoon Oedaso, Koukoso, and Eva being brought into the Commander's office, without any other Hottentoes, in the presence of the Commander and the ordinary Council, to hear what he had to say in secret; it appeared to come out, that if we would assist him with men, when attacked by his enemies, he would come to live close by, and place his houses, cattle, and women under the Steenberg in the Hout and Berg Vallies, under our protection, while he, with our assistance, was opposing his enemies.

On which it was answered that he must be pleased to say who his enemies were, as we had made peace with the Chainouquas and Gorachouquas also, and that it would be contrary to reason to make war upon our allied friends, as it would be to lend any poeple to act against him. Eva interpreted that the strange people were of the great Chariguriquas, Namanas, and adherents of the Cobonas.

On this Oedaso was told that our chief object was to make friends and to trade with all the people in the land, but that, if he could manage to supply us constantly, in return for merchandize, with as many cattle as we required, and with the gold and precious stones that lie hid among the Chobonas, Namanas, &c. he would find us ready to listen to any thing reasonable, and that we could take measures to cause him to be acknowledged and looked up to as one of the greatest potentates of these Hottentoes, on account of the merchandize, which, through his means, those tribes would endeavor to procure from us. But that this end could be better attained by kindness and friendly alliances, than by war.

In reply to this, little more could be elicited, than that he thought that we were now sufficiently supplied with cattle; and when we answered that we required annually for the shipping and for our men here, fully 1000 good cattle, no kind of reply could be had; but, pretending to be tired, he went into the front hall and lay down to sleep.

Meanwhile 5 cattle and 19 sheep were bought from his people outside; they were all well fed three times a day, and he was entertained, like Souso, with a parade, and a discharge of musketry, and he, Koukoso, and his daughter fed at and from the Commander's table, heard a tune on the harpsichord, &c.

After this Eva began to speak of preparing a great present for him, against to-morrow, or the next day, when he would depart.

5. The following presents were given—Oedaso, 33 lbs. iron, 6 bunches beads,  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb., a string of iron beads for the neck, 10 sticks of thick brass wire 9 lbs., 1 axe, 6 lbs. tobacco, 1 dozen tobacco pipes, 6 knives, [then follow a list of a smaller quantity for Koukoso and for Oedaso's daughter Nanies, and a larger quantity for Eva, "named by them Crotoa," for her services as interpreter.]

There was given to him for the road, 80 lbs. rice, 100 lbs. bread, 3 flasks brandy, 2 of Spanish wine, 20 lbs. flour, some sugar and spice; besides their daily consumption while here, which was found to have amounted to 153 lbs. biscuit, 16 flasks brandy, 250 lbs. rice, 10 lbs. tobacco.

6. Oedaso prepared to depart, but, finding that all his presents could not be conveyed on the one ox he had brought, he resolved to stay until one or two more oxen could be fetched; for which purpose he instantly sent off people; meanwhile we are burdened with him, and a good many of his people, who are still amply entertained, in order to ascertain what results will follow; but nothing particular was arranged with him, except that he promised constant amity, and leave to trade with his people; he shewed us how the iron and copper beads should be made; and promised to encourage his people, as much as he could, to bring to us, besides cattle, wax, and white gems found in the mountains, which, according to the description given by him and Koukoso, in the presence of Herry and Doman, are perhaps crystal.

At the desire, apparently, of the two latter, he requested that the Goringhaiquas, that is, the

Caepmans, might be allowed again to reside upon their land, behind the Boshenvel, under the Steenberg, beyond our enclosure, (begrepen circul) and also in the Hout and Berg Vallies; to which we consented, under condition that they should use none but the permitted roads, through the barrier, beyond the mounted guard, which has a view of the whole line, in order to prevent any Hottentoots from entering elsewhere, and going any where except directly to and from the Fort; and should they live in the Hout Valley, they were to come along the outward, or sea side of the Gevelbergen, and through the Lion Kloof in this direction, being the road by which they drove off the first cattle in 1653; and the barrier stands where they drove away most of our cattle last year; by which last mentioned road alone, they, as well as the cattle must now approach us, no other passage being left open. . . . . Oedasoia after some other friendly conversation, had something to eat, and a few glasses of wine in the Commander's office, and after he had sent some people for oxen to carry away his presents, lay down to sleep in the front hall, while Herry and Doman (apparently from the wine getting into their heads) had more access to talk with him than before, but from their being in high spirits with the wine—their conversation seemed to be of very little importance.

Having shown to him and his men several kinds of beads, he said they were all marketable, if not among his people, among other tribes, who, on hearing of our inclination to trade with all, and not to make war, would come to us in time, in greater numbers than he could conceive, but that if we would assist him in war, he would manage in that way to supply us with enough of cattle, and also of people to make slaves of. We replied that we would prefer friendly trade, because war was always uncertain, and we absolutely required cattle, holding it as a principal maxim to make friends with as many nations as possible, and to continue such, as in his own case; and that he may consequently rely upon never being injured by us, but that we shall always be united like members of the same family, &c.

In the evening some of Gonnomoa's people brought 19 sheep and 6 cattle to the Fort, which were forthwith purchased; this Gonnomoa is the other chief of the smaller *helft* of the Chocoquas, or Saldanhars, who are divided into two governments; the highest chief, and seemingly the highest born, being Oedasoia, and the under, or second, Gonnomoa; each portion is divided again into several encampments, each having their subordinate chiefs, who are the counsellors of the said Cochoquas, or higher chiefs, each ranking after the choques, or kings, according to their descent or birth.

Nov. 7. Oedasoia's messengers came with 2 oxen. 8. Oedasoia set out with his attendants in the morning, and Eva at 10 o'clock; he was very well satisfied with his presents, which were placed upon his three oxen. He took leave of the Commander in his house on the previous evening, when he said that he was now inclined to remain friends with the Dutch all his life, and that, when assailed by his enemies—as he had been last year crippled by the lion, and was unable to take his own part in war like other people—he would place himself, with his women and cattle, under our protection; letting his other hordes go into the interior to carry on war in all directions, where, for the reasons stated, he was now unable to accompany them, and that he would always keep Koukosoia and his camp hereabouts for the sake of company, now and then bringing us sheep and cattle according to his ability. To this, as far as an affable reception and kind treatment can accomplish the purpose, they, and especially he and Sousoia, have been much encouraged by giving them all they could desire in abundance; we will hope that the Lord will bless the work, &c.

The Goringhaiquas or Caepmans, are much inclined to return to reside in Hout Bay, under the Steenberg, and in all the Cape country beyond our *circel*, promising that, as they never sell cattle, they will bring us the wax out of which they have sucked the wild honey, and which they would otherwise throw away. The Soaquas (a people without cattle, who reside beyond the mountains of Africa (in 't overgeberchte) and are chiefly banditti, promise that they will bring us thence young horses; they brought us 2 or 3 of the heads stuffed; they were very beautifully striped, with long ears like asses—but otherwise much resembling the head and mouth of the horse. . . . .

These Souquas eat them, and say that the flesh is better than beef; in order to get hold of a young horse they have been promised for each that they bring alive and unhurt, as much as the price of 4 cattle, and our people have been promised 150 guilders. . . . .

10. On the rumours of high premiums upon a journey to Monomotopa, several volunteers presented themselves. 12. The party set out for Monomotopa in the name of the Lord, with the following provisions, ammunition, and merchandize, carried on 3 oxen.(1)

(1) The Instructions for this journey are entered in the Journal. The cities of Cartado, Belugaris, Monomotopa, and the rivers Spirito Sancto, Infante, and Pescaria, with the country of Batua, &c. are described, as laid down in the map of Linschoten. The work of Huygens de Linschoten, (published at Amsterdam in 1623,) may be seen in the Dessinian Collection, Cape

Nov. 13. For the second time, a piece of wax, weighing 2 lbs. was brought by one of the Caepmans; although very impure, it was well paid for, to encourage them.

25. In the evening the chocque, chief or king of the Cochoquas, or Saldanhars, Oedaso, came to the Fort with a long train of attendants, bringing with him only 16 sheep, which were all bought of them on the 26th, and Oedaso taken on board to see the ships, where he was well entertained.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to the Governor General and Council, Batavia.

..... Since which time nothing material has occurred, except that Oedaso, the king of the Saldanhars, or Cochoquas, has paid us a visit in the Fort, where every possible attention, &c. was shown him, in order to bind him the more to our interests, and to the continuance of all possible friendship; this he has promised, together with a constant cattle trade, which proceeds very well at present. We are thus upon the best terms with him, as well as with the Chainouquar, and through them with nearly all the Hottentoo race; and the roads being thus rendered somewhat safer, we sent out 13 volunteers on the 12th instant, to endeavour to discover some of the towns (vaste plaetsen) of Monomotopa, as may be seen in our Journal of the 10th, and the resolution passed on the subject,<sup>(1)</sup> therein inserted. What the Lord will be pleased to reveal to us, we trust hereafter (should the travellers return in safety) to communicate to you.

The Caepmans and others, from whom no cattle are to be had, are meanwhile encouraged as much as possible to bring us wax out of the wilds, they promise well, hereafter we shall be able to speak with more certainty upon the prospects thus offered. From the annexed copy of a short letter from the Chamber Amsterdam, your Honors will observe the wonderful change of government, and restoration of the king in England, &c.

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### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

Nov. 29. The *Perhyt* returned from Saldanha Bay..... where they had only bought 10 sheep.

Dec. 3. The Commander sailed in the *Perhyt* to examine Saldanha Bay. 9. The Commander returned; during his absence nothing particular had occurred, except that some trifles were brought by some Hottentoots.

14. Two of our travellers returned unwell, they had left the party 10 days ago, as appears by the following letters<sup>(2)</sup>..... according to these men the party had advanced 48 mylen, and were obliged to turn off to the North; one of their oxen had fallen down the mountain and was killed. For food, they took each a biscuit daily, also for the two Hottentoots who accompanied them, and Doman and Bisente, to these they gave leave to return with the 2 sick men, if they liked, but they said they would stay with the travellers to the last, as they had promised to the Commander. It would seem that Doman is trying to make up matters, and to repair his faults of last year, in exciting the war, (which, contrary to his expectations, has fallen out to their disrepute) by extra-

Town; Linchoten's map of Africa is liberally sprinkled with kingdoms and cities in the interior; among others Monomotopa, lying near the tropic, on the Rio de Spirito Santo; Vigiti Magna and Mossata are laid down to the Eastward of Rio Pescaria, an imaginary river running nearly South, from the tropic, into the sea near Mossel Bay—Cartado is placed to the Eastward, on Rio do Infante. The earlier maps are deserving of notice only where they are explanatory of the objects of the first journeys into the interior; (and, with this view, it is proposed to attach a few of them, in outline, to this compilation) for instance: one of the letters referred to above<sup>(2)</sup> states that the party had "toiled in vain, in trying to pass the mountains, in which we have not yet succeeded: so that, if we cannot reach Cartado, we shall at least reach Mossata."

(1) The Resolution commences with this preamble:—"Being once more, thank God! not only on good terms with the Caepmans, or Goringhaiquas, and Gorachouquas, &c. who last year made war upon us, according to their mode of warfare, but having also come into friendly communication with almost all the Hottentoo race in the interior, namely the Cochoquas and Chainouquas, a still greater people, dependent upon the Hancumquas, whose chief is said to be the chief over all the Hottentoo race, whose friendship we do not doubt to secure through the Chainouquas, and who live next to the Chobonas (supposed to be the Monomotopars) &c. &c.

Upon these grounds a party of 13 volunteers, who are named, are placed under the command of one of them, stated to be a good engineer and *geometricus*, and looked upon as having more than a common soldier's capacity. P. Meerhoff, of Copenhagen, a private soldier employed as *onder Barbier*, was the third in command. The rewards offered were in proportion to the time occupied in travelling, the distance travelled, and the value of the discoveries made; on reaching any town of Monomotopa, Batua, or Davahul, they were to endeavour to induce some of the natives to return with them, should they even leave some of their party as voluntary hostages—3 oxen were allowed to carry their luggage, the weight of which exceeded 10,000 lbs. It is probable that farming did not hold out many encouraging prospects in 1660, for this resolution provides for employing, at his own request, as a farmer on account of the Company, at 10 guilders per mensem, for a term of 10 years, Peiter Raderotjes, who had landed as a free man in March 1659.

ordinary services ; this is very convenient for the travellers. They had shot three large Elands to help out their provisions, and caught many fine fish. They also fell in with a certain small poor people, who assisted them in their passage over the first mountains, and showed them much kindness, giving them dried fish and honey ; these are the same small people who were formerly found by our travellers—nearer at hand ; they were in very lean condition, living in poor low huts, made of boughs, which our people found here and there standing unoccupied ; it would seem as if they pass the night in these *cassiens*. They are well supplied with arrows, with which they well know how to kill game for their food ; they also subsist upon honey ; they are clothed with much worse skins (of wild animals) than the Hottentoots, and they are not so greasy, for greasiness is a mark of opulence in cattle and condition, &c. ; they also have curled Caffer hair, and are of the same colour, their pronunciation is somewhat different, although they have the same clucking like turkeycocks—the more the further inland. There is also, among the Hottentoo race, a language in which the great people communicate with each other, and which the common people do not understand ; but none have been found who know any thing of reading and writing.

One of our men, named Pieter Meerhoff (he who has some knowledge of surgery) had shot a wild horse in the neck, and the horse having fallen, Meerhoff sprung upon him, intending to hamstring him, but not getting his knife ready soon enough, the horse jumped on his legs and ran off with him, and when the horse was leaping over a river, Meerhoff fell off, receiving a kick in the face. This horse was very beautiful, dapple gray over the whole body, except the buttocks and thighs, and on the legs streaked with white, sky blue, and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully rare and beautiful, quite like a horse, with small ears, handsome head, and thin legs, like the finest horse one would wish to see.

The other kind, (of which the Hottentoots have sometimes brought us the stuffed heads, and pieces of the skin,) have very long ears—extraordinary hair, and are streaked white and dark chesnut ; our men saw great numbers of these ; they bit at the people like dogs—and most resemble mules ; the Hottentoots have, indeed, distinct names for the two kinds, calling the horses *Haqua*. The mules, *Douqua*. But we cannot induce the natives to bring us any of the young alive, whatever we offer, apparently because they see, more plainly every day, that we would thus be enabled to keep them too much under *devotie*. Our party saw only one elephant, but rhinoceroses, harts, reeboks, and elands, in great numbers, near the waters ; also pheasants, partridges, and pigeons, but all very shy. They thought that the miner had found copper in one of the mountains, but had seen no other ore of value.

The men who returned had found a much better road round the mountains, over which they had passed on the outward journey, and had, weak as they were, accomplished in 10 days, a distance which had before occupied 29 days. They were kindly treated by the Hottentoots, whom they fell in with here and there during their journey, and also by the said small people ; so that it is now safe enough in that respect, but very toilsome from the heath that every where covers the country, and the number of high steep mountains, for they did not like to go out of their way, by keeping the Hottentoo paths, but tried to make their journey as short as possible. The road by which they returned might be travelled with a wagon, which may be very convenient hereafter.

Dec. 15. In the evening came Sousoa, the king, or chief of the Chainouquas, with a great retinue of people, and Herry as interpreter, bringing a large lot of sheep and cattle, 71 of the former and 83 of the latter ; he was consequently nobly received and cherished, and Herry also, as he thus tries again to ingratiate himself, &c.

16. All the live stock brought yesterday was bought—the 83 cattle for beads, tobacco, and pipes, the sheep for brass, &c. . . . so that the beads are preferred by them to the brass, although of such a trifling value, 3 head of cattle costing scarcely more than one sheep, which usually stands us in from 20 to 30 stivers, and it is still cheap enough, so that we buy all we can get. The Chainouquas, who live and trade to the Eastward, cry out for red beads ; and the Cochoquas, or Saldanhars, who live to the N. W. are fondest of the *Kabarys*, or copper chains ; we get the cattle chiefly from the Chainouquas, and the greatest number of sheep from the Cochoquas. Hundreds of the former, (including, however, many Caepmans and tobacco thieves) were, in consequence of this noble trade, liberally entertained for food and brandy, which form the greatest expense. But their chief, Sousoa, clothed in fine leopards' skins, with Choro, the chief of the tobacco thieves, and Herry, were regaled apart, in the Commander's dining room, with sugared cheese, fresh bread, and Spanish wine, on a pewter dish, by way of a royal entertainment, apart from the common people, &c. &c.

We were the more induced to treat them in this manner, because they had found and now brought

back, a certain draught ox, belonging to the farmer Herman Remanjenne, which had strayed some days ago, and had restored it for a span of tobacco and a bunch of beads; a proof that they also desire to show friendship and fidelity.

After this, towards evening, the said Sousoa, half elated with wine, and all his people set off without waiting for the presents which Herry said that the Commander would have prepared for him by to-morrow; he replied that he would soon return with another large lot of cattle, together with another great old Heer, one of his allies, who had never been here, but was now disposed to allow himself to be conveyed to the Fort on a riding ox, that he might see and become known to the Commander. His name is Hamkeysoa, also subject to the Hancumquas, who never move their houses, and who cultivate dacha. Sousoa disposes off his merchandize to them for cattle, of which they have great numbers, as have also other tribes N. E. of the Hancumquas, from whom those more remote tribes procure their merchandize, and to whom they are subject;—they are named—*Chamaquas, Omaquas, Atiquas, Houtunquas, Cauquas*, all dacha planters, like the Hancumquas, and rich in people and cattle; living in houses which, though constructed of mats, like those of all the Hottentoots, are stationary; they are also similarly dressed and greased. Beyond them are said to be the Choboquas, or people of Monomotopa, whom Herry had indeed seen with the Chainouquas, though he had never been at their places of abode; being black Caffers, just like the Guinea and Angola slaves, and dressed in the skins of calves and sheep, of which they have abundance. Of gold or jewels he knew nothing, but what he now heard from Sousoa. All the Hottentoot tribes above named reside between the middle of this African continent, and the sea to the Eastward of the Cape, where, according to Herry's statement, they are to be found in various bays, and where every friendship would be shown by them, if [their visitors] only said they were of Soury's people; the Commander is known by that name among all the tribes of the Hottentoot race, the name being as much as to say—"lord of the people, who endeavour to be friends with all nations, and who advise them all to be friends with each other, &c.<sup>(1)</sup> and that all, on hearing of the Dutch, would accordingly be very desirous of seeing them.

Those who reside to the N. West, from the middle of the continent to Saldanha Bay, and the Angola country, are, first—the Cochoquas, of which people Oedasoia and Gonnomoa are the Heeren. The next are, the great and little Chariguriquas, without hereditary chiefs, but who have revolted from the Cochoquas; all these are Hottentoots like this Cape tribe, and then follow—

The Namaquas, who are dressed in skins, make baskets, and casks, large and small, as in Holland, in which casks they preserve their milk; they eat with spoons made of tortoise shell, and have, indeed, fixed houses, which they do not move from place to place, but not stone houses. It appears that Herry begins to be somewhat more communicative (*wat beter op te clappen*) seeing that we are no longer to be hood-winked; as we get much information through the Chainouquas; and upon these subjects Eva has not spoken according to his liking—as now begins to appear; although indeed here and there she has been found to fib a little, (*wel een cleyn flitjen?*) and is a little given to flattery, and to saying whatever she thinks one would be pleased to hear. She is now again residing for a while, in Hottentoot clothing, with her said brother-in-law, Oedasoia; and Herry lives with the Gorachouquas, in the road by which the Chainouquas approach; these he joins as interpreter, on seeing them coming, (for Doman is absent with the travellers) and therefore he now received so good a present, for he begins once more to be so good a servant, that he—on the 17th, in the morning—being fine calm cloudy weather—went home well contented, after he had been shown the samples of the French beads, of all of which he approved; and accordingly they were to-day received by the fiscal and sergeant from the priests, upon their repeated petition, after they had agreed upon the price with the Commander; 9 more sheep were bought from the Chainouquas . . . . . who promise to return with a good many in 8 or 10 days.

Dec. 19. The Hottentoot Claes Das told us that he had heard from some of the Cochoquas, Oedasoia's people, that three more of our travellers were laid up, a long way off, with sore legs and feet, caused by the brushwood, they were with the Souquas (the hill people, who chiefly subsist by the game they kill,) who were taking care of our men, and feeding them on the flesh of the hart and rhinoceros, and after a few days rest, would bring them hither.

20. As, from the great number of the cattle acquired by the Company through this *opulent* barter, they must be depastured, under the charge of a mounted guard, far beyond the space already enclosed, and planted with bitter almond trees—which begin to grow well. The Com-

(1) The etymological compliment here paid to his own policy by Mr. Van Riebeeck is hardly borne out by the subsequent use of the word *Soury*, which seems merely equivalent to *Chief*.

mander went out for the express purpose of examining how much further it is absolutely necessary to extend the fence, so that it may include sufficient pasture for the cattle, &c. but as he could not finish to-day, he will take the first opportunity (a greater extent of pasture being quite indispensable) to resume the inspection, &c.

Meanwhile the Cochoquas brought a bull and 2 young oxen, which were bought for beads, tobacco, and pipes, as also 5 sheep, for brass; they had nothing to say of our travellers, we will therefore hope that the bad news of yesterday may prove to be false.

Orders were given to strengthen the mounted guard with a corporal from the Fort, and for the fiscal and sergeant to inspect the guard every alternate day, to see that the orders are strictly complied with. The preservation of such a fine herd of cattle as the Company now possesses, and the continuation of the increasing trade, are matters of such importance, that we can scarcely devise too many modes of securing them; for the Goringhaiquas, or Caepmans, and the Goraehouquas, or tobacco thieves, and also the Soaquas, or hill people (who subsist solely by eating game, and stealing domestic cattle) and no less the Watermans who live at the Fort, and in Hout Bay, on perceiving the least chance of success, would not fail, according to their ability, constantly to steal the Company's cattle; through which we should again suffer, not merely the immediate loss, but the war, thus caused, would deter other tribes in the interior from approaching, as being ignorant of the cause why the country was again in war, to the great detriment of the present flourishing traffic, and of the friendship contracted with all the Hottentoo race, who come to the Fort so readily and confidently from the interior, &c. and for which reason the said Caepmans must, indeed, upon a further increase of our live stock, be entirely excluded from these Cape pastures, as, in that case, the Hon. Company will soon require the pastures for our own cattle, because the grass within the fence and the river Liesbeeek, is hardly sufficient for the free men's cattle, (200 in number exclusive of sheep) and that in the Table Valley with the flat beyond the Lion Hill, &c. is not too much for the mares and foals, and the sheep belonging to the Company and [free men?] at the Fort; so that the large herd has to be sent to a distance with a guard of horse and foot—during the dry season, and must, for the reasons before stated, be most closely and carefully watched.

Dec. 25. Oedaso came to the Fort with 16 sheep, expressly to say, that his people had informed him, that we had been told that our party of travellers had sustained some injury from his people in the interior; he requested that we would not believe this, but would rest assured that they would be received with every mark of friendship, &c.

To this we replied as was fitting, and he was told that no such tales had reached us, and that he might set his mind at rest; for he said that he had been told that, on account of this report, we were about to attack him with many mounted men, for whom they are very much afraid.

26. Oedaso departed, after being entertained, and presented with bread, tobacco, and rice, &c. on account of which, apparently, he had made up the loose report above mentioned, and he was told, (though in a good humoured friendly manner) that if he came with such large herds of cattle as are brought by Sousoa, the king of the Chainouquas, that then, indeed, there would be a fine, capital present for him, that his company was, at the same time, very agreeable to us, and the more so the more cattle he brought, &c.

The interpreter Eva is again living in the Commander's house, laying aside her skins, and dressing herself in her clothes in the Indian manner, that she may resume the exercise of her functions as interpreter; she seems now again to be somewhat tired of her own people, and we allow her to indulge this changeable disposition, according to her own fancy, so as to have the better service from her; but she seems so much habituated to Dutch customs and Dutch food, that she will never be able entirely to relinquish them.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to Chamber XVII.

1661. Jan. 1. An opportunity for writing is offered by the English vessel *Depesche* of 50 tons, from Indrapoura, bound to Leghorn. . . . . we have received your letter of the 16th April 1660. . . . we hope to write more fully by the return fleet. . . . .

. . . . . The state of affairs here at present, is better than at any former period; as well in respect of the flourishing cattle trade, as of the particularly good intelligence subsisting between us and these native tribes, and which has been increasing daily, ever since our said last letters; the roads in every direction having thus become quite safe for travellers; a party of 13 volunteers set out once more, with renewed courage, upon the 12th of last November, resolved, if possible, not to

turn back until they have found the cities of Monomotopa, Davagul, and some others besides; may the Almighty lend his blessing; hitherto we have received nothing but good accounts of their progress, and that from the mouths of kings and chiefs of various races of the Hottentoots, who come to us daily with offers of friendship and alliance. Thus, thanks be to God! all goes on as desired, and consequently more farmers have come forward to extend the cultivation of the soil; the olive tree also bears fruit, &c. of all which we trust to advise your Honors at greater length by the next homeward bound fleet, &c.

### Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1661. Jan. 4. The Company has again 136 sheep on Robben Island, and, since the number of snakes has been diminished, rabbits by hundreds.

6. 22 sheep were this day bartered from Oedaso's people for tobacco only, and one for brass.

15 to 20. The weather as before—at noon arrived our party of travellers, who have again been unsuccessful, having only advanced  $55\frac{3}{4}$  Dutch mylen to the N. E. arising partly from the inability and partly from the unwillingness of some of the party to go any further, and from their leader, Jan Danckert, being afraid of exerting the necessary authority in too absolute a manner, and thus being too little respected by them; as would appear from the information collected; otherwise his will was good enough, as appears by the following journal kept by him:—

Extracts of a Journal of the last Expedition to Monomotopa, kept by Jan Danckert, begun the 12th November, 1660.

This first day we marched to the foot of the Tygerberg and 2 [salt] pans, without meeting any thing particular; next day we went N. E. to N. over the Tygerberg, to near the place where Jan Reyniers was bitten by the lion, and were obliged to stay there, because our baggage was in too small bags, and because our oxen were tired—being about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mylen, and on the

14. We went N. E. to the crael of the fat captain—left said crael about 500 roods to the N. W. and passed Eastward through the Valley, where our people lost the road; they followed the Hottentoots until within about 2 hours of *Taback Teckeman's*(<sup>1</sup>) crael, under the hill called Clapmuts, where we staid for the night.

15. Went on again N. E. (after taking all possible pains, to no purpose, to procure a pack ox from the captain of the Taback Teckemans) to a river or valley, or morass running for about 500 roods from the Clapmuts, which we could not pass with the cattle, and were therefore obliged to change our course to S. E. by S. for about 300 roods, where we crossed the river, and then proceeded N. E. to another river which rose also in the Clapmuts, and so on through a kloof, leaving to the N. W. a hill rather stony, which had a bush on the top, having passed which, we came to a river with rushes, where we staid for the night.

16. Went on E. N. E. leaving the Paarl and Diamant Berg on the N. W. and halted there at the Berg River, lodging in a small bush, that we might let the oxen rest; heard 2 cannon, which we presume had been fired by some vessel in Table Bay.

17. Proceeded about 40 roods N. E. where we passed the Berg River without difficulty. This river runs from S. S. W. to N. N. E. dividing itself into three branches. We left the Paarl and Diamant to the N. W. and went on N. E. about 2 mylen to the mountain, where we saw a kloof which we could not pass with loaded oxen, we were thus obliged to change our course, and went due N. W. for about 2 mylen, and slept there. On the 18th we went on N. W. passing 3 or 4 ridges of hills and valleys, extending East and West for about 2 mylen.

20. We found 3 Hottentoots, but smaller in person than those at the Cabo de Bonne Esperance, who promised to lead us over the mountains, we therefore staid there for the night, and 2 men went, under the guidance of a Hottentoot, to see if we could pass the mountain; they found that it was not to be done without great trouble, and as we had shot a hartebeest, we staid there.

(<sup>1</sup>) This renders it probable that the term "tobacco thieves"—like the soubriquets by which other tribes were distinguished—was derived from Herry's broken English. (See note p. 110.)

On the 2nd Jan. 1661 a Proclamation, gave permission to all to kill game for their own subsistence, (in consequence of the indolence of the free hunters, from whom no one could procure game for their money) it contained the following restrictions: "provided that they do not trespass upon the cultivated lands of their neighbours and others, and that they keep at least 3 musket shots within the Salt River, and do not cross the river for the purpose of shooting, from its mouth along the shore to the furthest of the Salt Pans, where the river takes its rise, and where the [privileged] free hunters alone are allowed to shoot."

On the 21st Jan. 1661, it was made known by proclamation that cows and ewes purchased from the natives by the Company, should in future be sold by auction to the farmers, from whom fat cattle should be repurchased at an advance of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the price paid; live sheep at 2 stivers per lb. in diminution of the debts owing to the Company—ewes were still not to be killed without written permission, and farmers or inhabitants of the town (stadts borgers) who wished to keep cows, were ordered to keep them beyond Table Valley, where the pasture was not enough for even the Company's cattle, which had to be grazed at distance of at least 3 or 4 hours.

Nov. (1660) 21 and 22. Went on to the mountains which extended N. and S.; we had to carry up all the luggage, for the oxen had enough to do to get up without any load; went directly East, leaving Table Hill W. S. W.; rested on the top of the mountains.

23. Meant to go on, but our cattle could not move, we had to carry all the luggage down the hill, here and there filling up holes to enable the oxen to pass—went East about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a myl, and about equally far N. E. when we came into a fine valley, with a river running to the Eastward, rested here 2 days.

Dec. 6. Two men requested leave to turn back, issued to them bread and tobacco for 11 days. I think this part of the country must be the kingdom of the moles, for the ground is so intrenched by them that we were obliged to keep the Rhinoceros paths, otherwise we sunk to the knees in the sand—resolved to repass the mountains.

7. Found about 20 Soaquas, who, after many words, came to us and showed us a road over the hills. . . . We bartered honey from them; Doman bought from them a skin for the beads from his ears; about noon we began to ascend the mountain, going North, and then passing through a kloof, we met 3 other Soaquas, who abandoned all they had and fled; Doman got from them a skin, some broiled rabbits, honey, &c. having often called to them first, but we never saw them again.

8. . . . . We slept at a large river, containing the finest fish, in great abundance; we saw on a hill West of us 200 or 300 elephants together. . . . . 14. Determined to leave here Mr. Meerhoff and 5 others. . . . .

16. Set out with 4 men, Doman, and Bissentee; I carried the bread for myself and the Hottentoes, and they carried the tobacco, beads, &c. . . . . leaving our companions at the *Great Oliphants River*.

17. Went on N. W.; passed a River which ran to the West. . . . . 21. Passed several ridges of hills; on ascending the last we got a view of the country, which was full of hills and mountains; about 30 mylen further we saw other Table Mountains, which seemed to rise to the sky. . . . . The Hottentoes could go no further, 10,000 acres would not feed a single ox. . . . . Resolved to turn back. 27. Repassed the Oliphants River. 31. Some Soaquas came to us, from whom we bought honey for tobacco, but they did not know how to smoke it; they told us that the Namaquas were resolved to come to the Cape to destroy every thing, and that they wear shield of ox hides to defend them against the arrows.

Jan. 5. (1661) Rejoined our people. 8. Some Soaquas came to us, but left us instantly. 10. Bought honey from some Soaquas for tobacco, &c.

Extracts from Journal, Jan. 20, 1661.—As to the approach of the Namaquas, the interpreter Doman, and the Hottentoo Bissentee, who returned with our party, said that it was true, they had heard it positively asserted by the Souquas, or mountaineers, who also told them that the Namaquas were coming to occupy all the Cape country, so that they alone might trade with the Dutch; that they would drive away all the Hottentoo race, that they had already dispersed one of Oedasoa's camps, which lay a little out of the way, had burned the houses, and taken the cattle and two boys, of whom one had escaped and returned home during his (Doman's) absence; he said that he must therefore warn his people to be on their guard.

He was told that they ought to allow the Namaquas to come without fear, or obstruction, that we would protect them; if they would retire to the Hout and Berg Vallies behind the mountains, we would try to bring about a good peace between them and the Namaquas, so that they might all trade together and live in amity; this seemed to please him and some other Hottentoes who were present, as did also the presents which were somewhat liberally bestowed upon him and Bissentee, because they had gone out, and returned with our men so faithfully.

22. 14 sheep were brought by Oedasoa's people and bartered. . . . .

30. The new expedition to the Namaquas set out.<sup>(1)</sup> 31. The boat returned from Saldanha Bay, they had seen there no natives whatever—some Hottentoes brought a note from our travellers.

Feb. 1. Oedasoa came again to the Fort, with 11 cattle and 31 sheep, which were chiefly bought for beads, kabary, and tobacco, only 8 sheep being bought for brass.

3. After Oedasoa's departure 4 cattle were bought from some of his followers; of the Namaquas they said nothing, except that they were Hottentoes like themselves, also dressed in skins, and living in mat houses, subsisting by cattle, of which they have great numbers, not wearing chains on the arms or neck, nor in the ears, but beads round the waist, and copper bracelets; occupying a great extent of land in consequence of the number of their cattle, much given to war, armed with bows and assagays, their breast protected by a piece of dry hide, like a breastplate, which neither arrow nor assagay could penetrate; always at variance with the Saldanhars, but they think that, as Oedasoa is now allied to the Dutch, the Namaquas would do him no harm should they come. They said the Namaquas were coming this way with 4 camps or negreyen, but, from the great

(1) 1661. Jan. 21. A Resolution of this date authorizes a new expedition under Cruythoff, "who can enforce greater respect, and preserve better discipline than" the last leader—the promised reward of double wages was withheld from all the last party, excepting the chief—who, together with Meerhoff, again volunteered his services.

number of their cattle, they could only move very slowly; where their cattle would find pasture they knew not, the whole Cape had not half enough grass for them. Oedasoia set out well satisfied after a kind reception, &c.

Feb. 6. 3 cows and 5 sheep were bartered from the Cochoquas, and in the evening came some advance parties of the Chainouquas, from whom 14 cattle were bought; they brought word that not only their lord or king Sousoa was on the way with a good herd, but that some of the Hessequas (their allies) were also coming with a much greater number.

9. Oedasoia returned to the Fort with a lean ox and 20 sheep, some very old, and all the others having the tails cut off; and it being observed that this causes them to die after they have been a day or two in our possession, they were all left unbought, and Oedasoia was told, after a friendly preamble, that our merchandize was good, and that good cattle must be brought to exchange for it, which he and all his people then present could well understand: he replied, he could do no better, that every one brought to the market what he chose, and therefore, as his people rejected our bad tobacco, we might well refuse their bad cattle, so that they might learn to bring better, &c. so that we were of the same mind upon the subject, and he and the Commander left the matter where it was, he received the usual entertainment, to avoid all kind of diffidence.

11. This morning two of the Caepmans came to the Fort with a person who gave himself out to be a messenger from the chief or king of the Heusaquas before mentioned, to learn whether he would be as well received as Sousoa the chief or king of the Chainouquas; as, on hearing that such would be the case, he would come with many cattle, and would also enter into a firm alliance with us, so that he might procure for his cattle some iron, of which to make assagays and arrows, which had all been expended upon his enemies, who had thus driven him from his country. His enemies were quite black, with thick lips, very dexterous in the use of the bow and arrow, living in houses of clay walls with wooden door posts; he told us other strange things according to Eva's interpretation, or as they would try to persuade us, of the truth which, time will be the best instructor.

12. This morning the Heusequa who came yesterday was interrogated through other Hottentoots, without the aid of Eva, and his statements were found to agree, &c. all our merchandize was shown to him, and, at his desire, some was given to him to show to his master; after being entertained and receiving some presents, he departed well satisfied, desiring that his appearance should be well observed, so that he might be distinguished from others, in order that, should his words prove true, he might be always the more kindly received, may the Almighty send us something good!

15. Sousoa came with 50 cattle, 14 sheep, and a great retinue of people; he was well received, and on the 16th the said cattle were bought, nearly all for beads and tobacco, and as there were a good many lean animals in the lot, the sellers were told that they must be pleased to bring no more of such poor things, because they all died immediately, and therefore were of no use to us, and that, as Oedasoia's people had once or twice found, they would find it troublesome to drive them home.

Sousoa being afterwards apart, with his wife, youngest son, 3 daughters, and sisters in law, the above caution was further impressed upon him; and he said that he could not oblige his people to bring to market any thing but what each person chose, but he undertook to suggest to them verbally to bring better cattle, after which we might freely reject and send away the lean cattle, they would not be at all offended, &c.

17. About 9 a. m. Sousoa departed well satisfied, with a good present for himself and company, and some tobacco for his son and successor Goeboe: according to his account, the Heusaquas will soon heave in sight, with many more cattle than him, and the lord or king of that people is his brother.

24. Arrived the return fleet [7 ships] under the command of Mr. Andries Frisius, who was furnished with a Commission to inspect the Cape Residency..... 28. The Commissioner went out with the Commander to examine the Cape establishment.

March 6. Sousoa came, without cattle, to visit us, hearing that there were ships in the bay, he was received as usual, and the Admiral promised him a present before his departure to-morrow—which he received on the 7th, and went home highly gratified, promising soon to return with some cattle.

11. About 7 this morning, our travellers returned from the interior, having found the Namaquas; and brought some marks of them; they received our party kindly, and bought of them all their caps, they seemed very eager for red cloth, couris or bougies, and other things, as fully detailed in the following Diary of the journey; they were a very tall people, like half giants, wearing all kinds of spotted and dressed skins, ornamented with iron, brass, and other beads, wearing long

locks, living in the same kind of mat houses as these Hottentoots, and subsisting chiefly by their very numerous herds. Their king sent a little goat to the Commander, being the first we had seen in this country, they held much whispered talk about this goat before they delivered it. They are said to be very willing to come hither, but it would seem that they will first endeavor to destroy some of the Souquas, or mountain Hottentoots, who had plundered them of many cattle. They would gladly have fought one battle with Oedaso the chief of the Saldanhars, but, at the intercession of our people, they suffered themselves to be persuaded, in the event of Oedaso sending 2 or 3 of his people with our men to solicit peace, to accede to it, and to come hither with large herds of cattle to sell to us, to come to a better understanding with us, and to conduct our men to their permanent dwellings, and to a people whom they call *Bryckje*, with whom they are now at war, as more fully appears by the following Journal:—

Diary kept by the under surgeon Pieter Meerhoff upon the last expedition; on which he was present as second in command.

On the 30th of Jan. 1661, we begun our journey to the Namaquas, under the command of Pieter Cruythoff, with 12 others [named] 2 Hottentoots and 5 oxen to carry our baggage; after crossing Brak River, we proceeded N. N. E. to the skirt of the Tygerberg, where we rested at a brakish pool, having marched 4 mylen.

31. Saw 7 rhinoceroses, passed the Tygerberg, and rested at a small river, having marched 2½ mylen; 4 of Oedaso's Hottentoots came to us, saying that they were on their way to the Cape; I wrote a note to Mr. Van Riebeeck, to let him know that the oxen were beginning to carry their burdens well. The same evening I, Pieter van Meerhoff, shot a Hartebeest; it rained so hard that we had enough to do to keep the baggage dry.

Feb. 1. Captain Oedaso brought us for sale 2 sheep, but wanted 5 bars of brass, and a piece of tobacco besides, we would not give so much, and instantly packed up and went on N. E. to a fine river, though the water was stagnant, but it runs strong when it rains; the water was full of mussels<sup>(1)</sup> like the European, containing water; saw 2 rhinoceroses and 3 ostriches; marched to-day 2 mylen.

2. Went N. N. E. to a small lake—and then N. E. to a *dry* river, where, however, we got as much water as we required—saw some *mules* and 4 ostriches.

3. Marched N. E.—saw a lion standing in the path; when it perceived me, it ran away; we came to a dried clayish river; our cattle could not go on; we begun to dig for water, but got very little, and that so thick that we could not drink it; went on North, directly on *Riebeeck's Casteel*, a mountain so called by us, 7 or 8 mylen in circuit, and rested at a fine river which takes its rise in the mountain. Here were a great quantity of wild animals, namely, lions, rhinoceroses, horses, ostriches, and hartebeests, in great numbers, in consequence of the good grass and water; this hill is very remarkable, and can be seen from the Cape;—Cruythoff says there is good arable land here. We marched this day 4½ mylen; the lion before-mentioned was always near us in the night, but did us little harm.

4. Crossed the ridge near Riebeeck's Casteel, and lost sight of Table Mountain, which we did not get sight of again; came to a small river where we found 3 huts of Souquas, being some of the robbers, who, as our two Hottentoots told us, take the cattle of the other Hottentoots. I asked them about the Namaquas, but they could give us no intelligence whatever; rested in a fine valley to the East of Riebeeck's Casteel—saw 13 horses, 5 rhinoceroses, some ostriches, and thousands of hartebeests.

5. Went in advance according to my custom, the two Hottentoots following me; coming to a deep bed of a river, a lion sprung out at the Hottentoots, who begun to cry "Mr. Pieter, Mr. Pieter, Byteman!" as soon as the lion saw me, he ran off to Riebeeck's Casteel; soon after I fell in with a herd of hartebeests, of which I wounded 4, but got only one, which we put on one of the oxen; marched to the great Berg River, which, thank God, we safely passed; while cutting up our hartebeest, some of the men, in making a fire for cooking, set fire to the shrubs and dry trees,—we had enough to do to save our powder, &c. . . . . a seacow came close to our fire, and 3 wolves howled around us the whole night. 6. This day we were obliged to let our oxen rest—and I physiced Herman Ernst, &c.

7. Came to a river quite full of sea cows, which we called the Klein Berg Kiver; after we had rested a while, 8 Souquas came to us, and tried to persuade us that the Namaquas would kill us—I asked these Hottentoots to accompany us and show us the Namaquas, that I would give them tobacco and beads, but they would not, and left us; our Hottentoots began to lose heart, and said, like the others, that the Namaquas would kill us. I encouraged them, and promised that they should get into no danger. Went N. N. E. to a prominent angle of the range of mountains, called *Blocxberg*; having marched an hour and a half, we came to a morass extending from the mountains to the North of Blocxberg. . . . . saw 16 horses, of which I wounded one.

8. Went along the mountains to two fine rivers running close together; after resting a while, one of the

(1) This notice did not fail to call forth an instruction to the next party to examine the mussels, for pearls.

Souquas, who had been with us the day before, rejoined us, and said that he would conduct us to the Namaquas for a piece of tobacco of the length of my gun, a brass rod and chain, and a few beads; if we would give him those articles he would show us a road passable by cattle, but he wanted to be paid beforehand, which we did not like, for he intended only to cheat us; we showed him all our goods, which he much admired, our 2 Hottentoes were also encouraged. We went on along the mountains, passed 2 fine rivers, and rested at a third.

Feb. 9. Passed 10 or 12 fine valleys, with grass up to our waists, very good for hay—our course was North—rested at a fine running stream.

10. The range of mountains began here to turn to the West; went on along the hills to the North, keeping the rhinoceros paths. It would have been very difficult travelling for us, had we not found those paths, for there was nothing there but thorns and bushes; saw a rhinoceros with a little young one; rested at a spring after marching 2 mylen.

11. Went on North to the castle *Meerhof*, a round mountain lying upon the great range, very remarkable, and can be seen before approaching it—for a distance of 17 or 18 mylen; rested at a valley at the S. W. angle of the said mountain, under which are 4 or 5 fine springs, and close to those springs many Souquas' houses, which they occupy occasionally, (daer sy uyt ende in trecken;) about a musket shot to the North of this castle is an opening leading to Oliphants River, through which we had passed in 1660. After resting, we went on to the North, saw many houses, occasionally tenanted by Souquas; in the said path leading to the river, we found some more Souquas' houses standing empty; we lodged in them, and they were very convenient to us, for it began to rain very hard; as we found no Souquas here, and as the one who had joined us on the 10th had gone into the hills to shoot rock rabbits, so that his return was doubtful—we resolved on the 12th, that Cruythoff should stay on this side of the mountains with the cattle, and that I, Pieter van Meerhof, with 4 men, and the Hottentoo Pieter van Neurenburgh, with 4 days' provisions, should go on to the Oliphants River, to try to find some of the Souquas, as we were very anxious to have one to guide us to the Namaquas. We went S. E. over the mountain, and having gone a little way we saw 3 Souquas, who at first ran from us, but stopped on seeing me, recognizing me since last journey; they accompanied me to Oliphants River, where, after a march of 2 miles, I sat down with them and let them have a pipe to smoke, while 2 of my men in the course of half an hour caught as many fine carpers as they could carry; I asked the Souquas, through our Hottentoes, the best way to the Namaquas. They desired me to follow the course of the river. I told them that I meant to follow the paths to the West of the mountains; they said, that if we did so we should find no more water; I let my people eat something; and meanwhile Cruythoff came to me, to see the river, with 3 or 4 men, having left the cattle on the other side of the hill, he returned as soon as I had reported to him the state of affairs, and I staid with my 3 men so as to fully interrogate the Souquas; meanwhile we were rejoined by the man who had left us on the 10th, he had apprised the others of our arrival.

13. Cruythoff joined me with the oxen, and we went on  $1\frac{1}{2}$  myl further, along the river, which runs to the North.

14. Halted to rest our cattle; our men caught a large quantity of fish. In the afternoon 3 Souquas came to us, of whom we inquired for the Souqua who had come with us, they said that he had gone to the Namaquas, and that he would return to-morrow. I gave each of them some bread to eat, and a bit of tobacco. They told us that the Namaquas had said, that they would give us sheep upon our arrival, and then see to lay hold of us and put us all to death; we said we had no fear for that; after eating a little they left us, and I, Pieter van Meerhoff, took my gun and went a little way down the river to shoot a bird, and I saw a living monster in the water, with three heads, like cats' heads, and 3 long tails, I do not know what kind of an animal it was.<sup>(1)</sup>

15. Went along the river to the North; saw many empty Souquas' houses; after marching  $1\frac{1}{2}$  myl 12 Souquas came to us, bringing 5 or 6 rock rabbits and some honey, which our people bought of them for tobacco; after having rested for an hour, our Souqua rejoined us; he said that he had seen the Namaquas, and wished us to fulfil our promise, but he meant to deceive us; I told him that when we saw the Namaquas he should be paid. He tried to impose many lies upon us, which I could not believe; he said the Namaquas had seen him, and had chased him with assagays, but that he had escaped. We could not induce him, nor any of the others to accompany us any further, whatever we promised them; the Namaquas would kill them, was their uniform answer. We packed up and went on, while they turned back. From all we can make out, it seems they do not wish us to reach the Namaquas; halted at a marshy river, running West into the Oliphants River.

16. Went on along the river to the North; a very difficult road from the hills being so close to the river, we could scarcely keep along it with cattle; after a march of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  myl—we reached the height from which, on a former occasion, we had seen the fires—of the Namaquas according to the Souquas. We here left the Oliphants River, and went N. W. between the mountains. . . . .sought for the rest of the day, before we found a pass through the mountains, for I would not go further North, knowing well that we should find nothing in

(1) The marginal calls it a "Monstereuse Vis." There is a Bushman superstition, that many of their race are devoured by an amphibious animal with three legs.

that direction, there being nothing but high mountains; while there was, (as I well knew, having formerly seen it from a high point) a flat country to the West.

17. Went on N. W. among the mountains, keeping the elephants' paths, for otherwise it would have been impossible to get on with the cattle.

18. Came to a valley between the hills, and began to see an opening out of the mountains—a flat country lay West and North of us—where we could see no more mountains; marched about 3 mylen when we saw a *corael*, where the Namaquas may have lain for 3 or 4 weeks; we rested there, and for the rest of the day, went from one hill top to another, to try to discover them, we saw every where coraels upon coraels, where they had lain with great numbers of sheep and cattle, but saw nothing of them. In the evening we saw the light of a fire on a hill to the W. S. W. when I, Pieter van Meerhoff, took with me our 2 Hottentoots, and went towards it; having got half way to the hill, Douckeman began to call out, "Mr. Pieter, Namaqua!" I looked up and counted 23 standing on the rocks, and looking at us; I ascended a little higher, and the Hottentoots got so much alarmed that they took off their shoes, and were about to run back, saying "Namaqua Boeba cros moska qua ink." I took my telescope to see if this was true, and saw that they had shields of dry hides, and had a skin hanging from their left arms, bows and arrows on their shoulders, and in each hand an assagay; I spoke encouragingly to my Hottentoots, and told them not to be alarmed, Namaqua would not hurt them, and I promised them something if they would accompany me, and when that would not do, I said I would tell Mynheer when I returned to the Cape; when I said this they could scarcely articulate from fear;—at length they advanced, but on reaching the summit we could see nothing of the Namaquas, who had gone among the rocks; I desired one Hottentoot to shout to them, to come to us, that we would give them tobacco, beads, and brass, but they made no reply; after waiting on a hill for half an hour, thinking that they would come, it became dark, and I returned to our party; we hoped that, if they wished to come to us, they would come the next day.

19. Lay still in hopes of their coming, and they did so, about 10 A. M. when we saw them where they were the evening before; they descended a little, and began to shout to us; we made our Hottentoots answer, and desire them to come to us, saying that we were not angry; they came a little nearer, and called out again; at length seven of them came to within a gunshot of us, the others sitting down in the bush; I desired our Hottentoots to go and meet them, the Namaquas sat down on one side of a morass, and our Hottentoots on the other, and talked long together before they ventured to come across. At length they came, when I, Pieter van Meerhoff, took a pipe of tobacco in my mouth, and went up to see whether they had any knowledge of tobacco; when I joined them, one of them instantly took the pipe out of my mouth, and began to smoke; this man had been with the Cape Hottentoots before; I conducted them to our halting place, and desired Douckeman to ask if they were captains, as they were so finely dressed, (as more fully described hereafter); Douckeman asked one of the meanest, which was the king of the Namaquas? he was pointed out, but he was sufficiently distinguishable, for he was a man like a giant, much larger than Callibou, the largest slave at the Company's Schuyr. We instantly gave them some bread, of which they ate heartily, and when they had done eating, I gave each of them a clean pipe of tobacco; they were anxious enough to smoke, but most of them could not; the king, instead of drawing in his breath, blew from him; I took his pipe 4 or 5 times, and showed him that he must draw in his breath; he began to learn; and they all learned so well while we were with them, women as well as men, that they began to be very fond of tobacco. We showed our goods to the king, and they seemed to please him, particularly the brass and tobacco. I gave him a false hat band, and some French beads, and to his son a gilt chain, which they received very thankfully. The king asked us to come to his house to-morrow; it lay about half a day's journey from us. We asked for some of his people to stay with us, to show us the proper road; he said, yes, and desired 2 to stay; as the king wished to go, I gave each of them a span of tobacco and a clean pipe; on his rejoining the people who had staid in the bush, he sent 2 more men, and the four staid with us for the night.

20. Set out West for the king's house, over the ridge of a stony hill, after passing which, we went S. W. over several sand hills to a sandy valley, where lay their corael; on approaching it the king came to meet us, with 3 sons, each as tall as his father; they pointed out a spot near their corael, where we might lie, we pitched our camp by two great rocks, piled our luggage together, and turned our cattle out to graze; but there was little for them to eat, the Namaquas have such an immense quantity of cattle. We gave to each of the four who had showed us the road, a bunch of beads and a piece of tobacco, and to the king and his three sons and 4 captains, each a string of French beads, which they received thankfully; I gave the king a soopie of brandy, and he instantly sent for a fat calf, and his sons for a sheep, which they gave us, saying that our people might eat heartily, they would give more when these were eaten; we would not accept them gratuitously, and gave some brass, beads, and tobacco, on which they returned to their corael. After I had taken some rest, I, Pieter van Meerhoff, went into their corael; the king invited me into his house, and gave me, to sit on, a very finely dressed skin, as soft as cloth; he sent for a large wooden vessel, filled with milk, with which he regaled me; I gave him some more beads, which they immediately hung round their necks; I then produced my tobacco box, and let them have a smoke, and told the king, through our interpreter, that this was only a sample, but that there was enough of every thing that could be desired at the Cape, if he would come there; he said he could not do so this time, that he must first either have a battle or make peace with Oedaso, and also that there were some Souquas whom he must first destroy, (aen een kant helpen) after

which he would come to the Cape. I requested him to send some of his people with us, offering to leave a Dutchman with him in lieu, until we should bring them back—that the Dutch captain would give them all they could desire, if he could but see them.

He replied that he could not part with any of his people at present, as he had in contemplation to search for the Souquas.

Towards evening the king's sons brought another sheep and a young goat, which we must accept—we gave them each a piece of brass and tobacco. The king sat with us during the greater part of the afternoon, and we treated them with bread, mutton, and tobacco.

In the evening the king caused a triumph to be sounded; I stood by; it was done in the following manner: one or two hundred tall persons stood up in a ring, each holding in his hand a hollow reed, some of which were long, some short, others thick, others thin; one stood in the middle with a long stick, and sang while the others blew on their reeds and danced round in a circle, making many fine movements with their feet; the women danced round outside of the ring; the sound thus produced resembled that of the basoon. The king sat a little way off upon his stool. The stool is a round piece of wood, three or four fingers thick, richly ornamented with copper beads; they usually carry it with them wherever they go. This game lasted about 2 hours, with all kinds of dancing, they then left off.

The king went with us to our place, and smoked a pipe or two till it began to get dark, when he left us and went home, they then began again with their instruments, and continued for three or four hours in the night.

Notice of their Customs, Dress, &c.—First, where the king has his house they make their coraels like the Hottentoots at the Cape; their houses are also covered with mats; 73 houses stood in a circle, and on the outside of this corael stand 3 houses, the tenants of which have no cattle, but are like messengers (*posten*) who go from one corael to another, wherever the king sends them. Their household utensils are large tankards (*pullen*) of solid wood, hollowed out, and narrow at the neck—they have also calabashes, which hold 20 or 30 quarts; they grow far inland; in these, as well as in the wooden vessels, they collect their milk, and churn their butter.

The king's name is Akembie, a man of apparently 60 or 70 years of age, when he speaks, he speaks in well considered arguments, (*heel bedachde redenen*.) They wear all kinds of fine dressed skins, as, tigers', leopards', rabbits', gaily ornamented with copper beads. Their hair is like that of the Cape Hottentoots, but some have locks as long as a Dutchman's, which they fill with copper beads all round their heads. On the neck they wear necklaces in 15 or 16 folds; many having round plates of copper hanging from the necklaces. On their arms they wear many rings of ivory and copper indiscriminately; and round the waist 30 or 40 turns of strings of beads of copper and iron mixed, a piece of flat ivory is suspended before their private parts, and plated thongs studded with beads, round their legs.

They are in number about 300 able bodied men and 400 women and children; subsisting chiefly by live stock. They had about 4000 cattle and 300 sheep in their corael, and it may be seen from the number of skins, that they are great hunters. They have no other manufactures than in copper and iron, of which they make very neat chains and beads. They prepare skins and hides, and when they are at war, use shields of double oxhide, large enough to cover their whole body. Their weapons are assagays and bows and arrows. Towards our countrymen they seem very friendly and faithful, so that we perceived nothing but every kindness. This is all I could learn of this people.

As to the country, it was nothing but sand hills and brushwood, with a valley here or there, in which they lived; further inland I dare say there may be good land; and they were here only to carry on war.

21. The king decamped for change of pasture; encamping about an hour's journey to the E. S. E.; in the afternoon he sent a young ox for me and P. Cruythoff; we sent in return 6 rods of brass and a piece of tobacco.

22. We went to their corael to take leave; the king's sons met us, showed us where to halt and unload our cattle, that they might rest awhile; we sent for the king, his sons, and 4 captains, and gave them 50 lbs. of biscuit, a fathom of tobacco each, and the remainder of the brass, with which they were highly delighted. One of the king's sons had both his ears torn open, I stitched them together, as well as those of one of the captains, for which they were very thankful; I had to promise that I would soon return to them. I wore a fine cloth night cap, for which the king took a great fancy, I gave it him, and when his sons saw that, they would have one each; we instantly made three or four out of the blue rugs we had with us, and gave them each one, but the red caps pleased them most—several of our men had such caps, and I made them give them up, promising to pay them when we returned to the Cape. The king said he would cover the cap I gave him with beads.

We packed our oxen and set out on our return, the king and his captains accompanying us for a myl, and showing us where we could best pass through the hills; we went directly East from their corael, to a small river, where we rested, I again entertained them with bread, mutton, tobacco, and a dram of brandy, and they took leave of us about half an hour before dark. They had set fire to the heath on the mountains some days before, so that they might drive their cattle through; the fire began to descend, and burned so fiercely, that we were forced to load up and set off at one o'clock, and went an hour's journey before we got past it.

Feb. 23. Went East between the hills; while resting in a valley the Namaquas came with their cattle, and encamped near us; reached Oliphants River.

24. Crossed the river, because the Souquas had burned all the grass on this hill. 27. Marched to the place where the elephants cross the river.

March 11. Returned to the Fort.<sup>(1)</sup>

March 13. Extracts from Journal,—*continued*. Mr. Frisius having finished his inspection of the Cape,<sup>(2)</sup> and refreshed the crews of his fleet, took his departure, &c. . . . .

15. This day the under surgeon, Meerhoff, was sent to request the king of the Saldanhar, named Oedaso, to come hither, to consult about the Namaquas, on the—

17th he came, with his second in command, Kaukaso, some of his elders, and the eldest son of the Caepman chief; when it was stated to him that our men had so far arranged with the Namaquas, that, if he would send 2 or 3 people to express a desire for peace, they would grant it, and on coming here would not do him the slightest injury, but be at perfect peace with him; whereas he might otherwise expect a serious attack—which we, as peacemakers, wished to avert, and to arrange matters between them, seeing that the Namaquas were much embittered against him. That we were soon about to send presents to the Namaquas, to fetch them hither, or at least some Commissioners from them, that we might enter into alliance, and thus make friends with all the natives, and mediate so as to induce them to keep peace one with another—and whatever further might tend to show him that we desired nothing else than to live at peace with all nations.

Oedaso, however, at last replied that he could not induce any of his people to go there; and also that it was true that the Namaquas had numbers of cattle, but had not nearly so many people as he had, that he had little fear for them, and that, if they did not injure him, he would not hurt them. As to peace, if they came, peace would be concluded between them; and if not, he was at hand with the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, and Goringhaiquas or Caepmans—not half a day's journey off, to make head against them; and that his comrade, the other chief of the Cochoquas, named Gonnoma, could assist with 6 or 8,000 men; and when united, should the Namaquas attempt any thing against them, they were not afraid of them, although they did fight with shields, and were men of tall stature. He said, however, that he would put his words, of peace to the Namaquas, into the mouths of the Hottentoots who would go with our men as interpreters.

We replied, that we had communicated the matter to him as a friend, to show him our way of acting, and to induce all the tribes to live at peace; and also that, as he was our ally, we might learn his intentions, and arrange all for our common interest; with all this he expressed himself well pleased, but forthwith turned the conversation, to tobacco and food and drink, so that, being unable to make anything of Oedaso, we said no more on the subject.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) No mention is made of natives during the homeward journey.

(2) 1661. March 11. Extract of Instructions to Commander VAN RIEBEECK by Commissioner FRISIUS.

The rearing of horses here now begins somewhat to advance; every possible attention should be paid to the increase of your stud, in order to be enabled to make up the intended number of 20 riders, with which it is trusted that the Cape farming establishments in the country, as well of the Company as of the free colonists—together with their cattle, may be sufficiently protected from the Hottentoots; when the other outposts may be withdrawn, and the Cape relieved from so numerous a garrison.<sup>a</sup>

It will be necessary that you still attend to the propagation of the vine, the orange, and the olive, which promise very well, as also the live fence for the protection of the farms, and to prevent the cattle from being driven off—the vacancies in this fence should be constantly replanted, for it is a useful work. . . . .<sup>b</sup>

The advancement of this colony, by all possible means, is strongly recommended to you, which object will be greatly forwarded by your assisting the free farmers and colonists as much as possible, as, indeed, you have done this year, so that they do not make any complaints, as has been frequently the case before. . . . .<sup>c</sup>

(3) 1661. March 17. A Resolution of this date provides for the rewards to the last party of travellers—"each to receive 6 reals in ready money, and payment over and above, for the young goat, at 3 guilders, and the young ox, at 12 guilders." A new expedition under Meerhoff is also resolved upon, to try to induce the Namaquas to come nearer, "for they are found to be an active people, who carry on trade with other tribes, and perhaps possess articles which we have not been able to discover on the first attempt." The party are instructed to negotiate a peace between the Namaquas and Cochoquas, in order to facilitate the expected trade.

<sup>a</sup> Next year we may mount the 20 riders. . . . we have now 9 horses in the country and 5 here in the stable, besides the brood mares which may all be saddled occasionally. . . . . But with less than 120 men we can never keep up the 20 riders.

<sup>b</sup> In this, as in all intrusted to us, we are always ready to contribute every exertion; the hedge has been again filled up this year, 1661; but as we could not conveniently keep the Saldanhar off it this year, it has been much injured, and must be repaired in the beginning of May.

<sup>c</sup> The farmers are, and always have been, assisted beyond the other burgers who reside at the Fort, and who make money enough by trafficking with ships' crews, as may be plainly enough seen by their dress (voor mouwen.)

March 18. Oedaso resolved to send 3 of his servants with our people to offer peace to the Namaquas, which 3 people they promised to send to the Fort to-morrow. Kaukasoa and he returned home to-day, after receiving presents, and a good entertainment.

21. Our people set out, with 2 Hottentoots as interpreters, and the three ambassadors of Oedaso, with the following presents, [here follows a long list of presents.]

26. Sousoa, the king of the Chainouquas, came to the Fort with 9 sheep, 2 of which were fat rams, as a present to the Commander, of whom he now came to take leave, as he was about to return to his country and people until next year, when he hoped to return with 400 or 500 cattle to barter, and also to bring some one of the people whom he had mentioned, as having gold and white gems.

To encourage him in this, and in adhering to the alliance commenced, another good present was given to him, as well as to his wife, son, &c. and they set off well satisfied.

April 6. Set to work on the above-mentioned redoubt;(1) about 9 the fiscal was sent out with the interpreter Doman and the Hottentoo Corabinga, surnamed Platneus, to point out to them, (behind the Bosheuvcl, and beyond the Company's enclosure) the hills and dales in the Hout and Berg Vallies, and along the Gevelbergen by the sea shore, where they might go, and also the roads by which they might approach us unmolested. This the Goringhaiquas, or Caepmans, and the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, had requested, in order that they might retire thither under our protection, from the Saldanhar Oedaso, who, as they stated, they feared would attack them, in consequence of the displeasure excited by their having, as he suspected, instigated us to look well into the mouths, and at the teeth of the cattle and sheep that were brought for sale, in order to ascertain their age.

They tried also to excite us against the Saldanhars, alleging that they entertained many evil designs against us; this should not, however, be too lightly credited, but received with some caution; for Oedaso recently left us in a very good humour, but is closely observed notwithstanding.

23. About 8 A. M. our Namaqua expedition returned, not having found the king in the place where he lay before; but having proceeded 5 days' journey—of 6 mylen each day—to the North, they at length reached the great Chariguriquas, with whom were some of the Namaquas, who instantly recognized our people, and stated that their [king] had left them with the chief of the said great Chariguriquas, in order that (on the arrival of our party with Oedaso's people) they might accept and conclude peace in his name; which was accordingly done, and in the peace were included the Souquas, or mountaineers, after they had been defeated by the Namaquas; so that there was now peace among them every where, apparently to their great joy; the said Souquas having promised to our men, that they would bring elephant's teeth, honey, and wax.

The war, which the Namaquas had in contemplation against Oedaso, was not on their own account, for they had only adopted a quarrel of the Chariguriquas, because Oedaso had taken all their cattle. In this Oedaso was in the right, as the cattle in question were his, grazed for hire by the Chariguriquas, and which they had appropriated to themselves; Oedaso had therefore recaptured the cattle by force, and the Chariguriquas had proceeded to the Namaquas, who had, in the same manner, given them other cattle to graze, and who kept them as tributaries, but who would gladly be at peace with Oedaso, in order that they might come hither in security; this the Namaqua messengers had been directed to state to the chief of the said great Chariguriquas, and also—

That the Namaqua chief was now compelled to proceed against the *Brigoudys*, (heretofore improperly called *Brichje*,) to make war on them, and thus reduce them to peace and obedience; after which, towards the commencement of the dry season, he would return to the great Chariguriquas, to meet there the usual messengers of Oedaso, named *Kerrahi* and *Hachora*, with some Dutch, as now; with them he should come to the Dutch Commander, not empty handed, but with all kinds of commodities from all the tribes with whom he had intercourse, among which there would be gold also, from a certain people named Geyry-Eyqua, and by the Hottentoots Chori-Eyqua—that is to say “gold people,” whose country produces copper also, from which were manufactured arm rings, seen by our people; that tribe had intercourse—besides the Namaquas and Brigoudys—with the Choboquas, or those of Monomotopa—meeting at the towns Vigit Magna, Mossata, &c. . . . .so that this seems to agree with the account of Linschoten and others. . . . . Oedaso's messengers also told us, that far to the North, on the sea coast, there were people like the Dutch, with ships, forts, and guns; apparently the Portuguese at Loango St. Paulo; but as

(1) The work referred to was not undertaken for defence against the natives, but—as explained by a Resolution of the 5th April—against supposed designs of the French.

the Namaqua king now saw that there was at the Cape a people from whom was to be had every thing in the world—he would, as soon as he had settled with the Brigoudys—come this way, with all his force, so that he might reach the Cape towards the dry season, in order to show to the Dutch all the articles he could procure in the interior, and learn what they liked, as it was not so far, and so troublesome to travel to the Cape, as to the Portuguese places.

The result we shall expect in October, or somewhat later—all this account we have (agreeing with the account of our travellers) from the said Kerrahi and Haehora, who tell us of many things,<sup>(1)</sup> also that in the interior, are a people in fixed dwellings and cities, who are quite black, with thick lips, having much household furniture, and gold and ivory, which they purchase from others; they speak also of a certain little people, not larger than children of 4 or 5 years old, who are hung round with glittering beads, which, on being broken, shine like the rays of the sun.

The Namaquas had marched against the Brigoudys, because the latter had withheld one half the quantity of gold which they had got from the Geyry-Eyquas for the Namaquas. . . . .<sup>(2)</sup>

Here follows the Journal held by the surgeon P. Meerhoff.

EXTRACTS.—March 21. Set out with 8 men and 3 of Oedaso's Hottentoes to make peace with the Namaquas.

26. At Kleyn Berg River we were joined by some of the Hottentoes of the Gonnomas, or Saldanhars, who told us that the Namaquas had been fighting with the Souquas; and they would persuade us that the Souquas had won the battle, and taken all the Namaquas' cattle, we could not believe this, but thought it was said to deter us from going on. They said that we might turn back at once, for we should not find the Namaquas; I replied that we should seek them until we had found them.

April 1. Took our course North along Oliphants River, fell in with a fire which had been lit by the Souquas. Told our Hottentoes to call the Souquas to come to us; one of them came to us, swimming through the river, we asked him about the Namaquas, he said they were at war with another tribe further inland, that they had gone thither; that the Namaquas had desired them to say to the Dutch, when they came, that they would come after the rains, as they must first have a battle with another nation. They advised us strongly to return to the Cape. I said we should seek them till we found them; this did not please our Hottentoes.

4. Following the traces of the Namaquas and their cattle at Oliphants River, heard 4 cannon fired, seemingly at a good distance, 16 or 18 mylen, to the North, I presume close to the shore, or from some fortress.

5. Came to a place on the Oliphants River, where the Namaquas had rested one night. . . . .saw 2 Hottentoes coming to us, waited for them, and found that they were Souquas; asking them about the Namaquas, they said that they had gone too far to be found this year; asking whether there was not any other tribe to be found, our Hottentoes would not interpret the question; we could very well see from the manner of the Souquas, as well as of our Hottentoes, that we were not very far distant, so we offered each of the Souquas a piece of brass with some beads of all colours, and tobacco, if they would but give us the least information; this they would have done but for the Hottentoes. I therefore gave the Souquas drink and tobacco, and spoke with them myself while they were smoking, and they promised to go home and fetch their weapons the same night; they returned to us at 10 at night, with 4 other Souquas, of whom I had seen 2 on my last journey to the Namaquas; they staid with us, and promised to go, but our Hottentoes held a consultation with them the whole night, about the journey, and Oedaso and the other Cape Hottentoes. Our interpreter asked them fully 10 times what they were debating about, and they answered, about nothing. We could form no other opinion but that our Hottentoes told the Souquas many falsehoods.

6. After marching a myl, we again crossed the river, and parted with the Souquas. . . . .left the river and went towards a mountain like Table Mountain.

7. Here we found the Hottentoes called the Chariguriquas, from whom I understood, as also from the Souquas, that the Namaquas could not be found before the rains. [Here the conclusion of peace is detailed as above.] They were very merry with Oedaso's people; I poured out brandy for the chief until he was drunk. I asked whence he procured all the copper and iron, of which they made their beads; he said from the Coboquas; asking him how far they lay apart, he said about a month's journey, that the Coboquas are Hottentoes also, but are somewhat darker than these, and that, like them, they subsist by cattle, but trade with the real Cabonnors of Monomotopa.<sup>(3)</sup> He told me plainly that where they got their copper and beads, the Portuguese lived; and that to reach them we must begin to travel in the wet season, that otherwise it would be impossible,

(1) Oedaso's messengers would seem to have been instructed in geography by Mr. Meerhoff, with the aid of Linschoten's map; or to have learned from Eva to bring such intelligence only, as was likely to be gratifying.

(2) 1661. April 23. A Resolution of this date provides for a reward of 4 reals to each of the party, in consequence of the good prospects of trade; and for their having brought about peace between the Saldanhars and Namaquas, &c. The Resolution further provides for good presents for the encouragement of the Hottentoes who had accompanied the party.

(3) See, *infra*, the account of the situation and habits of the Kafirs given to Ensign Schryver in 1689, by the chief of the Hecon Hottentoes; which compare with the accounts previously received from the crew of the *Stavenisse*.

in consequence of the great droughts; for here is nothing but sand hills, and the cattle have nothing to eat but short grass, and twigs of brushwood; in my whole life, I never saw so naked a country, it does not bear a handful of grass. We set out on our return, as it began to rain, and had we waited any longer, we should not have got over the Oliphants River—for I have seen it rise 9 feet in 12 hours, and that in the dry season.

10. Some Souquas came to us with some *Dassen*, which they sold to us for tobacco; these Souquas had hitherto been always at war with Oedasoia, but we arranged so far with the ambassadors of Oedasoia and these Souquas, that they agreed to make peace, and to cease making war at our request, they promised to come to the Cape after the rains, with honey, of which there is abundance here among the Souquas. They have also elephant's teeth, which they formerly sold to the Caboners, and the Caboners to the Portuguese, as they signified by signs; they are now well inclined to trade with the Dutch, because they saw that we had every thing, and that we had now made peace. We lay here the remainder of the day to rest our cattle; strong wind, rain, and thunder and lightning till midnight; about 10 an animal came to us which we suppose to have been a seacow, our cattle became frightened, I took out my gun to drive it away, the gun burst in 25 pieces about my ears. God be thanked, I escaped with a broken thumb.....

12. Going along the River [Oliphants] while we were resting, about 40 Souquas came to us with some *dassen* and honey, which our people bought for tobacco.....<sup>(1)</sup>

### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN HARN and Council.

1661. May 7. We wrote you last in our general despatch of August 21, last year.....in which we replied to the main points of your letters of the preceding 19th March and 4th April.... We have received, *via Leghorn*, your letter of the 1st Jan. of this year, forwarded by the English vessel the *Depeche*, from which we have learnt, with much satisfaction, the desirable state of affairs there, and the good intelligence which exists between you and the native tribes; in consequence of which the cattle trade has been renewed, and is daily increasing. May the Almighty extend his further blessing!

We shall be glad to hear what the 13 persons, who have gone into the interior, have done, or discovered; but we greatly doubt whether it will be anything of quite so great moment as you appear to imagine. You have, however, done quite right in closely examining for any thing profitable to the Company.....

In further reply to your former letters, we have now to state, that, in consideration of the reasons you have advanced, we accede to your proposal of provisionally increasing the garrison there to the number of 120, unless you should deem 12 or 14 more men necessary for the occupation of Saldanha Bay.....

We have at your request further examined the prices, which, by your resolution of 27th August 1659, have been affixed to several, indeed to nearly every article of food, and deem them to be in many particulars excessive, particularly beef, pork, butter, milk, vegetables, and the like, the prices of which are rather heavy upon the free men; you should direct your attention to rendering every article of food there, so cheap and so easily attainable, that the people may no longer feel such a dislike to the Cape, as has been hitherto the case; for from these sources in the first instance, they must expect all their gains.....

We are not aware whether you have left the fishery open to all, which it is our desire that it shall be. Every person ought to be enabled to grow enough fruit and vegetables for himself, without being compelled to purchase them at so dear a rate; we would also wish you to consider whether a piece of land might not be selected, on which each of the free burgers might keep a few cows for the use of his household, as is done in many villages here; for we must devise every possible means of enabling the people there to live, and to maintain themselves in the cheapest manner possible—assisting them, with this view, in every mode which is not too burdensome to the Company.

<sup>(1)</sup> No further mention is made of natives during the rest of the homeward journey, which terminates on the 23rd.

### Extract of a letter from the Governor General and Council, to the Commander and Council.

1660. Jan. 17. ....By the *Malacca* we have your letter of the 20th Oct. 1659..... We are glad to see that the fury of the Hottentoo war begins to subside into tranquillity, in consequence of their having been several times attacked by our people, and losing some men. This has without doubt made them somewhat timid; but it is to be feared that they will gather new courage, and will never leave you at rest. As a matter of security therefore, and to prevent further mischief, in particular the stealing of cattle, we agree with you in considering the construction of 3 guard houses, in fitting situations, by no means unserviceable; these together with the 18 horses sent to you by us, will place you in a situation to defend yourselves against

## Extracts from the Journal of Commander VAN RIEBEECK.

1661. May 13. The Commander went out again to mark out the fence—begun last year—to be planted with wild bitter almonds ; these grow well, and promise in 5 or 6 years to become a fine close fence ; within the fence there were now included, the Bosheuvel River, and the Dwars River (which in heavy rains discharges itself in False Bay, as well as Table Bay) and that on account of the pasture, and the hay growing on both sides of these rivers, which is very necessary for the cattle and horses. Some of the Gonnomoa's people were at the Fort to-day with 26 sheep and 2 cattle, saying that their chief would soon come himself.

16. Gonnomoa, the 2nd chief of the Saldanhars, or Cochoquas, came to the Fort with 3 cattle and 29 sheep, after a lapse of fully 7 years, during which he had never dared to show himself here, namely since Herry, in the year 1653, first stole all the Company's cattle, Gonnomoa was in the Fort on the evening before the robbery, and was afraid that we might consider him, (the swarte captain, as we were accustomed to call him) also guilty. We therefore on this occasion treated him with the greater liberality, so as to create full confidence ; we told him that we were now at peace with all the great people of the country, and that we wished to make peace with more people, and to preserve it inviolably with him ; this pleased him much, and he appeared greatly surprised at all the buildings which had been erected since he was last here ; and he said that no one in the world any longer entertained evil designs against the Dutch ; but that all the chiefs hereabouts were now entirely satisfied about past events, and inclined, with one heart and mind henceforth [MS. decayed] but Eva is the principal expounder of the language, from her speaking such good Dutch, she said, on the part of Gonnomoa, that he had come expressly to see the Commander once more, (having heard of his intended departure) and to request that he might be admitted into, and continued in the same terms of friendship as Oedaso and others, and that he might have a good recommendation to the new Commander ; that on his side he would not be wanting in bringing cattle, &c. on which a fitting answer was given, to his contentment, and he was assured of the continuance of our friendship, &c. after which his attendants were well treated with food and brandy until they were merry, when towards night, they went to sleep.

18. Gonnomoa went home with a good present, and well satisfied. 20. 8 sheep and 2 cows were brought and sold to us by his people.

21. Some advance parties of the Chainouquas brought 3 cattle to the Fort, saying that their master was on the way hither with a good many cattle.

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this enemy, and perhaps to give him some annoyance. The Cape residency seems now of greater importance than before, as the English, according to accounts received from the Directors, were about to take possession of St. Helena, of which they are doubtless masters by this time ; this will be most inconvenient for our homeward bound ships, which usually procured good refreshments there, as water and hogs ; besides that our said friends now possess a more convenient, and a better place of rendezvous than we have at the Cape, and one whence—in the event of war—which God forbid—they would be enabled to do the Company serious injury.....

## Extract of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council.

1660. April 16. Our last letter was of the 5th September 1659..... We left unanswered some points in your Despatches of March 5 and April 26, in consequence of want of time, and we now proceed to notice them.....we have carefully examined the substance of the petition\* presented to you by the free men and burgers ; which we find to be full of sedition and mutiny, you ought not to have received it, but to have torn it up, and thrown it away in their presence ; and we hereby warn them, not to present or transmit such papers in future, otherwise we shall be compelled to provide against the same by severe measures.

If they feel that they have any grievances, let them remonstrate thereon with due respect, and we shall yield to reason, and be disposed to give them all the assistance they can reasonably desire at our hands ; and it is our wish that those persons may be somewhat assisted, in particular at first, so that they may maintain themselves, and not acquire a distaste for labour, taking particular care that every contract entered into with them, and every promise made them is observed and fulfilled.

We could also approve of their assisting each other with loans of money upon interest, provided that due care is taken, that the rate of interest be not too high, so that the free men may not thus ruin each other.....

We are well pleased with your care in examining every thing, and leaving nothing untried, and also with your zeal and industry in procuring refreshments and cattle in abundance, as shown in your letter ; we can only recommend you to persevere in that good care, zeal, and industry, and to promote the work there more and more, which will confer a service on the Company, and furnish us with cause, in due time, to think of your promotion.

We can also easily conceive, that the 20 riders—provided you have horses to mount them—will give great security and protection to the free men who live in the interior, and to their cattle ; you will therefore see to procure such a number of horses by breeding, as you may conceive to be necessary to give that degree of security, and to impress some awe upon the Hottentots and other tribes of the interior. The treaty with Portugal does not advance.....but as the Spaniard has now made peace with France, he feels his hands at liberty, and threatens Portugal with several large armies, so that the latter country will have too much on hand, to be enabled to send any relief to her East Indian possessions.....

\* See p. 151 *supra*.

May 25. 4 sheep were brought by Oedaso's people.

30 and 31. The Commander went out again inspecting in every quarter, among others where the Caepmans and Gorachouquas had requested leave to come and encamp with their houses and cattle, being to the E. S. E. about an hour's walk off, beyond the Salt and Bracke Rivers, behind the sand hills, and fully half a myl beyond the land occupied by the Company, (begrepen sirckel) because there was no longer any grass for their cattle in the Hout and Berg Valleys, whither they had some time ago retired with our consent, from Oedaso; they had yesterday pointed out, to the fiscal and Doman, the spot on which they now requested leave to encamp; this request was granted, provided.....<sup>(1)</sup>

The Commander, on his return in the evening, found the 1st and 2nd kings of the Cochoquas or Saldanhars, Oedaso, and Gonnomoa, at the Fort with 15 tolerable cattle, and 48 sheep, all of which were bought for brass, red beads, tobacco, and *kavarye*, i. e. chains made of copper; and the said kings were well entertained.

As to the farming, many more people must be encouraged to resort to it; still a good deal of wheat will be sown this year; in many places it is coming up so well, that it is a pleasure to see it.

June 3. ....when the new Commander should arrive, they should come with some cattle as a present to welcome him, and to be introduced to him by the present Commander, so that the new one might know who were in alliance with us, and that they were disposed to trade on as good terms with him as with his predecessor. Herrie and Doman perceiving that this would be a desirable thing, undertook to advise the Hunquees, or chiefs of the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, and the Goringhaiquas or Caepmans.....

8. Yesterday and to-day 3 sheep were bought from Oedaso's people, and 6 cattle of various ages from some people calling themselves messengers in advance from the Chainouquas; they said that their king, Sousoa, was coming with many cattle; which were much to be desired, as we have always bought the greatest quantities from him.

13. Arrived the *Honinghen*.....with wonderful tidings from Cape Verde.....two days before their arrival, 5 large English ships with 1200 men had been there, warning them to give up the place to the king of England within 6 months, and stating that they had orders to give a similar warning along the whole coast of Africa, as far as this Cape.

19. Bartered from the Gorachouquas.....and Oedaso's people.

July 8. The Commander and fiscal out inspecting.....all in good order. The Caepmans yesterday, and the Gorachouquas to-day moved, under the eye of the Commander, from behind the Bosheuvel, and beyond our boundaries, to behind the sand hills, half way to the Salt Pans, 1½ hour's walk off, according to their late request; where finding no fresh water, they might come to ours, or, (according to the existing contracts) might make dams in the *bracke* ground, where their cattle might drink.

12. Gonnomoa, the 2nd chief of the Cochoquas or Saldanhars, brought to the Fort 5 cattle and 21 sheep, which were purchased. Among them was a large bull, as a present for the Commander; this was received on account of the Company, and abundantly paid for by presents in return, and he was well entertained, to attach him to us.<sup>(2)</sup>

### Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to Commander G. VAN HARN and Council.

1661. Aug. 23. Our last letter is dated the 7th of last May..... We have received your letter of the 11th March, and other papers concerning our Residency at the Cape, which we shall now briefly answer. We shall once more repeat, as a commencement, that there are reports annually made to us, verbally and in writing—by our functionaries from the East Indies—among them some to whom we are obliged to yield credence—which by no means correspond with the highly coloured accounts which you annually send us on the same subject.

Your successive accounts assure us of the abundance of grain, which the lands there are capable of

(1) The conditions are, for the greater part, illegible; from the remaining words, one appears to have been "keeping off the hedge we are now engaged in planting"; and another, approaching by the "permitted roads," &c. The frequent breaks which occur in the journal, are caused by the leaves of the M.S. being partially decayed.

(2) A great portion of the Original Journal is here almost entirely rotted away; pieces of the leaves bear dates down to the end of July. The previous portion does not appear to have contained any notices relative to the natives of which the essential part has not been preserved; an imperfect notice of 18th June appears to mention the arrival of the ship in which Mr. Van Harn, the intended successor of Mr. Van Riebeeck, had died during his voyage from Europe.

producing; indeed that—besides what is required for your own consumption—a great deal might be sent to Batavia—beyond what is used in brewing beer for the ships' crews; and we are now, quite unexpectedly, informed, that you cannot raise there nearly enough grain for your own consumption; but on the contrary that you require to be regularly supplied with rice from Batavia. . . . This has led us to turn our thoughts towards the trade with Madagascar. . . . The slaves that are to be had there, in sufficient numbers, and at a low rate, although they seem to be lazy and filthy in their habits, would still be very useful to you. . . .

It would appear from your letters, that you are about to found and establish a city at the Cape, and to lay yourselves out for the extension of the Colony; but according to the views we entertain here, you may dismiss such ideas out of your minds, and proceed with the garrison and free men whom you now have, without any further increase; for of what use would a large Colony there be to us if we must always support it from abroad; besides, the men are more useful to us in India, you will therefore, as we have often directed, keep all upon a reduced scale, which will be the most satisfactory to us.

We are well pleased that the cattle trade is so flourishing, but it is still complained that the meat is very dry and lean; you must consider whether this is to be remedied, and the stock brought into better condition; particularly on your procuring sufficient rice and paddie from Madagascar; the worst time of year, when the greatest number die, appears to be the dry season, during which the cattle must necessarily be fed.

To all appearance some tribes will be found in the interior, with whom the Company may have some kind of trade, particularly should they be people, who, as it is reported, reside in permanent cities; we are curious to learn the truth as to these matters; you will therefore allow no opportunity of exploring the interior to escape; and as you seem to have found the thread of the clue, by the discovery of a certain tribe called Namaquas, the rest will be found out in due time, provided some exertion is used.

The fleet will this year consist of the following 15 ships, with 3200 men. . . . You must see to have a sufficient supply of cattle, &c. in readiness against the time of their arrival. . . .

1661. Aug. 27. Proclamation.—Whereas it is daily more clearly perceived from the constant complaints of the ships' crews, that their clothes and linen, which they bring on shore to wash, and which they spread out on the ground to dry or to bleach, are stolen and carried off by the savage natives of this country; even in the presence of the owners; and that they are unable to recover them, as the natives run away, and, from their swiftness in running, are not to be overtaken; and seeing also that this is not done by these savages or natives alone, but that it is connived at by Netherlanders residing here (no prejudice to the honest) who harbour them, and purchase from them the said stolen or taken property for very low prices, instead of setting a good example to the savages, according to their bounden duty, and of deterring the said savages from the commission of theft and robbery upon the ships' crews, they stimulate and incite them, aye! so far that the savages even presume to snatch and run off with the hats and caps from the sailors' heads, and to sell them to the Netherlanders as aforesaid.

And, whereas it is absolutely necessary to provide herein—as such matters are not to be tolerated in a young and growing colony. The Commander and Council of the said fortress having considered, therefore, the great boldness and insolence of the said savages in stealing the said articles; as also the base, foul, and disgraceful harbouring of the said natives by our Netherlanders, and the purchasing from them of the said plundered or stolen articles—Do hereby expressly interdict and prohibit all persons whomsoever, from buying or receiving from the said natives any goods whatsoever—that is to say, goods which all must at once perceive that they must have taken or stolen, as such articles are neither manufactured by them, nor brought by them from the interior—on pain of public bodily correction, as receivers of stolen goods; and all persons informing against such offenders, &c. shall receive a reward of 10 reals, and the informer's name shall be concealed—such being deemed for the benefit of the public, &c.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

### Extract of a Dispatch from Chamber XVII. to Commander VAN HARN and Council.

1661. Sept. 30. Since the closing of our last Despatch to you, dated the 23rd of last August, we have received by the *Venenburgh* and *t' Calff*, your second letter of the 3rd of last May, with a

postscript attached, dated the 4th,<sup>(1)</sup> on which we shall briefly observe, that we notice with some surprise, the harsh treatment, and other irregularities (rude bejegening en ander onfatsoenlykheden) which you state that the Caepmans have sustained from our people there, and in consequence of which, in an especial degree, they rose, and resorted to the recent hostilities.

You must take care, and establish such orders, that the like may not happen again, but that, on the contrary, the said Caepmans, and all other native tribes, are kindly and civilly treated, so that instead of any aversion, they may acquire an attachment, and become well disposed towards us—and you will establish for the prevention of such conduct, such pains and penalties as you may find to be suitable to the circumstances.

We observe with pleasure the further notice (contained in your letter) of the Namaquas, and other Northern tribes and nations, and that there are some prospects of a trade with them in gold and ivory, we shall be glad to hear of its success, and you are most particularly recommended to pursue your investigations into a matter which, after all the outlay the Company has been at, may at length offer some prospect of advantage.....

The people who have touched at the Cape this year state that they have had abundant refreshments; this we are pleased to learn, and you will direct your attention to its continuance. It is true that touching at the Cape, on the outward voyage, does cause delay, but as no more convenient place of refreshment has been hitherto found, it must be continued, for it would be very inconvenient to allow the ships to pass without touching. The work is now in order and brought on a good footing there, and it is only to be wished that touching at the Cape were attended with less danger.....

1661. Nov. 24. Public Warning.—Whereas the natives of this country, the Saldanhars and Caepmans, have at present their houses and cattle close by, aye! some even residing within our outward fences; and whereas there is now among them, but particularly among their live stock, a great sickness, and, upon any animal dying, they bring the flesh, cut up, for sale to our people, as if the same had been slaughtered, whereby there has been caused, God mend it! a great sickness among us also, which might still further increase. We therefore once more warn and order—by the promulgation and affixing of these presents—all persons, as well Company's servants as free men, that no one whomsoever shall purchase any cattle, living or dead, directly or indirectly, on any pretext whatsoever, under the penalties already provided.

Thus done 24th Nov. 1661.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

### Extracts of a Despatch from the Governor General and Council of India, to the Commander and Council Cape of Good Hope.

1661. Nov. 17. We have received your letters of the 26th Nov. 1660, 28th March, ultimo April, 3rd, 9th, and 19th May, 20th June, 5th July, 9th and 29th August of the current year, as well as the letters of Commander A. Frisius, of the 11th March and 29th April last.....

In perusing the papers received from the Cape, we observe with pleasure, that the alarm or foray (boeren crygh) commenced against us by the natives of that country, had been reduced to tranquillity;

(<sup>1</sup>) The *last* letter entered in the 1st volume of letters dispatched, which commences in 1652, is dated 1st Feb. 1661—and the *first* entry in the succeeding volume is dated 9th April 1662. It is evident therefore that some leaves have been lost, and for many years, for the dates given above, agree with the first docketing in an old hand on the covers of the volumes, which are stated respectively to “end 1st Feb. 1661” and to “begin 9th April 1662.” It is true that the subject is touched on in the Cape letter of May 4, 1660—(*supra* p. 206) but that letter is not a P.S. to another of May 3, nor would it, in Sept. 1661, have been spoken of as May *last* but as May *A. P.* i.e. *anno passato*; it seems certain therefore, that a letter of May 3rd and 4th 1661 is wanting. At this period there is a hiatus of 14 months in the Cape Despatches; and of about 9 months in the Journal; the Despatch of the 9th April 1662 (*infra*) will, however, nearly supply the deficiency.

1661. Nov. 10. A Resolution of this date sanctions another journey to the Namaquas, under “sergeant P. Evrard, the commanding officer of the military, and who having also sat in Council for a considerable time, served long in India, &c. is expected to attend better to the maxims and honor of the Company than one of inferior rank.” Meerhoff again goes as second in command, but is relieved of the duty of keeping the journal of the party, by the appointment of the assistant Cretser. One of the grounds stated for dispatching the expedition forthwith, “is the good terms now subsisting between us and all the native tribes, and the safety of travelling among them in all directions.”

This expedition appears, by the Resolution of Council of Feb. 16, 1662, to have been unsuccessful, although the party went further than the others, yet the Namaquas had removed to a great distance over an arid and sandy country, which, in the dry season, it was impossible to pass from want of water. The rewards were paid notwithstanding, as the party “though only provisioned for 1½ months, had remained absent 3 months.” For further details on the subject, see despatch of April 9, 1662.

a most desirable thing for the Company's establishments there, for, otherwise, our Residency would have been in a very indifferent condition, as fully appears by the bad beginning of the said disturbance with the *Hottentots*; the cattle trade again promises well, and there will apparently be no deficiency in the quantity of eattle, though we believe that the crews would be better satisfied and better fed with a smaller number of animals, provided that they were, generally, in better condition.

From the report of Mr. Frisius we observe that not more than 300 morgen of arable land have been found at the Cape, and that he could not perceive that there remained any grazing ground for the cattle. . . . According to his calculation the cultivation does not correspond with the accounts we have hitherto received from you; we expected at least that the Cape—after so much labour and expense—would have produced so much provisions (maintementos) that it could have furnished its own supplies without aid from abroad; experience, however, teaches the contrary, and such is the usual result when things are over estimated at first.

The 13 adventurers who set out in the beginning of March, appear to have returned after having found the Namaquas. . . . perhaps by such intercourse with the natives of that extensive country, we may in time discover the gold mines of Monomotopa—cursorily noticed in your letter of the 19th May—whence, as it is alleged, the Portuguese at Mozambique procure all the gold which they send to Goa; we imagine, however, that this search will require much time, and will be attended with great uncertainty. . . . (1)

### Extracts of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to Commander VAN HARN and Council.

1662. March 31. Upon further consideration of the letters received from you last summer by the return fleet, we have thought fit—in addition to the directions conveyed in our letters of the 23rd Aug. and 30th Sept.—to add as a supplement that we have read and examined the two letters addressed to you by the General and Council of India, on the 15th Dec. 1660, and Jan. 1661 and have found that they contain various salutary orders, which, as you will perceive by our former letters, in a great measure coincide with our intentions; you will accordingly pay particular attention to the orders in question.

In the memoir which has been drawn up by Commander Van Riebeeck, in order to be handed

(1) This letter contains a description of the pretended Island of St. Helena Nova, procured from a Dutch carpenter, who asserted that he had twice landed upon it, that it was a low Island, in possession of the Portuguese, lying half a degree South of St. Helena, and producing every needful supply. "The absolute necessity of another rendezvous to the North of the Cape" is the ground stated for persevering in the search. On the receipt of this intelligence, the Directors ordered the homeward bound fleet to take forcible possession of the supposed Island, of which Mr. Roeloff de Man was named Commandant, (14th Sept. 1662) and though the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Portugal rendered it necessary, when too late (22nd December, 1662) to recal this order—the Directors were relieved of all difficulty by the failure of the fleet to discover the Island.

A Despatch from Batavia—(20th Dec. 1661) acknowledges a letter from the Cape dated 2nd Oct. of the same year—"by which we observe that every thing there was in a good state"; this letter appoints a successor to Mr. Van Riebeeck, and orders a double quantity of supplies to be furnished for the next fleet, as they will have no other place to touch at during the voyage.

Another Despatch (29th Jan. 1662) orders Mr. Van Riebeeck to leave with his successor detailed instructions in writing—for which see May 5, 1662.

### Extract of a Despatch from the Governor General and Council of India to Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council.

1660. Dec. 15. The orders issued by the Directors that the return fleet are not to touch at St. Helena, in consequence of the English having taken possession there, will be very inconvenient for those homeward bound, who will thus, so long as we may not touch at that Island, be deprived of the good refreshment to be had there, and therefore the return fleet will require a double supply of fresh provisions at the Cape; we presume you will be able to furnish vegetables enough, but it is a matter of great doubt whether, after the mortality among your live stock, and the late *Hottentoo* war, you will not fall short of fresh meat. . . .

It is a most fortunate thing that the war there has ceased, and that the fine crop on the ground has thus been saved and housed; time will show how long the peace made with the *Hottentoes* will continue; but what reliance can be placed upon the promises of such a savage people, to whom it must be a matter of indifference whether they are at war or at peace with us?

It is therefore to be feared that the Cape Residency will always be in danger of invasion from one enemy or other. We have recently seen, from the mischief they have done to our still very weak colony by cattle stealing, fire, and otherwise, that they will always have it in their power to repeat these injuries; we shall therefore always require to be in a posture of defence, so as not to be subject to unexpected attacks from those faithless hordes. This will cause much expense and inconvenience to the Company—of which, now that we have lost the fine Island of St. Helena—we should have thought before. This renders the Cape of greater importance to us, yet still we are of opinion that the smaller our establishment is there, the more easily will your expenditure be defrayed. . . .

The Despatch dated Jan. 26, 1661, contains nothing relevant to the subject.

over to you, for your information upon his departure,<sup>(1)</sup> we have, among the rest, observed that you are strongly recommended to maintain friendly relations with the Hottentoots, and other native tribes, to treat them well, and to prevent their sustaining any annoyance from our people, which directions we declare to be, in several respects, accordant with our sentiments and intentions, and you will, therefore, do well to comply therewith, in that particular, as well as in other points therein noticed, as, they agree generally with the orders which we have issued from time to time.....

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Extracts from the Journal of Commander WAGENAAR.

1662. April 2.<sup>(2)</sup> ..... Zacharias Wagenaar as Commander and Successor of Commander Riebeeck, and who was welcomed with due solemnity.

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Extracts of a Despatch from Commander VAN RIEBEECK and Council to Chamber XVII.

1662. April 9. By our last, dated 4th May last year....we fully answered your letter of 21st Aug. 1660<sup>(3)</sup>.... In reply to that of 7th May, we have the honor to state, that we wrote briefly, via Leghorn, reporting the continuance of the good intelligence subsisting between us and the natives of this country; and afterwards, by the fleet under Messrs. Frisius and Bocheljon, we fully explained the proceedings of the land expeditions, and the Madagascar affairs.....

With the 120 men which have been granted, we shall be barely able to do the duty, as shown by the annual distribution list, pointing out how and where each man is employed.

The inutility of occupying Saldanha Bay, fully explained last year, will render the 12 or 14 men, who were allowed for that service, disposable for the land expeditions, and for the unusually long journeys which we must take to the Saldanhars, for the purpose of procuring more cattle than are to be had here, where the natives contrive to procure too much tobacco from our people for trifles, as we have occasionally found when travelling with merchandize in their company. This may be seen more fully in the accompanying Journals under the dates of 23d and 27th Dec. 1661, and 4th and 13th Jan. 1662, when such journeys were made with very fair success by Fiscal Gabbema; but from our nearest neighbours the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, nothing worth while is to be had, although they are well supplied with cattle, as often stated before, and as more fully explained in the Journal for 19th Jan. 1662.

It may be also seen, under date 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th Nov. 1661, that the Commander Riebeeck paid a visit, with 21 horsemen, to the Saldanhars under the Leopard's Berg, which excited among them the greatest joy, as conceiving that, until then, peace had not been very firmly concluded; yet, they must be closely watched notwithstanding, so that no estrangement may arise out of the weakness of the authority which they [the chiefs] possess over their people, and the consequent disputes with our people who live at some distance from the fort; for if they reside too near, they do give considerable annoyance to persons who sometimes go alone in exposed situations, as we have frequently noticed before, and to which representations we beg to refer.

From the 21st and 22d Nov. to the 8th December, inclusive, it may be observed that the Saldanhars would entirely oppress the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, keeping them so closely hemmed in as to allow them no access whatever to us. We have always entertained an idea that this was concerted among them, in order to try whether they could not expel us by an united effort; for they lay close to our fence on the outside of the cultivated lands, with their encampments so disposed that we were enclosed within them in the shape of a half moon, and could go in no direction except through their camps; this they very readily and kindly allowed us to do, as between mutual friends, while we kept the better watch so as not to leave them any favorable opportunity,—meanwhile entertaining their chiefs daily, and they sometimes entertaining us, with kindness and liberality; until at length, upon the 8th Dec. 1661, they left us and fell back into the interior, after apparently levying some contribution,—though without resorting to force,—from the Caepmans and tobacco thieves; and that may have been their object, if they had not, as we suspected, an eye upon

(1) No mention of the transmission of this paper, previous to its date (May 5, 1662) has been observed, and Mr. Wagenaar's Despatch of Aug. 10, 1662, mentions it, as if ignorant of its transmission.

(2) The last Journal ended in July 1661—the IIIrd volume of the Journals extends from 1st April 1662, to the end of 1666—a great portion of the upper end of the leaves has suffered by decay; the volume opens with the above notice of the arrival of the new Commander. For a summary of the events which occurred during the months between July 1661 and April 1662.—See Despatch of 9th April 1662.

(3) This passage renders it clear that the despatch of 4th May, 1661, is wanting.—*Vide supra* p.p. 212, 241.

us. They expressed themselves, however, as if this visit was in compliance with one of their customs, namely, that when two friends have made peace, they should live so close together and intermixed, to prove, by the absence of any dissention, their mutual confidence and friendship, &c., so that it would appear that there is to be no future breach in our friendship, aye! that they would assist us in resisting any foreign invasion by sea, if we should only desire their help; of this disposition there was some appearance when the French were wrecked here, when the natives begged that that people might not also be allowed to reside here, alleging that we were enough for them, and that, if other nations should come hither, they should soon lose all their pasture lands, and therefore, expressing themselves as if they would rather aid us against others, than allow still more to come hither; which disposition might, in the case of necessity, be turned to advantage; and should they continue faithful,—our horses increasing at the same time,—we might give some trouble to an invader. . . . . The prices fixed by our resolution of the 27th Aug. 1659<sup>(1)</sup> which your Honors have examined, have appeared to you in many respects excessive, particularly in fresh meat and pork, butter, milk, fish, vegetables, and the like. Those prices have been deemed burdensome upon the freemen; and they would be so in fact, were it the case that the freemen had to purchase those articles from the company at those rates. But the case is in fact quite the reverse, and the arrangement is according to your intentions, and for their advantage; for not only is the fishing always left free to all, but every one may besides, rear what fruit and vegetables he will for his own use, disposing of what he can spare to the shipping at great profit, as fully explained last year; for otherwise, it would be rather hard upon them. *The prices are not so established that they may deal with the Company, which has never had fruit and vegetables to sell to any one, but to give some relief at first to poor free farmers who had raised a few carrots;* (many other things have been done for their accommodation) and also that when they should have abundance of all kinds of fruit they might not sell it at too dear a rate, to the prejudice of the Company's inferior servants, so that those who receive provision money, may be able to live upon it. . . . .<sup>(2)</sup>

And as to giving to each of the free men a piece of land on which each may keep his own cattle apart from the rest; the thing is not practicable, nor can we make enclosures here as in the Fatherland, on account of the hillyness of the country, and other obstacles. But besides their own lands and gardens, they are allowed *the whole country in every direction*, ('t gansche landt over al) as common pasturage, and each may keep for himself as many cattle as he pleases; it were much to be desired that they would keep more, so that, out of what they could spare, we might supply the ships with better stock than we can procure from the Hottentots. . . . . We therefore hope that your Honors will be satisfied that in all our proceedings we have always endeavoured to conform ourselves to your views and intentions, and that, where we have misapprehended them,—(which in such new work may easily happen),—we have instantly, upon being apprised of our mistake, endeavored to remedy it. . . . .

As to our laying ourselves out for the erection of a city here, our views have always been very limited. . . . . We feel the burden of having free men who are not farmers, and shall therefore allow no more than we have at present; whose dwellings we have indeed arranged in regular order, as in the commencement of a city, 50 roods beyond the walls of the Fort; but had we not resisted it, all the farmers would have come out of the country to reside at the Fort. . . . .

The cattle trade goes on tolerably well, though we had hoped that a greater quantity would have been brought in; it seems, however, that the new Hottentoes, called Chainouquas, have a great distance to travel, and having to travel slowly with their cattle, cannot reach us so soon as we supposed, or as we had understood them to have promised. Our trade this year with the Saldanhars has been mostly in sheep, and least in horned cattle. . . . but still, with the abundance of fruit, of which, thank God, we have more than enough—the supply will pretty well suffice for refreshments. We have explained how it is that the meat is so dry and lean in the dry season, and we hope that this will soon be remedied by the free men increasing the Dutch breed of sheep, which become very fat. . . . .

We are daily more convinced that the mounted guard enforces the utmost respect from our thievish neighbours the Caepmans and the tobacco thieves, and not less from the Saldanhars and

(1) The prices of the articles are thus fixed in the resolution in question; Beef 2, Mutton 3, and Pork 4 Stivers per lb.—Fish, a brass penny per 3 lbs.—Butter, not exceeding 15 Sts.—Milk, 4 Stivers per quart,—Butter-milk, 2 do.—Hen or Duck Eggs, 1 Stiver each,—Penguin, do. 5 for 2 Stivers,—Gulls and Divers, do. 10 a 12 for 2 Stivers,—Goose and Kivit Eggs, *ad libitum*.

(2) The Despatch of the Directors, Sept. 17, 1662, (*infra*) will show that this explanation was not satisfactory; and it will appear subsequently, that permitting Company's servants to hold land, was always considered an abuse, and, to the free Colonists, a serious grievance.

others; and we hope that next year we may be able to mount 20 men (we deem that number sufficient) upon the young horses reared here, which are of a very good breed.....

Coming now to the reply to your last general Despatch of the 30th Sept. of the same year....<sup>(1)</sup> We have respectfully to state that we have always used every possible exertion to prevent the ill treatment of these natives by our people; and we trust that we shall not neglect, in obedience to your directions, occasionally to enact or to renew such further orders as may be necessary to render these natives more and more attached to us, to keep the roads safe for trading in every quarter, and to keep the trade open.....

We have, as before mentioned, this season sent another expedition in search of the Namaquas, and that it might be the better attended to, we placed it under the command of the sergeant of this fort; the party proceeded fully 48 mylen further than in the preceding year, and yet they could not succeed in finding the Namaquas, for they had retired across a belt of dry, salt, and sandy ground, of the breadth of 4 or 5 days journey, without a drop of water, except here and there a filthy, fetid, muddy pool, and so salt too, that dry salt might be gathered from its sides. The sergeant with 2 of the men,—having left the others with the oxen, at a great fresh water river called Oliphant's river,—travelled in vain for four days to find means of crossing that desert, and at length returned, nearly perishing with thirst, to the rest of his party at the said river, and was obliged to return home immediately. He thinks however, that this dry strip of ground, where no grass grows, might be crossed by a party setting out from Oliphant's river at either the commencement or the end of the wet season; as he could perceive many traces of men and cattle imprinted in the hard salt ground, and here and there a hastily constructed hut; but on the other hand the Oliphant's river is so flooded at that season, that there would be no means of passing it with loaded oxen. This river, according to the annexed map, with their route laid down upon it, discharges itself into an inland sea, in Lat. 30, 43; and 40 or 50 mylen distance across from the ocean. They say that this river may be navigated by boats for 4 mylen upwards, where it is likely that the ford is situated at which the river may be crossed.

Every endeavor will be made, conformably to your orders, for further discovery in that quarter, but we have an idea that Oedaso, the chief of the Saldanhas, tries to separate us from that people and all other tribes, fearing that, should they come hither, the pastures would be too little for them all, and that he would thus sink in our estimation. This we have been given to understand by the great Chariguriquas, who have renounced the authority of the Saldanhas, and live at the said Oliphant's river, betwixt which and the Namaquas lies the said dry and salt tract of country. *Item.*—The Soaquas or Mountaineers,—who, as well as the Chariguriquas are allied to the Namaquas, these plainly assert that Oedaso had advised the Namaquas not to come to the spot last year agreed upon, persuading them that we intended to attack them with a concealed force; so that, according to their statement, the Namaquas had retired out of fear.

The Chief of the Chariguriquas, however, at the request of our people, sent an express by some of his men, for a small reward, across that desert to apprise the Namaquas of their arrival; the messengers returned in 10 days, stating that the Namaquas found it impossible to meet our men, in consequence of the drought; so that, as before observed, our party was obliged to return. We find, (now that the courses held by our party are reduced,) that they had reached within 18 or 20 mylen of the fixed place called in Linschoten's map *Vigiti Magna*, lying to the North of a great river, which we have now called the river of *Vigiti Magna*, where, according to the said map, the lake of *Gale* comes in,—between which and the Oliphant's river lies, as may be seen in the annexed sketch, the dry tract which has been mentioned, and, if we can once cross that, we shall, apparently, find at and along the river of *Vigiti Magna*, not only the Namaquas, who live there, but many other tribes. There will be some difficulty in crossing the river of *Vigiti Magna*, but further inquiry may remove it, and, that difficulty surmounted, we must then see to penetrate further. There is no longer any difficulty in the journey from this to the Oliphant's River, or about 110 mylen; the great difficulty is to pass the 40 mylen of dry country intervening between that river and the river of *Vigiti Magna*. This will be further examined by active adventurers who may have a rendezvous of cattle and provisions at Oliphant's river. The last party are not disinclined to undertake this, and are much vexed to hear that they had been so near; and we therefore hope for better luck next time.

They also state that, wherever they have been, they have no where seen any country so good as this spot about the Cape, the surface being in general either stony or sandy, and they therefore

deem this place the best they have seen in the whole country; there was also (as may be seen from their diary, inserted in the Cape Journal under date 13th Feb. 1662) very little bush, or arable land; and they knew not upon what the cattle of the Hottentoots could subsist—except the grass growing here and there between the stones, on the high mountains, or that which is to be found in dales and vallies. In this manner our cattle also have to seek their food, on both sides of the Table Mountain and Bosberg; as all the rest of the land, where a plough can penetrate, has been given out for corn land, except about 20 morgen, which seems pretty good, but which, being the most distant of all, (although within the line (cirkel) and in sight of the guard house Hout den Bul) no one is inclined to take.....

As the Commander G. Van Harn died early in his voyage, and as the Commander Riebeeck has thus been prevented from availing himself of his long looked for release, granted to him by the pleasing communication from your Honors, dated Aug. 21, 1660, still he would not abandon his post, although it might have been occupied until further orders by Messrs. De Man and Gabbema,—and, from the early departure of the homeward bound fleet he was unable to repeat his request to your Honors, except at the loss of a whole year's time, indeed until now, when he has continued 3 years, without promotion, beyond his second engagement. For these reasons, and that he might the sooner reach Batavia, he made another application to the Governor General and Council of India,..... in consequence of which their Honors were pleased to send, by the last fleet from Batavia, Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar as his successor, to whom, after the dispatch of this letter, due transfer shall be made.....

And as the said Commander Riebeeck is now entering upon the third year beyond his second engagement, and thus upon the 11th year of his service at this place, in which time he has, next to God, converted this Cape from a barren waste—by the labour of his hands—to a desirable place of refreshment, where a sufficiency of fruit may always be had for the refreshment of the crews of your outward and homeward bound fleets, besides the cattle which are occasionally purchased in abundance from the inhabitants, with whom we are now on the best terms, through which we have also so far advanced your other object, namely the cultivation of corn.....[here follows an enumeration of the different kinds of fruit flourishing in “what was found a dry waste”] and as we are not aware that we have ever left any thing untried.....and as by your letter of the 30th Sept. last year, you have been pleased to state that “the work is now in order, and brought on a good footing there” your said most obedient and dutiful servant, the Commander Riebeeck, most humbly prays, that in consideration of his long services here, you will be pleased at length to favor him with such a thankworthy augmentation, especially in rank and salary, as may more and more bind him to your service.....

JAN VAN RIEBEECK, Z. WAGENAAR, &c.

In the Company's Fort the Goede Hoop, 9th April, 1662.

April 11. Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—To-day and yesterday bartered 7 cattle and 9 sheep. 17. This day the first ripe apples were plucked.

20. Mr. Wagenaar went to Robben Island.....where he found 170 very fine sheep, 4 goats, and 300 pigs living wild.

### Extracts of Memorandum left by Commander J. VAN RIEBEECK, for the information and guidance of his successor Z. WAGENAAR.

May 5. [The first paragraph merely refers to the several instructions and other papers explanatory of the objects of taking possession at the Cape. Then follow the several subjects here omitted, which are denoted by the following marginals, given in italics.]

*Company's first object attained; in addition to other refreshments.—A good prospect of fruit, particularly from the vines; also olives in time.—The corn lands turn out much poorer than was supposed.—Trade; and the condition of the Cape Tribes:—*

Coming now to the subject of the trade with these native tribes, the same is now, thanks to God! on a much better footing than ever, through the knowledge which we are gradually acquiring of various races of people in the interior, whose names, with their places of abode and mode of living are thus briefly stated, in order to convey a better idea of their circumstances. We have then, in the first place—

The GORINGHAIICONAS, of whom Herry has been usually called the Captain; these are strandloopers, or fishers, who are, exclusive of women and children, not above 18 men in number, supporting themselves, without the least live stock of any description, by fishing from the rocks along the coast, thus furnishing a great accommodation to the Company's people and freemen, and also rendering much assistance to those who keep house, by washing, scouring, fetching firewood, and other domestic work; and some of them placing their little daughters in the service of the married people, where they are clothed in our manner, but they must have a slack rein, and will not be kept strictly, such appears to be contrary to their nature; some of them, however, begin to be tolerably civilized, and the Dutch language is so far implanted among them, old and young, that nothing can any longer be kept secret when mentioned in their presence, and very little in that of the—

GORINGHAIQUAS, whose Chief is named Gogosoa, and who are the Caepmans; they are, exclusive of women and children, about 300 men capable of bearing arms, supplied with about enough cattle to provide for their own wants, but as they begin to be somewhat fond of mercantile gains, (coopmanachtige) they are rather increasing their stock, particularly as they have always been knowing enough,—upon the approach of strangers from the interior with pretty good cattle,—to act as brokers and guides to conduct the strangers to us; exchanging their leanest and worst cattle for the good, and then bringing those strangers to us, and insisting upon it that they have been the means of enticing and fetching them out of the interior, &c. in which manner they well know how to enrich themselves, becoming every day worse and more cunning; these are they who pretend that this Cape land has been theirs from all ages, and who, seeing that we were betaking ourselves to permanent agriculture, made war upon us in the year 1659, on account, according to their statements, of their harsh treatment by some of the free men; but on seeing, contrary to their expectation, that we, though assailed at the weakest, were not to be so easily driven away, and that, meanwhile, the chief or king of the Saldanhars, took the opportunity of that disturbed time, to form an alliance with us—which alliances they had always used every art to prevent, &c. they were induced two years ago to request and to conclude a peace with us, as also did—

The GORACHOUQUAS, or tobacco thieves, so called because they once stole, from the field, the tobacco belonging to some free men, and whose chief is named Choro. You have been in both their camps—they have, besides women and children, 6 or 700 men capable of bearing arms, and are fully 6 times as rich in cattle as the last mentioned tribe, and a few head are sometimes bought from them, but nothing of importance.

They have, since the war before mentioned, generally lived close to the Caepmans, and about a day's journey to the N. E. behind the Leopards Hill, not far from, and as it would seem, under the wing of the Saldanhars; but this April both tribes have come back to live at the foot of the Bosheugel, under our protection, in consequence, as it would seem, of some difference which has arisen between them and the Saldanhars, who are the—

COCHOQUAS, consisting of two divisions, under 2 chiefs, or choquees, (which means kings) the first is named Oedasoia, a quiet man, whose wife—last year deceased—was sister of the interpreter Eva, who is also a niece of Herry, and has from her childhood been brought up in our house, and can speak Dutch almost as well as a Dutch girl, and we thus derive much service from her in translation, although she does lead us a dance now and then (altemets oock wel een flits op de mou can spelden) and some things must be received from her with caution.

The other chief of the Saldanhars, or Cochoquas, is named Gonnoma, and is often some distance apart from Oedasoia. They have, together, several thousand men, and generally occupy the middle of the country opposite to us, under the African mountains, extending from near False Bay, quite to Saldanha Bay, but not always remaining in one place, and moving about for change of pasture. With which Oedasoia and Gonnoma we appear to have a very firm alliance, and with whom we carry on a good, indeed a constant trade in live stock—chiefly in sheep—but not so many horned cattle that we have ever been able to spare so many as now for the refreshment of the Company's shipping; they have helped however; but we have never procured any stock whatever, deserving of the name, from the—

LITTLE CHARIGURIQUAS, a people about as numerous as the Goringhaiquas, who chiefly reside between Saldanha Bay, and midway between Robben and Dassen Island—about 4 or 5 hours' walk from the sea coast, subject to Oedasoia, though they have rebelled against him; they were accustomed to be his stock keepers, but appropriated his cattle to their own use; and therefore they are not recognized by any of the Hottentoots as a people who have a Choque or Hunque, that is a hereditary king or chief; they seem, however, to be able to take their own part, as it now begins to appear, through the fear which Oedasoia entertains for the—

NAMAQUAS, with whom the great Chariguriquas have sought and formed an alliance—; this people have recently been found by us, after long search; they are very rich in cattle, and very tall in stature, almost half giants, dressed in fine prepared skins, as may be seen at full by the notes kept by our travellers, and inserted in our Journal under date the 11th March 1661; where it may also be seen that they are very favorably disposed towards us, and that they seem to be a people who carry on trade with other tribes residing further inland, and through whom the way is now in so far opened, that it is only now that we can properly begin to discover any thing better than cattle. Of these people, to all appearance, more will come to you than you can wish; and thus after 10 years toil we hope that we have opened for you a fortunate road to the North side of this Africa; whither, towards the end of September, another journey must be taken, in order to be enabled to cross the dry country (which at that season will probably be still moist after the rains) to the river upon which there is laid down, in Linschoten's map, a town (vaste plaets) called Vigiti Magna, and where there is a race of people quite different from the Hottentoots, of whom we have been hitherto treating, and to whom we shall also return, namely, to those whom we have found to be the richest, almost all of whom reside to the Eastward, along the East coast of Africa, where they sometimes show themselves in some bays, as we can discover from their own statements. We have only begun to know them well during the last two years, and they are the—

CHAINOUQUAS, whose Choque or King is named Sousoa, with whom we are upon very good, and rather firm terms of friendship, and who have since that time bartered to us a great number of cattle, and a good many sheep also. They are able to supply us abundantly, and on taking leave of us last year promised to come back with a still larger quantity; we sincerely trust that you may, on the Company's account, enjoy the fortunate result, and also that, as we are given to expect by the accounts of all the Hottentoots, you may be soon visited by the—

HEUSAQUAS, from whom a messenger was last year at the fort, with intelligence that his Chief also intended to come to visit the Sourye (that is the Lord of the Land, the name by which I have been generally known,) of the Dutch, with money and cattle, to try to procure, like his friends, the Chainouquas, a share of our merchandize, which will be a most desirable event, as they are very rich in cattle, and have a strong liking for the consumable tobacco, and for certain red beads in the Company's stores, for which the cattle are procured from those people at a very cheap rate. The Hottentoots who live near us, speak in high terms of this tribe, saying that now that Sousoa is gone, they will come with such great herds of cattle, that the merchandize will fall short. This, however, need not be feared, but hoped for,—*item*, also for the arrival of the—

HANCUMQUAS, who, according to the hopes held out to us, and from all that we have been able to learn, are the greatest and most powerful of all the race of greasy Hottentoots, living in houses, which like their's, are covered with mats, but of a very large size, and living permanently on the same spot, where they cultivate and dry a certain plant which they call *Dacha*, this they chew and eat, and consequently become very light-headed, as in India from opium, and this is the reason why they are so eager for the strongest tobacco. The Chiefs of this tribe appear to be Chiefs over all the other Choques or Kings, being entitled Choebaha, which seems to mean Emperor, or at least Upper King, or Lord over all the others.

Those now who reside further than this Chief Lord of the Hottentoots, though of the same race, and much richer in cattle than all those who live on this side of this supreme Chief, are named first, the—

CHAMAQUAS, and next them the OMAQUAS, ATIQUAS, HOUTUNQUAS, and CHAUQUAS, all subsisting like the Hancumquas,—besides their countless herds of cattle,—by *Dacha* plantations, living on fixed spots, in large mat huts, dressed in skins like all the Hottentoots, and also equally greasy, &c.

After those, are said to begin, though beyond the river Vigiti Magna, and in an Easterly direction, another race of people, called by all the before mentioned Hottentoots—

CHOBOQUA or COBONA, (1) residing in fixed houses constructed of wood, clay, and other materials, but at the same time maintaining themselves by cattle, and wearing clothes, whom we conjecture to be the people of Monomotopa, as Eva would often persuade us, and that—as we have also been informed, through her interpretation, by the said Sousoa,—there is Chory or gold and white gems among those Choboquas, of which he has promised to bring proofs, and also some one of that people. We trust that you may, for the good of the Company, experience the success of this, and procure some

(1) The following note is written in the same hand-writing on the margin:—Observe; that the Hottentoo terminations of *qua* and *na* in the names of tribes, have the same meaning; as Coboqua or Cobona, Namaqua or Namana, Cochoqua or Cochona, &c.

further account of the people of whom the messenger from the HEUSAQUAS told us, that they keep lions as tame as we keep dogs, and among whom it is said that the gold and the white gems are to be found. I trust that diligent inquiry will afford us further knowledge upon all these matters, either through their own people coming to us, or through our men, who are sufficiently well disposed to visit them, as the roads have, through the alliances formed with the several tribes of the race of Hottentoots, become so safe that our people have nothing to look for, in any quarter, but the most friendly reception. In consequence of this, had I remained here, we fully intended, as soon as the rains were over, and at the commencement of the dry season, to send out a party of volunteers to try whether we could not find out the said Choboquas, as we last year, as before mentioned, found the long sought Namaquas.

*Jealousy of the Saldanhars.*—But there is no doubt that Oedasoia, who is the greatest among the natives who live near to the Cape, is as jealous upon this matter, as were the Caepmans formerly, when we were endeavoring to become better acquainted with him; and equally fearful of falling into less esteem, in proportion to the extent of our discoveries; this may be fully relied upon, as we have already begun to perceive it from Oedasoia's demeanor, but we have endeavored to remove his apprehension by friendly and affable treatment; and this course must of necessity be continued, for, upon any coolness with him, we can see no prospect of profit for the Company, and deem the preservation of friendship the preferable course; although he (just like the Goringhaiquas or Caepmans, who long kept us in ignorance of him) has had in view precisely the same object as to the other tribes, in hoodwinking us, and leading us to believe that he was the greatest *heer* of this country.

But now, seeing that we have at length discovered the Namaquas, (a different, and as before observed, a more active race than the Hottentoots) and hearing that we have been well received by them, and that they have promised to come hither, whether he likes it or not—they having, however, first shown their inclination to be reconciled to him, and for that purpose offering to send 2 or 3 with our party to express their disposition for peace, and to settle old disputes with him (for the Namaquas did not dare to attack him here, for fear of our assisting him)—the said Oedasoia allowed himself to be in so far guided by us, that on the 21st March last year he sent 3 of his people to them as commissioners, in company with our party who went thither, and who were to act between the parties as mediators. This endeavour succeeded according to our wishes, and the result has been that they not only now leave each other unmolested on journeys, and in trading with us, but the Saldanhars may carry on a friendly intercourse and traffic with the said Namaquas, who are, as before observed, a different race from these Hottentoots, of much larger stature, clothed in fine well dressed skins without hair and using rushes (*ruyge*) at night to sleep on. Their own hair, although like that of the Caffers, is worn long, and plaited in an ornamental manner like locks, with many ornaments of copper, iron, and red beads; also, *caurys* and *bougys*, for which they are very eager, as well as for red caps, and for the red cloth of which to make them.

*Hopes of Elephants' teeth among the Namaquas, and why.*—It would seem also that ivory is much more plentiful among them than among the Hottentoots, from the very thick braceletts of that article which they wear, and from the very singular plates of ivory which they wear over a finely dressed skin, worn as an apron. A specimen of each has been sent to our masters in Holland, and 2 such plates are in the office here; it may therefore happen that a trade in ivory and other articles may yet be opened with them, which were much to be desired for the relief of the Company's expenditure at this place.

*Whereabouts the Namaquas are to be found by sea.*—From a calculation of the courses and distances travelled by our land parties, we are led to conjecture that those people reside not far distant from the coast, and near the bay called by Linschoten, *Angra das Voltas*, between the 29th and 30th parallel to the Northward; and had I staid here, I had it in contemplation, upon a favorable opportunity, to send a Cape galiot, or any small vessel that could be spared, to ascertain that point, as well as whether that bay might not be found suitable, in respect of anchorage, water, and other refreshments, for Company's ships to touch at, when occasionally blown to leeward of the Cape by the S. S. E. gales in February and March, when the ships arrive from India, and when those winds are usually most severe; or in the event of ivory or other merchandize being found (which might be too bulky for conveyance by land) to place a trading station there, or otherwise, according to circumstances. I therefore bring the subject under your notice in order that you may, at a fitting opportunity, improve upon the suggestion in as far as you may deem it to be practicable, and serviceable to the Company; but the vessel must first be sent to Madagascar for rice and whatever else our masters have directed, or may hereafter direct to be done there.

*Nothing more serviceable to the Company than peace with the Hottentoots.*—It being, above all things necessary, that you always endeavour to live in constant peace with the Hottentoots—one tribe as well as the other, not only that the roads may be every where safe, to facilitate further discoveries, but also that the tribes above named may always be able to come down without apprehension, with their cattle, for the refreshment of the crews of the Company's ships. To this object—in the first place, a more than usually liberal reception will much contribute, and especially if little squabbles occurring between our people—particularly the ship people—and them, be not too seriously taken up, but rather passed over occasionally, as if in ignorance, especially at first, or otherwise they would become so shy that they would fly inland with all they possess, making the other tribes so shy also, that they would keep away altogether; and you would thus find yourselves in a moment deprived, not only of the daily barter with the Saldanhars, but also of the trade with all the other tribes before named. The best advice, therefore, that I am able to give you in this matter is;—that you keep your attention constantly fixed—steadfast as a wall, to this point —: to live without any the slightest estrangement from your neighbours here, the Caepmans or Goringhais, and the tobacco thieves or Gorachouquas, as well as with Oedaso, the king of the Saldanhars; which may be effected—besides the friendly treatment aforesaid—by keeping so sharp and strict a watch, by mounted and other guards, (already brought so far into order) over the Company's live stock, and that belonging to the freemen, that a fair opportunity of driving them off is never left open to the natives, without exposing their lives to danger. For, should they have even the least chance of success, they could not refrain from the attempt; and on this account a very close watch will be always required here. *Au reste*,—that when they sometimes perceive some simple green horn from the ships going to some retired spot (ergens achter aff lopende kycken) and rob him of his tobacco, bread, and brass, or iron buttons from his clothes, is not a matter of such mighty importance, but that it may be easily arranged. The quarrels also, which occur between them and the ship people, more than those who are resident here, and which proceed perhaps to the length of pelting each other with stones, ought not to be too gravely regarded,—for, our men,—who, when playing and wrestling (stoeyende) with them, sometimes get a thump a little harder than they will bear, and are thus provoked to abuse them, and call them black stinking dogs, &c.—are themselves in a great measure the cause. For the natives fully understand these, and other Dutch words, and reply, that they are men as well as the Dutch, and so forth—so that I will add that our common people are often found, when out of our presence, to be the first cause of many disputes (questien) which are sometimes attended with trouble, in order to restore tranquillity among these natives; and this may be best accomplished by a show of injustice (ongelyk) towards our own people, paying the others by a friendly promise of inflicting some kind of punishment on our men on board of their ships.

And although this course appears to many of our people somewhat improper, it is nevertheless most absolutely necessary, in order that we may live in peace and quiet; and I have therefore always pursued this line of conduct, and enforced it upon others; and whatever better course you may be able to adopt, cannot fail to be still more serviceable to the Company; for, in the event of disagreement, you will not be able to keep a single Hottentoo here or hereabouts; and therefore friendship, with those who have been herein named, should be kept in mind as one of the principal maxims; in which case the trade will not only continue to flourish more and more, but the roads also will be safe for travelling in every direction, to search for what has not been hitherto found; and, as before observed, the Directors and their Honors at Batavia will be thus best satisfied; for it may be seen from the public and private letters from both quarters, that journeys for the purposes of discovery are not disapproved, but expressly ordered to be prosecuted with every assiduity; and therefore—so far from dissuading you from continuing them at fitting seasons of the monsoon—I would most earnestly recommend their being prosecuted with vigor at the seasons before mentioned. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>

And to give out any lands beyond the Company's enclosure, is, on account of the attendant

<sup>(1)</sup> Here follow—a notice that the maps and drawings of travellers, &c. were all in their proper place—suggestions for the improvement of the surveys of Table Bays—for clearing it of lost anchors—for continuing to plant the hedge—obliging the Hottentoots to confine themselves to the roads through the barriers, as tending to security, as well as preventing the free men from interfering with the cattle trade—against granting any more land within the Liesbeek, or between the *Vytwyck* and the Fort, for the sake of pasture, to prevent people from injuring themselves by trying to grow corn where the S. E. wind would ruin them, and where they wish to live, “not to cultivate corn, but to lie in the passage by which the Hottentoots approach, that they may barter cattle from them out of sight” (buyten aff.) Other portions of the memoir before omitted, relate to the trade to Madagascar—the proclamation (noticed p. 227) relative to selling cattle to the farmers for the purpose of being fattened—and the conditions entered into between the Company and the free farmers.

expense of protecting the freemen, quite unadvisable; even should they be disposed to live out there at their own risk, we have never dared to venture upon it, for they would instantly lose their cattle, and would be robbed of them, even by our best friends—unless indeed any one were mad enough, and rich enough to hazard his own capital—but with the Company's means—upon which all the farmers here have been set up—this would be entirely wrong, and ought never to be thought of; for the Hottentoes, upon seeing the least opportunity, could not abstain from stealing the cattle, as we have, at full length and breadth, explained to the Directors. And for the same reason I would nor venture to sell cattle, even for ready money, to any one who was about to farm there, for he would forthwith lose them, and would then be troubling the Company for more (1).....

The slaves here learn nothing but Dutch, and also the Hottentoes, so that no other language is spoken here, and if this can be continued it will be a desirable thing, as it always will keep the Portuguese and others from communicating with these tribes, so that they will be the less able to mislead them, &c. Herry and Doman live chiefly here at the fort, as interpreters or advocates (voorspraken), the first, as it were, for the tobacco thieves, and the other for the Caepmans. They get their food and drink from us, and they should continue to be thus supported, to bind them to the Company, and to keep mischief out of their heads; though indeed, now that we are so well supplied with horses, I do not think that they will easily be inclined to undertake any thing against us, so long as good attention is paid to the mounted guard and the outposts.

How the interpreter Eva is retained and treated has been already mentioned, and verbally communicated. She acts chiefly for the Saldanhar, and others who come from a distance.

As I cannot but think that every thing has now been detailed at sufficient length, I do not know what more I can say, than to repeat briefly the most advantageous, and the chief rules to be attended to, for the service of the Company, namely,—

1st. That you always endeavour to live, and trade, in peace with these tribes, at the same time and for the same purpose, to penetrate—by parties of volunteers—further and further into the interior.

2d. To have constantly in readiness sufficient refreshments for the shipping.

3d. The necessary increase of the stock of cattle and sheep, and also of pigs, &c.

4th. To keep up the cultivation of corn, and as far as practicable to extend it more and more, for the purpose of provisioning this Residency, and that the less food may be required from abroad.

5th. The cultivation of the olive, as urgently recommended by the last letter from the Directors.....

And now, trusting that I have sufficiently explained the objects of our Honorable Masters..... I shall conclude by recommending you to the merciful protection of the Almighty, and by recommending to you the command and management of affairs here in the manner most serviceable to the Hon. Company. In the Fort the Goede Hope, adij 5th May Ao. 1662. JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

*Abstract of Convictions before Commander and Court of Justice of the Fort Good Hope, during the command of Mr. van Riebeeck, 1652-1662.*

1. 1652, July 8.—Jan Blank, sailor; breach of articles of war, insolence to Commander (a member of the Court), and resisting when beaten by him. Sentenced to 50 lashes, and to fall thrice from the yard.

2. 9.—Gerrit Dirk, volunteer, (adelborst); insolence to the Captain of the Goede Hoop, a member of the

(1) The lengthened details which are here passed over, are in general mere recapitulations of what has been already given in another shape, the following are the *marginalia*.—All the cattle may henceforth serve for issue to the shipping,—As to pigs and poultry,—Corn mortgaged to the Company,—Also, cattle and sheep,—All supplies to be refused to English and other foreigners on the plea of our own necessities,—To take care of the French cannon,—Company's fortifications on the shore,—What is chiefly to be attended to regarding them,—Company's concerns pointed out,—Plantations,—Gardens,—Vineyards,—Farms,—Orchards,—Distribution of Refreshments to the Company's ships,—How long the outward-bound ships may lie here [not above 10 fine days,] homeward-bound ships [18 or 20 days,]—To whose commanders, as being Commissioners, full explanations of every thing must be given,—What cattle remain on hand [i.e. Company 278 cattle, 659 sheep, 300 pigs. Free farmers,\* 300 cattle, 800 sheep and pigs,]—wax and honey begin to be brought by the Hottentoes,—Tobacco the best article of trade,—What other articles in demand,—Rabbits not to be reared on the main but on Robben Island,—Number of horses, [43 in all, 18 fit for saddle,] Mounted force impress much respect on natives,—Schuttery,—(Militia)—Borgerraden,—Secret signals,—Cyphers,—To send oil to Batavia,—Ostriches,—Paints,—To collect skins,—The freeman to mark out the boundaries of their land,—How rations are issued,—Priced of timber wagon wood, &c. [i.e. 2 Sts. per square foot of plank—wagon f30—sides f6-4, wheels f18.]—To lengthen the pier.

\* As this paper contains no account of the number of the free farmers, or the extent of land cultivated, it may be here stated that during the ensuing year, 1663, a return was made of 13 farmers, possessing in freehold—omitting fractions—384 morgen of land, of which 125 were sown with wheat, barley, or rye.

† Without reference to the standard furnished by the fixed price of oxen (f12) or corn (soon after raised to f7 per muid) the value of the guilder as compared with that of English sterling of the same period, appears to have been 2 Shillings; for, two years later (Nov. 10, 1664,) the "English captain asked, for each of his lean slaves, 50 Ponden, or 500 guilders."

Court, in calling him, as he passed through the fort, "Captain Fishhead," and giving him the lie before the Court. Sentenced to 100 blows with the butt of a musket, and to stand sentry a whole day with 6 muskets on his shoulders.

3. Sept. 20.—Jan van Leyden, a soldier, Michael Gleve, sailor; fighting and drawing knives. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes each, and to extra labour for a month.

4. 28.—Harmen Vogelaer, volunteer; expressing among the men discontent with the provisions issued, and wishing the devil to take the purser for serving out penguins instead of beef and pork. Sentenced to receive 100 blows with the butt of the musket.

5. 1652, Oct. 2.—Pieter Jans Brackenier, in the Company's service; saying in public that he wished that he was with the 4 men who had deserted into the interior on the 24th, and other similar expressions, from which previous knowledge of their intent might be presumed. Sentenced to fall thrice from the yard, and to receive 100 lashes before the mast.

6. 10.—Jan Blank, Jan van Leyden, alias Jan Verdonk, Gerrit Dirk and Willem Huytjens, (See Nos. 1, 2, and 3); Desertion, with intent to go to Mozambique, an enemy's place, and thence to Holland. Sentenced No. 1, to fall from the yard, to receive 100 lashes, and to work in chains for 2 years. No. 2, a ball to be fired over his head, and 2 years in chains; 3 and 4, 2 years in chains,—(Vide supra, p. 15.)

7. Dec. 6.—Jan Peiter Soenwater, soldier; stealing brass, &c. under his charge as sentry, to sell to the Saldanhamans for roots, &c., thus injuring Company's trade. Sentenced to be flogged with rods, and to work 1 year in chains.

8. 1653, May 4.—Gillis Frederick Walvis and Symon Huybrecht; fighting with knives, No. 1 wounding. Sentenced No. 1 to 100 lashes and forfeiture of 2 months wages. No. 2, (the person wounded) 50 lashes and loss of 1 month's wages.

8. 4.—Dirk Symons; theft of the Commander's clothes. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes and 6 months work in chains.

9. Oct. 3.—Hendrick Symons, soldier, and Arien Class, sailor; before Military Court. No. 1, for allowing, while on sentry at night, No. 2, to climb into the fort over the walls. No. 2, for climbing the walls, (exposing, as far as in them lay, the fort to our enemies.) Sentenced to receive 100 lashes each.

10. Nov. 2.—Jan Mathysen, Quartermaster, drawing a knife on the corporal of the guard. Sentenced to be degraded to common sailor, and receive 100 lashes.

11. Dec. 3.—Roeloff Dirk, steward, and Cornelius Ulrich, under *Barbier*: charging the master of their vessel with the theft of a ring, and trying to find out the theft by devilish and idolatrous devinations, (consulting the Gospel of St. John.) No. 1 reprimanded, No. 2 suspension for 6 months, 50 lashes, and to retract the slander.

12. 1654, Jan. 19.—Four sailors; theft of wine in their ship. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes each, and to fall thrice from the yard.

13. Feb. 2.—Levie Leveys, mate of a ship; stabbing. Sentenced to be degraded and keelhauled.

14. 26.—Hendrick Jurians, sailor; drawing his knife on the corporal. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes, and to stand with the knife driven through his hand into a post, until he shall have drawn the knife through,—N.B.—This sentence, which was strictly legal, is the first which is not entered as "executed."

15. 1654, May 4.—Hessel Jacob, soldier; leaving the Fort and stealing from the garden. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes and to 6 months' labour in chains.

16. June 22.—Jan Daniel Veurne; threats against the Commander. Sentenced to be keelhauled—to receive 100 lashes, and to work 6 months in chains.

17. July 2.—Hendrich Jurians, sailor; theft from stores. Sentenced to be flogged and keelhauled.

18. 16.—J. P. Soenwater; theft from a chest. Sentenced to be flogged, to work one year in chains, and to repay the value of the stolen clothes.

19. Augt. 8.—Harman Willems, of Edenburgh, soldier; mutinous words and threats on board of his ship, (N.B. said, he had the command in his prison in England, and would have the same here also.) To fall thrice from the yard, and to receive on his posteriors, while still wet, 100 lashes.

20. 1654, Oct. 10.—W. Gerrit and Gerrit Harmans; fighting, and the first wounding the second with a knife. Both sentenced to have the knife through the hand, and 50 lashes, one as *causa movens*, and the other, for provoking him.

21. Nov. 10.—H. Vries, chief mate; riotous conduct on board of ship, striking Commander V. R. [apparently MS. being nearly illegible.] Sentenced by 2 captains appointed by the Commander of the Fort to try the offence—to receive 50 lashes. and to be disgraced.

22. 1655, Jan. 19.—Jochem Elberts, seaman; attempt to seize a vessel with a view to escape. Sentenced to 12 years banishment in chains, on one of the Islands.

23. 19.—H. Swansen, sailor; same offence. Sentenced to be keelhauled, and 6 years labour in chains.

24. Aug. 16.—Adrean van de Pavert; theft of clothing. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes, to repay double the value of the articles stolen, and to forfeit 3 months' wages.

25. 1655, Sept. 6.—Marten Jans, scaman; theft of clothing. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes, to restore the articles stolen, or pay the value—fixed at 25 guilders.

26. Oct. 1.—Jan van Kempen, volunteer; striking his superior officer. Sentenced to have a shot fired over his head, to be dismissed from the army, and work 3 years on public works.
27. 1656, Jan. 17.—Gerrit Carstens, seaman; theft of fruit from Company's garden. Sentenced to 6 months hard labor in irons, 50 lashes, and loss of one month's wages.
28. June 3.—Jacob Cornelis de Groot.—For throwing his ration on the ground in public, as if not fit to eat. Sentenced to receive 50 lashes and lose 1 month's wages.
29. July 25.—Ertman Cleughe, soldier; theft of arms from arm chest under his charge as sentry, desertion, and assisting Hottentoots to steal vegetables from Company's garden. Sentenced to be flogged, with halter round his neck, and to work in chains for the period of his engagement.—(*Vide supra*, p. 89.)
30. 1656, Sept. 28.—Jan Leendert, soldier; violent and mutinous conduct on board of his ship, and attempting to set it on fire. Sentenced to be flogged, branded, and banished in chains for 15 years.
31. 28.—Jan Meyns, sailor; for aiding and assisting in the above offence. Sentenced to be thrice keel-hauled, and flogged as long as he can bear it, and loss of 6 month's wages.
32. Oct. 30.—Everts Barents; wounding with a knife. Sentenced to be flogged, lose 4 months' wages, and to stand before the gate with 6 muskets on his shoulders.
33. 1657, March 14.—Gerrit Hermans, Quartermaster and commanding the Robbe Jacht; wasting Company's provisions and indecency. Sentenced to be degraded to seaman, to lose 3 months' wages, and to serve another year.
34. March 14.—Abel Gours, seaman; theft of several water melons in Company's garden. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes, and to lose 3 months' wages.
34. 1657, March 15.—Jan Wouters, assistant; waste of Company's provisions, and blasphemous injuries against the characters of females at the Cape, including the Commander's wife. Sentenced graciously, in consideration of the pregnancy of his own wife,—to beg pardon on his bare knees, to be bored through the tongue by the executioner, to forfeit his wages and be banished for 3 years. (The boring of the tongue remitted, by resolution of 16th March.)
35. June 29.—Albert Gerrit Loots, cook's mate; purloining the rations of the people,—an offence which included disrespect to the Commander. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes from the common people and lose 3 months wages.
36. Aug. 4.—Hendrick Harman, soldier; quitting his post and deserting. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes, to 5 years in irons, and confiscation of wages.
37. Nov. 9.—A. G. Loots, cook's mate; as in No. 35. 100 lashes, dismissal, &c.
38. 1658, Pasqual Rodrigo, soldier; theft and desertion. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes, confiscation of 3 months wages, to serve his term of 5 years at all dirty work.
39. Oct. 1.—H. J. van Schayk, W. Pieters, M. Bartholomew, Dirk Cornelius, free burgers; theft of sheep from Company's kraal. Sentenced No. 1, 100 lashes, a sheep skin being fastened above his head, and 16 years in chains,—2, 3, and 4, without flogging, to stand with skins over their heads, and serve in chains 5 and 6 years, (executed on the 2d.) The three last were subsequently pardoned for good conduct during war.
41. 1659, Jan. 18.—Hans Meyer and Jacob Boalhoorn, freemen's servants; attempt at desertion. Sentenced to be flogged, and 3 years in irons.
42. Sept. 20.—Pieter Jacobs, soldier; inducing others to refuse to work in the wood at cutting palissades required in the Hottentot war. Sentenced to 1 year's labour without wages.
43. 1660, Jan. 12.—Cornelius Willem Cock, seaman; mutinous conduct. Sentenced to be flogged and to lose 2 month's wages.
44. May 7.—Reyneir Boudon, drummer; attempted desertion, mutinous conduct. Flogged, dismissed the army, degraded to the rank of sailor, with 9 guilders a month.
45. 7.—Herman Prehn, soldier, W. Micheals, freeman's servant; breach of Statutes of India, in attempting to desert from the Colony. Sentence, 2 year's labour at common work, confiscation of wages.
46. Aug. 23.—Laurents Abrams, seaman; housebreaking and theft. Sentenced to be flogged, to lose the wages due to him, and to work one year in chains.
47. Oct. 4.—Willem and Class, slaves; hiding themselves in the sand-hills, trying to kill the pigs fed there, and killing the dogs (of the Hottentoots) that discovered them by barking, "which might easily cause some hostilities, now that we scarcely know how to show them enough kindness to remove their apprehensions." Sentenced to be flogged and branded.
48. 25.—Class Roedoff's Company's chief blacksmith; for resistance to the Sergeant, a member of the Council, when beating him with his cane for drunkenness, and abusive words, besides beating his servants on the head with iron. Sentenced to beg pardon, to have his tongue bored through, and forfeit the wages due him.
49. Nov. 20.—Pieter Jans; leaving his post, and stealing rice from Company's store. Sentenced to be flogged and to lose 3 month's wages.
50. 1661, March 12.—Before the Council of the Fleet and Fort.—William Salomons, boatswain of the *Malacca*; assault of the sergeant commanding the military in the fort, when on duty. Sentenced to be keel-hauled and flogged, to forfeit 6 month's wages, one-half for the poor, one-half *pro fisco*.

51. 12.—Hans Ditmans, boatswain; wounding with knife. Sentenced, as soon as his wounds are healed, to the same punishment as No. 48.
52. 17.—Pieter Dirks, soldier; assaulting and wounding with his sword, in her own house, a woman who refused to give him more brandy. Sentenced to receive 100 lashes, to lose 6 month's wages, and to pay the wounded woman.
53. Dec. 9.—Gerrit Gerrits, seaman; theft of clothes. Sentenced to two year's hard labour, to be flogged, and to forfeit 3 month's wages.

In the rough minutes of the proceedings of the Court of Justice are (independent of civil actions) the following cases not noticed in the filed sentences:—

1652. Joost van der Lauk, corporal; insolence to the Commander. Suspended.
- 1657, Aug. 14.—Jan van Passel; acquitted on a charge of invading the privileges of the licensed shooters of game,—but fined 5 Reals on a charge of drawing a knife upon the *Wiltshut*, contrary to the Statutes of India; at the same time a criminal charge was brought by the Fiscal against Harman's Company for opposition to the laws, and breach of their conditions with Mr. Van Goens—in killing sheep and calves. A fine of 100 reals were claimed—the accused pleaded that they did not know the offence was so serious; on their promise of better conduct, the court excused them.
- 1659, Feb. 1.—Criminal prosecution of Company's cattle herd, for wilful loss of 2 cattle. Sentenced to pay 50 guilders for each head lost, and to receive 50 lashes.
- Aug. 13.—Fiscal v. J. Rosendaal; breach of peace. Fined 3 Rds.
- Sept. 13.—Two burgers were fined for fighting, 10 Reals each.
- 1660, July 10.—Fiscal v. H. Remanjenne and H. van Angel, bartering from Hottentoots. Sentenced to pay a fine of 20 Reals. J. Cloeten, Brinckman, and Visser were excused.—*Vide supra*, pp. 210—212
- 1660, Oct. 9.—Jan Zacharias; fined 25 Reals for bartering at Duynhoop, 4 sheep from the Chainouquas.

May 6. Extract from Journal, *continued*.—Commander Z. Wagenaar was duly installed. . . . .  
May the Lord grant success to his government. 7. The Commander Jan van Riebeeck embarked in the *Mars*, with his wife and family, to proceed to Batavia. . . . .

The first volume of "Placaats" published at the Cape, contains 75 Proclamations or other public notices having the force and effect of law, issued during the period of Van Riebeeck's command. The subjects embraced in those laws which have not been noticed in this compilation, are, with a few unimportant exceptions, either purely local, such as the protection of the garden, water-courses, &c. or sumptuary, and restrictive, in conformity with the general policy of the Company; a correct knowledge of the comparative severity with which those laws, as administered, pressed upon the several classes, would be useful in forming an estimate of the treatment of the natives; but as the natives were not held amenable to the laws until a later period, it may be sufficient to state here, that the censure passed by several successive Commissioners upon the informality, the caprice, and the illegality, which for many years marked the judicial proceedings of the Cape Council, was bestowed with equal justice, upon the undue severity of the Legislative acts of the same body. "The Dutch Colonists bear the *name* of Freeman, but yet they are so limited and restricted in every respect, that the absence of freedom is but too evident." "If your placaats were enforced to the letter, the ruin of the inhabitants would often be the consequence."—(Commr. Verburg, 1676.)

It has been already stated that there is a considerable blank in the Journals and in the Despatches written during the period of Mr. van Riebeeck's command; but as no such blank has been found in the evidence afforded by the letters addressed to the Cape, in the Proclamations, or especially, in the Resolutions, which embrace the most trivial occurrences,—it is presumed that enough has been preserved for "The formation of a correct knowledge of the History of Colonization in South Africa, in as far as relates to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes," during the period now completed.

As the connection of Mr. Riebeeck with the Cape terminated with the Delivery of his Instructions to his successor, it may be noticed here, that he sailed for Batavia on the 7th May, 1662; was Director of the settlement at Malacca from Oct. 1662, to Oct. 1665; and held other employments subsequently. One of his sons was, in 1709, Governor-General over the Dutch possessions in the East Indies.

[*Papers relative to transactions with the Natives, during the Command of*  
ZACHARIAS WAGENAAR, 1662—1666.]

Extract of Instructions to Ensign FRANCOIS TULLEKENS.

May 9, 1662.—The redoubts and guard houses in this neighbourhood, have been, for some time back, not properly defended, in consequence of the want of men, one of them having had only 3 men, another 2, and the redoubt Santhoop, which lies close by, although it mounts 4 large iron cannon, only one single man. You will therefore immediately double the guards in the said guard-houses, and, in order to make room here, station 15 or 20 men under a corporal or *lants* corporal, in the said redoubt, which party, as they are close by, shall attend parade every evening in their turn, here at the fort.

The mounted guard, established by Mr. van Riebeeck, is deemed by every person very useful to the Company. You will therefore visit it now and then, and ascertain whether the men keep their arms, horses, and accoutrements in proper order.

.....The Hottentoots or Caepmans, to whom a free access has been hitherto allowed, shall still continue to enjoy the same; and you will on no account suffer them, out of wantonness, or upon trifling causes, to be called by the garrison, the cattle herds, or the sailors, “black stinking dogs,” still less to be kicked, pushed, or beaten; as our Masters in the Fatherland most urgently recommend [this caution] in order that these poor people may not be thus rendered averse and disposed to fly from us.....<sup>(1)</sup>

Z. WAGENAAR.

Extracts from the Journal of Commander WAGENAAR.

May 10. This day we bought 1 cow from the Cochoquas, and 14th, 3 cattle and 5 sheep, for brass and tobacco.

The Goringhaiquas or Caepmans brought news that messengers had arrived in their *corael*, from the King of the Chainouquas (Sousoa) to ascertain whether the new Sourie has as much brass, tobacco, and beads, as his predecessor; in which case he intended coming with many cattle; which we hope he may do. 17th.....from Oedasoa, another from Gonnomoa, both Chiefs of that people, to greet the new Commander in their names; who were entertained *a l'ordinaire* with some brandy and tobacco. The Chainouqua messengers having heard, in the Caepman's *crael*, that every thing was to be had from the new Commander as from the former, had gone to report the same to their people that they might come with cattle.

18. The messengers from the Saldanhars departed, after receiving good entertainment; with a present of some tobacco for their Chiefs; they said that their people would soon bring a good herd of cattle to the Fort.

20.—The Chainouquas brought 9 cattle, which were bought of them for brass, beads, and tobacco; they said that as their chief was far distant, they could not bring many cattle, but had brought these few to the new Commander as a trial, to see whether, as the Caepman's had said, he would be as liberal as the last. 21st.—The Chainouquas who brought the 7 cattle, set out well satisfied with a present of brass and tobacco for their chief Sousoa.

22.—Bought from the Saldanhars 5 sheep, and in the afternoon 14, for brass and tobacco. In the afternoon they departed, after being treated with a little brandy.

26.—This morning 2 messengers appeared at the fort, from Oedasoa, the Chief of the Saldanhars, and after delivering the compliments of their master to the Commander, requested some tobacco; [MS. decayed] after treating them with a little brandy, about a pound of tobacco was sent by them, together with an intimation that, as he would observe that we were not as yet wanting in liberality, he would be pleased to afford similar proofs on his side, and supply us with many cattle and sheep, which we would pay for to his contentment with brass, tobacco, beads, &c.

About noon the people of Gonnomoa and Kaukosoa—Captains of the Saldanhars under Oedasoa—brought 6 sheep, 2 of which (1 from each Chief) were presents to the Commander; the remaining 4 were purchased for brass and tobacco. They said that in a few days they would decamp, and

<sup>(1)</sup> The Instructions from which the above extracts have been made, are contained in a Resolution of Council of the same date; they are stated to have been issued in consequence of the increase of the garrison to 250 men. The last passage here given seems to have been suggested by the Memoir of Mr. Van Riebeeck, which is dated 4 days before.—(*Vide Supra* p. 250.)

come somewhat nearer. For the two sheep sent as presents..... 27th.—Three sheep were bought from the Saldanhars.

Extract of a Despatch from Commander WAGENAAR and Council, to the  
Governor-General, &c. &c.

June 1. In the cattle trade little has been done since Mr. Van Ricbeeck's departure, except that now and then a few lean cows or sheep are brought by the Caepmans and Saldanhars, which last people promise to bring 200 large cattle a month hence, and to barter them for the usual articles; time will best show.

We shall also bear in mind the journey recommended by Mr. V. R. to be made to the Namaquas, a different race from these greasy Hottentoots.....yesterday the Soury, or Great Heere, of the Saldanhars, Oedasoia, came to visit us with a great retinue of people and cattle; we received them well, and bought from his people for beads, brass, and tobacco, 32 tolerably good cattle, and 36 sheep; this enables us to supply draught oxen to the farmers.....<sup>(1)</sup>

June 4.—2 sheep were bought from the Saldanhars. 5th.—The Chainouquas—to whom, on their way Gonnomoia attached himself—brought 15 cattle and 19 sheep, which were bought, &c. The Commander on his return from a visit to all the Cape Farms, gave orders to give rather good entertainment to the people who had brought the cattle, to allure them, and induce them to bring a regular supply.

12. 4 sheep were bartered from the Saldanhars for tobacco. 15. 5 sheep and 1 cow. 16. 1 sheep.

17. According to the Resolution of the 13th, the Fiscal went by sea to Hout Bay with the following orders, [chiefly relative to cutting timber, &c.] Extract:—"Should any Hottentoots come to you, offering cattle for sale, you may purchase freely, for which purpose some wire and tobacco are furnished to you; you will send the purchased stock either by land or by the vessel. On your arrival there, you will send us intimation by a letter, in charge of a Hottentoot or a Dutchman."

18. Bought from the Saldanhars 2 cattle for Kabary; and 11 sheep for brass and tobacco.

20. The Penguin returned from Dassen Island.....had seen an English ship of 20 guns at St. Helena Bay, which had lain there to repair 6 or 7 days, and had bartered 4 or 5 sheep from the Hottentoots..... 24. The Saldanhars came to the Fort with 12 sheep, which were bought, as also 10 on the 25th.

29. The Chainouquas brought to day 33 cattle and 26 sheep; they were joined on the road by Oedasoia and Gonnomoia, with a great retinue of Saldanhars, bringing 11 sheep, which were bought for brass, &c. The Chief of the Chainouquas was still absent; but was soon to come with a large drove. Oedasoia and Gonnomoia, with their people, and the Chainouquas who [sold] at a cheap rate [MS. decayed.]

30. The Hottentoots who brought the cattle yesterday departed well content; a present, chiefly of tobacco, was given to the Chainouquas for their Chief Sousoia; and some tobacco and brass wire, as usual, given to Oedasoia and Gonnomoia, to keep up our friendship with them.

July 2. The Saldanhars sold us this day 1 cow and 11 sheep..... 4th. 2 cattle and 3 sheep. 8th. procured 9 sheep from the Saldanhar Hottentoots. 13th, bought 1 sheep from the Saldanhars.

15. This forenoon the usual court, once in 14 days, was held for the settlement of questions among the free men; and first, a new member of the Burger Senate, and a new Serjeant of *Schutters* were chosen out of a written nomination.....these elections are usually made on the 1st of May, but they were this year postponed, in consequence of the departure of Commander Riebeeck and other business. 16. Nothing passed worthy of notice.

17. Oedasoia, in person, sold us 5 cattle and 10 sheep for brass and.....[MS. decayed.] 18. The Hottentoots who came here yesterday, departed well content. 19. The other Chief of the Saldanhars named Gonnomoia, came with a good lot of 18 sheep, which were purchased, the natives were entertained as usual. 20. Another sheep was bought from the Saldanhars.

August 1. Arrived the Spreuw, sent expressly from Batavia to Holland, with the very disastrous intelligence of the loss of the important fortress Zeelandia in Tayouan.

7. A cow was purchased from the Gorachouquas, and on the 8th, another from the same tribe.

<sup>(1)</sup> It is stated in this letter that the greater part of the free farmers, some through poverty, and others from indolence, are inclined to leave the plough, and return to the Company's Service, if allowed so to do, finding that all their crops are required to repay their debts to the Company.

10. One Chainhantima, of whom much has been formerly written, appeared again at the Fort, bringing intelligence beforehand, that 20 cattle and as many sheep were on their way hither, which we anxiously look for.

Extracts of a Despatch from Commander WAGENAAR and Council to  
Chamber XVII.

1662. Aug. 10. On the 1st inst. the Spreuw most unexpectedly arrived here from Batavia, having been expressly sent by the Governor General and Council, to convey to your Honors the melancholy intelligence of the surrender of the Castle Zeelandia, and the loss of the whole of the far-famed Island Formosa. . . . . With regard to the present state of affairs at the Cape, we have to report that every thing is still in a good condition ; Commander Riebeeck, previous to his departure for Batavia, not only duly made over and transferred to his successor, Z. Wagenaar, all the actual effects and outstanding debts at this place, (to the amount of 98,322, 3, 14 Guilders,) but drew up and left behind, for his information and guidance, the full and clear memorandum, of which a copy is herewith transmitted, and which he shall endeavour to follow, in so far at least as may not be repugnant to the instructions which your Honors may have expressed, or may hereafter communicate, and to acquit himself of his duty to the Company, in a manner which, as he trusts, will meet with your approval. . . . .

We have also been pretty well supplied with live stock, and have been enabled to issue beef to the ships' crews three days in each week, furnishing mutton for the cabin ; but when we shall have issued, during next month, what is necessary for the ships above-mentioned, we shall have but few cattle remaining ; but we may occasionally give the common people a day's provisions of pork, for we have about 300 pigs on Robben Island, which find sustenance there without any expense ; the flesh acquires from the penguin eggs on which the pigs are fed, somewhat of a fishy or oily flavour, very perceptible to a fastidious palate, but the sailors, when the food is set before them, dressed up with vegetables, and well seasoned, gobble it up without once tasting it, and thrive well on it. . . . .

We have still perfect peace and friendship with the Hottentots in every direction ; the Sourye, or King of the Saldanhars, has twice, in quick succession, visited us with his two wives, and a great retinue of people, bringing with him 20 cattle and 39 sheep, which he sold and delivered to us for beads, brass, and tobacco. To encourage him, and induce him to continue the same custom, we have always received him well, and dismissed him well contented with small presents, but as this, according to the common proverb, does not bring sods enough to the dike, (i. e. grist to the mill ?) Commander Wagenaar proposes, after the departure of the ships, to pay a visit to the encampments of the natives, and to endeavour to procure, by small gifts and friendly solicitations, a good quantity of cattle by way of barter.

We also propose, in the ensuing month of September, which we deem to be most suitable season,—to resume the expeditions to the long sought for, and recently discovered people, called Namaquas.

Mr. Wagenaar was at first disposed to write to your Honors a separate private letter, conveying his opinion upon the careless mode of life and proceedings (slordig leven en bedryff,) of these free men, or common farmers, but as time will not now permit, he proposes, (please God,) to do so by the next opportunity, he cannot concur in what has been hitherto written, testified, and hoped concerning them ; for he now sees daily proofs to the contrary, and that there are not above 6 or 8 who are, either in repute or in fact, respectable and industrious men ; the rest are depraved from their youth upwards, (vroeg bedorven,) lazy, drunken fellows, who care as little for their Dutch servants as for beasts, as proved by the numerous complaints which are made on the subject ; and besides their attempts in every manner to undermine the Company in the cattle trade, in spite of prohibitions and punishments, they contrive so to secrete and make away with the grain which they ought annually to deliver to the Company in diminution of their debt, that it is hardly to be got at. . . . .

And as the windows of all the houses in the Fort are covered with nothing but common coarse cottous, through which so much dust penetrates in the dry season, (1) and so much rain in the

(1) This account of the domestic comforts of the "Government House" of 1662, may be compared with Landdrost Woeke's description, in 1786, of the *Vee Boers* hut which stood upon the site where he was about to establish the village of Graaff-Reinet. In complaining of the dust entering through the unglazed windows, Mr. Woeke compares himself to "a Romish priest in the smoke of the altar."

winter, that we can hardly read, write, to transact any business within,—we would most respectfully request that some coarse window glass and lead may be sent by the next ships, we shall find here some one who can put in the panes. We would also most humbly request that your Honors would take an opportunity of sending us some common paintings, or illuminated plans of the chief cities in the Netherlands, to cover the ugly bare walls of our front hall—in which we have evening prayers daily, and occasionally a sermon—as well as two or three of our desolate dwellings; for Mr. Van Riebeeck laid claim to those which were formerly here, as his own property, and carried them with him to Batavia. . . . . We have almost resolved to detain here the first good preacher whom your Honors may send out. . . . for our congregation begins to increase, and many children are springing up, whom the parents are anxious to have baptized.<sup>(1)</sup> Z. WAGENAAR, &c.

#### Extracts from the Journal of Commander WAGENAAR.

Aug. 11. 2 cattle and 14 sheep were bought from the Cochoquas for beads and tobacco, and another cow on the 13th, from the same people.

18. The Chainouquas begin to come in like last year with their cattle. Their *corpus* lies about 20 days' journey from this; they appeared at the Fort to-day with 24 cattle and 33 sheep, which, were bought for brass, tobacco, and beads. They said that their chief Sousoa was not likely to come this year, in consequence of old age and infirmity, but they promised notwithstanding, to bring as many cattle as before.

20. The Chainouquas, according to their promise of the day before yesterday, brought 19 cattle and 16 sheep, which were bartered as usual. 26. A cow was bought from the Cochoquas.

Sept. 1. Arrived the *Vlaerdingen* from Goree 23rd May; had seen between the mouth of the Channel, and the Spanish sea, a fleet of 13 or 14 sail steering to the North, and presumed to be the English fleet conveying the princess of Portugal.

#### Extracts of Resolutions of Council, and of Queries submitted by Commissioner LAIRRESSE, with the Answers of the Commander WAGENAAR. . . .

Sept. 15. 4th Query. Whether, with the present garrison, the Company is sufficiently secure from sudden attacks of the blacks; and if cultivation and rearing of stock can be carried on to the extent necessary to the Company, without great danger? Ans: "As no cattle can be driven through the hedge," there is no fear "of robbery or other annoyance by the blacks or Hottentoes, provided the redoubts and stations of the mounted guard are occupied by the proper number of soldiers."

5th Query. "In what relations, good or bad, do we now stand with the blacks, and whether they do not show their antipathy by secret depredations? Ans: "We are at present in perfect peace and harmony with all the Hottentoes, who consist of several distinct races of people. As long as I have been here, I have never heard that they have committed any murders; thefts, or robberies, such as indeed occurred during the war in 1659; and they will continue to leave us undisturbed, if our people do not, by ill treatment, give them any cause to take revenge by theft or fire raising."<sup>(2)</sup>

#### Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to Commander WAGENAAR and Council.

Sept. 17, 1662. Our last letter was dated the 30th of last month. . . . . we have received your

(1) The answer to this despatch is dated 22d December, 1662, it contains nothing material. The Directors are glad to hear that all is well at the Cape, but decline as yet to appoint a permanent clergyman for the Fort, as it is so frequently visited by such functionaries. The necessary authority is given, in consequence of the constant falling down of the earthen walls of the Fort, to build them up with brick, if it can be effected at a moderate expense—but otherwise, to accumulate materials and send estimates of the expense of a new Fort. To the request for window glass the Directors promise to attend, but no notice is taken of the "paintings."

(2) A memorandum left by the Mr. Lairresse on Sept. 22, begins by referring to previous orders, and to the Memoir left by Van Riebeeck, and professes to add nothing more than a few observations to refresh the memory. The revival of expeditions to the Namaquas, to seek for articles of trade, and to Saldanha Bay in search of horned cattle, is strongly recommended; and after several orders as to buildings, &c., it is stated, that having been ordered to increase the strength of the expedition, by embarking some soldiers at the Cape, only 120 are left, including the sick, but it is hoped that that number "will suffice to maintain the Fort, the 4 guard-houses, and the mounted guard, and duly to protect the cattle belonging to the Company and the free men," and it is stated as a reason for taking away all the best men, "that we are now more secure with regard to the Hottentoes, who to all appearance will no more endeavour to steal the cattle, (which, indeed, they cannot effect,) your fences and barriers have cut off all the passages, so that I conceive you are no longer in any danger on the land side. Should you, indeed, be attacked by any European power, your garrison would be rather weak, but still you must abide by the orders of the Directors in that respect."

despatches of the 9th April . . . . . from which we perceive with satisfaction . . . . . that you still live in peace and quiet with the native tribes there, in which state you must continue, so long as may be in any way possible, for we ought to have no war, nor any kind of disturbance there; to this it will greatly contribute, if we do them no kind of wrong, and protect them from all annoyance, rather allowing some things to pass unnoticed—if not altogether insufferable—than to don your armour, as they say, in such a cause; but at the same time keeping constantly well on your guard against them.

The displeasure which we expressed at your imposing high prices upon certain eatables, had not, as you seem to conjecture, any reference to such articles of food as the free men might purchase from the Company, but we deemed that the price fixed upon articles bought and sold among themselves, was too burdensome upon the buyers, and that the sellers would be very well paid at a lower rate.

What highly coloured representations have not been heretofore made of the advantages of the Cape and of raising grain there, Aye! that we could feed India with your produce; and how ill it turns out at last; when you cannot nearly maintain yourselves; we are by no means well pleased with this mode of procedure, and we desire that you will henceforth send us reports which are faithful and true.

Whether it is the same case with the olive, and the vine, both equally extolled, we shall expect to hear in your answer to this. By the land journeys also, it seems that but little has been hitherto discovered; these must however be continued, in hopes that we shall at last be enabled to reach the cities which it is supposed or pretended lie to the Eastward of the Cape.

According to your accounts the thread is in your hands, you may therefore pursue it, until you have found the clue; and that found, something profitable may be discovered . . . . .

Without our further orders you will not henceforth keep more than 120 men in garrison, indeed we should like somewhat to diminish that number, particularly now that we are likely to be at peace with all the nations of Europe; should new difficulties arise, which God forbid, we will not fail to give you timely notice, with authority to disembark a few additional men from the ships that touch there. The establishment there must be kept on a reduced scale, for otherwise the expenses will become too great . . . . .

The Governor General and Council of India having been pleased to send Mr. Z. Wagenaar to the Cape as the successor of Mr. Van Riebeeck, with the same rank of Commander, and who as we find, has arrived there in that capacity, we will approve of the measure, and confirm him in that appointment, as we hereby do; granting him the same salary, of £130 monthly, which his predecessor enjoyed, and entering upon a new contract of service for 5 years, to commence on the date of his arrival there; and, should he consent to this condition, we desire to congratulate him on his appointment . . . . .

The fleet which we intend to send to India this harvest . . . . . will consist of 20 ships, with about 2,900 men . . . . . God grant that they may all reach you in safety; and you will do well to provide, and keep in readiness for them a sufficiency of refreshments and live stock . . . . .

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### Extracts from the Journal of Commander WAGENAAR.

Sept. 28. The Chainouquas brought 8 cattle which were bought from them, and news was brought from the interior that a ship had anchored in Bay False. [The *Orangie*, sailed 23rd April—50 dead, 150 sick.]

Oct. 3. The Chainouquas brought 13 cattle and 23 sheep, which were bartered as usual. 8th. The Chainouquas exchanged to us, for the usual merchandize, 7 sheep.

15. Two hartebeests . . . . . one took to the water close to the pier and swam out into the bay, with an assagay which the Hottentoes had thrown sticking in it; it was pursued by a boat and taken, the other was soon after shot near the garden, one was sent on board of the ship, and each of the Hottentoes who had hunted them received a piece of tobacco and a dram of brandy.

16. 24 cattle and 7 sheep were brought by the Chainouquas, and purchased for brass and tobacco.

(1) The rest of the month September is occupied with details concerning the arrival of Admiral Laresse, with 6 ships and 1227 men, forming an expedition against Mozambique. 125 healthy men from the garrison were exchanged for sick from this fleet—when a ship soon after required assistance to fetch her from the “dangerous anchorage of False Bay” to Table Bay, the fiscal could muster only 30 healthy men.

Oct. 20. A party of volunteers [under Cruythoff and Meerhoff] set out to-day, again to seek the Namaquas and the towns lying near the great river Vigi Magna.<sup>(1)</sup>

28. The Saldanbars brought to-day 6 cows and 12 sheep, which were purchased, &c.

30. . . . . Bought 20 cattle and 27 sheep.

Nov. 4. Three ambassadors came to the Fort from Oedasoa, to give his compliments to the Commander, and at the same time to inquire when he intended coming into the interior to pay a visit to their chief, so that they might arrange accordingly; the messengers were as usual regaled with a little brandy, bread and tobacco; and on the

5th, dismissed well contented, with a promise that Commander Wagenaar would visit them this week. 7. 1 cow and 2 sheep bartered from the Cochoquas.

Wednesday, 8. The Commander Zacharias Wagenaar, with 10 horses and 12 men on foot proceeded inland to the negeryen of Oedasoa and Gonnomoa, and their adherents, with sundry articles of merchandise to try [MS. decayed.] God grant that he may return in safety.

14. The burger councillor Hendrick Hendricks returned on horseback from the Commander's party in consequence of a hurt in the leg, which had become inflamed so as to require surgical aid. Our Commander had experienced much bad weather, and had reached Oedasoa's crael after a long and toilsome journey, at noon on Saturday [the 11th]; he had bought nothing the first day, but on the next had procured a good many sheep and a few cattle. The said invalid had set out early yesterday morning, leaving the Commander and party in good health.

15. About an hour after sunset a freeman arrived, conveying a letter from the Commander Zacharias Wagenaar, stating that the party, who were all well, hoped to reach the Fort to-morrow evening, having bartered from the Hottentoes a good many sheep but very few horned cattle. The messenger had left the Commander near the coraels, about 10 mylen distant.

16. About 3 p.m., the Commander returned with his cavalry, having left the infantry with wagon and cattle, a little way behind—having kept notes of the principal occurrences during the journey.

Notes of events during a pleasure excursion taken by the Commander Z. Wagenaar, into the Interior, with 10 horsemen and 12 foot, for the purpose of procuring cattle:

Early on the morning of Wednesday, the 8th November [MS. decayed] loaded wagon and the interpreter Eva, and the said infantry, were sent in advance. The Commander followed at noon, with the cavalry. In passing Salt River, the horse on which the above named Commander was mounted lay down in the water, first on his belly, and then upon one side, the Commander, however, extricated himself from beneath his horse, without any hurt except a little wetting; he remounted and rode on. Half an hour after, one of our men lost his seat, and the horse, when relieved of the rider, ran home again; we went on however with the remaining 9, and in the evening joined the party with the wagon, at some good water under Tygerberg, where we rested for the night. On our arrival a rhinoceros, which went to graze on a hill, was shot by one of our men so directly in the head that he. . . . .

9. Set out early and marched until 2 p.m., when we found some water which was fresh though dirty, and good grassy pasture, where we halted; soon after we saw many men and cattle approaching us from a distance; on their coming up to us, we learnt that they were the Caepmans, who for want of water were obliged to shift their encampment, in search of better pasture and water, to the very spot where we lay; and accordingly they unloaded their oxen, and pitched their crael, negerye, or village close beside us, but as the wagon with the guard did not arrive until 2 hours later, and the oxen were in this great heat, stiff and tired. . . .

10. Went on again in the morning, and at noon came to the Goringhaiquas or Caepmans, and rested on the outside of their crael, while we took our meal, and our horses and oxen were fed; we had then to pass a very troublesome and marshy road, along the foot of a hill, so that it was late before we arrived at a dale, where we rested for the night, in consequence of the good pasture; our covering was a good close rain.

11. Started as usual at an early hour, but as we had to travel through many difficult hills until noon, our oxen could not draw the wagon up the last steep height, close to Oedasoa's crael, so that all the Hottentoes and those who were with us, as well as the horsemen and. . . . . unyoked the oxen, and sent them to the pasture. Both the chiefs Oedasoa and Gonnomoa came to us with an immense train of rude impudent fellows, and as we were sitting at dinner under the shade of some bushes, we made them sit down with us, and entertained them according to our ability; after which they received a small present of tobacco and biscuit, and returned to their crael, whither we followed them in about half an hour, and in the evening entered the crael of the said

<sup>(1)</sup> 1662. Sept. 9. A resolution of this date sanctions another expedition to seek the Namaquas—the river of the Vigi Magna, and the fortresses and cities which “according to the maps” lie in that quarter; the urgent recommendations of the directors for the progressive discovery of this African Kingdom, and the assent of Mr. Laïresse, the Commissioner, then on the spot, are stated among the grounds for the Resolution.

Oedaso, and encamped about a gun shot off, when we were obliged to put up with dirty fetid water for ourselves and our cattle.

Nov. 12. (Sunday.) At day break some of the Hottentoes came to us with some sheep for sale, all of which we bought for . . . . . procured 61 sheep and . . . head of horned cattle, and after giving, as usual, presents of tobacco and other trifles to both the said chiefs, Oedaso and Gonnoma, (whom we found to have little influence with their people,) notwithstanding that they seemed unwilling to let us have any more cattle, especially horned cattle, (excepting two small oxen which we got the same evening as a return present,) we then resolved to depart as soon as possible, in order the sooner to escape from the ceaseless begging of great and small for tobacco and strong drink.

13. Early in the morning, about 7, we sent off the purchased stock, with the wagon, and followed them in half an hour; on the way we had a heavy fall of rain. . . . . an abandoned crael where was much dry rushes with which we made several fires to warm and revive us, there the borger Hendrick Hendricks got leave to return to the Cape for the cure of his leg, and after duly refreshing ourselves and our cattle, we went on, and in the evening reached the crael of Gonnoma, where we encamped for the night, and whence issued an immense crowd of gazers, but very few sellers of cattle, we found, however, in the evening that we had procured 22 sheep, three of which were without tails, and 5 lean cattle.

14. Set out about 8 A. M. and exactly at noon reached the Chorachouquas, where we procured only 7 sheep and 2 small cattle. . . . . red paint which seems darker in colour than vermilion, took a couple of napkins full, that we may send some to Batavia, and thence to Japan, in hopes that it may be saleable for painting porcelain. About 4 P. M. we started again, and in the evening we came by another road, round a high mountain, upon the same Caepmans mentioned on the 10th; and as we had to encamp here, we bought before dark 13 sheep and a little ox.

15. The Commander sent off a free man very early, with a letter to the Cape, merely mentioning his proceedings, and his intention, should the weather prove favorable, to be home to-morrow evening; but the Caepmans perceiving it began to suspect. . . . . with which to take all their cattle; they therefore forthwith drove away their women and children, who had brought us milk to barter, and assembled at some distance, apparently deliberating upon what they should do in such an event. And as we could perceive that these ignorant men were not to be convinced to the contrary, we pursued our journey, and about noon reached the place where we had lain on the 9th, where the Caepmans came to us with their cattle, when our stock were increased by 2 sheep, and one little ox. About 2 P. M. we went on, and in 1½ hour came to dirty stagnant water which the rhinoceroses visit for drink; and as we had no certainty of reaching any other water within 5 or 6 hours, we were forced to remain here; meanwhile. . . . . had procured 107 sheep and only 17 head—large and small—of horned cattle, with which the Hottentoes are very unwilling to part.

16. The Commander Wagenaar and his riders went on in advance of the residue of his party, and reentered the Fort about 3 P. M.; having, before he parted with the infantry recommended them to come on slowly, so as not to overdrive the cattle.

Extracts from Journal *continued*.—18. Bought 2 sheep from the Chainouquas.

Nov. 21. A party of Heusaquas (a people who live chiefly to the Eastward of this Cape, near the Chainouquas) came to the Fort with their king's brother, and a fine herd of cattle, 3 or 4 of which belonged to the Chainouquas; there were in all 45 head of horned cattle, some of them fine young oxen, and 24 sheep, all of which we purchased for brass, beads, and tobacco; treating the sellers with a dram of brandy as usual. They said that their tribe would soon bring more cattle. . . . . that they had thus conducted the greatest part of their trade in cattle, and that a good many cattle and sheep were likely to follow, and perhaps the said Sousoa in person to pay his respects to the new *Sourie*, (meaning our new Commander) as he had not been at the Fort since the departure of the last Commander; for he resided at such a distance, that in the wet season—now beginning to cease—the rivers became very deep and difficult to pass; but that large herds should still be this year brought by his people.

28. Bought from Oedaso's people a bull, 2 cows, and 7 sheep, for brass and tobacco: In the afternoon—Hottentoes brought a letter<sup>(1)</sup> from P. Cruythoff, who on the — of last month set out to the interior at the head of 12 men, from which we learned with pleasure that they were all well, and on the. . . . .

Dec. 2. Bartered 5 sheep from Oedaso's people for tobacco. 6. Bought from the Chariguiquas 9 sheep for tobacco and brass. 9. In the afternoon we bought 8 cattle, namely, 3 oxen and 5 cows from the Chainouquas.

13. In the afternoon 10 cattle and 20 sheep were brought by the Chainouquas under Sousoa, which we purchased for the usual merchandize. 14. This day, for the second time, we received

<sup>(1)</sup> The letter mentions the arrival of the party at Oliphants River on the 5th Nov. and their intention to take the wagon 6 or 7 days' journey further.

good accounts from our travelling party, by two Hottentoes, one of the Namaqua race, and the other of the Chariguiriquas, who had seen our people, and received food from them about a month ago. . . . . 18. In the evening Gonnoma with some of his people came to the Fort with 24 sheep, which we bought, and entertained him well. 29. The Commander went out with some friends to see a great sea monster, shot near salt river; it was a real sea lion, 14 feet long, as thick as a legger, with frightful teeth, and stiff hair projecting from the nostrils. . . . .

Dec. 30. Bartered to-day 40 sheep and 12 cattle from the Cochoquas, and Chainouquas.

1663. Jan. 1. Would have discharged the cannons on the walls according to custom, for they had been for months loaded, but could not venture it, as the S. E. wind blew strong the whole day, and we were afraid of fire, as the houses are thatched with straw.

2. Begun to plaster the outside of the dwelling houses with good white lime like the stone Kat.

3. The S. E. wind blew so strong that no one could walk in the street without danger of being thrown to a distance. . . . .

7. 48 head of cattle and 34 sheep were this day bought from Sousoa, Captain of the Chainouquas, who came here yesterday with the said animals, and who departed to day with small presents, after a good reception.

8. Having yesterday heard that the Hottentoes had come with their cattle, and wives and children, and encamped outside under the Boscheuvel, the Commander Wagenaar went out this afternoon to see whether they might not have come too near to our pasture or corn land; but on coming up to them, and ascertaining that it was the Goringhaiquas, or Caepmans, with their old Captain Gogosoa, and that, though they were within the fence of bitter almonds, they were far enough from our cultivated land, nothing was said to them, the rather because a day or two. . . . . would seek their cattle near False Bay. 9. Bought from the Cochoquas for tobacco, 4 cattle and 8 sheep. 10. Again 5 sheep for tobacco.

11. Towards evening one of the mounted guard brought a message, that the Saldanhars also had come with their cattle, and were encamped about  $\frac{1}{2}$  myl off—on the other side of the Liesbeeck, directly opposite to the house of the farmer Jacob Cloeten, where lies the pasture of the Company's horses. . . . .

13. The Commander Wagenaar went out with some riders to the crael of the Saldanhars under Gonnoma, who are encamped close by; but he could not perceive that they did our farmers any injury, or caused them any hinderance, as they lay in a valley a good way beyond the river Liesbeeck; but their cattle had trodden the plantation of wild almonds, which were shooting up, some as long as the finger, and others as long as the hand.

14. Bought 2 sheep from the Saldanhars who lie close by. . . . . 2 little oxen and 3 lean sheep in exchange, but he, Gonnoma himself, with a large retinue, is more frequently to be found in the Fort than at his crael, for he knows well that there is more here for his empty paunch and thirsty gullet than at his dry crael; but as the big savage—(*onbeschoft*), brings us daily, besides himself,

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1662. Dec. 23. A Despatch of this date from the Governor-General and Council adverts to the Instructions left by Mr. Riebeeck as being useful to his successor, showing "how matters were conducted there in former times, and as "well explaining the true object of the Company in taking possession of the African Cape." "Experience has taught that any higher speculations or greater opinions of the Cape were mere rhodomontade, and have led the Company into much needless expenditure, which might have well been spared." "To find the shipping in good water and refreshments of live stock and vegetables, and to produce enough grain to support yourselves without foreign supplies, to these objects you should confine your attention, and it will give you enough to do, for it appears that in ten years we have not fully accomplished this much, which is far from the great advancement which has been heretofore imagined, but we trust soon to witness more solid results."

"We have placed the homeward bound fleet under the charge of Mr. Herman Kleucke, late advocate fiscal of India, and you are seriously recommended to supply the crews of this fleet with abundant refreshments, so that they may complete their voyage in the better health. We have furnished Mr. Kleucke with a commission, according to the orders of the Company, to inspect and report upon the state of affairs at the Cape," &c.

"We think with you, that 25 good Chinese could do more for your agriculture than is now done by 50 of our lazy and unwilling farmers, but we see no means of furnishing the remedy from this quarter; the Chinese are not to be induced to migrate by fair measures, for they have no inclination whatever to take up their abode at that remote and solitary Cape; and to compel them so to do by force would be utterly unreasonable. We have, besides, by no means too many Chinese here, but if any prisoners of that nation fall into our hands in the North, we could assist you with a good many" . . . . "We have a fleet of 12 ships and 500 soldiers out against the pirate Coxinga, our force has arrived in safety, and has been well received in the Bay of Hoksieu, on the coast of Tartary" . . . . [The pirate here named was the conqueror of Formosa, and is frequently called the Mandarin Coxinga.]

This Despatch contains the only intelligence received of the fate of 4 large ships separated from the homeward bound fleet in a gale on the 11th Feb. in the longitude of *St. Brandaon*: The Arnhem had gone down with 40 or 50 men, 106 of the crew had, after eight days' sail, reached Mauritius in the ship's launch—8 having died during the passage, and 13 having been thrown overboard to preserve the rest.

such large troops of impudent beggars who are constantly buzzing about our ears, we shall be obliged to show these shameless fellows the way to their own camp, where they have abundance of fine cattle.

Jan. 19. In the evening the rude (onbeschofte) Gonnoma, (who still lies squatted with his crael close by,) came to us again, bringing for sale 12 lean cows, and 17 sheep in no better condition; they were purchased of him to his satisfaction; but he staid with us all night, together with his retainers and . . . .

22. The Cochoquas or Saldanhars, (who still lie without with their cattle,) brought us 3 cattle and 14 sheep, which we bought for tobacco, and the customary trinkets, so that we are now provided with 372 cattle and 750 sheep, with which we shall be able abundantly to supply the daily expected return fleet.

25. The Hottentoes, who are subject to the Soury or chief Sousoa . . . . received 8 cattle, the rest we allowed them to keep, as they were miserably weak and poor, so that indeed they could scarcely stand on their legs; for we are at present burdened with but too many of such old, poor, and toothless animals, of which 2 or 3 are daily left lying in the fields.

31. Learnt that the Saldanhars with their chief Gonnoma, (who had been for some time encamped on the other side of Salt River, about half a mile off,) had the day before yesterday set off with their cattle to False Bay.

Feb. 1. Soon after midday, the 13 persons who set out for the interior on the 21st of October last year, returned to the Fort in tolerable health. The following is an abridged account of their proceedings as stated in their Journal:—P. Cruythoff, corporal of volunteers, and chief of the exploring party, arrived with his party on the Oliphant's river on the — Nov., which river he was obliged to cross 3 times; on the 24th, he set off further inland, with 4 men victualled for 10 days, in hopes of finding the great river Vigi Magna; and on the way on the 28th, fell in with the discovered Namaquas, who instantly requested his assistance against their enemies called the Numakee, who were the last Hottentoes, who on this side . . . . were willing to conduct him to the said river, but he, Cruythoff finding that he had only 3 days' biscuit, could not venture on it, and thereupon returned, taking with him 4 of the most respectable of the Namaqua captains, and on the 1st Dec. rejoined the men he had left on the Oliphant's river, where, having rewarded the said captains for their trouble, 2 of them departed.

On the 8th Dec. the said Cruythoff set out with the remaining 2 captains and all his own party, and marched towards the Namaqua *kraals*,<sup>(1)</sup> but before reaching them was met by those natives, who for the second time desired his help and support against their enemies the said Numakee; but as he could not at once grant their request, and make promise of assistance, they would not conduct him any further, or allow him . . . . to the said great river . . . . for which purpose he set off early on the 15th . . . . following him, overtook him in the evening, and threatened him unless he turned back, and, as it was not deemed advisable to have any quarrel with those people, he turned back. Cruythoff managed, however, subsequently, to find a passage behind their kraals by the aid of 3 Souquas, (a people who are subject to the Namaquas, but are always on guard a long way from their kraals,) whom he took with him; but these fellows also tried to mislead him, and ran away the next day; notwithstanding which he went on for three days more; and when he had once more gone on in advance from a certain spot with only 8 men and 2 pack oxen, some armed Namaquas joined him on the evening of the 24th., again desiring that he would turn back, and go no further; when Cruythoff seeing that all further hope . . . . to him . . . . obliged to halt for three days with one of the Dutch who was sick, when, on the night of the 27th, standing round the fire, they were stealthily approached, (as they supposed by some Souquas) who severely wounded 4 of our men with assagays, (one of them almost mortally, who was subsequently cured during the homeward journey by the surgeon Meerhoff, and is now pretty well.) Next day some Namaquas came to our people with cattle for sale, but our men thought that they rather came to ascertain whether any of our men had been killed, than with any other object; they, however, bought their cattle for some trifles, and let them depart; but when on the next day the party came upon some Souquas' huts, in which they found some women and children, he, Cruythoff, would have revenged

(1) Now that this term—evidently imported by the Dutch from South America, and corrupted from *corral*—begins to be substituted for "camp," "village," &c., and to assume its present South African meanings, of, either an enclosure for cattle, an assemblage of huts, or the native inhabitants of such huts—it will be generally spelt as at present, *kraal*.

the wrong done to his party by massacring them, and destroying their huts, but his men would not agree to the proposal upon any account, stating that they were not willing to take revenge upon these poor creatures and so . . . . . halted three days in consequence of wounds, and having again set out on the 2nd Jan. returned unsuccessful to the Fort on the 1st instant, as before stated.

Feb. 2. We learn also that the Cochoquas (?) or Caepmans who had been encamped for about 3 weeks at the Bosheuvel, had yesterday removed to False Bay.

4. Arrived the Marseveen . . . . . all well in Holland, and peace concluded between the neighbouring Kings of France and England.

7. To-day we bought for tobacco and small brass bars, 32 sheep and 8 lean cattle from Oedasoas's people.

### Extract of a Despatch from Commander Z. WAGENAAR and Council, to the Governor General and Council, Batavia.

1663. Feb. 14. Our volunteer travellers and explorers who set out on the 21st October with a wagon and a team of 6 oxen, and were out for 3 months and 9 days, have this year accomplished nothing on that side; they were indeed with the Namaquas (long sought for by our people, and first discovered 2 years ago) but because that people instantly asked our party to assist them against their enemies, and did not forthwith obtain their request, they would not consent to our party passing through their country to the River of Vigiti Magna (whereabouts as it would seem their enemies reside,) Pieter Cruythoff, the chief and conductor of our little party, endeavoured, therefore, to find quite a different road, (behind their kraals), to the said river; but those Hottentoots overtook them in the evening, and being armed, they in a manner compelled our party to turn back, to which they acceded as deeming it not advisable at present to offer any opposition to this savage horde; (woeste hoop) who however, so far annoyed them, that they crept up to them one night while standing round a fire, and severely wounded 4 of our people with assagays and arrows, so that our men were afterwards obliged to be more on their guard at night—as may be more fully seen in our Journal under date the 1st instant. Notwithstanding this occurrence, we shall resume the attempt this year, as our masters direct that we shall do annually, so that having now found the thread of the clue, we may thus at last reach the end.

But with all the inhabitants within many mylen of this place, we still continue on the best terms of friendship, and have consequently this year procured from them by barter so many large and small, but very lean cattle, that we shall not only be able to supply the expected fleet from India with a great number, but shall be able to reserve a good many for the ships which will this year arrive from Fatherland.

Extracts from the Journal *continued*.—16. One of our game killers came in the afternoon to report . . . . . were sent to fetch it. 17. When the gate was opened the said Elant was brought into the Fort, it was nearly as large as a horse, with black horns, sharp, and approaching at the points, and not branching like the horns of such animals in Europe.

19. Bought from the Chariguriquas 18 large cattle and 19 sheep for brass and tobacco.

27. Heard from our cattle guard that 10 sheep had died in the night, and for some days back from 3 to 6 or more have died daily, solely from the severe S. E. winds and great drought, as there is no more food to be found for them.

March 4. Heard this morning that the fence at the Bosheuvel consisting of dry almond trees thrown one upon the other, had been on fire in 3 places and much of it consumed; but on sending out the ensign for more exact information, he reported on his return, that more than 1000 roods in length of the bush fence had been destroyed, and that the country there lay entirely exposed. The soldiers at the redoubt Hout den Bul had done their best to extinguish it, but the strong wind made that impossible; it was not known how the fire originated; but still we need not fear that any cattle will be stolen from us at present, and by the . . . . .

5. Died the second in command R. de Man. 7. The fiscal A. Gabbema was appointed to act in his room, still performing his duties as fiscal.

8. Bought from the Cochoquas a lean ox and 4 sheep for brass and tobacco; and on the 9th from the same Hottentoots 22 lean sheep . . . . . on the other hand 5 of our sheep remained in the field from want of food.

13. Our English friends being unable to procure a slaughter beast for their crew from any of the free men, the Commander let them have a young cow out of the Company's herd.

March 15. We bought 26 sheep and a lean ox from the Saldanhars. 18. Arrived the homeward bound fleet [9 ships] Herman Kleucke was Admiral. . . . . 20. Arrived the *Maybloem* sent by Messrs. Rykloff van Goens, and Jacob Hustaert, with the glorious intelligence of the surrender to the Company's arms, of the town of Cochin, by our enemies the Portuguese.

21. In consequence of the high winds more than 150 men were obliged to pass the night on shore, for all of whom we had to find food and drink; but we have not heard that they have otherwise done injury to any one.

23. Bartered this day from the Chainouquas and Cochoquas 26 sheep and 6 cattle for brass and tobacco. 24. The admiral and officers of the fleet rode out with their wives to see the Company's farm yard, and to take a look at the mode of life of the common Cape farmers; in the evening we bartered again from the Chainouquas 6 cattle and 7 sheep for tobacco. 27. There are now 14 ships in the Bay. . . . . 28. Bought from the Caepmans 7 oxen, and a like number of sheep; and—

29. From the Saldanhars, 5 cattle and 22 sheep.

April 4. The soldiers intended for St. Helena Nova embarked in the fleet; some cattle, sheep, and pigs were also bought and shipped. . . . . 9. Bought from the Cochoquas 18 sheep and 7 cattle for brass and tobacco.

### Extracts of Memorandum for Mr. Z. WAGENAAR, commanding the Company's Fort at the Cape of Good Hope on the Southern side of Africa, &c.

1663. April 16. . . . . The main object of our masters having been to secure here a supply of the necessary refreshments for their shipping—they sent hither, a few years ago, in order to render the supply constant and permanent, Mr. Joan van Reitbeeck charged with that duty.

You cannot be ignorant of the diligence and exertions employed by him, and which have brought this place into its present condition. The abundant refreshments supplied to the fleet under my charge during our stay here, are proofs of the industry which has been exerted, and which must be continued.

The only mode to procure an abundance of cattle is, a gentle and friendly reception and treatment of the several tribes of Hottentoots.

And therefore, according to the repeated orders of our superiors, and according to your practice hitherto, they should be received with all imaginable kindness, and not subjected to any description of wrong, slight or contempt, which would create aversion, and thus prevent them from bringing any more cattle.

But I cannot perceive any advantage to the Company in journeys to the interior, in order to barter cattle, or in trying to bring any more such large herds of 100 to 200.

I should therefore deem it inexpedient to continue such journeys, on account of the useless expense.

Journeys of discovery, to extend our knowledge of the country and the people, and for the purpose of inducing other tribes to visit our Fort with cattle, ought, on the contrary, to be continued. . . . .

The inhabitants or freemen have better hopes of success under your government, than under that which preceded it; for if the chief authority derives profit from every thing, it is impossible that any thing can remain for the free men; this creates a state of discontent very injurious to themselves and to the Company; you will therefore continue, as at present, to allow them to reap every kind of profit, which can accrue to them without injury to the Company. . . . .

By smoking tobacco in the hall, fire might be communicated through the rotten planks to the brandy in the cellar beneath, and therefore the Hottentoots who come from a distance with cattle, should, though not suddenly and abruptly, be kept out of the hall, and thus kept from smoking there.

It were, indeed, much to be wished, that you could manage to find the means of letting those Hottentoots take their 3 or 4 days rest somewhere outside of the castle, so that we might not be annoyed by their filth, and incurring every risk of murder as well as of fire; they might still be well entertained here, according to the old custom.

The great number of Hottentoots admitted into the castle, exposes it to great danger of surprise, particularly when all the soldiers are out at work, and no proper guard kept on the gate, as has happened before your time.

You are therefore recommended not to place the Fort in peril, by leaving the gate without due

defence; but still you will not, without express orders, or the most urgent necessity, increase the garrison beyond the 120 men, the number to which you are limited by the Directors.....

No needless repairs should be done to the redoubts, &c., but they should not be allowed to fall down, and should be kept duly occupied to guard the Company and the public from injury..... no new redoubt should be constructed, at least without further orders from Holland, for, as I trust we are at peace with all the European powers, no external attack need be apprehended; and your present strength is sufficient against the Hottentoots.....

HERMAN KLEUCKE VAN ODESSEN.<sup>(1)</sup>

Extracts from the Journal *continued*.—April 18. Four sheep were bartered, at the usual rate, from the Cochoquas. 22. 2 cattle from the same. 25. Towards evening we bought 7 cattle from the Caapmans for the usual trifles. 27. 11 sheep were bought from the Saldanhars.

May 7. Nothing occurred worth writing down; the 2 ships from Batavia were supplied with all necessary refreshments as required, towards which the Cochoquas.....our small remaining stock in which, and chiefly among the sheep, there prevails a mortal disease.

11. The Chainouquas brought to-day 8 cattle and 14 sheep, which were bartered for brass and tobacco. 18. In the afternoon the Hottentoots brought 2 sheep, which were purchased.

19. Nothing happened worth notice; one cow was bought from the Chainouquas.

June 1. Arrived the.....from the fleet under Admiral Kleucke; the search for the Island of St. Helena Nova had failed for the 4th time..... 2. Bought 9 cattle from the Chainouquas, which suit us very well now that we are so ill supplied with stock.

7. Upon some rumours which prevail that some of our country farmers are daily bartering cattle and sheep (for tobacco) from the Hottentoots who are encamped at Tygerberg, the fiscal Lacus rode out to see whether he could detect any of them, more particularly because the Company can procure no more cattle from the natives. 10. Bought 9 sheep from the Cochoquas. 11. Late in the evening the said Cochoquas brought for sale 2 lean cattle and 7 sheep.....

14. The ensign P. Everard was sent out to the Saldanhars now encamped about Tygerberg—with 4 soldiers, 2 Hottentoots, and some goods on a pack ox, to try to procure us some large cattle, as very few such are now brought to us. On the 13th he returned, reporting that he had visited the 2 kraals of the Saldanhars, namely Oedaso's and Gonnoma's, lying about 2 days' journey from this, and on the way home that of the Caapmans, but had in all procured only 7 cattle; stating that for some time back the cattle trade had been destroyed by our free men, as, according to the statement of the Hottentoots, they could not only get from the free men more tobacco than from us, but also rice and brandy enough; we trust however that we may soon be able to check this interloping.....cattle and 9 sheep which we bought, and treated the people who brought them well. Their soury or chief, Sousoa, requested that we would visit him for once in his kraal, and said that, if we had no pack oxen, he would send us 6 for the purpose.....

27. Bought 5 lean cattle and 8 sheep from the Cochoquas for tobacco and wire. 29. Procured from the Caepmans 14 sheep for tobacco and brass.

(1) The proceedings of this Commissioner, while at the Cape, formed the subject of a strong representation to Holland and to Batavia, upon the inconvenience of investing with the temporary command, every stranger of rank who might touch at the Cape for a few days; and who in general impeded the public service by issuing orders which only tended to produce confusion by their multiplicity. The complaints against the "advocate fiscal of India" were chiefly founded upon his offensive demeanor—but the greater number of the instructions issued by the admirals show how much the writers laboured under the difficulty of finding any thing to say. A Commissioner who visited the Cape soon after left no orders; and his silence was deemed more to the purpose, and much less injurious, than much that has emanated from similar ephemeral authority, both before his time, and since. (*Vide* April 15, 1664.)

1663. May 16. In a Despatch of this date Mr. W. urges the Directors to send some bakers of earthenware; he states that he is ashamed when passengers by the ships see "the garrison and the greater part of the farmers eating without spoons, with shells, or their hands, from the pots in which rice or other food has been cooked, as this country does not produce like India any calabashes, bamboes, or broad leaves." 2 bells, 1 of 150, and, of 15 lbs. are demanded, the largest to be hung at the Schuyr to call home the herds with the cattle, &c. and to "enliven the farmers who live in that lonely place, and which could in time serve to collect all the inhabitants to hear divine service there."

Part of this Despatch is occupied in detailing an outrage committed upon an English crew, by order of the captains of two of the Dutch Company's ships. The captains and 10 persons are stated, after examination of the witnesses, to have been put to the torture by lighted matches being put between their fingers, in order to force them to tell where their money was concealed. This occurred on the 1st Jan. 1663, near Bona Vista. Mr. Wagenaar states that he has been particular in his details, as the event may easily create new disputes between us and the easily excited English nation. (*Vide Hume*, cap. 64.)

July 5. In the evening some Hottentoes came to the Fort with 5 pack oxen; 7 or 8 of them walked in and seated themselves in a corner of the hall, we first learnt upon a light [being brought] that Sousoa, the Soury or chief of the Chainouquas, was among them in person, who, according to the invitation he had sent, had brought the said oxen solely to convey us and our luggage; for this man had for some time back felt it as an affront that we had never visited him at his kraal, (which lies at present within two days journey) as we had visited Oedasoa, Gonnomoa, and other chiefs. As we find that this Sousoa is very rich in cattle, and as he comes himself with oxen to fetch us, the Commander, after evening prayers, commissioned the fiscal H. Lacus to pay this visit on Saturday with 6 men, in company with the said Hottentoes; also to barter and bring with him some large cattle, now much wanted. Meanwhile this unexpected courtesy, from the said great chief and his people, was duly acknowledged by an entertainment for them in the Commander's room, and in the great hall.

6. Very cold weather with strong S. E. wind, prepared our goods for the journey. . . . . Meanwhile in this cold windy weather we set before these naked Hottentoes a kettle full of warm beer and bread; as also plenty of rice, bread, brandy, and tobacco, with which having refreshed themselves to repletion, they begun towards evening merrily to sing and dance in the hall.

7. (Saturday) . . . but as day gradually broke we saw all the said natives lying in the hall, rolled together under their greasy stinking skins, like dead hedgehogs; but soon after, on receiving a sup of brandy, they began to be inspired with new life; and after they had eaten and drank until about 9 o'clock, and had all received presents, of beads, tobacco, biscuit, brass, iron, &c. the Commander gave them their *cong e*, and allowed them to depart; but as, from their shameless disposition for begging, there was no getting rid of them, and as they took no care of the oxen they had brought, so that one of them was missing, we had to load the other 4, and to have them driven on before, by the soldiers who were to accompany fiscal Lacus, but when these indolent. . . . . they ran about in all directions in the fields, and flung off their loads, for the Cape Hottentoes could not manage them; when the others saw this, they went to collect them, but they had hardly gone a quarter of an hour, before we had brought to us 2 empty pewter flasks, which an ox had thrown off and trodden upon; how they may get on hereafter, we are like to hear in a few days. Bought 6 sheep from the Caepmans.

8. To our general astonishment, in this Northern monsoon, the S. E. wind still continues as for the last 4 days. 9. Ceaseless cold S. E. wind. . . . . blows through the men at work, so that we can keep no workmen, and still less these poor slaves, exposed to the open air, either in the great garden or as cattle herds; which is considered by some of our people who have been here from the first, an unusual thing, and almost miraculous. Yet, notwithstanding of the cold, the Cochoquas, perhaps spurred on by the *tobacco hunger*—brought us 17 sheep for sale. 10. Bartered from the Cochoquas 12 lean sheep for brass and tobacco.

11. In the evening the Commander received a letter from the fiscal Lacus, dated yesterday, from Hottentoes Holland, where they had all encamped, only reporting that they had had a fatiguing journey through high sand hills and deep waters; that he feared they would have a long journey before they reached Sousoa's Kraal, and that their provisions would be exhausted, as the oxen had to be so often unloaded that they lost much time. 12. The sheep at Robben Island had increased to 227, and before night we bought 4 here from the Cochoquas.

23. Bought 1 cow and 15 sheep from the Caepmans. 24. Received, by a Hottentoo, a letter from fiscal Lacus, written this morning at Hottentoes' Holland, a grassy place about 7 or 8 mylen off, by which we were glad to learn that he had succeeded in collecting a good lot of cattle, and hoped to be with us to-morrow evening, or the morning after. We bartered 11 sheep from the Cochoquas for brass and tobacco.

25. The fiscal returned with 80 cattle, 3 of which are pack oxen, and the rest chiefly fine young cattle; and also 45 sheep. They were obliged to leave behind on the way one pack ox and 14 sheep, which in the high, steep, stony. . . . . they had no want of cold snow, hail, or rain on the journey, but, thank God! they all returned in good health. Sousoa's Kraal lies about 4 mylen from the shore, on the East coast of this promontory, nearly E. by S. from the Fort, and about 31 mylen distant; his encampment is on and among the mountains—behind the high mountains of Cape False, at present almost all covered with snow. No trees nor good grass were to be found near those Hottentoes; in this wet time of the year, there is still some verdure to be seen; but in the dry season, it is perfectly barren, and unfit for the production of any food for cattle. Their cattle were very fond of chewing bones and stones, to which they are, apparently, habituated by

hunger. It has been always supposed<sup>(1)</sup> hitherto, that these Chainouquas were very numerous, and rich in cattle; but it has been found to be quite otherwise, for the kraal in which Sousoa (the chief captain) lives, has only 21 houses, and scarcely 4 or 500 cattle; it may be supposed that they have other kraals, more in the interior. . . . . Sousoa was on the way hither with our party, but fell ill on the road, and determined on going back to his kraal with the Hottentoots who were with him; they left him some tobacco, and also some pepper, which they esteem a perservative. At Sousoa's kraal were many wild animals, lions, wolves, &c. which nightly plagued our party, they shot one old fellow of a wolf, and brought the skin to the Fort; they brought also 4 elephants' teeth, purchased for tobacco; on the whole, this journey has turned out well, &c. 26. The Cochoquas brought 10 sheep and 1 cow, which were bought as usual.

Aug. 3. This morning one of our Cape Hottentoots was severely wounded with a dagger in several places by one of these burgers residing outside of the Fort. The fiscal was directed to make inquiry, and to summon the accused for tomorrow.

6. The Commander Wagenaar was employed with all the gardners, servants, and slaves, also all the soldiers, artificers, boatmen, sailors, *scribanen*, boys, and girls, deepening the new water course. . . . . 7. In addition to the said working party, scraped together here and there, we procured the aid of 15 young Hottentoots. 10. Bought from the Cochoquas 1 cow and 19 sheep.

18. Bought from the Caepmans a lean cow and 6 ditto sheep. 20. In the morning the Table, Wint, and Tygerbergen were thickly covered with snow; a thing never seen before during the 12 years that the Company has had possession here. 26. Arrived the *Sparendam*, with the flag of Mr. P. A. Overtwater.

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#### Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to Commander WAGENAAR and Council.

1663. Aug. 25. Our last letter was dated the 22d of last December. . . . we have now to reply to your letter of the 6th April. . . . The last expedition into the interior has not been attended with the best success, we shall be glad to hear whether the other expedition, which you had in contemplation, has discovered any thing of importance. Supplying you regularly with rice from Batavia becomes rather expensive: when you are able to procure your rice from Madagascar, which, as has been often talked of, must be attempted, the stuffs and other goods which you require for that trade, can be sent you from Batavia. . . . . We trust that you may be able to get slaves also, by which means your people will be better and cheaper served than by servants drawing wages; provided that the slaves are made over to such free men only as are in good circumstances, and as are trying to get on in the world. As to the others, we must wink at their conduct for the present, now and then encouraging them, or stimulating them by threats; to replace them by industrious farmers from this quarter of the world be difficult; such are not quite so easy to be found; we shall not, however, lose sight of your proposal, and shall see what can be done, and particularly whether we can now and then send you some young women. . . . .

We have seen with great satisfaction that you still continue in peace and friendship with the Hottentoots, and that you now and then procure some cattle, and a good number of sheep from them by barter. We would be still better pleased, if they would sell us their fat cattle, as readily as their rubbish; but we cannot on any account permit that they should be forced to do so, or that any injustice, injury, or annoyance should be done to them. Should they again come into our outer pastures with their cattle, you may civilly request them to go away; or you may even go to some little expense to induce them to comply; which we have no doubt they will do. . . . .

We do hereby declare that the conduct of Commander Wagenaar during his residence there, has given us contentment. . . . .

We hereby approve of the promotion of Abraham Gabbema to the place of second in command, in the room of R. de Man, deceased. . . . .

The fleet which we intend to send out this year, consists of the following [14 ships and 2300 men, exclusive of women and children], you will see to have sufficient refreshments in readiness upon their arrival. . . . .

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#### Extracts of Memorandum for the guidance of Commander WAGENAAR, until further orders from Holland or Batavia.

1663. Sept. 7. Seeing that you are furnished with such a multiplicity of orders, by those who

(1) *Vide supra* 26th Aug. 1660, p. 214.

have had more leisure to examine every thing here with their own eyes, &c.....it is not very necessary for me to add to them, but still, in fulfilment of my commission, it may not be altogether useless to leave you the following notes:—

And First, generally and seriously to recommend to you—the preservation of peace and quiet with all the inhabitants of this country—the advancement of agriculture by every means sanctioned by the Directors, or the Indian Government—and the increase of every kind of useful live stock.

And although peace with these natives is in the highest degree useful and necessary, still, a proper degree of caution is not forbidden; and as it has been found that they have already made attempts upon the Fort, and as they will in time acquire more skill, and might, upon such an occasion as I have heard mentioned in conversation, easily surprise the Fort, I would deem it necessary that they should become accustomed to being refused free entrance into the Fort.....

In new undertakings like this, the lapse of a little time enables us to judge more correctly than is possible in the beginning, and thus it may now be perceived, that the redoubt Houdt den Bul is of little use now, and is not worth the expense of repairing; and that the guard houses or redoubts for the protection of the cultivated lands, should be placed near the line drawn by Mr. Van Goens—where the Table Bay and False Bay approach the nearest to each other.....

The hedge planted with wild almond trees, with a view to their growing up and protecting the lands, is an evident waste of money, and not worth the least trouble or expense to keep up, and the people may be more profitably employed.....

As to building up the walls of the Fort with stone, there is other work more immediately required..... Mr. Van Riebeeck may well be excused for not having done this, because the state of affairs was entirely different at that period, and he deserves the greatest praise for effecting so much, in so short a time..... If the account of the expenses incurred by the Company in farming is minutely examined, I believe that it will be found, that it would tend to the interest of the Company, somewhat to raise the price paid to the free men for their grain..... Upon matters which have been already well arranged by others, it is quite needless for me to touch.....

7th Sept. 1663.

P. A. OVERTWATER.(1)

### Extracts from the Journal of Commander WAGENAAR.

Sept. 8. The Commissioner embarked for Batavia.... 16. 12 children were baptized, one of whom had christian parents, the rest were the children of Company's female slaves.

Oct. 2. We this day selected 17 from among the volunteers who had offered to join Serjeant Jonas de la Guerre on his journey, to commence on the 10th or 12th, to the Namaquas and tribes residing beyond the river Vigiti Magna. 3. To day we bought 10 sheep from the Cochoquas for brass, this lot excepted, we have procured nothing for a month back. 4. The same tribe brought a large lean ox and 13 sheep to barter for brass; and on the 8th, a lean ox and 7 sheep. 10. Prayers were preferred for our travellers who were to set out to-morrow on a journey of 3 or 4 months.. 11. The Serjeants instructions and commission were read to the whole party....and they set out with a wagon drawn by 8 oxen, to convey provisions, &c.(2)

16. 30 men were landed from the ships and sent to the wood with 3 days provisions, of these 30, 26 had gone with nothing but their bedding, the corporal with the others followed about an hour after, carrying the provisions.....near the fisherman's huts at Salt river, they were assaulted by some Hottentots, who first took from them by force some pieces of salt pork, and some biscuit, and then pelted them with stones, until they were compelled to retreat, and return to the Fort; when the corporal, the same evening, made his complaint to the Commander, stating at the same time, that no one had given the natives the slightest provocation. They were sent on, notwithstanding, as otherwise the party would have been without any provisions; and 2 of our soldiers were sent to escort them as far as the Schuyr.

Those rogues committed a similar piece of insolence yesterday, to two ships' boys who were carrying some clothes to be washed, to the house of a free man to the eastward of the Fort.....taking the bundles of clothes, probably supposing them to contain cheese, bread, or some other article of food; but striking one of the boys who resisted, with a stone on the head, where it caused a

(1) Commissioned by Chamber XVII. April 7, 1663.

(2) 1663. Sept. 27. A Resolution of this date authorises a new expedition on the ground of the desire expressed by the Directors; the party to consist (instead of 13, as before) of "16 of the strongest and most active fellows, accustomed to hardships, and who will not be alarmed at any little rumour" under a serjeant, who, in addition to the name of *De la Guerre* was stated to be "an active man, and an unusually good shot.

deep wound ; we must no longer suffer, nor wink at these violent breaches of the peace, but forthwith adopt some measure to prevent them.

Oct. 24. The groom reported that this day one of the Company's best horses, called " Riebeeck's great chesnut," had died. . . . . The Commander went to Robben Island. . . . . 16 or 17 Hottentoots went with him, to assist the other people in carrying shells to the beach.

26. The boat returned. . . . . and with her a Hottentoo who could work no longer, as another Hottentoo had wounded him in the head with a stone. 30. 5 sheep were this day bought from the Cochoquas for tobacco.

Nov. 5. 6 sheep were bartered from the Cochoquas for brass and tobacco.

10. 7 lean sheep were bought for brass and tobacco. 11. 3 sheep were bought in the evening from the Caepmans. 15. 4 lean sheep were bought from the Caepmans.

16. Our, or rather the Company's interpreter Eva, set off this evening, with both her children, procreated by a European ; the cause of her departure is not known. The female in question is indeed sprung from Hottentoo parents, but she has been brought up from her childhood in the house of Mr. Van Riebeeck, and brought to christianity, and upon her profession of faith, was last year baptized ; it is therefore to be feared that when she joins her brother in law, the chief Oedaso, she will do us more harm than good in the cattle trade.

19. We this day bartered from the Chariguriquas, for brass and tobacco, 22 tolerably good sheep, but of large cattle, which we most want, none are brought to us. 20. 8 sheep were bought from the Caepmans for tobacco—and 4 on the 21st.

### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Z. WAGENAAR, to the Ghamber XVII.

1663. Nov. 21. Every thing at this place is (thanks to God) as well as can be wished, and thus we continue to live in perfect peace and tranquillity with the natives in this vicinity ; but they have brought us very little cattle of any kind since the departure of the last homeward bound fleet, and unless we had, last July, upon the friendly invitation of one Sousoa, chief of the Chainouquas—gone out ourselves, and brought from his crael 90 cattle and 47 sheep, we should have been, on the arrival of all the ships before named, very ill off, and could have spared them very little.

The said Sousoa, hearing that we had now and then gone out to the North, to visit Gonnomoa, and other chiefs of the Cochoquas or Saldanhars, not only came to visit us, and to request that we would honor him also by accompanying him to his kraal, but he brought with him, for the purpose of conveying our people's baggage, and thus facilitating their journey, 5 large pack oxen.

We most gladly availed ourselves of this unexpected piece of courtesy from such a little esteemed and naked man, and having first entertained him well, we sent back with him the Fiscal H. Lacus, who upon his return brought to us the said good drove of cattle, which he had bartered from them for tobacco and brass ; but as this Sousoa was returning once more with the Fiscal, for the purpose of taking home with him the oxen he had lent to us, the kind creature (goede hals) fell ill on the road and died.

In order to renew annually the acquaintance and friendship which has been formed with the Namaquas, and with the other tribes at a distance to the eastward, and also to try to penetrate to a great distance into the interior, and thus at length reach the Chobonas, who are said to live in fixed cities beyond the great river Vigiti Magna—we have despatched Serjeant De la Guerre on the 11th Oct. last, &c. &c.

As to the conduct and proceedings of these free farmers or *Caepse boeren*, and the advantage and service which the Company may hope or expect from some or the greater part of them, we gave your honors a minute and detailed account in our great letter of the 6th April, by the last homeward bound fleet, and we still continue, with submission, of the same opinion, namely, that 6, 7, or more of these farmers, with some of their servants ought—on account of their indolence and their irregular and debauched lives—to be called up, and sent away from this place, or (unless too much burdened with debt,) taken again in the Company's service.

And we could wish that we were furnished, in their room, with some more suitable and more industrious people, who would prosecute agriculture with more zeal ; for there is still enough good corn land to be found, both within and without the space enclosed by the Company (Company's beslooten cirkel) on both banks of the little river Liesbeek, to below the Boscheuvel ; there are besides great parcels of the lands granted, 7 or 8 years ago, in freehold to these farmers, which still lie as uncultivated as when they were granted, because, from want of servants, or proper working

cattle, and of the necessary manure, they have been unable to cultivate more than the half, indeed some of them scarcely the third or fourth part of such extensive tracts of land.

It may be seen from the return we recently sent to your honors of the names of the landowners—the extent of their lands, and the extent sown.... that there is still land enough for 10 or 12 industrious farmers.....

Some of the best and most respectable of these farmers complained to Commissioner Overtwater, that they had to pay, monthly, to their Dutch servants such high wages, in ready money, that they were thereby becoming impoverished, and could scarcely support their families, and therefore requested that the price of corn might be somewhat raised; and as his honor, after further inquiry, saw cause to deem the representation reasonable, their request was provisionally acceded to, subject to your honor's approval, as may be seen by the resolution of 7th Sept. (and it is indeed true that some of them have to pay to their servants—with whose assistance they cannot dispense, 2, 3, and even 400 guilders annually,)—the price of wheat was therefore raised from 6 guilders and 8 stivers to 7 guilders; barley and rye from 5 to 5½; and oats from 3½ to 4; with which alteration they all appeared satisfied, and should we procure a good number of slaves from Madagascar, we shall accommodate such of these farmers as most require it, with 2 or 3 slaves at a moderate price, payable in ready money or in corn, and try how it may then go.

In the year 1659, there came hither as a volunteer, by the ship *Crowned Lion*, a certain student, a native of Brunswick, named Georgius Frederikus Wreede, who from the very first showed a great wish to acquire the Hottentoo language, in which he is now so far advanced, that he has not only been occasionally useful as interpreter, but has now reduced to writing, *in the Greek character*, a vocabulary, or, as he calls it, a compendium of the Dutch and Hottentoo languages, which work he now most respectfully dedicates to your honors, trusting that, should your honors approve of it, you will be pleased to have it printed, and to send some copies here.<sup>(1)</sup>

As we have this year, as before stated, had so few horned cattle brought by the Hottentoes, the Commander Wagenaar intends going by sea to Saldanha Bay, and visiting the kraals of Oedasoia upon his return overland,..... we shall also send some one out, for the same purpose, to the well-filled kraals of the late Sousoa, to the eastward, for otherwise it is likely that we shall have none in readiness for the homeward bound fleet; for we have remaining, no more than about 50 lean oxen, cows, and calves; besides which we have at the Fort, near 200 sheep, bartered from the Hottentoes, and more than 300, which are fine and fat, on Robben Island, some of which we can slaughter in the event of our getting no cattle; but the pigs that are still on the island begin to get quite wild, and hide themselves behind the rocks, whence they attack the people; so they are not to be taken alive, but must be driven out of their holes and shot.....

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—Nov. 22. We learnt last night that the Saldanhars, or Cochoquas, namely Oedasoia and Gonnoma, both Sourys, or chiefs, had come with their kraals, and encamped beyond the great Salt Pans, about 2 hours distant; and we were told this morning that our interpreter, Eva, who took herself off quietly last Friday, with both her children..... in the country, at the house of a free man..... house directly in the passage by which the Hottentoes approach, but as it is said that Oedasoia, her brother in law, cares little about her, we are in doubt whether to send for her, or let her stay; the thoughtless wench has often played us the same trick before, throwing aside her clean and neat clothing, and resuming old stinking skins of animals, like all the other filthy female Hottentoes.

23. The Saldanhars, encamped beyond the Salt Pans, sold us to-day 20 pretty good sheep, for brass and tobacco. 24. The interpreter Eva returned early this day, of her own accord, pretending that she was never inclined to run away from us, but had only gone to visit her brother in law, who now lies near us, because his daughter had been recently delivered of a child; and many tales more, to excuse herself.

25. The lion has taken another of the Company's oxen, being the 6th or 7th that the Company has lost by these ravenous brutes within the last 2 months.

26. Bought 3 sheep from the Cochoquas. 27. As the Saldanhars still lie at the great Salt Pans, the ensign Everards was sent thither this evening with Eva, and a wagon drawn by 4 oxen, to endeavor to buy from them some live stock, particularly horned cattle; for which purpose he took

(1) On the 29th April, 1664, the Directors state, that the copies required are transmitted; but at the same time, lay down the important precept. "The natives should learn our language, rather than we theirs."

with him 2 rolls of tobacco, some brass and other trinkets. Bought from the Cochoquas..... pretty good sheep for brass and tobacco<sup>(1)</sup>

Nov. 28. Bought 12 sheep from the Chariguriquas, for brass and tobacco. 29. Our ensign returned from the kraals of Oedaso and Gonnoma, (which lie beyond the Salt Pans,) accompanied by Eva, and bringing 8 cattle and 23 sheep, which he had bartered. The ensign stated that there was among all the Saldanhaise Hottentoots, an infectious or contagious disease, which had for some time back carried off many people; and that they were consequently very much afraid of the Souquas who had threatened to make war on them; and that they meant to come a little nearer to us, and, if necessary, to request our assistance.

Eva had heard from one of the said Hottentoots that our people (who had been sent into the interior) had been attacked by the said Souquas, who had captured their provisions, and burned their wagon; what truth is in this story we shall soon hear. 30. Bought from the Cochoquas 7 sheep for brass and tobacco.

Dec. 3. To-day we procured a good number of sheep from the Chariguriquas and Cochoquas, for the brass and tobacco usually in demand—i. e. 34, but no large cattle are brought to us.

4. Oedaso, chief of the Cochoquas, came to visit us, bringing 8 sheep, which we bought.... This sourie, or chief, intimated to us that his enemies hereabouts seemed disposed to annoy him, and to get the better of him, to which he could not submit, and therefore intended, in the course of the ensuing month, to advance against them with his people, and one half of his cattle; that he would gladly leave the other half under our care and charge until his return; but that, as he now lived close by, he would come again in 14 days to speak further on the subject. He then departed with his companions. We this day purchased from the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, 7 sheep and 3 cattle for tobacco, so that, including those got from Oedaso, we have this day procured 15.

5. The *Waterhoen* returned from Madagascar.....where they had procured only 7 slaves.....bought 3 sheep from the Caapmans for tobacco.

7. Bought 4 sheep from the Cochoquas for tobacco. 9. Bartered a young ox and 10 sheep from the tobacco thieves.

11. The lion killed another milch cow at the foot of Table mountain. Bought 17 lean sheep from the Cochoquas, &c. 12. 16 sheep were this day bought for tobacco from the Chariguriquas. This evening died, in a Hottentoot's hut outside of the Fort, the Company's interpreter Doman; for whose death none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company.

14. 7 sheep were this day bought from the tobacco thieves, for brass and tobacco. 15. Some old Proclamations were this day renewed in presence of the borgerraden, after ringing the bell.

16. 17 pretty good sheep were this day bought from the.....quas and Gorachouquas.

17. 2 sheep were sold to us by the Gorachouquas for tobacco.

### Extract of a Despatch from the Governor General and Council of India, to the Commander, &c. Cape of Good Hope.

1663. Dec. 19. We have received, by the said ships, your agreeable letters dated Feb. 14 and 22,

(<sup>1</sup>) The residue of this day's Journal is occupied by a detailed report of the quantity of timber in the several "woods" about Table Mountain; the kinds mentioned are *els*, *peer*, *boecken*, *assagay*, and *geel hout*—the latter was the scarcest, and the whole quantity apparently inconsiderable, for in one bush the number of trees is mentioned as great, and as not likely to be exhausted "in the first half dozen years."

A Regulation entered in the Journal of Nov. 30, provides that the schoolmaster, Ernestus Back, who had been "industrious in teaching and catechising children, both Dutch and black," shall receive at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rd. per mensem, for each of ten Dutch children who are named; 2 children by a Hottentoot woman to be taught *pro deo*, as also all the children of baptized slaves.

A Resolution of Van Riebeeck's Council, dated March 12, 1661, raised the wages of a *sieckentrooster* from 36 to 45 guilders, monthly, upon the ground, among others, that he has been advantageously engaged in instructing slaves and Hottentoots, in the Dutch language and the christian religion.

1663. Dec. 13. A Proclamation imposed a fine of 30 Reals, in addition to confiscation and arbitrary correction, upon the offence of selling, bartering, or giving in a present, to any captain, officer, passenger, or other person, any large stock, especially pigs, but requiring each person to deliver to the Company what pork he could spare at 3 stivers per lb. N.B. The price to the Company for Dutch pork was 5 stivers—the retail price 6.

The penalty provided against the free men, for supplying refreshments to the Company's ships,—so often declared to be the chief object of establishing this residency—was raised in Sept. 1668, to Rds. 100.

March 26, April 9, 15; and 23, and May 22, of this year, from which we have learned, in full detail, the whole state of affairs at the African Cape, and that every thing there was still in a good condition. . . . . We have perused the instructions left you by the Commissioners Lairesse and Overt . . . . . with which you will be pleased to comply; the advancement of the agriculture, the increase of live stock, and the propagation of every kind of fruit, or whatever else is required for the support of human life, are the chief things you have to attend to at the Cape, so that the crews of the ships, outward and homeward bound, may be supplied with abundant refreshments for the preservation of their health. . . . .

We observe that the last land expedition, sent out by you, did not turn out well; we conceive it right to seek the friendship of the Namaquas, as they are considered a more civilized people than the Hottentoes; and perhaps we may have some intercourse with them in time, and thus acquire a more perfect acquaintance with the country in the interior. Our people should be cautious and well on their guard during those journeys, so as to avoid such unfortunate rencounters as the last; whenever those savages get any advantage over our people, they in general become emboldened, and care little for our resistance, or for our weapons; and we should therefore take care that no cause of dislike is given them by our people. (1)

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—Dec. 19. The Commander rode out to inspect the newly found wood beyond the Bosheuvel; the Cochoquas and Chariguriquas brought 9 sheep for sale.

20. Bought, for brass, 5 sheep from the tobacco thieves. 22. 8 sheep were bought from the Chariguriquas. 24. 12 sheep and 3 cattle were bartered from the Cochoquas. 26. Yesterday and to-day 18 sheep and 1 ox were bought from the Cochoquas for beads, brass, and tobacco.

27. Bartered a lean ox and 7 sheep from the Caepmans, and on the 28th, we exchanged for brass 8 more sheep from the same Hottentoes.

29. (Saturday.) Appeared at the Fort 6 strange, or at least, to us unknown Dutchmen, who with 7 others had left St. Helena Bay last Monday. . . . . 2 of the party having been left behind from thirst and fatigue; the ensign was forthwith sent off with 2 horses and 3 Hottentoes, carrying fresh food and Cape beer, to meet these poor men on the beach. He returned in the evening with the 6 remaining soldiers whom he had found at the Redoubt Keert de Koe. . . . . Bartered this day from the Caepmans 7 sheep, for brass, tobacco, and a can of brown sugar beer.

31. Bartered from the Chariguriquas 20 sheep, for brass and tobacco.

1664. Jan. 2. This day 13 sheep were bought from the Cochoquas for tobacco. 3. 17 Hottentoes were induced to go with the Commander to Robben Island, to carry shells—the said Commander intends to continue his excursion in the *Waterhoen* to Dassen Island and Saldanha Bay, whence he intends returning by land, touching on the way at some Hottentoo kraals, to endeavor to procure some horned cattle, now much wanted, for which purpose he took with him the necessary merchandize. . . . . 4. The Company's herd was this day increased by one ox, bought of the Caepmans.

5. The Caepmans brought and sold 6 sheep.

6. (Sunday.) Except the return of the boat from Robben Island, nothing occurred worth writing down, and this Lord's day ended in the usual manner, but, notwithstanding, we had to traffic with these heathens for only 2 sheep.

7. The assistant Cretzer went out with a wagon and 4 men, to the kraals of Oedaso, Gonnoma, and other Hottentoes close by, to endeavour to procure some cattle, with which view he also took with him some brandy, which the Hottentoes swallow with great avidity; in hopes thus to get more cattle. 8. 6 sheep and 2 cattle were this day bought from the Cochoquas. 10. The Cochoquas brought 12 sheep and 2 cattle, which were bought for the usual wares.

11. The Commander returned from St. Helena Bay; he had a quick, but fatiguing journey, and visited on the way some kraals of Hottentoes who would sell no horned cattle. The Commander

(1) In a Despatch (25th Jan. 1664) acknowledging letters from the Cape of 24th Sept. and 14th and 21st Oct. 1663, no mention is made of natives, but an explanation is given of the grounds upon which slave children were baptized; it is stated that "it had been matter of dispute whether the children of unbelieving parents should be admitted to baptism, and that, after reference to the *classis* in Holland, the question was decided in the affirmative; provided the person with whom they live, whether the owner or not, obliges himself to educate them in the christian religion; this being chiefly founded upon the example of the patriarch Abraham, in whose faith all who were in his house were circumcised; and the observance has accordingly been long followed here; even with those belonging to the Company, which has established schools for the purpose, where, as soon as they come to the proper age, they are instructed in the Christian Religion. You may therefore take this regulation for your guidance, and if you proceed in that holy work, there, as is done here, you will do well and act the part of a christian."

gave the following account of his journey.<sup>(1)</sup> In the evening, Mr. Cretser returned with 10 cattle and 30 sheep, which he had, with great difficulty, procured in various Hottentoo kraals. In the evening the Caepmans sold us 3 sheep. 12. The boat returned from Robben Island with the Hottentoes. 15. For more than six weeks we have had no strong S. E. winds.

Jan. 18. The Cochoquas, this day, sold us 5 cows and 15 lean sheep.

22. Serjeant De la Guerre returned from the interior with his 16 men, all in good health; having been out 3 months and 10 days, but again without having effected any thing, in consequence of the great drought at this season of the year, which prevented him, except at the risk of perishing, from proceeding to the river Vigi Magna.

The serjeant had the wagon taken to pieces at the Oliphant's river, and, together with some provisions which the oxen could not carry,—buried it in the ground, that they might find it on their return; but as they had to send back one of the Hottentoes who had been bitten by a snake, it was supposed that he had found the spot and shown it to the Soncquas, or other Hottentoes; for on his return he found the nest empty, and the wagon burnt; in consequence of which loss they subsequently suffered great privation. They found, however, at the Oliphant's river, some kraals of the Cochoquas, from whom they bartered 13 cattle and 73 sheep, which they this morning delivered; so that the Company now possesses at the Fort more than 500 sheep, and at Robben Island 300.

26. In the afternoon the council met, (and was attended by the burger-raden,) concerning the freemen who were accused by the fiscal of having lately stolen from the Hottentoes a fine cow, slaughtered it, and divided the flesh among them; when the Hottentoes complaining to us, we were obliged to satisfy them with one of the Company's cattle.<sup>(2)</sup>

27. Bartered 3 sheep from the Caepmans; in the afternoon Oedaso, chief of the Cochoquas, appeared here solely to ask if we would take into our charge one-third of his cattle, as he meant to go to war, taking the rest with him.

29. Oudasoa the chief of the Cochoquas, who came here yesterday [?] evening, was led into the Commander's room with 5 or 6 of his chief people, and asked through the interpreter Eva, what he had now to propose, or to request; on which the said Oudasoa thus communicated his desires through Eva; That he was disposed, together with all his people and neighbours, now 18 kraals strong, to make war upon his enemies the Heusaquas and their allies, as he could no longer suffer them to try to play the master every where; he therefore requested that we would assist him with some soldiers from the garrison, whom he wished to march with him to the war. He further stated that we would do him a kindness, if we would take charge of about 2500 head of horned cattle, until he should return from the war to claim them, offering us in return for this service, 600 head of cattle, promising to deliver these in the first place, and then to go and fetch his own cattle, to give over to us; offering as a further inducement, that, in the event of his returning victorious, he would give us, or more properly, the Company, 600 cattle besides; but if the fortune of war should turn, and he have to retreat, he would still present us, instead of the 600 cattle he had promised, 300 head.

Upon which proposals the Commander, having duly consulted with his Council, civilly but explicitly declined the first proposal, to send any of our people to the war.

But we agreed to his second request, of taking care of his cattle until his return, provided that he would leave with them 8 or 10 of his own Hottentoes, to assist our people in herding them; but to this he would not consent on any account, stating that all the males, including boys, must accompany him to the battle.

The matter being somewhat further considered, it was apprehended on the one hand, that by taking into our charge so many cattle, we might be easily led into some new disputes and estrangement with these unreasonable people, particularly should it happen that any of those cattle should be lamed or lost—or die, or indeed should the whole of them be carried off from us by the enemy. On the other hand this affair seemed to offer to us a very great advantage, as we have now so few large stock for the fleet expected from Batavia; and it might also enable us to supply our farmers, who are at present much in want of such cattle, and who might thus at once get into possession of a good stock.

The matter being fully weighed, it was at last resolved to take charge of this large herd of cattle

<sup>(1)</sup> The journal makes mention of natives only twice—the 18 Hottentoes taken over to Robben Island were ordered to have “3 meals daily, and a dram of brandy every morning, to make them the more willing,” and on the 10th, during the journey homeward, “the Chariquiquas came to us, offering to sell us sheep, as their kraals were close by, but as they said they could spare no cattle, and that some of our people had, the day before yesterday, gone from the Cape to Oedaso's kraals to buy some cattle, I deemed it unnecessary to go there myself.” Elephants, and the spoor of lions were seen during the journey.

<sup>(2)</sup> The singular judgment given in this case will be found in the abstract of convictions, *infra*.

for the promised acknowledgement, and to guard them by our own people, until he should come to receive them. When this was told him, he did not seem quite satisfied, but still adhered to his request for people to assist in the war; but on hearing at last that we were in earnest, and that such a thing would never be granted to him, nor to any of the natives, he requested to take his leave, promising to deliver the cattle to us, next new moon:—after which he was entertained, received his presents and departed to his kraal towards evening with his captains and councillors.

Jan. 30. The Commander went in the open boat to Robben Island, taking with him 12 Hottentoots, volunteers, and 2 mules, to carry shells.

31. 13 sheep and 3 cattle were bought from the Cochoquas, who live close by. In the evening it was reported by the free sawyers, that while absent from their dwelling in the wood, it was broken open by some Hottentoots, the locks knocked off 5 chests that stood in the house, and all their little movables stolen; and although they offered to point out the Hottentoots who had done it, we did not venture to meddle with the affair in the absence of the Commander Wagenaar, whose return may be expected to-morrow or next day.

Feb. 2. The Commander returned with 2 Hottentoots who felt unwell. . . . . 3. (Sunday.) About 9 A.M. when the bell had been twice rung for divine service, the said Oudasoa, with more than 50 men, women and children, came trotting (spatten) in again, and the greater part of them squatted themselves in the hall, between the chairs and benches; on which the Commander civilly requested them, through Eva, to go down below until our worship was performed, which they instantly did, and went and sat down on the esplanade.

After service was over, Oudasoa, with some of his chief men, was called into the Commander's room, and asked if he had brought with him the cattle he had promised; he said, no, and that he was not disposed to give over to us, or out of his own possession, any cattle, until we would promise to give some of our people to go out with him to fight his enemies. On this the Commander told him, that it had been before stated with sufficient distinctness, that this would not be granted, neither now nor hereafter, neither to him nor to his enemies; and upon his desiring to know why, he was told, that it was because the Heusaquas, the Namaquas, the Chainouquas, and other tribes to the Eastward, were quite as great friends, and useful neighbours to us, as he, Oudasoa, and his people could be, especially the Chainouquas, from whose chief, Sousoa, we had recently procured at his friendly invitation, 80 horned cattle and 60 sheep, whereas we had never hitherto procured at any one time, 20, from him or from his people; and as he had nothing particular to reply to this, he said he had brought 5 sheep as a present, we might send to fetch them; we, however, declined them on this occasion, and bought them, together with 3 others, paying for them abundantly in tobacco and brass wire; but still he was not satisfied, and asked for some biscuit and rice for his wives and children; but for himself and his companions, some brandy and tobacco for their use on the way home; and after filling, within, the hungry stomachs of these incomparably greedy and beggarly men, and without, their filthy bags, they set out in the evening for their kraal, which is scarcely an hour's walk from the Fort.

9. The farmers and free men residing in the country, were this evening sentenced by the court of justice, for stealing a cow belonging to the Hottentoots, which the Company had to replace; first to pay 40 guilders, and thereupon to pay a fine of 40 reals.

11. Just at noon, when about to sit down to dinner, both the Saldanhar chiefs Oedasoa and Gonnoma, with a train of more than 50 men, women, and children, squatted themselves in the hall, and instantly asked in their usual mode of begging, for food, drink, and tobacco, which was forthwith given to them, and that the more readily, because they brought with them for sale 8 old lean cattle, and 14 sheep; but when Mons. Gabbema went out to buy the said cattle, they demanded twice as much as usual; asking 4 chains of round copper beads, and a piece of tobacco, long enough to reach from the point of the cow's tail over the back to the horns, for each cow, and in the same proportion for the sheep. On account of the mischievous consequences, this was refused, and in the evening they went home to their kraal, with their said cattle. 12. Bought from the Cochoquas, 6 sheep.

14. The accountant Blanck, under-surgeon Meerhoff, and 6 soldiers, were sent with 3 Hottentoots and 3 oxen, and some merchandize, to the kraal of Sousoa the former chief of the Chainouquas, to try whether a good quantity of cattle might not be procured from his son, as we are now very ill supplied, and no dependence is to be placed on the promise of Oedasoa to enter into a profitable contract for the delivery of a great quantity at the Fort.

15. The boat returned from Robben Island, bringing back all the Hottentoots, who have thus long

helped us in carrying shells to the beach. 16. Engaged in assizing, for the first time, the weights and measures. . . . .

Feb. 17. The Cochoquas brought in 2 cattle and 14 sheep, which we instantly bought. 18. This morning one of our hunters shot an ostrich near the great salt pan; in the evening the two legs were brought upon a horse, they were as much as the horse could carry; when cooked, and well-seasoned, the flesh was as well tasted as that of a young ox. 19. The grapes at the Bosheuevel being ripe, we had some cut and brought hither, that we may press them to-morrow, and see what we can make from them. The Cochoquas brought us for sale 6 cows and 8 sheep. 20. The grapes produced just one half aem of wine. We expect that when the rest of the grapes, which are still unripe, are brought in, we shall fill another cask of the same size. 21. Bought from the Cochoquas a cow, a calf, and 3 sheep.

25. The Gorachouquas brought in 13 cattle and 5 sheep, which we bought for brass and tobacco. 26. Mr. Blanck returned with his 8 men and 2 pack oxen, bringing only 3 lean cattle which they had yesterday bartered from the tobacco thieves; as they could not find the kraals of the Chainouquas, of which tribe the deceased Sousoa was the chief—so that, for this time, we have made a useless trip to that country for cattle.

28. Oudasoa, the chief of the Cochoquas, who now lies behind the Bosheuevel, sent 3 of his people to say, that if we would send some people with a wagon full of merchandize, he would sell us a great many cattle; but as we are well acquainted with this fellow, we let him know in reply, that had he been so disposed, he would have allowed us to keep, for a greater price than is generally paid, the 8 lean cattle which he last brought; but that, if he was inclined to send or bring any cattle to the Fort, we would try to buy them, and to satisfy him.

March 3. Two small cattle and 3 sheep were bought from the Chariguriquas. 4. Some of the Hottentoots who live at the Fort, and who are every day becoming more insolent, assaulted two of our people, one by throwing stones, and the other with blows of a stick, so that they could show some unsightly marks of the injury, although our men had not (as far as we could learn) given them any provocation.

5. The Commander caused all the Hottentoots and strand-loopers, who live at the Fort, to be warned to appear in the Fort at 9 o'clock; but only 7 or 8 made their appearance; these were, however, told through the interpreter Eva, that, if they again committed such violence against our men as yesterday, or robbed the people travelling on the public paths, of their food and drink, as had heretofore often happened, we would put the offender in prison, and banish him to Robben Island, to carry shells for the lime kiln. 6. Took the free fisherman, P. Cornelis, commonly called Pieter the Noorman, again into the Company's service as seaman, that he might be sent on duty to Robben Island, thus to cure him of his daily intemperance, and tyranny towards his wife. 12. About dusk in the evening, we bought from the Cochoquas, for brass and tobacco, 1 cow and 31 sheep. 14. Bought 8 sheep from the Cochoquas, and 15th, from the same, 6 cattle and 12 sheep, and 18th, 3 cows, 2 calves, and 11 sheep.

25. 10 sheep were bought from the Hottentoots. 26. The Cochoquas increased our herd with 6 sheep, and 2 cattle, for the usual merchandize. 28. 1 cow and 7 sheep were bartered from the Hottentoots.

April 1. 8 cattle and 10 sheep were brought in by the Hottentoots. 8. By order of his honor Admiral Steux, search was made in all the houses and buildings throughout the whole settlement, for the deserters from Batavia, without success. 11. Sent to Robben Island to fetch 100 sheep for the ships. 16. The Admiral sailed with the whole return fleet of 11 ships [value of cargo stated at 2,387,580 guilders.]

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### Extracts of a Despatch from the Council, Cape of Good Hope, to the Chamber XVII.

1664. April 15.—Our last Despatch to your Honors was sent by the *Emperiael* on the 22nd Nov. last year. . . . .

On the 5th of last Dec. the *Waterhoen* at length returned from Madagascar; but we have learnt to our sorrow, that neither the supplies required, nor any profitable trade could be found in the Bay St. Augustin, (which they entered on the 23rd June.) The cause is said to be, that the natives there were very poor and destitute, in consequence of their being constantly attacked, their cattle carried off, and their crops burned by their neighbours and enemies called the Lafutjes, and sometimes the Contremans; shortly before the vessel's arrival a large herd of cattle had been carried off

.....about a day's journey inland they purchased, from some poor people, a little of the remains of their rice, which they had concealed under ground in straw sacks.....and 7 slaves.....the natives were not inclined to cultivate the land again, because they were so often attacked and plundered by their enemies.....

After a lapse of 3 months and 10 days, sergeant De la Guerre returned, on the 22nd Jan. with his 16 volunteer travellers, but to our general sorrow, effected nothing more than has been done on all such journeys in former years; and although they had accomplished 139 mylen of a most toilsome journey, and withstood many hardships, they could not make up their minds to turn back; but afterwards, upon the frequent warnings of the Namaquas, (whom they had again reached, and who treated them much better than last year) that it was better to turn back in good time, as they had yet 10 day's journey over a sandy waste, where not a drop of water was to be had at this time of the year, before they could reach the river Vigi Magna, or the Chobona, of whom they were in search—the said sergeant was at length compelled to retire slowly towards the Oliphants River, where there is always an abundance of pasture and water, for upon the arid desert his men and cattle were half perished with thirst.

But he had meanwhile, in compliance with his orders, taken the wagon in pieces, and, together with much of the provisions, buried it in several places in deep holes, with a view to availing themselves of these supplies on their return—for the wagon could not travel with them over the mountains—but, it would seem that they must have been observed in the act of concealing the provisions by some hungry wandering Hottentoots, or that the hiding places had been discovered by the newly disturbed ground—for they had sought and found the booty; and when our men returned, hoping to recruit their exhausted strength with the residue of their provision, they found to their sorrow and dismay, nothing but the empty nest, and the ashes of their wagon.

They also left behind 2 of the Company's oxen which were unable to follow them from hunger, but still more from want of water; all the men however returned in very tolerable health, though wearied and dispirited. One of them while asleep at night among the rest of the party, was seized by the leg by some wild animal, and dragged away to a distance of several paces, but escaped from the rough fangs of the animal, by the prompt assistance of his comrades, when aroused by his fearful shrieks, and was subsequently so far cured of the severe bite, that he was able to travel slowly.

It is not our intention to resume these distant and dangerous journeys, except you should see cause to approve of our recent suggestion of a trial by sea along the Northern or the Eastern coast, more particularly because we find that the inclination of the greater part of the amateurs begins to be on the wane.....

Two more redoubts and another station for a mounted guard are still required for the protection of the lands, houses, and cattle of the free men—namely one in the middle of the ridge of the Bosheuvel, and the other at the foot of the hill, where it was formerly projected by Mr. Van Goens. The new mounted guard should be near the old one, behind the house of the burger F. G. van den Uythorn; when the old one—which was built on posts, now decayed at the bottom, and which would consequently require to be rebuilt—might be removed to the sea coast towards Salt River.... when as we conceive—under correction—these colonists and all their concerns would be sufficiently protected from all violence and annoyance by the savages, who are becoming bold enough to require these precautions (daartoe stout genouch zynde ende wordende) for their insolence and boldness begin to increase so much, that they not only presume to assault our people when on their way to the bush for timber, and to rob them of their property, particularly of their bread and other provisions, running away with such swiftness that they are not to be overtaken, but they venture even at the very Fort, when the ship people after standing wrestling with them for a while, gripe them a little too hard, although not intending to offend them—to revenge themselves by throwing stones, as you will see more at full in our accompanying journals.

The proposed guard houses would complete the enclosure, whereby the free men would be in a great measure deprived of the opportunity of trading with the natives; as has been too much practised this year. They begin to be so cunning that it is hardly possible to detect them, for they drive their cattle to some distance inland during the day time, when the Hottentoots watch for them and bring them the bartered cattle; and they come home at night as if with their own cattle; thus rendering the Company's cattle trade, which is essential to the refreshment of the ship's crews, so unstable, that we have often to give more than was customary for a parcel of lean, sickly cows or sheep; as was lately the case with the chief of the Cochoquas, who being unable to dispose of some picked out lean cattle upon his own terms, drove them away, and went home. These and

similar inconveniences must, as we conceive, arise out of this private barter; for very little live stock, great or small, has been this year brought to us, and yet, as far as we know, we still are, as advised in our last, in good alliance and peace with the savages of this African promontory.

Meanwhile Oudasoa, the chief of the Cochoquas, by whom a few lean sheep, and sometimes a cow is brought to us, came to visit us in the Fort, attended by 5 or 6 of his chief men; and having desired to converse upon weighty affairs with the Commander alone, he thus expressed his wishes through the interpreter Eva.

That he was at present inclined, as he found himself strong enough—being now, including his neighbours and allies, 18 kraals strong—to make war upon the Housaquas and their adherents, as he could no longer endure that they should every where assume the mastery; and he therefore desired that we would assist him in this enterprise with some of our soldiers.

He further proposed to leave his herd (consisting of about 2500 horned cattle) in our hands, and under our charge, so long as the war should continue, when he would give us, in acknowledgement of our trouble, 600 cattle, which he would deliver to us in the first instance—and then go to fetch his own cattle, and place them in our charge; promising further, that, in the event of his returning victorious, he would give us 600 cattle, in addition to those before promised. After a little consultation upon the subject, we civilly, but entirely refused his request of assistance in his wars, as not being consistent with our disposition to remain at peace with all the natives; but on the other hand, we consented to allow his cattle to remain under our protection, under the stipulation, however, that 8 or 10 of his men should daily attend, to drive them to and from the pasture, every morning and evening, as the cattle were wild and untamed; but to this he could not consent on any consideration, alleging that he must take every male, including little boys, with him to the battle.

When the negotiation had reached this point, we reflected that by taking upon ourselves the charge of such numerous herds, we might very easily fall into some difference or dissension with this irrational man, particularly should it turn out that the herd had diminished in number, whether by mortality, lameness, or loss through the carelessness of our herds; and although the proposal would have been very profitable to us, such cattle being very scarce, not only for the supply of the next fleets, but for that of our farmers—still after debating a little on the subject, the whole proposal vanished in smoke, upon Oedasoa perceiving that we would not give him any assistance in the war. The course adopted is moreover the best and most advisable for the Company, as all those whom he had intended to attack are our friends, and those from whom we still procure the best supply of cattle: this is to him a subject of annoyance, because he would fain have all our merchandize to himself, in which event he would be able to deal with all the other tribes according to his own fancy; and to give us only so many of his cattle, as he chooses to part with. Therefore, in our humble opinion, it is best that this man does not become too great, but be kept in his old condition and as he now is.

A fuller account of this affair will be found in our journal (29th Jan., 3d and 11th Feb.) your honors will also observe there, that the interpreter Doman died on the 12th Dec. last, (Herry also died some time ago,) both of them were always considered as very mischievous and malicious men, and as the greatest opponents of the hon. Company.

In the Company's orchard behind the table mountain (besides the olive tree, which was so laden with fruit that the boughs bent) many European fruit trees show blossom, and some their fruit. . . . but we fear that, from the heavy S. E. winds, they will be kept down and never come to perfection. It is therefore, under correction, our opinion that the fruit will never thrive here so well as garden stuff. . . . we need not fear any want of vegetables, should even 20 ships arrive at the same time. . . . it were to be wished that we could supply them as well with large stock as with vegetables,

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The Cape farm produce in 1663, is thus stated in this despatch:—Company's lands, 345 muids wheat, 123 of rye, 144 barley, 7½ turkey beans, 2¼ peas, 1½ *boeckweyt*, ¼ *cadjangh*.—At Bosheuvel, 32 muids wheat, 1½ beans.—The free men, 99 muids wheat, 31 do. barley, being about one-half more than was last year delivered to the Company The expenses of refreshments and other accommodation to 41 ships during last year, including the hospital, / 18,831 : 13 : 2

Expenses of this Cape possession, with ordinary rations, &c.	28,092 : 15 : 0
Advances, &c.	10,619 : 9 : 3

Total,	38,773 : 2 : 2
Income of last year, (chiefly arising from profits on goods sold,)	32,553 : 15 : 0

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6,160 : 1 : 3

should even 20 ships arrive at the same time. . . . . it were to be wished that we could supply them as well with large stock as with vegetables ; this, however, does not depend upon us, but must be patiently awaited from the savages. . . . .

Commander Wagenaar has been frequently severely afflicted with gout and sciatica, and, after having written the 5 or 6 first sheets of this despatch, was subsequently unable to sign his own name, and fearing that his present ailment will attend him to his grave, he most earnestly requests that he may be relieved. . . . .  
A. GABBEMA, &c. &c.

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Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—April 25. 17 lean sheep were bought, in the usual manner, from the Hottentoots. 26. This day, 6 cattle and 39 sheep were brought in by the Hottentoots who lie hereabouts, and bartered for brass and tobacco ; this day we published the banns of Pieter van Meerhoff, surgeon, 27 years of age, and the interpreter Eva, 21 years old ; this will be the first marriage, according to christian custom, which has ever taken place here, with any of the natives of this country. 28. Last night the tiger killed 14 sheep belonging to the free farmer J. Rosendal ; bought 3 cattle.

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### Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to Commander WAGENAAR and Council.

1664. April 29. The last despatch addressed to you by our assembly was dated the 25th August last. . . . we have your letter of the 21st Nov. . . . . we approve of your having sent another expedition into the interior, hoping that we shall thus at length acquire the necessary knowledge of the country, and ascertain whether anything profitable to the Company is to be found. The proposed voyage by sea to the north, may be postponed for the present, as that coast is beyond our jurisdiction ; unless the object be only to ascertain whether any navigable river may be found, by means of which we may get some further knowledge of the state of the country in the interior.

Upon your further proposal, you may occasionally get rid of some of your lazy debauched farmers, should they be in debt, by sending them to Mauritius in the service of the Company, to keep up the number of the garrison there ; but as to supplying you in place of those, with other industrious farmers, we doubt whether it will be practicable ; you will meanwhile make use of such farmers or farm servants as go out among the common people, and whose occupation we have been accustomed to specify on the muster roll ; among these you will doubtless find brickmakers also. But in our opinion, the work there must be chiefly done by slaves, for our people, when abroad, are at all times with difficulty induced to work, besides that servants are too expensive for your farmers, and you must see to get assistance from Madagascar. If the war with China continues, we shall be in no want of that description of people, who may be sent you from Batavia, and from whom the Company may look for the greatest service.

Meanwhile, upon the grounds advanced, we approve of raising the prices of the grain, and authorise you to receive it at the following rates, wheat (per muid) 7 guilders, barley  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , rye  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , Oats 4, which we trust will encourage the farmers. . . . .

We have received the compendium or vocabulary of the Hottentoo language, by Georgius Fredericus Wredee, and at your suggestion, we have had it printed, and shall send you some copies<sup>(1)</sup>. . . . . to encourage the zeal of the said Wredee, we have granted him a reward of 100 Rix-dollars, which we hereby authorise you to pay, as also to promote him, according to his ability and inclination, to the place of either assistant or sergeant ;<sup>(2)</sup> but we are of opinion, notwithstanding, that it will be much more advantageous for the Company, that the natives there should learn our language, than that we should learn theirs, and you will direct your endeavours accordingly.

(1) No copies have been found in the Colonial office.

(2) Mr. Wredee was sent in charge of the small party who occupied Mauritius—where, misbehaving, he was tried at the Cape, and sentenced to be reduced to the ranks and sent to Batavia, (Cape despatch, March 23, 1668) ; but was, a year later, appointed to the charge of the Fort at Saldanha Bay, “in consideration of his long experience in this country, and his knowledge of the Hottentoo language.” (Cape despatch, 29th April, 1669.)

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1664. Aug. 14. A despatch was written by the Chamber XVII. chiefly preparing for a rupture with England, and showing great anxiety to find out another place of rendezvous ; and, on the 22d Sept., an authority was sent to land 30 or 40 more men, if deemed necessary ;—a month later, the demonstrations of England on the coast of Guinea led to an order to land 100 soldiers and 23 gunners at the Cape, with the necessary provisions, &c.

We have resolved to send to you, at their own desire, by the next ships, and under charge of some families who take their passage in these ships, some young girls, for the advancement of the population. . . . .

We see no great objection to building the Fort also of stone, to prevent the constant washing away of the earthen walls, but we have a very serious objection against sending you the necessary workmen from this quarter; and therefore the work must be put off until you are better supplied with slaves. We shall, meanwhile, expect the promised models, so that we may be enabled to come to a more mature decision; but it must be understood that the plans will require to be drawn upon rather a large scale, so that, in the event of an attack (which God forbid,) the Fort may serve to contain and secure all the farmers and others who live without the walls of the Castle, which is at present rather too confined for the purpose.

The two women, who have husbands at the Cape, will be allowed a passage, upon condition of their binding themselves, according to the Company's regulations, to reside in the country for 15 years.

We have examined and approved the memorandum left you by Mr. P. A. Overtwater. . . . .

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—April 30. It appears that the Hottentoots begin again to think of us, for they this day brought in 14 cattle, and 27 sheep, which were purchased from them in a friendly manner.

May 1. After examination, we found fully 46 tons of wheat and rye, mostly unthrashed—among the farmers. Bought 6 sheep of the Hottentoots. 6. We have still 202 sheep on Robben Island. . . . . 8. The Hottentoots sold to us at the Fort, 31 sheep. 11. Nothing happened, except that the Hottentoots brought in, and sold us 6 more sheep. 17. With the long continued drought, so unusual at this winter season, we can scarcely plough the ground, and the grass is so dry that there is little food for the stock—24 of our best working oxen are affected with a disease in which the body becomes hardened, so that they cannot work; we hope they may recover, for otherwise we shall be ill off, as the Hottentoots bring us but few large stock. 21. Three lions were yesterday among the cattle at the Bosheuvel, and killed 2 of our best oxen, so we are not only plagued with the drought, but with these mischievous brutes also; this morning 2 leopards, the most mischievous destroyers and murderers of the sheep, were shot and brought into the Fort.

26. 3 cattle and 6 sheep were bought from the Hottentoots; and on the 27, 1 ox and 16 sheep.

June 2. This forenoon the surgeon Pieter van Meerhoff, was married in the hall here, to the Company's interpreter named Eva, (who was of Hottentoot parentage, but subsequently brought up in the house of Mr. Riebeeck) upon which event, according to the directions of the last Commissioner Mr. Dirck Steux, a little marriage feast was given in the Commander's house.<sup>(1)</sup>

5. The Commander rode out with Messrs. Gabbema and Lacus to fix the site of another redoubt under the Bosheuvel, between this Bay and False Bay, and of two stations for the mounted guard. . . . 11. The Cochoquas brought in and sold to us 12 sheep. 12. The Commander went again to Robben Island, taking with him 9 volunteer Hottentoots, to carry shells. 16. The Commander returned. . . . he had induced the Hottentoots by a piece of tobacco, and a glass of brandy, to stay 3 or 4 days more to carry shells. One of our oldest mares, after having done good service at Batavia and here, this day gave up the ghost.

20. An old cow, 2 calves, and 12 sheep, were this day bought from the Cochoquas, for brass and tobacco. 21. W. C. Mostert was chosen Borgerraad in room of H. H. Boom, who had served 2 years. 22. The boat was sent to Robben Island with 8 oxen, to try whether we cannot convey shells from the west side to the landing place, in a wagon, better than with our carriers.

July 2. The Cochoquas sold us 10 sheep and 2 calves; on the other hand in this cold wet

(1) 1664. April 12.—The following is the Resolution passed on the subject:—Appeared before the Council, Pieter van Meerhoff, of Copenhagen, surgeon's assistant, aged — years, and the Hottentoot interpreter Eva, aged — years, who having engaged themselves in marriage to each other, desired that they might be duly united in the holy state of matrimony.

The Council, therefore, not having been able to learn any thing but that they are both free persons—who, according to their own statements, have not contracted any other similar engagement—have thought fit to consent to the reasonable request of these persons;—the rather because through this alliance of the said Hottentoot interpreter Eva—who has long since had herself baptized, and has begun to acquire a taste for our knowledge and our religion—with such a good, sober, and respectable man, these native tribes will become more and more attached to us.

And as the said Eva has now served the Company for many years as interpreter, without ever having received any thing, except food and clothing in return, it is resolved at the same time to give her as a marriage gift, according to the usual custom with Company's children, a sum of Fifty Rix-dollars; and as soon as the marriage is performed, a merry bridal feast; and further, that in order to encourage the bridegroom, who has served out his time here as surgeon's assistant, that he shall be, in compliance with his request, promoted to the rank of surgeon. . . . .

weather, as is always the case at this season, we lost a fine milch cow, a heifer, and 2 sheep, 5. Bought 10 sheep from the Cochoquas. 15. The Commander went out to plant the first hops at the orchard, from those now growing in the garden at the Fort... 20. Before divine service the Cochoquas brought 3 cattle and — sheep, which we bought for brass and tobacco. In the evening between light and dark we saw a bright flaming ray of light, like a burning torch, in the sky, which was clear and starless—it shot from east to west—leaving behind it a very fiery red stripe, of 9 or 10 roods long, which remained a good while, and then changed into a small white cloud; this was seen with fear and wonder, (1) by every one who was in the street.

July 27. Some Hottentoots were sent in from the country, because some tobacco and a little copper and iron had been found in their possession. Being asked from whom they had procured it, they agreed in stating that they had got it from a certain freeman residing here at the Fort, named Harman Remangenne, alias Harman the Coppersmith, for the purchase of sheep, for which the said freeman will be charged, and punished according to the Proclamation.

31. The Cochoquas brought in 5 cattle and 21 sheep, which were received from them in exchange for the usual articles.

Aug. 3. Little or nothing occurred; fine growing weather; in the evening appeared here 6 pack oxen, which were sent by Oudasoa, chief of the Saldanhars, who desired, that if we were inclined to come to them to purchase cattle, we would use the oxen to convey our merchandize; the proposal will be taken into consideration to-morrow.

4. It was resolved, upon the friendly request of the said Oudasoa, Sourye, or chief of the Cochoquas, that the junior merchant and second in command of this place, Mr. Abraham Gabbema, should proceed to-morrow with the 6 oxen, some mounted men, and a variety of merchandize, to the kraal of the said Oudasoa, now about two days' journey distant, to try to purchase as many large and small stock as may be had.—5. About 10 o'clock the Hottentoots brought in the 6 pack oxen, and loaded them with the merchandize and provisions; and at noon Mr. Gabbema set out with three riders, Mr. Pieter Meerhoff and his wife, the interpreter Eva.

7. The Commander went out to see a new piece of ground prepared for a vineyard, and fenced in with a paling, so that the young shoots may not be bitten off and destroyed by rhee-boks and wild hogs, as has been the case with the other vineyard behind the Schuyr.

8. In the evening we were informed by a letter from Mr. Gabbema, brought by two Hottentoots, and dated at the place called the Mossel Bank, that, contrary to the great promises of Oudasoa, he had yesterday procured in barter only five lean cattle and fourteen sheep; and as Oudasoa would not lend him the six oxen any longer, so that he might carry the merchandize to other kraals, to seek for more cattle, he was obliged to request that a wagon and six oxen might be sent from this, which shall be ordered to-night and sent off to-morrow.

9. At the opening of the gate a farmer's wagon with six oxen and two Dutch servants, stood in readiness, and, after putting into it a little more provisions, and some trifles that were asked for, the wagon set out about 8 o'clock.

12. After 9 at night, the Commander received a second letter from Mr. Gabbema, asking for two rolls of tobacco, and some more wire, for which he had sent a borrowed ox and a man on horseback, for he had yesterday reached the kraals of Gonnoma, with twenty-four cattle of different sizes and 80 sheep, and hoped to get some more.—13. Sent off the articles requested by Mr. Gabbema..... 14. An ordinance was issued directing the freemen to assist in repairing the public roads.....

19. A very severe gale from the N. W., the water in the bay as rough as the open sea, and as white as soap suds... the house of the farmer Frans Gerrits was blown down, and 10 of his cattle killed. 18. We shall have two or three months' work in repairing the redoubts and guard houses.

22. The Commander sent off 2 Hottentoots with a letter to Mr. Gabbema, whom they were directed to seek among the kraals of Oudasoa and Gonnoma, as we begin to be uneasy at his long absence; but they soon returned, saying that he was close at hand... about 11, he returned in good health, with 75 cattle, young and old, and 261 sheep, of which many were in lamb, so that this year, (even should we get no more), we shall be pretty well off. He procured almost all the said stock from different kraals of Saldanhars or Cochoquas; we can now assist some of our farmers with cattle..... 23. The assistant was this day condemned by the court to 5 years banishment to Robben Island, and to work at carrying shells, with a chain on his leg, for his thieving.

(1) A comet seen by Van Riebeeck, Dec. 17, 1652, (p. 25 *supra*.) drew from him a remark which was there omitted. "What this may portend no one knows." When estimating the moral sentiments of the period, it should be remembered, that at that time, all such appearances "with fear of change perplexed monarchs."

Sept. 5. Some Hottentoots, called tobacco thieves, brought us 10 tolerable sheep for sale. 6. This morning came 2 Hottentoots of the race called Chainouquas, saying that they were sent by the son of the late Sourye or Chief, Sousoa, to see how we all were, as their master intended, upon their return with good accounts of us, to come to visit us himself, bringing with him a good number of cattle; on which good news we set meat and drink before the said 2 Hottentoots, and entertained them well.

9. The Cochoquas again begun to bring us sheep, of which we bought 10 to-day for tobacco; and 7 on the 10th. 18. Arrived the *Roode Hart*, from Vlei the 14th May, bringing intelligence of an expected rupture between our States and England.

20. The Sourie or chief of the Heusequas, [Chainouquas?] being the son of the late Sousoa, sent 5 Hottentoots, with 6 pack oxen, requesting that we would visit him this year in the east, as we had last year visited his father, saying that we might use the oxen for the journey, and that if we came to his kraals with round copper beads, flat copper, and brass in bars, as also plenty of good tobacco, we might purchase cattle enough; to which request we at once acceded, and promised to send some people with them for that purpose on Monday or Tuesday. 21. Bought 7 sheep.

23. The Hottentoots, sent by Sousoa's son, departed... and in hopes of procuring a good many cattle, we sent with them the assistant Cretser and 7 Dutch, with as much tobacco, copper, beads, &c. as was required for that trade. 24. Bought from the Cochoquas 10 sheep for brass and tobacco, and 26th, 8 sheep. 29. Oedaso's people brought in 4 sheep, which they sold to us for tobacco.

Oct. 1. In the evening we received a letter from the assistant Cretser, dated 29th Sept. from the kraals of the son of the late chief Sousoa, stating that there was no demand for the bar and flat brass which he had carried with him, but the cry was all for small red beads; he, therefore, requested that 3 or 4 masses of red beads might be sent by the Hottentoots who brought his letter; that he might continue the trade—which at present promised well—having procured for a few trifles 50 cattle, and about the same number of sheep. 2. The fiscal, with the ensign, and 2 burger-raden, went out to visit all the farm houses, to obtain a return of the number of farm servants and boys, and also of the arms among them, that we may know what we have to depend upon, and may make the necessary provision.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to Commander WAGENAAR and Council.

1664. Oct. 8. On the last journey into the interior, there has also, as we observe, been nothing in the world discovered, we have therefore thought proper to discontinue such journeys for the present, but we would deem it useful, upon a suitable opportunity, and when it can be done without impeding other important work, that a vessel should be sent along that coast to try to ascertain whether cattle or any thing else is to be had there.....

We consider it well done in you to have declined assisting the chief of the Cochoquas against his enemies, notwithstanding his promise to recompense you; we must not concern ourselves with the mutual disputes or wars of those inland tribes.....

A good quantity of grain has been reaped last season, but there is much scarcity of cattle; it were much to be wished that they were more abundant.

We will not entertain a doubt that the island of Mauritius has been taken possession of before this date; we must not allow other nations to anticipate us there. (1) The two redoubts which you represent to be required, may be taken in hand when the other more necessary buildings are finished.

The establishment of a school there, is a necessary work; we are happy to learn that it has produced such good fruit.

The fleet, which we have resolved upon sending out this season, consists of [12 ships, 2814 men.] We shall soon apprise you of our decision as to the command of the Cape, and the urgent request of Mr. Wagenaar to be relieved.....

(1) The Company ordered Mauritius to be abandoned 26 Dec. 1657—to be reoccupied 24th Aug. 1663; and to be again abandoned 23 July 1716.

The capture of the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands, (New York) and other injuries, by the English, had been recently heard of; and the despatches from Europe are for some time chiefly occupied with orders arising out of the hostilities which soon ensued.

Extracts from Journal, *continued*:—Oct. 10. The Cochoquas brought us 17 sheep for sale. 12. The assistant Cretser returned with his party, bringing with him a fine herd of 121 large and small horned cattle, and 123 sheep. 25. The Cochoquas brought for sale a little ox, and 4 sheep, and 27th, 7 sheep.

Nov. 1. The freemen coming in as usual on 1st of the month for provisions, complained much of the great drought. . . . a live hartebeest was brought in, which had yesterday been chased into a marsh, we trust to keep it alive. . . . .

4. The Cochoquas brought us 21 sheep in the afternoon, which we bought for brass and tobacco. 5. The Chainouquas brought in 14 cattle and 25 sheep, and requested that we would again visit their kraals, assuring us that we might now get a good many cattle, as they were now assembled with 10 kraals together, about 4 days' journey distant; but we thankfully declined the invitation on this occasion, requesting that they would bring them to us.

11. The Cochoquas or Saldanhars sold us 2 old cattle and 13 sheep. 15. Arrived the *Waterhoen*, from Madagascar, had procured only 7 tons of rice and one slave. . . . . the cause of the poor trade was that King Fille Horiva could not sell any slaves without the concurrence of his grandees, or otherwise they would all run away and abandon him. . . . The 12 men destined for the Mauritius had been landed in the S. E. haven, where the Company's Fort had formerly stood. . . . so this trip to Madagascar has, for the second time, done the Company more harm than good.

16. This afternoon we reviewed all these burgers and country farmers, properly armed, and marched them into the fort, where the senior sergeant, Elbert Diemer, being proposed as Ensign, they were for the first time presented, in the Company's name, with blue colours, a schiarf and a plume (pluym.)

17. The Chainouquas again brought in 10 good cattle and 4 sheep, which we bought for brass, beads, and tobacco. 18. This morning we procured from the Chainouquas 7 cattle and 37 sheep. Among the said Hottentoots was the son of the late chief Sousoa, whom we entertained honorably and gave him presents, so that he might come again and bring cattle.

20. The head and skin of a furious lion (which had, with great danger, been shot among the Hottentoots' sheep by some farm servants,) were brought into the fort.

21. Bought of the Cochoquas 29 sheep and a young calf. 24. Oudasoa's people brought in again 13 sheep, which we bought for brass and tobacco.

Dec. 1. Several reports have reached us during the last month, that the servants of several farmers had deserted from their masters, and assembled together, doing much mischief, by stealing provisions from the farm houses, to prevent themselves from starving in this desert country; the Commander therefore rode out to give directions to the Company's servants and farmers to seize those vagabonds and thieves, and bring them bound into the fort, in particular one Burgert Claas, of Bremen, (who has lived in the bush more than 6 weeks,) in order that those banditti may be punished by way of example, and the evil stopped betimes, before it goes any further. 3. A free fisher living at Salt River, brought in the said Burgert Claas (who had deserted from his master, and so long lived in the wilderness) unbound; he had surrendered to the said fisher, intending, with the prodigal son, to say *Pater peccavi*,—as he also did,—requesting pardon of the Commander with marks of great contrition; this may somewhat mitigate his offence, but he was imprisoned for the present, that it may be ascertained what had induced him to desert, and who are the farm servants who would remove into the interior with him.

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1664. Oct. 23. A Despatch of this date from Batavia acknowledges Cape letters of 28th Jan.; 10th and 26th March; 7th, 9th, 21st April; 24th May, and 12th, and states that "it is agreeable to learn the continued good state of affairs at the Cape;" a wish is expressed that the agriculture were so far advanced, that the Cape could feed its own garrison; the useless expeditions to the interior are ordered to be discontinued, and much regret is expressed that Commander Wagenaar feels it necessary to retire.

Nov. 6. Willem Willemse, (commonly called the Lierman) a free farmer, brought in alive a young rhinoceros, the mother of which he had yesterday shot, behind the round hill opposite to Robben Island; for which we gave 2 sheep, 6 Rds. and 6 lbs. of tobacco, in hopes that it may be reared, that we may send it to Holland with the expected fleet;\* on the other hand the fine hartebeest, which was caught last week, died.

8. Arrived a small English vessel the *Lion*, of 124 tons, 26 men, with 200 slaves, 3 weeks from Madagascar, bound to Barbadoes. 20 slaves had died.

10. The burgerraden and 2 others asked leave to go on board the Englishman to try to buy some slaves; which was not only granted, but the Commander, fiscal, and ensign went with them, to try to procure some for the Company; on coming on board we saw the slaves sitting on the orlop, (overloop) the greater part of them very young, entirely naked, and perfect skeletons; notwithstanding which, the captain, *Jan Houwart*;† yesterday asked the ensign 50 Pounds Sterling, or 500 Guilders, for each of his lean slaves. . . . . he now desired to be excused from selling any. . . . .

\* It was kept alive until the 30th.

† The name of this English captain, was no doubt identical with that of the future philanthropist, *John Howard*.

Dec. 8. Bought, for the usual merchandize, 3 cattle and 9 sheep, from the Chainouquas. 15. About midnight, being somewhat cloudy, we all saw a star with a dusky beam or tail, which they say is to be seen much more distinctly about 3 o'clock in the morning; this star rose in the East, the tail being directed due North. 17. Ten Dutch and three Hottentoots were sent by the boat to Hout Bay to cure fish. . . . . To-day we procured from the kraals of Gonnoma, chief of the Cochoquas, 7 cattle and 65 sheep, which we bought for the goods in demand, and entertained the Hottentoots who brought them.

19. During last night there was a call without the gate, to open it, and let the surgeon be sent to a soldier who lay dreadfully wounded; this was agreed to, and upon the return of the surgeon he stated that it was a soldier belonging to the redoubt Keer de Koe, who had last evening received more than twenty-five wounds from some Hottentoots, chiefly on his head, and with his own gun, which it would seem they had taken from him, because, as it is said, (for he could not speak himself,) he had, according to his orders, requested the said Hottentoots not to break the long wooden fence (which has been put up at great expense and with much trouble, to prevent our cattle from being driven away,) to use for firewood, which they had already begun to do, having already broken down a long piece of it. Meanwhile we had the unfortunate sufferer brought into the hospital, and earnestly recommended him to the best care of the surgeon.

About 8 a. m. 7 Hottentoots belonging to the kraal of Oudasoa, came driving for sale, an ox, 1 calf, and 17 sheep, which we bought of them for the usual wares, but while Mr. Gabbema was thus engaged, those fellows began to talk to one another of the affair of yesterday, between them and the wounded soldier, one of them saying that he had been first struck by the latter; this being distinctly heard and understood by one of our Hottentoots, who sat close by, it was repeated by him to Mr. Gabbema, to whom he, at the same time, pointed out the man who had spoken as above; they were then addressed through the interpreter Eva, and asked, what had induced him or them to treat the Dutchman so shamefully; and although they said that they knew nothing about the matter, we detained two of them, allowing the other 5 to return to their kraal with the brass and tobacco they had purchased; clearly explaining to them, that the remaining two should not be released, until they had either confessed, or pointed out the perpetrators of that cruel outrage.

20. Bartered from the Cochoquas 3 cattle and 20 sheep, which they brought to the Fort. 23. In the afternoon, 5 Cochoquas or Saldanhars came to the Fort, bringing 10 good cattle and 11 sheep, which they offered to give to the Commander, if he would release the 2 Hottentoots who were, (on the grounds stated on the 19th inst.,) detained in the Fort; and as we had procured no further proofs of the guilt of those men, we agreed to this request, and set both the prisoners at liberty; the cattle being received with this stipulation, that they should be restored to the owners upon their producing the real culprits.

24. Arrived, to the great joy of all, the *Kalff*, from Batavia 25th Oct. with 120 tons of rice, and various other highly necessary articles.

1665. Jan. 2. Arrived the *Kemphaen*. . . sent out with advices that the English were likely to attack us in India; and with authority to increase our garrison by disembarking more men from the passing ships. . . . . 3. Bought 4 sheep from the Cochoquas. 6. 3 cattle and 18 sheep were bought from the Cochoquas for the usual merchandise. 10. Bought 4 cattle and 11 sheep from the Cochoquas. 23. Nothing more happened, except that we bought from the Chainouquas, 8 sheep and a cow, and 2 cows on the 25th.

28. W. Willems van de Venter stated, that having gone to Tygerberg with J. C. Visser, to bring home in a wagon a rhinoceros, which they had shot the day before, they were surrounded and attacked by 5 terrible lions. . . . .

30. In the evening a certain Hottentoot (called by the Dutch, Platneus,) came to tell us that the theft committed some days ago, at the house of the fisherman, Carel Broers, about day-light when they were out fishing (this poor hard-working man had been robbed of 214 guilders in money, some bread, rice, tobacco, &c.) had been committed by his countrymen; in proof of which he handed over, towards repayment of the said sum, 116 guilders, saying that it had been given to him for the purpose of being restored to us, by the Souries, or chiefs to whom the thieves were subject; and although we were half disposed to detain him until the rest of the money should be brought, we allowed him to go, on his urgent request and promises to bring back the rest, if possible.

February 1. The said Hottentoot brought £2 : 4 : 8 more of the stolen money.

4. The Chainouquas brought in seven cattle and 25 sheep, which were purchased for the usual articles, together with a cordial entertainment of meat, drink, and tobacco, as their pretended king

or Sourie was with them. 18. The Commander went to Robben Island..... Our large boat followed an hour later, loaded with Hottentoots, whom he had induced to go thither to carry shells. 19. Bought 1 cow, 4 sheep, and 4 fine elephant's tusks from the Chainouquas. 20. Bought from the Hottentoots 3 lean cattle and 1 sheep.

Feb. 23. The Chainouquas sold us ten sheep. 25. Nine old mares, three foals, and five young stallions were this day sold by auction.....for the sum of 814 guilders.

March 11. Arrived the homeward-bound fleet under Admiral P. de Bitter.....who had a commission to visit this place. 23. Bought from the Chainouquas two cattle and fourteen sheep. 26. Twenty-two sheep were bought from Oudasoa's people, the Cochoquas. At a meeting of the Council called by the Admiral, the burger Marten Jacobs and his wife were ordered to be removed to Holland for their scandalous and quarrelsome life. 31. A farmer's servant who had yesterday a fearful hole knocked in his head by a Hottentoot with a stone, was trepanned by the surgeon.

April 1. The said servant died of the wound in his head; in consequence of which 20 Hottentoots, who are accustomed to reside here, ran off for fear of punishment. 8. Bought of the Cochoquas, 2 cattle and 35 sheep. 9. The Caapmans, whose kraals lie about an hour's walk off, brought us 6 sheep for sale. 22. The fleet sailed for Europe. 24. 80 scorbutic patients were landed from the *Amersfoort*. The Cochoquas again brought us 14 sheep, which we bought for tobacco. 28. Bought from the Cochoquas 8 sheep and 1 ox. 29. The Cochoquas offered for sale 3 cows and 9 sheep.

May 1. Arrived the *Medenblink* from Texel 9 December.....with orders to prepare to resist an attack of the English, for which purpose we are authorised to disembark 300 more soldiers, with ammunition and provisions. 11. This forenoon we bought 34 sheep, and 3 lean cattle from the Cochoquas, and on the 12th, 21 sheep.

19. Our boat the *Bruydegom* went to Robben Island, and with her the surgeon Mr. P. van Meerhoff, with his wife and children, to act as superintendant.

23. This morning the Fiscal Lacus, the Ensign and the Burgerraad Wouter Mostert were sent out, upon the complaint of some Hottentoots, to make strict inquiry among the freemen whether they had, the day before yesterday, forcibly taken from the Hottentoots three cattle, and driven them home and killed them, as strongly insisted upon by the owners of the cattle, who say that this was done by one Frans Gerrits van den Uythoorn, commonly called Frans de Capper, and his servant. 24. The Cochoquas brought into the fort nineteen sheep, which we bought. 28. This evening we heard from our chief surgeon that the wife of the free burger Jacob Cloeten had gone to sleep in the Lord; this poor man and his four little children have, in her, suffered a great loss. Heavy rains, the fort walls, according to their annual custom, falling down.....

June 3. Bought three sheep from the Cochoquas. 5. This afternoon the Saldanhars, or people of Oudasoa, brought in five fine cattle and twenty sheep, which we bought of them for brass and tobacco. 8. Marked out the new castle, which we have been ordered to erect, according to the plan received by the Medenblink, in 5 great points or bulwarks, encircling the fort.

9. Arrived the *Aep* from Texel, Fitz..... with intelligence that the English, without any previous declaration, had commenced war, having taken several of our ships when passing the channel, and landed and sold their cargoes,—in consequence of which, orders were sent to Batavia, &c. to take revenge upon that nation. 30. This morning the Cochoquas brought in eight cattle and fifty-three sheep, which we bought for brass and tobacco.

July 2. This evening we bought from the Cochoquas thirty-one sheep for beads, brass, and tobacco. 3. We bought this day from the Hottentoots called tobacco thieves, one lean cow and twelve sheep. 10. In the evening we bought from the Hottentoots called *Coriguriquas*, alias, the tobacco thieves, eight sheep, for tobacco. 14th. Bought fourteen lean sheep from the Cochoquas. 8. The Chorachouquas brought us seven sheep, which we bought for brass and tobacco. 29. Bought from the Cochoquas fifteen sheep and two lean cows.

August 19. Arrived the Commander Isbrant Goske..... and a clergyman, who is to reside

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1665. April 23. A letter from the Directors, (announcing the rupture with England,) directs Mr. Wagenaar to give over his charge to Mr. van Qaelbergen, allowing precedence, however, to Isbrand Goske, while at the Cape; the Directors urge the Cape authorities to procure a good number of slaves from Madagascar, or wherever they can be best procured, in order to build a new Fort.

1665. Aug. 10. A despatch from the Directors makes no reference to intelligence from the Cape; orders Commander Goske to await the arrival of Mr. Quaelbergen,—states that the Dutch fleet of 90 sail intends leaving port the next day for the protection of the homeward bound fleet from India; and that Admiral de Ruiter has recently returned with a good booty, having done extensive damage to the English settlements, &c.

here until further orders. . . . . 22. A proclamation was issued prohibiting the sale of flesh, fish, vegetables, milk, butter, &c. at private houses, to prevent the insufferable usury which has hitherto taken place; but directing all to bring their articles of food to the public market, or *passer*, there to be sold at the prices fixed by Council and Burgerraden.

Aug. 26. Mr. Goske assembled the Council, when, upon his proposal, after much deliberation, it was resolved that the new *Royale* Fortress which our Masters intend to construct here, shall be placed about 60 roods to the Eastward of this fort.

29. There were brought in by the Cochoquas, or Oudasoa's people, 4 cattle and 12 sheep.

Sept. 2. Sailed the *Middelburg* with Commander Goske. 8th. This day we bought from the Cochoquas. . . . . pretty good sheep for tobacco alone. 18th. Arrived the *Loos duynen* from Rotterdam 14th April. Our great fleet and that of the English had not yet met. . . . . 20. Arrived the *Royal Charles*, English ship, 95 men, 12 guns, from Surat. . . . . They were ignorant of the furious war that had, for the second time, broken out between the two countries.<sup>(1)</sup>

24. A second letter was written to warn the captain of the *Herring*, but as no Hottentoots could be found who were inclined to go to Saldanha Bay, it remained until the 25th, when two Hottentoots volunteered to take it. 26. Some baked and glazed earthenware from our new pottery was sold on the market. 29. This evening we bought from the Cochoquas, for brass and tobacco, 2 cattle and 27 sheep.

Oct. 3. A fine lot of sheep, 34 in number, and 3 cattle, were this day brought to us, by the Hottentoots called Cochoquas, or Saldanhars. 22. Bought of the Gorachouquas, or tobacco thieves, 4 lean cows, for brass wire and tobacco. 26. Bartered from the Hottentoots 7 pretty good sheep.

31. This forenoon we bartered a good lot of stock, which the Cochoquas brought to us,—five cattle, and seventy-seven sheep; more than has happened for the last year.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to the Commander and Council Cape of Good Hope, &c.

1665. Nov. 7. Our last letter to you is dated the 23d April. The English fleet have now re-entered their harbours, and the river of London has been shut up and blockaded by our fleet of 90 ships of the line. . . . . We have received your letter of the 19th April, from which we learn with satisfaction that all in your quarter continues in a state of tranquillity; but as it is mentioned at the same time, that the annoyance and violence occasionally committed by some of the Hottentoots begins to increase in consequence of our having always winked at such offences, we concur with you in the necessity of making an example of some one of the guiltiest, when caught in the commission of the criminal act, in order to deter others.

We can easily conceive that slaves are very necessary to private farmers, and that, without slaves, they can scarcely maintain themselves, from the expense of free servants, and the great number of them required; we shall not fail to fall upon some mode of supplying you to some extent; we hope that the *Voorman*, on her return from Mauritius, has procured you some slaves from the Bay of Antongil, in Madagascar, where you state that the English have procured two cargoes. . . . .

The fleet which we intend dispatching next harvest and spring, will consist of 18 ships with 3000 men. . . . .

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Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—Nov. 10. The Caapmans brought 5 sheep to the fort, which we bartered from them. 18th. Arrived the *Rynlant* from Amsterdam (North about) July 2. Sailed with 208 souls, 33 had died; of the residue scarcely 5 could be called healthy men. . . . . We learned, by letters of the 27th June, that our fleet had fallen in with that of the English for the first time on the 13th, and that the ship of our Admiral, Opdam, and several others had been blown up, so that it was subsequently found, that out of our 8 squadrons of 118 ships of war, 16 or 17 were missing. We had taken one English ship of 45 guns, and some prizes loaded with ammunition, but how many ships on the enemy's side were wrecked, burnt or sunk, and how many were killed on either side, is still uncertain. . . . . With the next ships is expected Mr. van Quaelbergen, the successor of Mr. Wagenaar. 19. Bought of the Cochoquas four cattle and 13 sheep.

<sup>(1)</sup> Many pages of this portion of the journal are occupied by a detailed account of the endeavors of the garrison to make prize of the English ship by force or stratagem. A boat's crew were decoyed on shore and taken, but the ship cut her cable before the boarding party of 250 men could reach her. Two Hottentoots were sent to Saldanha Bay with a letter to warn the hooker "*Crowned Herring*" to be on her guard against the *Royal Charles*.

Nov. 20. The same Hottentoots sold us twelve sheep; and on the 21st, twenty sheep and one lean cow.

24. Mr. van Riebeeck's lands at the Bosheuvel, were advertised for sale by auction. 25. The Hottentoots called Coringhaiconas brought us ten sheep, which we bought. 28. Jacob Rosendal bought Mr. van Riebeeck's land for 1600 guilders.

December 4. In the evening ten Hottentoots came from Gonnoma, chief of the Cochoquas, with seven oxen, requesting that we would come to his kraal, and would stow our baggage on the oxen; but as he is too far off, and as besides we have scarcely tobacco enough left to buy what is brought to us from time to time, we declined the proffered service, and dismissed the Hottentoots with a present to their master, after entertaining them well.

7. The 20 soldiers who refused to work were put in chains, 4 of the ringleaders were chained in pairs, as at Batavia,—nine were chained, each to a separate wheelbarrow, &c. . . . . 9. The Cochoquas brought us one cow and thirty-five sheep, which we bought for the usual merchandize, and seven sheep on the 11th. 16. Bartered two sheep from the Caapmans. 20. This evening we bartered seven lean sheep from the Cochoquas for brass and tobacco. 26. Bartered four sheep from the Caapmans. 30. Got ten sheep from the Chariguriquas. 31. This evening we bartered fourteen sheep from the Cochoquas.

1666. Jan. 1. As we closed the last year with the desirable cattle trade in this summer season, so we commenced this year in the same way, the Cochoquas having brought us for sale a cow and two calves, and fourteen sheep. 2. After working for five months with about 300 men on the foundation of the new castle, the Commander this day laid the first stone<sup>(1)</sup>. . . . .

5. One sheep was bartered from the Cochoquas. 8. Bought from the Cochoquas two lean cattle and 8 sheep. 9. Some days ago the Cochoquas under Gonnoma encamped with one of their kraals here under the Tiger Berg, whence the said Gonnoma came this day to the fort with about 30 of his greasy life guards, bringing 36 sheep and 7 lean cattle, which we bought of them for tobacco and brass; Gonnoma asked for thin square bar iron, in exchange for some sheep, in order to make sharp points for their assagais, but this not being deemed advisable, was refused. 10. Late at night we got seven sheep from another kraal of the Cochoquas. 11. Procured from the Cochoquas, whose kraal lies half a day's journey off, six lean cattle and ten sheep. 12. The approach of the Cochoquas with their kraals is the means of securing us a good cattle trade, for to-day we again procured one cow and thirty-five sheep. 17. The Cochoquas brought to the fort ten sheep, which, as soon as divine service was over, we bought of them for tobacco. 18. These Hottentoots, though from another kraal, brought us for sale six lean cattle and two sheep, which we bought. 19. The Cochoquas, who have come a little nearer with their kraal, brought us to-day nine very fine cattle and 17 sheep, which happens most fortunately for us.

21. Our stock was this day increased by one cow and 4 sheep, which we bought of the said Cochoquas; and as the pasture in Table valley and behind the Lion's hill, begins to get very dry and scanty, in consequence of the great heat, we this morning sent 400 sheep through the kloof, to be grazed for 14 days at the foot of the mountains on the other side, as very fine grass was seen there a few days ago. 22. Bought 14 sheep from the Cochoquas for tobacco. 24. Late in the evening the Cochoquas brought us a cow and 3 sheep, and 25th, 2 cattle and 8 sheep.

26. Arrived the *Sperance* from Texel, 21st Aug. 1665. . . . almost all the crew, as is usually the case, affected with scurvy. . . . bringing us no advices except a letter of 8th Oct. 1664, which we had before received *six fold*. . . . . Our fleet of 120 ships was again at sea, and the last homeward bound fleet had put into Bergen in Norway, whither a powerful English fleet had proceeded. 28. We again procured 2 young cattle and 10 sheep from the Cochoquas. 29. This day we got

(1) The Journal gives a detail of the number of oxen and sheep, and the quantity of Cape beer, expended in a public entertainment to the garrison on this occasion—and Mr. Wagenaar inserts, as worthy of preservation, the following couplets—the spirit of which will ill endure the fetters of *sworn* translation:—

Soo worden voort en voort de rycken uyt gespreyt  
Soo worden al de swart, en geluwen gepreyt,  
Soo doet men uytter aerd een steen wal oprechten  
Daar 't donderend metael seer wynigh can ophechten.  
Voor Hottentoots waren 't eerteyts aerde wallen,  
Nu comt men hier met steen voor anderen oock brallen,  
Dus maekt men dan een schricq soo wel d' Europeaan  
Als voor den Aes. Amer. en wilden Africaen.

Dus wort beroemt gemaect 't geheylicht Christendom  
Die setels stellen in het woeste heydendom,  
Wy loven 't groot bestier, en zeggen met malcander  
Augustus heerschappy, noch winnet Alexander.  
Noch Ceasar's groot beleyt, zyn noyt daerinne gewaerd,  
Met leggen van een steen op 't eynde van de Aard—

from the same Cochoquas 6 sheep; nothing further occurred. 30. Towards evening we bought from the Cochoquas, (who are now trading with us as desired,) 2 cattle and 31 sheep; and 31st, again 22 sheep from the same Hottentoots.

Feb. 1. We bought 15 sheep from the Hottentoots so often mentioned. 2. As occurs daily, there were this day 5 sheep bought from the Hottentoots. 3. Bought 6 sheep from the Cochoquas, and on the 4th, 24 sheep. 17. Sent the Crowned Herring to Saldanha Bay to fetch a load of sea-bird's dung for our gardens. 20. Much thunder and lightning, a thing which very seldom happens here. 24. The fiscal Lacus was sent with 6 soldiers and some merchandize in a wagon with 6 oxen, to Hottentoots Holland, to try to purchase some horned cattle, as there are thereabouts 7 kraals of the Cochoquas lying in a row. 24. The Cochoquas sold us 42 sheep and 4 cattle for brass and tobacco.

March 1. The fiscal returned from Hottentoots Holland with 44 cattle and 110 sheep, chiefly purchased from Gonnoma, chief of the Cochoquas, so that we are now pretty well provided for the return fleet<sup>(1)</sup> 5. Sent a party of 15 men to the interior for ten days to try to catch young horses, asses, deer, rhinoceroses, or other rare animals, to send with the next fleet. 13. The party returned from the interior. They had seen several wild horses, but had got none, dead or living; of other game they had seen great numbers, in particular hartebeests and steenboks in flocks of more than 200; they had shot several for food. 21. The Cochoquas brought us a calf and seven sheep, which has not happened for more than a month. 31. Bartered one cow and 26 sheep from the Cochoquas for tobacco.

April 1. Arrived the *Nuysenberg* from Amsterdam 17th November. . . . .likelihood of war with France.

9. Lieut. Schut was sent out with ten men, one ox, and two mules, laden with brass, tobacco, beads, &c. to try to procure some good cattle and sheep from the Cochoquas to the Eastward. 10. Jan Theunis offered for sale on the market the carcass of a wild buffalo, shot yesterday at the Bosheuvel, but as no one would buy it we had it salted for the slaves. 12. The Cochoquas again begin to bring us live stock, namely 3 lean cattle and ten sheep. 15. The Junior Merchant, A. Gabbema, who has lived here more than ten years, sailed to Batavia. 21. Three horsemen were sent out to seek for Lieut. Schut and his party, who were sent out on the 9th, as we have expected them back for the last 3 or 4 days; we begin to fear that they have met with some accident. 24. A soldier came to the Commander, stating, that nine days ago he had been directed by Lieut. Schut to stay at a certain place about twelve miles off with thirteen cattle and forty-two sheep, while he visited some other kraals to buy more cattle, but that having waited in vain for nine days, instead of four or five, and his bread being exhausted, he had returned to the fort with the said cattle; he could not account for the long absence of the Lieutenant and his party. 25. Four horsemen were a second time sent out to seek the party in the interior. 26. While sitting at dinner at 12 o'clock, Lieut. Schut and his party returned with 14 cattle and 97 sheep, purchased in the kraals of Oudasoia, far to the Eastward; the sole cause of his detention was the swelling of rivers, which obliged his party to make wooden floats to ferry over their cattle and themselves.

May 15. Sent the *Crowned Herring* to Robben Island for some fat sheep for these homeward-bound ships. 24. Sailed the return fleet.

<sup>(1)</sup> The Despatches from Batavia generally referred to securing supplies for the fleets; the following extracts are of this period:

"1665. Dec. 25. We have received your letter of the 9th and 26th Nov. last year, 7th Feb., 24th April, 6th May, 11th June, and last of August of this year.

"Our masters have had good cause to furnish the Cape with additional force of men, ammunition, and provisions, for it is evident that whenever the English send out any force of consequence to India you will have to sustain the first assault. . . . .

"We can well conceive that the stay of the last fleet 40 days at the Cape caused a great consumption of fresh provisions."

"1666. Jan. 30. It will be very inconvenient if you are unable to procure any large cattle for the refreshment of the crews, before the arrival of those ships, as we have been unable to supply them with more than four months beef and pork, and little salt fish is to be had here. We understand that you require strong tobacco for the purchase of horned cattle, and, fearing that the 1905 lbs. sent by the Hoog Casteel, is not powerful enough for the Hottentots, we have sent some that is better, trusting that you will be able to have a good many cattle in readiness for the fleet' . . . . .

The following extract, on the same subject, is from one of Van Riebeeck's last Despatches, (date omitted):—

"Whenever the trade flourishes, the shipping have been well supplied; for instance, the first fleet that touched here, that under Demmer in 1653, Bogaert's in 1656, Coedyk's in 1659, Frisius' in 1661, and Van Outshoorn's in 1662—The fleets in the intermediate years have also had some, for instance that of Van Goen's in 1655—10 cattle and 13 sheep. Crab's in 1657, 7 cattle, 66 sheep. Cuneus' in 1658, 52 cattle, 135½ sheep. Sterthemius' in 1660, 46 cattle, 150 sheep."

Extract of a Despatch from Commander WAGENAAR and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1666. May 16. With the return fleet under Mr. P. Bitter, which sailed on the 22d of April, last year<sup>(1)</sup>. . . . . we last addressed your Honors according to annual custom. . . . . In compliance with your orders, we have increased the strength of this garrison with 300 soldiers, a master gunner and twelve gunners, thus to place ourselves in a better state of defence against our expected enemies. . . . . but, thank God! to this hour we have been mercifully preserved, and allowed to hold possession of this little point of land in peace and tranquillity. Among your said letters we have received the plan of the royal fortress, which your Honors intend to erect here. . . . . During the last year these natives or Hottentoes have brought us a tolerable number of the cattle so requisite for our needful supply, but as we were then out of tobacco,—the best article for this trade,—we were obliged to buy it in small quantities from private individuals, paying from three to six guilders per lb., and thus kept the trade alive until our supplies arrived.

The chief of the Cochoquas or Saldanitans, named Oudasoa, has not been at the fort for fully two years; he does not seem over well pleased, but in his way to grumble at us, because we declined assisting him against his enemies, and our good friends, the Chainouquas. This refusal, however, would not have been of so much consequence, but now he is afraid to come, because he is trying to evade fulfilling his promises to Eva, (who has been brought up here from her infancy, and since baptized and married to an assistant surgeon named Pieter van Meerhoff, now Overseer on Robben Island,) for, as stated by this Christian Hottentoo, she ought to receive from him 100 cattle and more than 500 sheep, but seeing that she is now married to a Hollander and a Christian, he withholds those cattle; otherwise she would have gladly sold and delivered them to the Company.

As this, however, is a matter which does not particularly concern us, we shall allow it to take its own course and have nothing to do with it.

As to the other Hottentoo rabble, (*geboeste*,) who have always staid here at the fort, we have at present nothing to complain, but should they hereafter play us any of their old tricks of theft or breach of the peace, we shall let the guilty party feel the punishment attached to such offences, and which your Honors conceive will be necessary.

These freemen are still as poorly off as last year; the greater part of them, particularly the married men, are and continue poor, aye, unless occasionally assisted, they would perish, as they can do little with agriculture, principally on account of the conduct of their expensive yet unmanageable Dutch servants; this renders the farmers so indisposed to that work, that they try every means of getting quit of it, in order to earn their food by easier employment, the rather that they have for some time observed with looks of sorrow, if not of envy, that the freemen who live at the fort, now make a good livelihood from the expenditure of our salaried people, by canteens and eating houses; and in the hopes of being allowed to participate in these advantages, several farmers have urgently requested to be allowed to reside somewhat nearer to the fort; but as we have already too many of such idlers, who consume, but produce nothing, we have declined all these proposals, and induced them by fair words to return to their former farm work, as it was with that object that they, upon their own proposal, had been made free; representing to them, and assuring them, at the same time, of the kind promises of your Honors, to procure for them and to send them some slaves, for which purpose you had already written to Batavia<sup>(2)</sup>. . . . .

Among the other farmers who merely spend their money in drink, and do not care or labour for themselves, we find many reckless, useless subjects, and still more among their servants, disobedient and worthless characters, of whom we shall have to rid ourselves in one way or another; for it is to be feared that in the event of a hostile attack, they would be the first to go over to the enemy, and to assist them; aye! there are among them some, who have long ago wished and prayed that the English fleet might but come hither to convey them from this Devil's land, (as they commonly call it) to some other. . . . .

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—May 29. All the persons who had tried to conceal themselves in the ships, as well Company's servants, as servants of free men, were sentenced to two or three years' hard labor in chains, without wages. 31. 6 of them were sent to Robben Island.

(<sup>1</sup>) No letter to the Directors dated in the year 1665, appears in the Letter Book. (See Journal, March 11, 1665.)

(<sup>2</sup>) Extract of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to Commander VAN QUÆLBERGEN and Council. 1666. April 16. Our last letter to you was dated 7th November last year. . . . . We can well conceive the necessity of furnishing you with slaves, but as yet have had no opportunity, it being as much as we are able to effect to send the most indispensable supplies to India; we shall not lose sight of the subject upon a favorable opportunity.

June 14. Died in her 66th year, the wife of Commander Wagenaar.... 22. A carpenter was sentenced to have his head cut off with an axe, for a murder committed with a similar instrument; at the intercession of the culprit's wife, the clergyman, &c. sentence was mitigated to being shot to death.

July 6. This day 2 cattle and 6 sheep were brought for sale by the Caepmans; the like has not happened for a long time. One of the Caepmans, commonly called the *Cuyper*, says that they intend removing very far away from us to another country, and never to return to us again; but we fully believe that the said chiefs are inclined, out of pure jealousy, to attack the Chainouquas, our friends, (from whom we get the most and the best cattle,) which, should it become certain, must be prevented betimes.

Aug. 2. Ensign J. Coon was sent out with 10 men and some goods, to try to purchase some cattle in the interior. 5. The Ensign returned with 14 cattle and 33 sheep. 21. Towards evening, 4 Hottentoots of the Chainouqua race, living to the eastward, appeared in the Fort, to inquire how we all were, as the son of the late Soury or chief, named Sousoa, on hearing from us, designs to visit us; but we intend sending a mission thither next week, and we had the said Hottentoots well entertained, so that they may accompany our men and show them the way. 24. Sent the fiscal Cretser with 11 men, 5 oxen, and 2 mules, to the Chainouquas to the eastward, to try to buy a good lot of cattle and sheep.

25. Arrived the long expected ship *Dordrecht*, with Mr. Cornelis Quaelbergen, to succeed Commander Wagenaar.... Out of 294 men in the *Dordrecht*, 112 had died....

Sept. 5. The Cape burgers were mustered under arms in the Fort. 10. The boat arrived from Robben Island laden with shells; bringing Mr. Pieter van Meerhoff, with his wife and youngest child, born upon the island, and who is to be baptized here next Sunday. 13. Fiscal Cretser returned from the interior with his party, having bought from these native tribes, who live to the eastward, 70 cattle and 200 sheep; 10 cattle, and an equal number of sheep had died on the way, being too old and poor to get over the mountains. This day died D. Engelgraef... a soldier, who, being a quiet and qualified person, has been employed as schoolmaster to the Cape children, white and black. 14. None of the.....having has yet delivered a grain of their.....to the Company, a messenger was sent with a serjeant to warn them to fulfil their contract with the Company within 3 days, or that, otherwise, we would send to fetch it out of their houses. 17. The superintendent P. van Meerhoff, embarked in the *Bruydgom* to return to Robben Island....21. Arrived the *Walcheren*....[62 deaths and 120 sick in bed]....

Extracts of a Memorandum left by Commander Z. WAGENAAR, by order of the Directors, for the information of his successor, Mr. C. VAN QUAELBERGEN, &c.

[The words printed in Italics are the Marginals, and show the subjects here omitted.]

1666. Sept. 24. The only cause that induced me, in 1664, to tender my resignation, was the miserable state of my health at that period..... Our Masters have been pleased kindly to accede to my request, and.....subsequently to direct that I should leave with you a well digested Memoir.....

*First, to read all Fatherland letters, and other papers.*—To begin then, I would beg to recommend to you, in the first instance, a careful perusal of all the original letters addressed to me by the Directors during my stay here,—my replies to those letters,—the Instructions left here by the successive Commissioners, and by my predecessor, Mr. Joan van Riebeeck.....our Journals, Resolutions, Sentences, and Proclamations, and the other papers in my office, which have been given over to you under a proper inventory.

*Also, the Memoir left by Mr. van Riebeeck.*—Among those documents you will find an ample Memoir left by Mr. van Riebeeck, by orders of the Batavia Government, upon his departure in 1662, in which Memoir I have found many things very well conceived and expressed,—the result of his ten years experience,—and which afforded me much needful information, and have been very useful on several occasions. That Memoir I would recommend you to read attentively at your leisure, taking notice of whatever may seem to deserve attention, in order that you may ascertain whether such points are or are not at variance with the orders of the Directors,—of their representatives at Batavia,—the orders of the several Commissioners,—or with this paper. For since that time many changes have taken place, (as hereinafter detailed,) and many alterations must still be made—a fate to which it is universally observed, that all worldly things are subject.

*Respecting these aboriginal inhabitants.*—And although Mr. van Riebeeck has written very

clearly upon every point, and in particular, has given so good a sketch (opening) of the disposition, character, and habits of these greasy Africans, commonly called Hottentoots, that I might be well excused from making any allusion to the subject, I shall, nevertheless, take a brief view of these savages, *en passant*, that I may let you know, by way of warning, from what kind (soort) among that people, the Company has to look for the greatest advantage in that very essential point, the cattle trade, (without which, there would be very little for us to do here,) and who, on that account, ought to be gratified and well treated in preference to others.

The said Hottentoots then, who usually reside inland within a space of 40 or 50 mylen to the east and north of this African Cape, and are in the habit of wandering from one place to another with their cattle, for the sake of pasture, are, (in so far as they are, for the greater part, known to us,) divided into 9 hordes, (*geslachten*), or assemblages of families, or rather of villagers, or members of the same kraal: they are named

*Goringhaiconas*,—*Goringhaiquas*,—*Gorachouquas*,—*Cochoquas*,—*Charequiriquas*—*Namaquas*—*Chainouquas*,—*Heusequas*,—and *Hamcumquas*.

The *Cochoquas* bring us the greatest number of cattle.—Of all these tribes we procure the greatest quantity of live stock, chiefly sheep, from the *Cochoquas*, they live to the north, towards *Saldanha Bay*, whence their name of *Saldanhars*. They consist of two divisions, under separate *Chouques* or Chiefs, *Oudaso* and *Gonnoma*; they were formerly, with the kraals under their authority, so strong, that both together might have mustered three thousand men capable of bearing arms; but they were, some time ago, very much diminished and melted away by a sickness which prevailed among them. The others, who are nearer to us, and are in the habit of bringing their cattle close to us for good pasture, are the *Goringhaiquas*, or the *Caepmans*, thus called because they at first made pretensions to a right of property in this Cape land; with the *Gorachouquas*, nicknamed the tobacco thieves; but at present both kraals, exclusive of women and children, can scarcely make out 800 men. The last, namely, the *Gorachouquas*, are however, much richer in cattle than the first, and bring us for sale, now and then, a lean ox or cow, or a few sheep equally lean; and although such supplies are of little use to us, we receive, notwithstanding, all they offer us, whether it be large or small, young or old, fat or lean.

*What is commonly given for their cattle.*—Neither do we allow them to stand long waiting, but give instantly what they desire in exchange, such as copper in plates, or brass in bars, various kinds of beads, but chiefly a small blood red sort,—or tobacco, the first thing they ask for; and when they have received for each cow, calf, or sheep, such a quantity of those articles of merchandize as has been long since brought into train, we give to each of them a dram (*pimpeltje*) of brandy, and occasionally, to such as bring us many, or very fine fat cattle, a little biscuit or boiled rice besides; and thus dismiss them well satisfied. In this, or in some such manner, it will be necessary to attract these strangers to us, and to keep the trade alive. But to sell them thin square bar iron, as the *Cochoquas* or *Saldanhars* would have recently wished, is by no means advisable, as they know how to beat it into *pichysers*, or sharp points for their arrows and assagais, and to harden it very tolerably; so that, should they again come to ask for this iron, you should, upon one pretence or other, decline supplying it.

*The Goringhaiconas subsist in a great measure by begging and stealing.*—Among this ugly Hottentoot race, there is yet another sort called *Goringhaiconas*, whose chief or captain, named *Herry*, has been dead for the last three years; these we have daily in our sight and about our ears, within and without the fort, as they possess no cattle whatever, but are strandloopers, living by fishing from the rocks. They were at first, on my arrival, not more than 30 in number, but they have since procured some addition to their numbers from similar rabble out of the interior, and they now constitute a gang, including women and children, of 70, 80, or more. They make shift for themselves by night close by, in little hovels in the sand hills; in the day time, however, you may see some of the sluggards (*luyerts*) helping to scour, wash, chop wood, fetch water, or herd sheep for our burgers, or boiling a pot of rice for some of the soldiers; but they will never set hand to any work, or put one foot before the other, until you have promised to give them a good quantity of tobacco or food, or drink. Others of the lazy crew, (who are much worse still, and are not to be induced to perform any work whatever,) live by begging, or seek a subsistence by stealing and robbing on the common highways; particularly when they see these frequented by any novices out of ships from Europe.

*Bold attempt of these Hottentoots.*—This was evident enough last year, when some men were ordered to go to the wood to assist in dragging out some timber; for, the corporal of the party being a little way behind with two soldiers who were carrying the provisions, and being attacked by seven

or eight of those thieves, scarcely  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a myl from the fort, stood up bravely in his own defence, not being inclined to part with his bread and cheese so cheaply; at last, however, he was so fearfully assailed from all sides with stones, that he was driven back and compelled to return to the fort with a bleeding pate.

In the same manner, shortly before, those vagabonds broke open a house at Salt River, belonging to a certain poor fisherman, and stole from it 200 guilders in cash, and all his little stock of tobacco, and food, and drink.

And although these, and similar daring acts require that an appropriate punishment should be inflicted upon those who commit them, or at least that this good for nothing gang should be denied a free access to the fort or the burgers' houses in the country, or entirely turned away from us; yet still we could not well dare to do so hitherto, for several reasons, but have winked at it all, and suffered it to pass unnoticed; for our masters in the Fatherland, in their letters from time to time, recommend to us nothing more earnestly than to deal with these men in a kind and peaceful manner; and not be too easily led to apply to them terms of opprobrium, still less to kick, push, or ill use them, upon every slight cause of offence, so that they may not acquire any dislike towards us.

This was also the course followed by Mr. van Riebeeck, as you may see in several parts of the memoir left by him.

*Who should one day be severely punished.*—But as, subsequently to his departure, this crew (*gespuys*) have not only (as before stated) increased in number, but have daily become more impudent and daring in the commission of every kind of mischief, we have deemed it as improper, as it is impossible, any longer to put up with such violence, breaches of the peace, and theft; but, ever since that time we have intended to have the first person that we can get hold of, who may be convicted of house-breaking or highway robbery, bound to a whipping post in front of the fort, and there to have his greasy hide so well rubbed down with good rods, that all his mischievous countrymen who might witness the punishment, should be frightened from the commission of the same offence; for to this it must come (would we live in peace and quiet) if we are annoyed by these *rappaille*; particularly because our honorable masters, upon our representations upon the subject, have been pleased to give their full approval and consent; but at the same time it will be much better and safer for us all if they will take a turn of their own accord, or if the greater part of the males could be induced to go away, without violence, than that the proposed punishment, or any kind of banishment should be resorted to. You will however be able to ascertain what may be hereafter the best course in this respect, with the aid of time and good counsel.

*A close watch should also be kept on them.*—Meanwhile it will do no harm to keep a strict eye upon those idlers, while they are allowed to pass freely in and out, particularly now that all our soldiers are daily working upon the ditch of the new castle, and only 10 or 12 sick or lame men are on guard at the gate; for it has been seen already what these dirty creatures have dared to undertake against the Fort. It has been well apprehended and remarked by Commissioner Overtwater, (as you may see by the *memorie* he left here) that the maintenance of peace and concord with these tribes, should be attended by a proper degree of caution.

*We also procure many cattle from the Chainouquas.*—For the last six years we have begun to be acquainted with the tribes who live to the Eastward, named the Chainouquas; and have always lived in perfect friendship with them, as we still do; they are very rich in cattle, for upon two missions which I sent to them in 1663 and 64, the first under fiscal Lacus, and the second under secretary Cretser, we procured 170 fine cattle and 400 sheep; and I would have sent a third party last year, but that we were then without tobacco, the merchandize chiefly in demand; we have however recently sent thither a party of 12 men under Mr. Cretser, and I hope that before my departure he may return with a good herd.

*Which excites the jealousy of the Cochoquas.*—In consequence of Sousoa the chief of the Chainouquas not only inviting us into his country, but sending oxen to carry our provisions and merchandize; and of our availing ourselves of his invitation and assistance, the Saldanhars—and particularly the chief Oudasoa—[*Oudasoa's proposal*] conceived such a jealousy of them, that he came to the Fort and apprised us that he meant to make war upon Sousoa (who is since dead) as he could no longer suffer him to play the master every where; and requesting, not only the aid of some troops, but that we would take charge of 2500 of his cattle during the war, promising to send us, in 3 or 4 days, 600 cattle in payment, and an equal number in the event of his getting the victory; but after mature consideration, it appeared to us that the proposal would lead to much embarrassment, and perhaps eventually to some dispute, and we civilly declined his offer, allowing him to go away rather dissatisfied. The Directors have fully approved of our conduct in this respect, as may

be seen by their letter of Oct. 8, 1664, in which they state their desire, that we should not concern ourselves with the mutual disputes or wars of these inland tribes; which will serve as a rule for your guidance under similar circumstances. Meanwhile it would appear that Oudasoa still feels much vexed, for it is more than 2 years since he has been in the Fort.

*The Namaquas recently discovered.*—Of the Namaquas whom we first discovered in 1661, and who are a very *robust* people; as also of the tribes bordering on them to the Eastward, and who are all very rich in cattle, I am unable to add any thing to the remarks of Mr. Van Riebeeck, as contained in his memoir, to which I will merely refer, and pass on to some thing else.....

*Land expeditions.*—Since our masters have heard from us that the said seventh and last journey undertaken from this quarter has turned out so ill, they have issued no order to continue those expeditions, but, as may be seen by their letter of Oct. 8, 1664, are disposed to leave them off for the present.....they however approve of a voyage along the Northern or the Eastern coast, upon a favorable opportunity, to ascertain whether cattle or any thing else is to be had in the interior....

*Respecting the Cape freemen.*—With respect to these freemen or Cape colonists, I have to remark, that hitherto their freedom and *domiciliation* here has been granted to them with no other view than to aid in cultivating the soil here, and rendering it fruitful, so that we may at length produce our own bread or rice, and not require, as has hitherto been the case, to seek it in India or elsewhere; but as we have been, up to the present moment, unable to assist those persons with a good number of laboring slaves, this essential work, the agriculture, has not as yet made the necessary degree of progress, because, instead of such serviceable slaves, they have been obliged to make shift with hired Dutch servants, as they still do, being obliged to pay them, besides their gratuitous subsistence, ten and twelve, aye! fourteen and fifteen guilders monthly, which is very burdensome upon some of them, especially those who are encumbered with a wife and children, more particularly as, from the failure of last year's crop, many of them have not reaped so much as they sowed; and thus some of them have abandoned all hope, all inclination for farming, and all enterprise,—have ceased to farm, and requested to be received back into the Company's service, or at least to be permitted to earn their subsistence in some other way, or to set up houses here and there for the sale of brandy. We have, however, thus far evaded these requests with fair words, and induced them to return to their farm work, promising to apply to the Directors to give them the needful assistance in slaves; and which we accordingly did last year most earnestly.

*Some farm on a good plan.*—There are, however, among the freemen and farmers a few, (though not above 4 or 5,) who have begun to establish their farms on a good system, and who will be able to get through their difficulties in time, so that, (if it was allowable to assort men as we do crabs) I should name and recommend them to you as the best of all, as I have found them to be very good, industrious, hard-working men, who take very good care of their families, and have hitherto delivered the greater part of their crops to the Company, in diminution of their debts, as they should do, and as they are all, indeed, bound to do by the contract entered into between them and Mr. R. van Goens in the year 1657.

*Note.*—But of the last crops, the Company has not received a single grain, and they should be urged on to deliver their grain before the end of the present year, or otherwise the Company will get none of it, and they will smuggle it among each other, and get rid of it secretly, as happened not long ago, when one of these farmers, in direct opposition to the prohibition, sold a muid of wheat for 12 guilders, which shameful and mischievous *corn or bread usury* should not be suffered on any account, but should be stopped in due time by punishment, for our hon. masters have established a fixed price, at which the farmers are bound to deliver their corn to the Company, i. e. per muid—wheat, 7 guilders—rye and barley, 5 10—oats, 4.

*These also are willing to work, but want the means.*—Some of the others (whom I would consider the 2nd sort) are also to be seen active enough, and grubbing in the ground like moles, late and early—but alas poor men! they can make very little of it, because they are too poor to keep one or two Dutch servants in pay for the whole year, (and such servants are absolutely necessary for that hard work); and although there are a few who could afford this—then again it depends upon the conduct of the servants, who either will not work from indolence, or, instigated by others, take themselves off at the moment when their services are most required; the greater part of these men are thus destitute of the necessary labour, as well as of proper working cattle; some of them, besides, (especially those near the Company's great Schuyr, beyond the Liesbeek) have not the best land, it being either too poor or too sandy. Neither is the pasture there the best; for it would seem that there springs up annually, with the growth of the grass, some unwholesome or poisonous plant, which, a few hours after it has been eaten, causes the cattle to swell up, burst,

and die, [*and are daily getting poorer,*] thus the farmers often lose, one, 3 or 4 sheep, another a milch cow, a third a working ox or a calf, whereby these poor unfortunate men fall still deeper into debt and poverty.

*How we assist them.*—Yet we continue to assist them, notwithstanding, (as far as possible) in order to keep them on their legs as farmers, supplying them, still upon credit, from the Company's flocks, one with a draught ox, another with a couple of young cows or heifers, a third with 10 or 12 sheep at the prices distinctly specified in the said contract. Besides, when there are many ships in the bay, and when a number of cattle are slaughtered, we are in the habit of exchanging for their old cows or lame draught oxen, young and healthy cattle out of our kraal, which is sometimes a great help to them, and no injury to the Company, for it often happens that the lame cattle when slaughtered and sent on board, weigh more than the lean young stock given in exchange; and I trust you will continue the same practice.

*Many worthless characters among the said farmers.*—Among the rest of these Cape farmers (and whom I would class as the third and worst sort) you will find many lazy useless men, and many more vagabonds, or abandoned shameful drunkards, among the masters as well as among the servants, on the majority of whom there is no longer any dependance to be placed; and although we are daily urging on those insolent fellows, and assisting them also, in the work which they voluntarily undertook, still there are some of them who proceed notwithstanding in their irregular and reprobate mode of life, and endeavor to earn their food more easily by other means than those which are permitted to them, aye! by means which are in a measure prohibited. Those who are thus inclined, try forthwith to dispose to others, by sale or hire, of their farming implements, grain, live stock, and lands, burdened with all the debts they have incurred, contrary to our Ordinances and Proclamations; with such improvident and reckless agreements (generally concluded in the brandy shop amidst clouds tobacco and smoke) these drunken *boers* get into such disputes (when we subsequently refuse to confirm their bargains) that they do not know themselves how to come to a settlement. There are others again who are an ounce or two lighter still, who care for nothing on the face of the earth, and who have been known to spend, not only all their growing crops, but all their live stock and farming implements, in gaming or drinking.

*Two of the lazy boers sent to Mauritius.*—Upon these, and similar thoughtless proceedings, as well as upon various kinds of fraud and thieving, which prevailed among these men, and of which we daily received more than too many complaints, we were compelled to request the authority of our honorable masters in the Fatherland, to sift out and get rid of some of those indolent fellows; and this their honors were pleased to grant, and to point out a place to which such persons might be sent, namely to Mauritius, for the increase of our garrison there. We this year and the last sent thither 3 of those scamps; and I strongly recommend you to select and send away some more of those worthless fellows, more particularly because the report gains ground, that the English, at present our bitterest enemies, are likely to attack us here, in which event (which God forbid) it might easily happen that some of these (*kale en beroyde vincken*) naked and worthless scamps would desert to the enemy, point out all our approaches, and thus reduce us to great difficulties.

*Of the Freemen at the Fort.*—The freemen or *borgers* who reside here about the Fort, now consist of 16 families; they possess no farms, but maintain themselves chiefly by growing vegetables and breeding sheep; others by their several trades, slaughtering cattle, baking bread, and keeping eating-houses, and taps. The farmers daily discover that the town *borgers* earn their food much more easily than they do themselves by hard labour, and many would, therefore, leave their farms and come nearer to the Fort, but we have hitherto, on account of the injurious consequences, strongly opposed their desire, for we have already more than too many tapsters and idlers at the Fort, who consume, but produce nothing. We are, however, in the habit of supplying them with their bread corn for their money, at the rate of a *schepel* of wheat or rye for each individual in a family including children; and in the event of scarcity of such grain, they will require a little rice for their sustenance. *Wouter Mosterd is the town innkeeper.*—*As to choice of Borgerraden and Militia officers.*—*Company's farms.*—*Duties of the Overseer of the Company's orchard in the country.*—*The olive tree will succeed well here.*—*The Company's new vineyard.*—*The old vineyard at Bosheuvel sold*—*i.e.* Mr. van Riebeeck's, it had been cultivated by the Company, and last year produced "3 half leggers of delicate wine." *A second great vineyard made.*—*A free blacksmith and a wagonmaker established in the country.*—*Company's forests behind the mountain.*—*Scarcity of firewood.*—*Company's great garden at the Fort.*—*Refreshments.*—*Of the cattle that must be used for slaughter.*—*Large ships not to stay more than 10 or 12 days, small vessels 6 or 7.*—*Their departure*

to be hastened.—*The buildings—in particular the new castle—Same continued—for which work we must hire wagons and oxen—*[i.e., for a servant, wagon and 8 oxen, per diem, 3 guilders 15 sti.] but as this is very expensive to the Company, you should endeavour to buy some draught oxen from the Hottentots far in the interior, or from some of the richest of the farmers.

*How many guard-houses there are standing.*—Of the five guard-houses, or rather redoubts, which Mr. van Riebeeck formerly erected, two have been pulled down during my time, for they seemed about to fall, namely, Kooren-hoop and Hout den Bul; the other three, it is true, still stand, but are of course much dilapidated, and should be occasionally repaired.

*A new Stable built.*—The old station for the mounted guard was also pulled down last year, as it had no longer any (lappen or stellen) on it; and we have built another which is larger and stronger, of burnt bricks, somewhat further off, though more towards the shore, on a suitable height looking at a distance—with its little tower—like a church; directly opposite to the house of the free farmer Jacob Cloeten, upon whom, as well as his neighbours, it is a very good check, (brill op den neus) as these farmers have always been the greatest interlopers in the Company's cattle trade with the Hottentots here.

*Another should be built, as well as two more Redoubts.*—*A Guard-house or Toll-house at Salt River*—Not only to prevent the ship people from landing prohibited liquors, but also stolen rope, nails, bolts, pitch, tar, sail-cloth, &c. where they are sold to the freemen for sheep, poultry, eggs, milk, and sometimes whole sacks of wheat, barley, and oats, in which manner we lose the grain that ought to remain here.

*The Pier to be repaired.*—*The Water-course.*—*The Corn-mill.*—*The Market or Passer.*—*Sale of Meat there.*—*To keep up the new School.* . . . . For the children of Company's servants and freemen, at the rate of  $\frac{1}{4}$  real monthly, and where all the Company's slave children may learn betimes to know and worship their Creator. . . . .

*A new Ship's Store to be built.*—*The Cables, &c.*—*A vessel building* [60 feet long.]—*Kiln for Earthenware.*—*The French Cannon.*—*As to Robben Island.*—Whence we procure shells for lime, and fine blue stone, and where we have now 350 sheep, 10 cattle, 40 goats, and 30 pigs—and where there are now in all 25 souls, including women and children, 14 convicts, for the island makes a very good penitentiary, where a rogue, after one or two years' work in carrying shells, begins to sing very small. I have instructed the said Meerhoff, when last here to have his child baptized, as to what improvements are required there. . . .

*Re-occupation of Mauritius.*—*Voyage to Madagascar.*—*Present strength of the Garrison.* . . . . [405 besides the sick, and 100 landed this day from the Wacheren]. . . .

*Division of the Duties here.*—And that you may not be ignorant of how we divide among ourselves the duties (which are daily increasing), and what each has to do, I will add—first, I, Wagenaar, (according to the example of my predecessor,) besides the general inspection, have with my own hand kept the Cape Journal, and written all the letters, to whomsoever directed, and also all the Resolutions, Proclamations, and Ordinances; forthwith entering them in proper registers. The merchant and second in command, H. Lacus, besides the charge of his money chest, account-books, and store houses, issues the meat and refreshments to all the ships. The Lieut. A. Schut, besides his military duties, has the charge of the Company's stable and the brickmaking here, as well as of all the guard houses, *Schuyr*, wood-cutting, orchards, &c. in the country, whither he frequently goes to keep idlers to their duty. The fiscal C. de Cretser, is charged with the custody of the ship's stores, and must frequently visit all the work shops, to assist me as much as possible in preventing the Company's wood or iron from being worked up for private persons, or otherwise stolen. The Ensign J. Coonen, has charge of the armoury, the superintendance of the workmen at the new castle, and keeps an exact account of the number of wagon loads of stones and firewood delivered by the freemen. The junior merchant, Pieter van Klinckenberg must, besides the charge of the hospital, keep the garrison books, and issue the ration money every fortnight, and the wages every Saturday.

These persons constitute our court of justice, with whom I occasionally decide and settle such civil and criminal cases as are brought before us, as will appear from the rolls kept. I leave you now only one prisoner, a sailor, who, lately upon the jetty, inflicted on another two mortal wounds with a knife, the wounded man now lies in the greatest danger, and in the event of his dying, you will doubtless take care that the culprit is punished according to his deserts.

The church is constituted here as elsewhere in India. . . . . The minister has two burgers as elders and deacons. . . . . and one of our council attends their meeting as church commissary.

The Company's assets here in merchandize, money, implements, provisions, and ammunition,

have been duly made over to you.....to the amount of 184,628 guilders.....and I now at length give over into your charge, the whole country, to the length and breadth that is, up to this day, taken possession of for the Company, and also the old fort with the new outworks, and all that depends thereon, in good, increasing, and peaceful condition; and may the Almighty grant that you also may still longer hold it in the same state; and may he mercifully inspire you with his spirit and enable you so to direct every thing as to tend to his glory, the service of our country, the welfare of these poor inhabitants, and your own honour, Amen!

Z. WAGENAAR.

In the Fort the Goede Hope, &c. 24th Sept. 1666.

Extract from Journal, *continued*.—Sept. 27th. The commission of Mr. van Quaelbergen was read with due ceremony.

29. Commander Wagenaar, after duly transferring his charge to his successor, embarked in the *Dordrecht*, for Batavia.

Oct. 3. The Coehoquas brought us 45 sheep and 5 eattle, which were bought for the usual merchandize; being the first brought by them for six months. 5th. Lieut. Schut and 14 men set out, by order, to the kraals of Oudasoa with some merchandize, to try to procure for the Company a quantity of sheep and cattle by way of barter, as the eattle last purchased have been almost all consumed in recruiting the health of the invalids landed by the *Dordrecht* and *Walcheren*. 14. Received by a soldier a letter from Lieut. Schut, who had bought a good many sheep, and asked for some more brass, beads, pipes, &c., which were immediately made ready to be sent off before day with a paek ox, together with some medicine for a certain farmer who was with the party.

21. Lieut. Schut returned with a good drove of 66 horned cattle, and 469 sheep; of which number 8 eattle and 62 sheep were sent by the several Hottentoo captains, as presents to Commander Quaelbergen to welcome him on his arrival, and for which the said Commander paid to the Company<sup>(1)</sup> as by the following list.

This evening the Council determined that the freemen should take their servants on trial for 14 days before engaging them, when those who were not satisfied with their masters might return to the Company's service, so as to prevent the constant complaints hitherto made on both sides.

23. The Chainouquas brought in — eattle, and — sheep, which were bought of them chiefly for brass and tobaceo.

### Extracts of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to the Commander and Council, Cape of Good Hope, &c.

1666. Oct. 23. Your letter of 16th May last, shall be answered by another opportunity..... We learn with high satisfaction the good condition of our Residency at the Cape, but are concerned to find that the ships from Holland have suffered so many losses by death before their arrival at the Cape, which will be very inconvenient for India where men are so much required.....

If the health of Commander Wagenaar would permit him to remain at the Cape some time longer, we are disposed to raise his salary to 150 guilders.....as it is thought that to complete that new work [a new eastle,] would require ten or twelve years labour of a garrison of 400 to 500 men, unless you are supplied with a sufficient number of slaves....and as the necessity of so strong a fort will in all probability be over by that time, you may discontinue the work until further orders.... keeping the old fort in a proper state of defence, and forwarding to India all the men who are not required. You will keep only enough men to withstand a sudden attack; besides, from the present state of the enemy's force, it is by no means likely that he will dare to venture so far from home, and we shall give him so much to do along his own coast, that he will be forced to abandon foreign enterprises. We shall meanwhile consider of how you are to be supplied with a good number of slaves, for we are quite satisfied that they are in many respects absolutely necessary to you.

As it appears from your letters that timber and firewood are becoming so scarce at the Cape, you must turn your attention to planting.....so that in a few years there will be no want in that respect. The wine sent us as a specimen, we found, contrary to expectation, very well tasted.

The fleet which we intend to send out this season, will consist of 20 ships and 3,227 men.....

(1) Here follows a full detail, from which it appears that the 58 cattle purchased, cost the Company *f*208 : 16, or *f*3 : 2 : 8 each, while the 8 received as a present, cost the Commander 64 guilders, or *f*8 each, and that the 469 sheep bought, cost *f*407 : 2 : 8, or 17½ stivers each,—while the 62 received as presents, cost *f*124, or *f*2 : 11 each.

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—Nov. 3. Arrived the *Oyevaer* from Texel April 29, 157 men, of whom 48 had died, and they were encumbered with 90 sick.....but for our help and that of heaven they could not have reached the land or been saved; there were not 6 healthy men in the ship..... 11. Arrived the *Mauritius*, from Madagascar.....could not get a grain of rice or a single slave, though both are so much wanted here; the natives said that, like last year, they were engaged in a furious war with their neighbours, and were laying waste and destroying on both sides..... 12. The Cochoquas brought us one cow and seventeen sheep, which we bought of them for brass and tobacco. 18. Arrived the *Gerechtigeyt*, from Texel 5th July..... bringing the agreeable news of our fleet having, after a fight from the 11th to the 14th June, obtained a victory over the English, upon which we held a thanksgiving, fired a *feu de joye*, &c.

Nov. 26. The Cochoquas brought us sixteen sheep, which were purchased for the usual merchandise. 29. The Cochoquas again brought in and sold to us three cattle and nineteen sheep. 30. Oudasoa's adherents brought us four sheep for sale, which were bought.

Dec. 2. J. C. Visser and others, who were sent out to catch wild horses, caught a foal near Riebeeck's casteel; the mother feeling herself caught in the snare, after biting off her own tongue, strangled herself by getting the snare round her neck..... Got from the Cochoquas one cow and nine sheep.

7. The Fiscal Cretzer and ten or eleven men were sent to the interior with suitable merchandize, to purchase some cattle from the natives, for the use of the expected ships. 8. In the evening we bought from the Hottentoes two cattle and nine sheep. 9. The Hottentoes called Chainouquas brought us to-day 3 cattle and 8 sheep, which we caused to be instantly purchased. 15. Sent a Corporal and 6 men over land to Saldanha Bay to take possession of the islands there for the Company, as we hear that the French intend to take possession of that bay. This day we bought 49 sheep. 26. The fiscal Cretzer returned and reported that he marched 8 days before he could find a single Hottentoo's kraal; he bought, however, 67 cattle and 450 sheep, on his way home; his people shot two wolves, which had, during 2 successive nights, got among the sheep. 27. Arrived the *Batavia*, from Rotterdam.....no one had died on the voyage, and she had no sick, a thing that has not happened for a long time.

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#### Extract of General<sup>(1)</sup> Proclamation, by CORNELIS VAN QUABELBERGH, Commander, and the Council of the Fort Goede Hoop, &c.

1667. Jan. 20. *To all such as may see, hear, or read these,—Greeting.*—Whereas we perceive by daily experience that many irregularities are committed here by the crews of the ships from the Fatherland as well as from India, tending to the injury of the honorable Company, and to the retardment of the growth of this place; and in order to prevent such injury, we have thought fit, not only to renew the orders formerly issued, but also to amplify the same, as we do hereby amplify and enact:—to wit.....

That no one shall with malice prepense? (quaeth opseth) beat or strike any of these natives, or Hottentoes, even though they may have stolen or carried off any thing, their habit on all occasions, and against which every one must be on his guard; and any one catching any of them in the act, may, should he deem it worth while, deliver him to the fiscal or the officer on guard; and any one contravening this order, shall, if any officer, forfeit a month's pay for each offence; and if soldiers or sailors, be severely caned upon the spot.

No one belonging to the ships, whether superior or inferior officers, or common men, shall purchase, exchange, or barter, from the freemen, any oxen, cows, pigs, sheep, or corn, without the express consent of the Commander, on pain of confiscation of all animals or corn so purchased, and loss of 3 months' wages, to be divided as usual.

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#### Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to Commander and Council, Cape of Good Hope.

1667. May 14. ....With regard to the new fortress, we communicated our intentions by our former letter; in these we still persist. We expected that we could have furnished you with

(<sup>1</sup>) The *general* Placaats so frequently, sometimes annually, issued by the Cape Government, were merely digests of all the local statutes in operation at the time, occasionally amplified in some particulars to meet circumstances specified in the preambles; but in general they were mere re-publications. Those portions of the general placaats which refer to the relations with the natives, will be found in this compilation, whenever there appears to have been any specific cause or object for their "renewal." There are no Journals in the Colonial Office, for the five years between 1666 and 1672.

some slaves from the Coast of Guinea, or thereabouts, but as it does not appear that any are to be had there, we must think of other measures, whether they are brought from Madagasear—to which place you intended to send the *Hoogh Casteel*—or from some other quarter; we can well conceive that without slaves little can be done in several respects, and in particuler in as far as the free men are concerned. . . . .

To supply you with timber from this or from India, is out of the question. . . . . You must seek for some place in your neighbourhood where it is presumed wood may be found to supply your wants, or possibly good timber might be had at Mauritius. . . . .

We may easily send you an account of the mode of extracting the oil from the olives. . . . . but the apparatus is too bulky until we hear from you that the quantity grown there is sufficient; when that is the case, we are prepared to incur this expense, and we once more recommend to you the planting of the olive tree as a necessary work. . . . .

Affairs in England appear now to tend towards a peace. Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries from both parties, as well as from France and Denmark, who are engaged in the same cause with us, are about to assemble at Breda; indeed (excepting those of England, who are on their way,) have already met. The enclosed letter dated — April, from the King of Great Britain to these States, will show what is the inclination of England towards peace, at least what is outwardly expressed. The state of that country seems imperatively to demand peace; for it does not appear likely that they will soon be able to equip a large fleet; while on the other hand the *Armado* of these states is just about to sail. . . . . May the Almighty bless us with a good and firm peace. (1)

1667. June 2. Proclamation.—Cornelis van Quaelberg, Commander, and the Council of the Fort the Goede Hoop, &c.

Hereby notify, that,—Whereas it appears by daily experience, that the free inhabitants here, notwithstanding all the previously issued interdicts, do not desist from daily bartering cattle from these native tribes, thus doing such injury to the trade, so necessary to the Company, that scarcely any more cattle are brought in by the Hottentoes; and whereas this practice is not otherwise to be detected or prevented, than by the extirpation of that breed of sheep. It is therefore expressly ordered and directed, that every one, Company's servants as well as freemen, shall, within 14 days, deliver to the Company, at a suitable price, all the Hottentoo rams or wethers still in their flock; and shall further make an exact return of all their ewes in lamb, so that these also may be delivered as soon as they have lambed, on pain of confiscation of the same, and of a penalty of 10 reals of 8, against such as shall be found obstinate or dilatory herein; as we deem the same to be for the service of the Company, and the public good. (2) Thus done, &c. 2nd June 1667.

1667. Oct. 21. Proclamation.—Cornelis van Quaelbergh, Commander, and the Council of the Fort the Goede Hoop, at Cabo de Boa Esperancee, &c.

Hereby notify, that,—Whereas we find that—withstanding that it has been forbidden by various proclamations, and numerous public warnings, to purchase from the Hottentoes any cattle or other article, or to admit the natives into the houses—the free inhabitants here still begin to oppose themselves more and more to these orders, and have become so refractory and presumptuous, that they not only go into the Hottentoo kraals themselves, and purchase whole flocks of sheep, but employ for the same purpose the Hottentoes whom they have in their houses; giving for the cattle and other articles of trade five times as much as the Company—and uselessly slaughtering and consuming said cattle among themselves; of which the Company has had evident proofs in the cattle trade—the chief object of the establishment of this residency—being thus frustrated, and threatened with total ruin.

To provide herein as far as possible, and to check these evil practices, we do hereby most expressly interdict and prohibit every one without exception.

First,—that no one shall go near to the Hottentoo kraals, or enter into conversation with any of them, or employ the Hottentoes in their houses so to do, under a penalty of 20 Rds. for each offence.

(1) A letter of 27th Sept. informed the Cape authorities, that “by God's unmerited mercy, peace had been concluded on the 31st July, and ratified on the 24th Aug.,” but as hostilities were to continue in all places in the Southern hemisphere until the 24th April, 1668, the Cape was to be kept in a posture of defence. “And although the 6th article of the treaty provides for the restitution of every place possessed by either party on the 1<sup>st</sup> of last May, (thus giving us reason to suppose that we have no attack to expect there) still you will by no means rely upon that circumstance, but maintain a full posture of defence.”

(2) See the Proclamation of 1774 *infra*, (Part III. p. 24) for a similar attempt to extirpate the breed of Kafir cattle.

Secondly,—Whoever shall purchase any live stock, either himself at the kraals, or through Hottentoots, shall stand in the pillory, and shall forfeit the purchased cattle, and pay a fine of 50 Rds. besides.

Thirdly,—The Hottentoots in the [farmers?] houses shall not be allowed to go to the kraals; and should any of them do so contrary to the employer's orders, they shall not be again admitted into the house for a full year, nor suffered to remain near it, under a penalty of 25 Rds. for each offence.

Fourthly,—The freemen's cattle shall not be grazed out of sight of the redoubts, or further than the salt pans and Riet valley, under a penalty of 25 Rds. for each offence.

Fifthly,—No one shall go out, either shooting or for pleasure, further than the mounted guard, or the Tygerberg at the farthest, without the express consent of the Commander, under a penalty of 25 Rds. upon each person offending, and for each offence.

Sixthly,—No one shall be allowed to slaughter any cattle without express consent of the Commander, under a penalty of 25 Rds. for the first offence; 50 Rds. for the second; and for the third, arbitrary correction, in addition to the fine last mentioned; and all these penalties shall be applied,  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the informer,  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the fiscal, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the poor.

Thus done 21st October 1667.

CORN. VAN QUAELBERGEN.

### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to Commander BORGHORST and Council.

1667. Nov. 20. . . . . By your letter of the last day of May, we were pleased to find that the *Dordrecht* had arrived safely with Commander Quaelbergen. . . . .

We have fully considered all your arguments in favor of proceeding with the construction of the fortress that has been commenced, but we cannot as yet yield our consent; and you will therefore discontinue that work until further orders; the times are not such at present as to forbid delay; and if we are hereafter obliged to resume the work, we must necessarily furnish you with slaves, as the labour of our own people is too expensive. . . . . but as you conceive that upon the completion of the new fortress 200 men would be sufficient for its defence, and yet, with only the old fort, you still retain a garrison of 300 men. . . . . we are of opinion that you can dispense with more men, in these peaceful times, and must in the first instance, part with 150 of the present garrison, sending them by the first opportunity, to India or to Ceylon; that is to say, after the 24th of next April. . . . you will not detain a single man without necessity, particularly as every letter represents the great want of men in India, where the preservation of our possessions is of much greater importance than at the Cape. But what gave us the greatest dissatisfaction in reading your letter, was, that independent of the kind reception and the caresses bestowed upon the French during their stay at the Cape, Commander Quaelbergen, by way of returning the civility of the French admiral or viceroy, quitted his post in the fort, to welcome the said admiral in his ship, in direct opposition to all military law. . . . . besides supplying them with necessaries, and entertaining and lodging a great number of them in the fort. . . . . all which we regard as inexcusable faults, and are consequently constrained to express our displeasure and resentment. . . . . We have therefore directed, that, upon the arrival of Commander Jacob Borghorst, whom we have appointed to succeed Mr. Quaelbergen, the latter shall resign the command, and proceed by the first opportunity to Batavia, to earn his living there or elsewhere, as a freeman, out of the Company's service, or to proceed to Holland, as he may deem best. (1) And that you may know how to conduct yourselves in future upon the arrival of Europeans, we have now to direct you not to refuse them water; but as to refreshments, to give them as little as may be in any way possible, giving them in particular no provisions, ship's stores, or the like, but declining all under the plea of your own wants, and of necessity; and thus allowing them, as we have often directed, to drift upon their own fins; for it would appear, that instead of rendering the place unpleasant to them, and thus keeping them away from it, pains have been taken to entice them more and more, doubtless on account of the advantages received and enjoyed from them; and this is the reason why they were allowed to pluck all the ripest pears, leaving the refuse for our fleet. The Portuguese in Brazil are much wiser in this respect; for their acts prove that such guests are unwelcome. The ship's stores were sent to you for our ships only, and not for others. On the other hand you did well in not allowing the Hoogh Casteel to strike to

(1) Mr. Quaelbergen's reply to the charges upon which his dismissal was founded, is dated 27th April. His explanations appear to have been in some degree satisfactory, for the same name, Cornelis van Quaelbergen, appears in the list of Directors of Malacca, 1680—84.

the French admiral, and the three guns with which you answered their five, were enough; if they will not come there on these conditions, they may stay away.

We learn from the Commander of the last return fleet, that the French have set up a post with the arms of France, apparently as a mark of possession, in Saldanha Bay; and we are surprised that you do not mention the circumstance. . . . . you should at least have protested. . . . . and if you have not already done so, will cause this landmark to be removed.

You will do well to collect further information on the situation of the bays on the other side of the Cape, and what refreshments or other necessaries are to be procured there. . . . .

The fleet which we intend to dispatch next lent, will consist of the undermentioned [27] ships, manned by about 4200 men.

### Extract of a Despatch from Commander QUÆLBERGEN and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1668. Jan. 20. We advised your honors fully of the state of affairs here on the last day of May of last year, by the fleet under Mr. J. van Dam,<sup>(1)</sup> we shall now proceed to state what has occurred since that time.

The wheat crop and the breeding of sheep has this year succeeded pretty well. . . . we have begun to extend the gardens, and to grant spots in this valley for that purpose to Company's servants and others; and to allow them to keep sheep, though contrary to the former ill-founded and avaricious maxim, of keeping this valley uncultivated for pasture; this having been practised merely to raise the price of every thing by scarcity, for it is certain that a morgen of garden ground will produce more *offal* to feed cattle, than they can themselves find on 25 morgen of pasture. The freemen are, so long as we must buy from them, so bold and presumptuous, that they will hardly sell a pint of milk or a pound of butter to a Company's servant at the established prices, as they contrive to dispose of it more profitably to the shipping, or by sending it to Batavia; whereby some make a great profit, and derive an usurious gain, at the general loss; which is surely most unfair, and contrary to all good laws; for it is better that all should do well, than only a few. This doctrine some people here will not understand, thinking that the Company should enrich them, as has been the case in some instances, by the high profit which some of them have drawn from the sale of pork, beef, butter, oil, vinegar, &c. to the injury of the Company and the common people. We have cancelled all [these permissions?] and conceive that we have thereby fulfilled our duty, and have directed them to take to working at the cultivation of the ground; the right way to enable us, in time, to maintain ourselves.

This makes these people dissatisfied with us, but we think more of the interest of the community than of the individual.

It is to be lamented that your honors' colonies, formed by our countrymen, not here alone, but in general, do not advance; because the colonists and other freemen, as soon as they find that they are not allowed their head (*de boucheron niet volgen*,) or to attain, in their own way, their object of enriching themselves, always turn their head and ears towards Fatherland. If the farmers in the Netherlands drank like those here, neither cow, nor plough, nor harrow would remain on the land; still there are many here who are tolerably well off, who talk very big of going away; and they are so proud and saucy, that their departure would be a matter of little consequence, but for the injury it would cause to the Company, which we must try to prevent as much as possible.

The cattle trade with the Hottentots has already so much declined, that they seem to have vanished, and two journeys which have been made into the interior with that object have been almost fruitless. This is chiefly owing to our freemen, who not only divert the affections of the Hottentots from the Company, by giving ten for one, but also by acting in concert with them (op roeyen) keep

<sup>(1)</sup> 1667. May 23. A resolution of this date contains a short memorandum handed to the several Members of Council by Mr. van Dam, Commissioner.

He observes that many of the orders issued from time to time appear not merely useless, but positively mischievous from their multiplicity. As, however, that change of circumstances which is produced by time, may create doubts as to the expediency or construction of particular orders, the Commissioner calls upon all the Members for their written opinions upon such points as appear to require either alteration or explanation, in order that he may dispose of such points with advice of the Commander and Council, "being myself wanting in the necessary information." The observations thus called forth were not of any importance, and do not refer to the natives.

The despatch of May 31, is not entered in the books. The letter book contains a number of short letters written to Batavia during 1667, but none to Holland, nor is there any allusion made to the state of relations with the natives in the despatches of that year.

us constantly in great want of cattle, thus compelling us to come to beg of them, and to pay besides 9, 10, 12, aye, 15 guilders for a single sheep. In order, as much as possible, to prevent all this perfidious barter and covetous irregularity, we have again brought to light all the neglected proclamations prohibiting this trade, and have begun to enforce them, placing guards upon all the roads into the interior, so as to check this barter as much as possible; which measures have so far succeeded that the Hottentots begin to come down with their cattle of their own accord, and we hope soon to get over this matter, and to see the fresh meat abundant and cheap. The Hottentots have been always looked upon as very savage men, without any knowledge, but we greatly suspect this to be a mistake, for, in our opinion, they are very arrogant, equal to our common people in natural understanding, and more circumspect; they should neither have too much of their own way, nor be too harshly treated (the common neglect of these rules has always caused the Company the greatest expense and given the greatest trouble,) and thus they will learn to be more easily managed; needless disputes with them will be of no service to the Company, for they can do more harm to our inhabitants than we can do to them.

Our corporal J. Cruse, returned from the interior on the 29th ult., he had been to the eastward, to the Hosequas, and brought with him 170 cattle and 310 sheep, having gone 5 days further than Cruythoff did last year, and having visited a new tribe, called the *Gouriquas*, who said that beyond them, lay the *Attequas*, to whom ships come to trade, and for refreshments, which they say happened about 5 years ago; and that a ship had also been lost there, the crew of which went away in the boat. It is also said, that they have a hole in the earth, out of which they get copper and iron; and that they get out of the sea *coral* which they prefer to our red beads. They say that, a month's journey further is a river (which they agreed in calling *Sinjoor*,) where there are large houses, and forts with large cannon. This makes us long the more for the return of the vessel from Mauritius, so as to be able to get further information for our future guidance.

By this and other barter the Company is now possessed of about 400 cattle and 1000 sheep, besides a good many goats, which begin to breed well on Robben Island; and should we get any more, the freemen will not want many of them, if any this year. But all the little pasture in this valley is not half sufficient to feed these and the other stock; the cattle have always hitherto been kept here, and thus the ships have always had such lean meat. To improve them in condition, and also from absolute necessity, we have resolved to remove the Company's cattle to Hout Bay, where it is as secure as here, and where the pasture is so good, that an animal, after having been there two or three months, will yield more flesh, when issued as provisions, than two of those kept here.

The Hottentots about the Cape seem rather overstocked with brass, and the cry is all for copper beads, such as those sent by the *Constantia* in 1666, two chains of which are now returned as a pattern; we request to be supplied with 2000 chains of each kind.....

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#### Extract of a Despatch from Commander JACOB BORGHORST and Council, to the Governor General and Council.

1668. July 2. The Directors were pleased, on the 18th November, to appoint Jacob Borghorst to the office of Commander at the Cape, &c....he arrived on the 16 June, after a voyage of 5 months and 19 days. The reason of the degradation of Commander Quaelbergen will appear by the accompanying papers.

The state of affairs here is still pretty good, but it were to be wished that the freemen and farmers were as zealous in agriculture as in keeping taps; we are determined to redress this, and henceforth to discharge no one but such as are disposed to establish themselves here, and to earn their living by agriculture or other honorable means.

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#### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to Commander BORGHORST and Council.

1668. Aug. 22. By the return fleet which arrived in the month of May, we have received four letters from Commander Quaelbergen and Council, dated respectively 20th Jan., 23d March, 14th and 17th April, all of this year 1668, which are all short and may be briefly answered.... We are glad to perceive the continued good state of affairs there.... More might have been effected to the Eastward of the Cape to procure a correct knowledge of the situation of the country. In such

expeditions much depends upon the knowledge, zeal, and curiosity of the captains and mates. What you state of corporal Cruse, when on a journey to the Eastward, hearing from the natives of others beyond them who are visited by shipping, and in particular that a ship had been lost there about 5 years ago, is of considerable importance if it could be believed. . . . . We shall be anxious to hear of the result of the next voyage, or otherwise it would be well worth a land journey. . . . .

We observe that you have still 319 men at the Cape. . . . . notwithstanding our repeated orders to stop the work on the new fort, and to reduce the garrison to the number necessary to defend you from sudden attacks of an enemy. . . . . It is no wonder that the General and Council should have expressed their dissatisfaction.

1668. Sept. 5.—Extract of Resolution of Council.—The Commander Mr. Borghorst having purchased on his private account from the late Commander. . . . . a flock of sheep, 3 wagons and 23 draught oxen, at a very cheap rate, for ready money; he submitted in Council whether it would not be fair and just to deliver the said sheep, wagon, and oxen to the Company, or whether he should himself draw the monthly profits, which, independent of the increase, amounted to a good sum from the milk; as he viewed such profits as the right of the Company, who also wanted oxen to work the land, carry firewood, &c., and as from the failure of the cattle trade the Company had to hire private wagons, and was very ill provided with sheep, as nothing whatever is got from the Hottentoots, whatever trouble is taken, and even when any are procured for great presents, and at double prices, they are so bad and lean, that they are scarcely worth issuing, and as it appears extremely probable that there will be less to be had every year, and soon none whatever will be on hand for the ships expected, in consequence of the internal war, and plundering of the cattle of the neighbouring Hottentots by the Namaquas which still continues, and which would reduce us to great difficulties.

It is therefore resolved to purchase the said wagons, sheep, and cattle for the Company, (as well as such others as can be procured from Company's servants) at the price paid for those of them which were bought from Mr. van Quaelbergen, and, if the state of the cattle trade will in any way allow it, to let them increase for three or four years, (one of them being as good as six belonging to the Hottentoots,) when we may expect to have a very good stock on hand, and will thus be freed from the necessity of that sort of begging, but may trade with the natives according to our own conscience and upon our own terms (naer wensch en keur.) We shall also endeavour to procure, with a similar object, a few young breeding cattle. . . . .

Thus done, &c.

JACOB BORGHORST, &c.

A Despatch from the Directors, 26th April, 1668, contains no reference to the relations with the natives, but insists on the reduction of the garrison. "Our possession there has brought us no other advantage than refreshments for the shipping, and you would make us purchase those at a high rate." The garrison was ordered not to exceed 150, and innkeepers, "a lazy and vile sort of men" were not to be encouraged, and "all who cannot make a living, may be sent to Ceylon, Batavia, or even to Mauritius." That island was still under the direction of the Cape authorities, but occupied by only 25 men; its fertility had been highly praised, and the Directors remark, "The sugar cane should be tried there, and should that, and tobacco succeed, we should be inclined to colonize the island."

1668. Aug. 18. The volume of letters dispatched, contains instructions of this date, issued to the officers of the *Voorman*, which vessel is sent to the East coast; the extent of the knowledge of the coast at this period is shown by the orders to touch at Vis bay, Vlees bay, Struis bay, and Mossel bay, where Jeronymus Cruse and 15 men are to be landed, to return by land, if possible, trading by the way. Cruse is stated to have been far to the Eastward during the preceding year. The vessel is then to proceed to the Eastward to the Ruya, (*Baya?*) Alagoa and Rio d' Infante, if there is no success there (i.e. in finding harbours?) to go still further East; to Terra de Natal, a good quantity of *Dacha* is to be brought back, "as the Hottentoots here seem to make a great work about it."

1668. Sept. 3. A Proclamation of this date increased, to confiscation and arbitrary correction in addition to a fine of Rds. 100—the penalties against the offence of selling, bartering, or giving in a present, any live stock to the shipping, or among the free men—and also prohibited the shooting, without consent of the Commander, of every description of game, from elands to partridges "as our masters have been pleased to send us grey hounds"—from this provision an exception was made, in favor of "rhinoceroses, sea cows, and such large animals upon licence obtained." Any other game killed with consent, was first to be placed at the disposal of the Commander. Desertion from the ships to the shore now became an offence which required checking, and free men harbouring such deserters, were declared to be liable to the punishments which the Statutes of India provided for the deserter.

A Despatch to Batavia, dated Nov. 28, mentions the return of the land party in the following terms:—"The state of affairs here is, thank God, very good, and our travellers who were landed in Mossel Bay from the *Voorman*, after having been absent fully 3 months, have returned, together with those we sent to meet them upon their return, they brought with them nearly 600 sheep and 141 cattle, a considerable quantity, which will serve well for the homeward bound fleet. Next year we shall send the party somewhat earlier and further, so as to discover the country and inhabitants, and to learn whether other tribes, or any trade, except that in cattle, is to be found; for which purpose, as well as for a voyage to Mauritius, we shall, with your approval, detain here any small vessel which may arrive from Holland.

Extract of a Despatch from Commander BORGHORST and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1669. March 22. Our last despatches to your honors were dated the 20th January, and 4th and 17th April, of last year. . . . We shall proceed to report the events which have subsequently occurred, and shall begin with the ships which have arrived from Holland. . . .

The mission sent by us to the east coast of Africa in August last, by the *Voerman*, with corporal Jeronimus Cruse and 15 men, has turned out well; their discoveries and proceedings, both by sea and on shore, after having been landed at Mossel Bay, may be seen in their diary inserted in our journals herewith enclosed. The said corporal Jeronimus, who has had much experience in travelling, used every endeavour to find the other tribes, of whom some mention has been formerly made; but after every exertion during his return, he could penetrate no further than within sight of a high range of mountains, some 6 or 8 days' journey distant, beyond which, reside the unvisited or unknown tribes. It is stated by the Hessequas, (who do not seem to have been a people discovered, or visited by the Dutch until now,) that that range of hills cannot be passed; we shall, however, attempt it in another direction and by land, and transmit to your honors full information on the subject. Those Hessequas, who are much better supplied with brass and beads than the Hottentoots nearer at hand, were, according to Jeronimus' report, not much inclined to barter; but we trust, notwithstanding, to dispose them thereto by kind treatment and familiar intercourse; and to all appearance your honors may expect much profit from that quarter, for the cattle are much more plentiful among those Africans, than among the Hottentoots hereabouts.

We formerly had some supply of cattle sent us from Saldanha Bay, but have had none for a considerable time, arising chiefly from the war which the Saldanha Hottentoots waged against the Namaquas, and in which the latter were victorious; the Saldanhars having been robbed of every thing—even of their wives and children, and totally ruined. In this your honors were also in some degree interested; a lot of cattle and sheep which Corporal Bosman had bartered from the Saldanhars in the time of Mr. Qualbergen, and which were grazing there, having been forcibly taken from our people; and there was every appearance of its coming to a dispute, and leading to a greater estrangement, but that great care was taken to prevent it. We shall, nevertheless, persevere in our endeavours to get into a friendly communication with them (the Namaquas?) so as thus to examine the country, and whatever it may contain, to some greater distance; this will require time.

Independently of this, every exertion is made to fulfil your Honor's desires, and indeed we are at present as well supplied with cattle as at any former period; for at the time of Mr. van Qualbergen's departure, we were very ill supplied, and had only a few cattle and sheep, and it cost no little pains to procure a sufficiency of refreshments for your Honor's fleets; the result was such however that we should not fear any reproof on that subject when duly inquired into, although some discontented persons have, as usual, expressed their dissatisfaction.

The last expedition sent into the interior under the said J. Cruse in January last, has been very advantageously to the Company. There is a gang of certain Hottentoots called the Obiquas, who had previously few or no cattle, and who make it their profession to plunder their neighbours of theirs, either by stealth or by open hostility, (as has appeared on several occasions, when they have destroyed and ruined the flocks and herds of other Hottentoots with whom we traded, and also killed and massacred some of their people.) This has induced the Soeswas and others to request us to protect them, which, as not being thereto authorized, we have at all times refused. During the last expedition, however, this matter burst out, for on our party falling in with the Obiquas, and requesting them to trade, they not only refused so to do, but also showed themselves to be very hostile, and designed, had not their murderous and rapacious purpose been disclosed to our party by other Hottentoots, to despoil our men of both their goods and their lives; wherefore the said corporal

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On the 2nd Feb. 1669, a short Despatch from the Cape says "we send these few lines only to communicate the good state of affairs here; the fruit looks well in the garden, and the cattle are as abundant as ever, so that we have supplied abundant refreshments to the ships that have passed, and shall be able to assist the fleets daily looked for in the same manner." And on the 16th of the same month a letter to Batavia contains this passage: "We have, in obedience to the orders of the Directors, got rid of 5 more men, among them one sergeant and three corporals, whom in these peaceful times, and when we have no immediate intention of sending out any land expeditions, we can well spare; except a few sick we have kept here no men not absolutely required."

A letter from the Chamber Amsterdam, Nov. 1, 1668, refers to an examination of the Islands of Martin Vaz, Tristan da Cunha, and Diego Alvares, by G. F. Wroede, who had been promoted to the rank of Junior Merchant—and to the Mauritius—but not to the Cape or its inhabitants.

and his party were necessitated to defend themselves against their hostile attack (invasie) with bows and arrows, and to protect the bartered stock, which turned out so well and fortunately, that the said Corporal procured from them in this rencounter a booty of 175 horned cattle and 53 sheep, which he has brought to us here. The Soeswas and other Hottentoots to the distance of full 50 mylen inland, are much rejoiced, and hope that they will no longer be troubled by Obiqua robbers, nor we injured in the cattle trade. (1)

We have for some time back cast our eyes upon a very fertile and suitable place called the Hottentoots Holland, being the Northern corner of False Bay, and very useful for depasturing a quantity of cattle; but from its distance, as well as the difficulty of the road through high sand hills, we shall not be able to use it, except in time of need, and as, besides, the Cape Hottentoots have possession of it.

The agriculture, thanks to God, is in a good condition, and the last crop of corn has turned out well, but the garden fruit and vines have, as happens every year, sustained some injury from the severe S.E. winds. We had hoped for a greater quantity of new wine this year, but have been obliged to content ourselves with 21 *half-aums*; this year is, however, more fruitful than any that has preceded it.

Meanwhile the advancement of the cultivation is not neglected, but every exertion is used to make this place maintain itself according to your intentions, which would give the highest pleasure to all your faithful servants, who have now to await that result from the blessings of Providence upon their labours.

Upon this account it were also to be wished that some of our free inhabitants were as zealous in the culture and establishment of the Colony, as they are solicitous about keeping taverns, and other insufferable practices tending to luxury; it would be at once very profitable to themselves, and better for your Honors; but this mischievous idleness, which may be called the beginning or mother of all other scandalous practices, has so much increased among them, that very little if any effect is produced by exhortation.

With whatever earnestness we have urged some of our burgers to labour, not only from consideration of your interest, but of their own welfare—as it is the duty of all Magistrates to do, and as we have been ordered to do—still they prefer taking the food out of their own mouths; some are not ashamed to go about like beggars, or to spend their time in drinking; a third part of their number, of more respectable and industrious men, would suffice to render the civil condition more flourishing, than so many lazy idlers do, who prefer making their living by prohibited means of taverns and eating-houses, and squeezing the substance of the poor common people, to maintaining themselves by the labour of their hands, according to the purpose with which they were discharged.

For the advancement of the general good, as well as for the object of your Honors, it were much to be desired that some order may be taken in the matter, so that freedom be granted to none but such as can maintain themselves by agriculture, breeding cattle, or some other honorable and permitted means.

(1) By the list of the enclosures sent with this despatch, it appears that 6 copies of the Journal of 1669, and in particular, of corporal Cruse's diary of his journey, accompanied this despatch, namely, one to the Supreme Board at Amsterdam, and one to each of the subordinate *Camers* of Zeelandt, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enchuysen. For the strictures of Governor Bax, apparently upon this transaction, see Cape despatch March 14, 1677, *infra*.

1669. April 27. Orders having been received from Holland to take possession of Saldanha Bay, lest the French (who were reported to be about to abandon Madagascar) should do so; George Fredrik Wreede, junior merchant, was appointed to that command, "as being acquainted with the place, and familiar with the Hottentoots." The grounds for taking possession are—"in order that no strangers, French, English, Danes, or others, now frequenting India, may be allowed to settle there; because the East India Company must be recognised as the first and true possessors—colonizers—and holders of the same, having occupied the place many years ago; and that the Company may not be deprived of their cattle trade with the Hottentoots there."

The accompanying instructions ordered some seeds to be sown in different places, and some sheep placed on the islands, "if Cruse should succeed in buying any from the Hottentoots," and Mr. Wreede was ordered to carry on "the cattle trade with the Saldanha Hottentoots, and if possible, to find the Namaquas, as being well supplied with cattle; and to get into good terms with them."

In a despatch from Holland, dated 9th May 1669, is the following passage. "We approve of you having sent some cattle to be grazed in Hout Bay where you state the pasture to be better than at the Cape." The rest of the despatch refers to the hopes entertained of Mauritius; and to several miners who were sent to the Cape to seek for precious metals.

Another despatch of the same year (Aug. 24) acknowledges Cape despatches of 2d Feb., 22d March, and 12th and 29th April, and contains these words—"we observe with satisfaction that every thing continues in a good condition at the Cape;" satisfaction is expressed at the reduction of the garrison, "including that of the island of Mauritius, and Robben and Dassen Island" to 187 men. Voyages of discovery along the coast, the encouragement of the farmers, and granting freedom only to cultivators of the soil, form, together with shipping and finance, the general subjects of the letter. The resignation of the Commander Borghorst is accepted, and P. Hackius appointed to succeed him.

The education and instruction of our slave youth in the true religion and the fear of God, is also so prosperous that we cannot doubt their souls are to be gained.

1669. Oct. 17. Extract of a Resolution of Council.... It was finally resolved to dispatch the said vessel, the Voorman, to India, and to send on this journey by land, the said Serjeant Jeronimus Cruse, with 25 of the usual volunteers, in the name of the Lord. This expedition to be dispatched as soon as possible, furnished with 3 months' provisions, and the usual articles for the cattle trade.....

1670. Jan. 10.—Resolution of Council.—Corporal Balcq having stated in his letter of the 26th of Dec. <sup>(1)</sup> last year, among other matters, that, (as he had learnt from the Saldanhamans) the Namaqua Hottentoes are lying on this side of the Oliphant's River, and would very gladly come to that bay [i.e. Saldanha] to barter cattle to the persons in charge there. But as the said Namaquas are not very confident as yet, and are not devoid of some fear for the Hottentoes in that vicinity, (namely, Gonnoma and Oudasoa) arising out of the war which existed between them two years ago; and as they, consequently, express their earnest desire that some of our people should first visit their kraals with some merchandize, under whose escort they could the more securely come hither on the return of our men; the Commander submitted these circumstances to the serious consideration of the Council, in order to determine what should be done in the matter; and the Council, after due deliberation thereon, resolved unanimously, that (although we suffered a trivial loss by the Namaquas carrying off some cattle in the year 1668) the said Namaqua trade ought to be renewed; more particularly as it is sufficiently evident that they are anxious for a friendly traffic with us, and it was accordingly resolved to send from this place, sergeant Pieter Cruythoff (he being an experienced traveller, who has before visited that tribe) with six men and six pack oxen, to convey the necessary stores of merchandize and provisions; the party to go by Saldanha Bay (where they are to be strengthened by four men more,) and thence to prosecute their journey, in hopes that this tribe, so rich in cattle, may be attracted to us, and that our party may return, after a successful barter, before the arrival of the next homeward bound fleet. <sup>(2)</sup>

Thus done, &c.

JACOB BORGHORST, &c.

1670. March 5. Extract of Resolution of Council, (held before Commissioner VAN DER BRONCK.)

The answers<sup>(3)</sup> having been fully considered it was suggested [by the Commissioner] that it might be

<sup>(1)</sup> 1670. Jan. 6. In a letter of this date to the corporal at Saldanha Bay, is the following passage:—"We are well pleased that you have bartered 50 more sheep from Oudasoa and Gonnoma; the Hottentots must be encouraged to barter more and more." A letter addressed to the corporal at Saldanha Bay states that "for the want of good travellers we have kept the two men who came with Mr. Cretzer, to send out with sergeant Cruse to seek for cattle trade, and we strongly recommend you to prosecute that trade with the Saldanhars and other Hottentoes in the vicinity with all zeal and diligence—for the supply of the ships expected."

<sup>(2)</sup> The result of this expedition is thus stated by Mr. Borghorst, in reply to one of a series of interrogatories proposed by the Commissioner van der Bronk, inserted in the Resolution of Feb. 25, 1670.

"Sergeant Cruythoff has returned, and gives hopes of an improving trade with the Namaquas; having fallen in with only one kraal, and procured from them, for the ordinary articles of merchandize, and in the most amicable manner, 67 cattle and 150 sheep; the alliance which has been begun with them may be rendered still firmer, upon their nearer approach."

<sup>(3)</sup> The Resolution of Feb. 25 contains the queries of the Commissioner, with the separate replies of the Commander and the Fiscal.

On the inquiries "How it happened that the Company's stock was increased from 174 cattle and 315 sheep left by Com-

A letter to Batavia of May 12th has nothing relevant, but it is stated in one of the 23d, that yesterday P. Cruythoff returned from a journey of 3 weeks, bringing with him 43 cows and 200 sheep, which, considering our recent loss (i.e. of 247 of disease at Robben Island,) has given us great joy on account of the ships.

By an English ship a letter is sent to Batavia, which briefly advises of "our good condition here" with the exception of 3 convicts and 4 sailors having carried off a galliot laden with provisions. Another letter of Aug. 23, has "little has occurred since."

On the 9th October a letter to the same states, "we deemed it right to take this opportunity of stating that all is well here, and that nothing important has occurred since our last."

A letter addressed to A. Borgiaert, Director at Surat, brings the notices of the "Company's prosperity" at the Cape down to the 25th Nov. 1669, and on the 3rd Dec. the promising appearances of the crops and gardens is mentioned, without any reference to natives.

Letters to Batavia of Jan. 6, 18, and 27, and of March 25, 1670, make no mention of the state of relations with the natives.

best to discontinue for the present the numerous expeditions sent into the interior for the purchase of cattle; as the Hottentoes seemed to be overstocked with brass and tobacco, and would not part with their cattle to us, except at a great profit, and even then, half of them die on the road from age, sickness, or other causes; the ultimate consequence of which might be, the entire loss of the cattle trade; as the natives will not part with good cattle, unless at a very dear rate.

In order then to bring down this trade to the former prices, and to enable the Company to trade with more profit; it is resolved to discontinue that trade for the present (unless when invited thereto by the natives, when the cattle may be had at a more moderate rate) and as the free men are now supplied with a good number of sheep, one of which is quite equal to 2 or 3 Hottentoo sheep, it is also resolved (to encourage them in rearing stock, and to satisfy their numerous complaints and requests to be enabled to get rid of some of their sheep) to purchase from them, on the Company's account, all their full grown wethers, at eight guilders each; they keeping the ewes for breeding—so that we may thus be enabled to dispense with Hottentoo sheep for upwards of a twelve month; and that instead of our having to seek the natives, they may be obliged to seek us.

Thus done, &c.

M. VAN DER BRONCK, &c.

### Extract of a Despatch from Commander Borghorst and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1670. March 14. Every thing here is, thank God! well, and in a very prosperous state. We also still continue on amicable terms with the Hottentoes, so that not the slightest difference has occurred with them; and the Company has, by several trading expeditions into the interior, procured from them, for the customary articles of merchandize, a very considerable number of cattle and sheep; and recently, during last January, sergeant J. Cruse bought from the Hossequas and other Hottentoo tribes, 65 cattle and 400 sheep; so that since the arrival of the Commander J. Borghorst, there have been bought from these Africans, upon sundry expeditions . . . cattle, and . . . sheep; and the Company is thus become much richer in live stock than at any former period. Should the expedition dispatched to the Namaquas on the 10th Jan. (under our sergeant Pieter Cruythoff, with 10 men) be attended with success, and should we once become well acquainted with that tribe, we may expect to have a profitable trade with them every year; and as they have now brought their hordes to this side of the Oliphant's River, it would seem that their fear for us, and for some of the surrounding Hottentots, their enemies, is no longer so great as before; and therefore the sergeant is directed to use every exertion to make friends with that tribe, and to become well acquainted with their customs; upon his return, we shall respectfully report the result of the expedition . . . . .

Sergeant Cruythoff having, a few days ago, fortunately returned from the last expedition sent to the Namaquas, we have learnt that he reached the Oliphant's river somewhat too late, and shortly after their departure from their rendezvous there; he fell in, however, with one of their kraals, who sold him, for the usual articles, a great number of cattle and sheep; according to his report there is every prospect of our procuring hereafter abundance of cattle from that opulent people, from which, as well as from a friendly intercourse with them, the Company will be benefitted in due time . . . . .

JACOB BORGHORST, &c.

mander Quaebelgen, to 508 cattle and 2299 sheep, of which only 711 were of the Hottentoo breed, whether this did not arise from paying higher prices to the natives—and whether the natives might not be induced to bring their cattle for sale to the Fort?"; the Commander mentioned the purchase, by the Company, of the flocks kept by Company's servants, in consequence of the sentiments of the Directors on that subject. The expeditions to the interior he considered "profitable, and unattended by any conceivable injurious consequence," and that, though it would be infinitely cheaper and safer if the natives would bring the cattle to the Fort, they could not be induced to do so; the neighbouring tribes had not enough cattle, even were they inclined to sell them, and the distant, and richer tribes would not incur the dangers of the journey. The fiscal, on the contrary, coincided with the opinions thrown out by the Commissioner.

"The Hottentoes are," said he, "a cunning people, and seeing that our constant parties leave them no rest, nor time to supply, by breeding, the deficiency caused in their stock by barter, would sell no more, except at treble profit, the cattle being so poor, that they could not be brought home; the barterers must admit that on every journey they had left behind one half of the stock purchased; whereas by discontinuing the journeys, the Hottentoes would be compelled to come to the fort,\* for they cannot exist without barter, nor can they sell their cattle for tobacco and brass to any but us."

In answer to another query, all parties agreed that unless the Company bought some of the freemen's half bred sheep, (now increased to 4697) they had no means of getting rid of them.

\* However agreeable to general principles these opinions may have been—see despatch 19th April 1672, and resolution 28th Nov. 1672. *infra* for the local objections to them.

Extract of a Memorandum for the information of the Commander, JACOB BORGHORST, or his expected successor, PIETER HACKIUS, &c.

1670. March 14. The garrison shall not henceforth be increased beyond 187 men ; with which number all the establishments, (Mauritius and all) may be very well attended to ; 24 persons having been discharged, you will supply this number from the passing ships. But our chief strength and dependence here must consist in the *burgers* and *boers*, who, having now increased to eighty-nine men, will (by good management and discretion on the part of Government,) increase more and more. . . . . You will constantly exert every endeavor to increase the number of colonists (and if possible of the Dutch nation) helping them to maintain themselves by farming and every honest and lawful calling, so that we may thus be enabled gradually to reduce the garrison to a small number, and still to defend and maintain our fort and other possessions here without expense, even against foreign enemies.

As the welfare of the said *burgers* and freemen must depend chiefly upon agriculture ; and as they ceaselessly lament, and complain of the low prices paid them for grain (no more than *f*5 : 10 for rye, and *f*7 for wheat), and as it is firmly believed that, should these prices be continued any longer, it would be destructive to agriculture, and that the views of the Honorable Company would be thus entirely defeated ; and being desirous of making a proper provision herein (better too soon than too late) we have raised the said prices, the rye to 7, and the wheat to 10 guilders, which it is conceived will much encourage the farmers, and you will be pleased to continue the same line of policy, and to favor the farmers as much as possible without injury to the Company, so that this Cape Residency may at length be able to depend upon its own resources, at least of provisions, and that it may no longer be necessary to import them at such an expense for conveyance.

As corn grown by salaried servants of the Company will not nearly repay the cost of its production, and as the Company's farm at the Schuyr is yearly sinking from bad to worse, it is thought proper to get rid of that establishment and its dependencies by hire or lease, and to remove all the workmen and implements to Hottentot's Holland, to cultivate there ; as, from the opinion of sergeant Cruythoff, an experienced farmer, and a person well acquainted with this country, it is by no means doubted that in a few years as much grain can be raised there as this place requires, and more ; you are therefore recommended to prosecute that work with all possible diligence, with a view, in due time, when the land is brought into cultivation, to give it also over to freemen, so as the better to impart to them the means of obtaining a proper livelihood, and the inclination to increase. . . . .

You are earnestly recommended to attend to the rearing of hogs as being a better food for the ship's crews than sheep ; for, in consequence of the number of the trading journeys inland, the Hottentoots have become too knowing and dear with their cattle, and therefore it is resolved to leave them quiet for the first twelve months at least, and not to visit them at all, in hopes that we may thus induce them to come to the fort with their cattle, and which there is the less reason to doubt that they will do, as, in order to enable us to make the trial, we have thought fit to authorise you to buy up, for the Company, the freemen's wethers, which you will do accordingly ; by this means the number of the Company's sheep will be much increased. It is also well worthy of consideration whether we ought not to buy up all such sheep every year, seeing that the farmers are prohibited from selling them to the shipping or to private persons. . . . . As the *borgers* and farmers make constant complaint of the great scarcity of cattle, as well for draught, as to supply milk and butter, we have, in conformity with the orders of the Directors, assisted them, as far as the present stock will allow, having divided among them, in all 17 oxen and 30 cows or heifers. . . . .

Although the Government at Batavia have discontinued their orders for Cape wine, still you must not suppose that this extends any further than in regard to the supplies of their Honor's own tables ; for it is no wonder that the excellent *Hoegemer* and Rhenish wine, so liberally supplied to their Honors by the favor of the Directors, is used in preference to Cape wine ; still every kind of white wine is in great demand, particularly in Batavia. . . . .

MATTH. VAN DER BRONCK.

In the fort Goede Hoop, &c. 14th March, 1670.

Extract of a Letter from Commander PIETER HACKIUS and Council, to the Chamber Amsterdam.

1670. June 14. . . . . Our former letters apprised you of the fitting out and dispatch of the Hooker the *Grundel*, to examine the coast to the Northward. That vessel returned safe, thank God, on the 26th of May last, having, in compliance with the instructions, completed their voyage as far

as the Tropic; but, after every exertion, nothing of any importance was found, still less any roadstead or harbour fit for the reception of shipping, excepting Grundel bay, in South latitude 26° 36'; and as, to the utmost extent of the voyage, they found no other tribes than Hottentoots, our projected slave trade had no effect. (1) Along the whole coast they found little or no firewood, nor any water except far from the shore. . . . . We intend, in obedience to your orders, to send the same vessel to the Eastward to near Mozambique, with a party of 10 or 12 experienced travellers, to enable them the better to explore the country upon their landing in any bays or rivers. . . . .

1670. June 2.—Extract of Resolutions of Council.—And as it is observed, that sheep stealing begins to become more common every day, chiefly, as it is generally suspected, among those who have charge of the flocks; his Honor submitted to Council this question,—What measures ought to be adopted in order to procure a full knowledge of those thefts; that the thieves may be punished in such a manner as to deter others; when it was resolved to promise a reward of 50 guilders to any one who shall furnish due proof of such theft, even to an accomplice in the crime, who shall be exempted from punishment, and whose name shall be concealed. . . . .

Thus done, &c.

PIETER HACKIUS.

### Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII. to Commander HACKIUS and Council.

1670. Sept. 5. We have your letters of 14th March and 27th April last, from which we have been gratified by observing the safe arrival of Commander Hackius, and the continued welfare of that promontory. It is certainly a most desirable thing that you have procured such a quantity of cattle by barter, by which means you have now an abundance. . . . .

We shall be anxious to learn the result of the *Grundel's* voyage to the Eastward(2). . . . .

We again direct that attention be paid to planting brushwood or other wood for fuel in convenient situations; had such been done at first, we should not now have to search for fuel in distant places. . . . .

We should have more to say upon the Cape, but for want of time, and because we find that the needful directions have been given on all points by Commissioner van der Bronck, with the contents

(1) The following terms are employed in reporting the same facts to Batavia on the 26th Aug. 1670. "The officers of which vessel executed their commission as far as the Tropic, but found no other inhabitants in that country than tribes of Hottentoots, and consequently not the least appearance of any slave trade, which it was our intention among other things" [to try.] The resolution of June 12, 1670, states that the investment brought back from the north in the *Grundel*, shall remain in her during her voyage to the East "in hopes that a trade in slaves or some other merchandize may be there opened."

(2) The results of the voyage to the East, as stated in a Resolution of 16th Sept. 1670 and Despatch of 23d Feb. 1671 were, first, the loss of 17 men left behind, who were landed in search of firewood and water in the Bay of *Os Medos de Cura*, and who could not succeed in rejoining their comrades; and the discovery of a people who are mentioned in these terms, "6 of the party (who landed on the 23d) came on board on the 25th, saying that the corporal had sent them expressly for a little more powder and lead, 2 or 3 days' provisions, and a little brass, which brass was for the sole purpose of buying something from the natives there, who were Caffers, a people who, as it appeared, were of a good disposition (*naturel*) and by whom they were well received." "As far as we are informed," says the despatch of 1671, "the people among whom the disaster occurred, were well inclined to trade in elephants' tusks, of which they had abundance, and were of a good disposition and civil manners, (civilen ommeganck) but in appearance not very different from the Hottentoots, excepting in their hair, which was much longer than that of the natives here." A copy of the log book was sent to Holland, but was stated to contain nothing important.

It appears by a Resolution of Sept. 27, 1672, that a vessel (the *Flying Swan*,) which had been sent to the eastward in search of the men left by the *Grundel*, returned unsuccessful on the 2d of that month. The Resolution for the dispatch of this vessel to the Eastward, is dated 3d June, 1672. The instructions, (dated the 17th,) show the extent of knowledge then obtained of the coast. "You will not touch at the bays, *Hout, Struys, Vis, Mossel, Content*, and *A la goa, to Rio d' Infante*, or *Pt Primiere*, which have been visited, partly by our people by land, and the others and most distant, by said vessel."

The instructions issued for the voyage to the West coast in 1670, laid it down as certain that, a Caffer, or in other words, a negro race, would be found on the West Coast, and it appears to have been upon this assumption that the order to buy slaves was founded. It will soon appear that the Hottentoo race were stated to extend far North of the Tropic, and that the endeavours subsequently made to ascertain, on the West coast, the extent of the Hottentoo and Caffer races, and their relations at the point of contact, were long unsuccessful.

On the 26th Aug. 1670, Commander Hackius reports, that upon the appearance of a French ship in Saldanha Bay, he had allowed water to be shipped and vegetables to be bought from the farmers, but had ordered all the sheep which had been purchased from the Hottentoots there [upwards of 200] to be sent to the Cape, "thus to destroy all appetite in those hungry strangers."

On the 29th Aug. Mr. Hackius approves of the exchange of civilities and presents between the corporal and the French, (by this time increased to 4 ships,) but urges sending off the sheep to prevent the French again taking them, under the plea of being ignorant that they were tame animals. The relations between the corporal at Saldanha Bay and the neighbouring natives, appear from the following passage,—"You did well to send the 19 oxen and 40 sheep, which you had at your house, to the Hottentot kraals for greater security."

of whose Memorandum we request you to comply precisely, until further orders from us or from Batavia.....

We intend this year to send out 28 ships, with 3700 men,  $\frac{2}{3}$  sailors, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  soldiers; and as, from the small demands made for goods, those ships will have much spare room, we have thought proper to allow the several Chambers to send out as many freemen as may offer themselves, and as the ships can conveniently carry; to be conveyed passage free, whether to the Cape, Mauritius, Batavia, or Ceylon, as they may prefer.....

As the appearance of matters in Europe is such that these States may easily become involved in war, we have increased the number of 3700 men, to 4000, and you will accordingly be upon your guard, and in a proper posture for defence<sup>(1)</sup>.....

1670. Dec. 3.—Proclamation.—Whereas, it has come to our knowledge that for some time back, many of the inhabitants, especially of those who are resident in the country, (notwithstanding of the various laws which forbid going beyond the outposts without a pass or licence, whether to shoot, hunt, or otherwise,) are not afraid to pass the said outposts secretly from time to time, without a pass, and to shoot game, or cut firewood at and over the Diepe river, and elsewhere; and also to fetch reeds and rushes from under the Tigerberg and the Riet valley, according to their own fancy, and for their own behoof; and seeing also that under these pretences, many suspected practices may be carried on; we therefore, for the prevention of these and similar abuses, and for the maintenance of the Honorable Company's rights and authority, do hereby strictly prohibit each and all of these inhabitants, whatever be his rank or title, from passing, upon any pretence whatsoever, any outpost, without the previous leave of his superiors, whether to fetch wood, reeds, or rushes, or to shoot, or for any other purpose, under a penalty, (in addition to those provided by former proclamations,) of eight reals for each offence.

Thus done, &c. 3d Dec. 1670.

H. CRUDOP, Secretary.

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### Extract of a Despatch from Commander HACKIUS and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1671. Feb. 23. We are still on good terms with the Hottentoo people, and according to the recommendation of Commissioner van der Bronck, we have sent no expeditions to barter cattle since the departure of the last years' homeward bound fleet, in hopes of thus inducing the Hottentoes to bring their cattle, as before, to the fort for sale.....

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### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to Commander HACKIUS and Council.

1671. May 15. We have more particularly examined your letters transmitted by the return fleet last year, together with the reports which Mr. van der Bronck has delivered to us, relative to his proceedings as Commissioner at the Cape; and in the first place, we observe with satisfaction, that upon his arrival there, a company of free burgers and inhabitants, to the number of seventy, (besides

(<sup>1</sup>) This was deemed a sufficient authority for landing from the ships, to strengthen the garrison, no less than 300 men; and for resuming the building of the castle.

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1671. Feb. 23. Commissioner Isbrand Goske—subsequently the first Governor of the Cape—left behind him a Memorandum of this date, containing little directly relating to the natives, as he set out by stating his intention of touching on no subject adverted to by former Commissioners. He ordered the formation of the "Positive orders," a volume containing an alphabetical digest of all the instructions and orders issued since the foundation of the Colony. This had, as he states, been ordered by Mr. van Dam in 1667, but not complied with. 2d,—No new works or buildings to be undertaken without authority previously obtained. 3d,—To prevent the communication between Europeans and female slaves,—male and female slaves were to be united as man and wife, but not formally married, until baptized and instructed in their mutual obligations; breach of both engagements were to be punished, with this difference, that those of married females should be punished according to law; but the heathen at discretion, according to the nature of the offence; Company's slaves were to be forced to attend prayers; children, the progeny of Europeans and slaves, of whom 12 were then at school, were to be taught, and particular care to be taken that they were not alienated, so as to remain in constant slavery, but that they might in due time enjoy the freedom to which, in the right of the father, they were born. The free men's debts to the Company were then *f* 7801. The breeding of cattle, as well as the raising corn, was deemed a loss to the Company, and the same opinion was expressed as to the gardens; but Mr. Goske ordered reference to be made to Europe, before leaving these things to the freemen. The greater part of this paper is taken up with instructions relative to the expenditure, and the mode of keeping the accounts. The paper concludes by the expression of a hope that the Company's possession may "continue in a state of tranquillity."

19 that were absent,) were paraded under arms, being all able bodied men, who will, in time of need, be able to render good service; you will therefore extend to them every reasonable favor and assistance, supplying them, according to the practice (ordre) of the Company, with a reasonable quantity of necessary articles, in which we have observed that they have been recently very deficient, which causes great discontent, and furnishes ground for serious complaints. It has been highly gratifying to us to observe, that during the stay of the said Commissioner, such redress was granted, to the contentment of the freemen, as necessity required, and on that good footing it is our desire that matters shall continue.

It appears by that report and other papers, that on the departure of the fleet, there remained on hand, in the possession of the Company and the free men, 807 oxen, cows, or calves, and 6182 sheep, chiefly half bred; and as one of those sheep is deemed equal to 2 or even 3 Hottentoo sheep, our endeavors must be directed to the increase of that stock, so as thus to be enabled, if not entirely to abandon the use of the Hottentoo sheep, at least to induce the natives to bring them to us at a reasonable price, and to relieve us from the necessity of taking such long journeys as have been hitherto customary, for the purpose of purchasing stock; the stock so purchased being, besides, so old and lean, that they cannot complete their journey to the fort; and either die on the way, or are afterwards left lying in the fields. We therefore approve also of your receiving from the freemen such sheep as are of the proper size and weight, when the Company requires them, at eight guilders each; this will encourage the farmers in breeding sheep, and will pay them well; we must also think of the means of improving the breed of horned cattle.....and in particular of hogs..... The freemen will thus in time be able to reap considerable profits; for the same reason we further approve of your abandoning to the freemen, not only the manufacture of bricks and tiles, but every thing that the Company can dispense with; purchasing from them whatever we require, as directed in the Memorandum of Commissioner van der Bronck, which we desire that you will consider as if here inserted.....

That the retailers of drink (tappers) have been reduced to the number of seven, we view as a matter of necessity; the inhabitants must henceforth direct their endeavors to procure subsistence by labor and industry, and not from innkeeping; and no means are wanting there, to such as choose to pull their hands out of their sleeves; and as we can well conceive that this is not to be attained by the inhabitants without slaves, the wages of Dutch servants falling too expensive, we shall continue to exert ourselves in order to furnish them with a good number of slaves, with a view chiefly, to the advancement of the agriculture, which we find has shamefully declined, and would come to nothing unless some provision were made to prevent it. The said Commissioner has issued some good orders in this respect, and we hereby highly approve (lauderen en approberen) of his raising the price of grain delivered by the free men to the Company; the wheat to 10 guilders, and the rye to 7, per muid, being Rds. 60 per load of wheat of 3000 lbs. the Batavia price.

Upon the representation that the arable lands lying at or near the Fort, are by no means sufficient in extent or in fertility, for raising the quantity of corn that is required for the sustenance of our people and the colonists; but that much praise is bestowed upon a certain spot lying about 12 mylen from the Fort, about 2000 morgen in extent, and called Hottentots Holland, where it is supposed that fully 1500 muids of wheat and rye may be annually grown without manure, provided that 20 men are sent there, with the necessary working oxen and implements; and although we have considerable objections to the distance, yet, in consideration of the necessity which is pleaded, and the high opinion expressed of the place, we hereby consent to its occupation and cultivation.....

We were much pleased to find that your income has surmounted all the expenditure by a sum of £15,285; a well regulated economy will much contribute to the continuance of this state of your funds.....

Having further considered the situation of the Cape, the condition of our Fort there, and the danger to which it would be subject, in the event of a rupture with any of the European powers, we have resolved to proceed with the building of the new fortress or castle, for which you will make every preparation.....beyond the 25 to 30 soldiers to strengthen the garrison, you may disembark from 40 to 60 men to assist in brickmaking, &c.

### Extracts of Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander HACKIUS and Council.

1671. Aug. 29..... By the same ships we have received two letters from you, namely of the 22nd Feb., and of the 20th March; from which we have learnt, in the first place, with great satisfaction the generally good condition of our Residency there.....

We have read in your first letter a particular account of the proceedings of the French in Saldanha Bay . . . . . and your letter to Mons. de la Haye, protesting against the insolence and violence which they committed there. We are much pleased to observe that you have stated every thing with such precision in writing, supporting your statements by full proof. You will do well to be equally careful in all similar circumstances. We have not failed to bring the matter to the knowledge of the States, and as soon as our present session is over, shall represent it more fully . . . . . it can scarcely rest here . . . . . You did well to remove their flag and arms . . . . . but it would have been more conformable with our orders had you done so instantly on their departure. And therefore, should they come again and drive away our people, you must see that they do not remain there, but dislodge them by force if they will not attend to written protests, employing for this purpose all the force at your command, or that you may procure from our ships who touch there; that is to say, if upon the departure of their ships, they leave a garrison; so as not to undertake any thing hazardous. They can advance no pretension to a right either of property or of possession; particularly as we have done so, long before them, and have constantly frequented the bay, where we have subsequently kept a garrison, more especially at the very time when the French were last there. If you had treated them, after the commission of these violent outrages, according to the example set by them in the American Islands—most appropriately cited by you in your letter to Mons. de la Haye—we should not have disapproved of your conduct . . . . .

We trust that in compliance with our last orders you have made every preparation for building the new fortress . . . . . but we are surprised at your having disembarked and kept there 300 soldiers beyond the number of the ordinary garrison; and that out of an apprehension conceived from our letter of the 5th of last September, in which you were directed to be on your guard and in a proper posture of defence; but that was not to say that you should increase your strength with 300 soldiers so much required in India, and particularly in Ceylon . . . . .

We yield to your objections to planting near the Fort and behind the garden, lest shelter should be thus afforded to lions and other wild animals . . . . .

The fleet which we have resolved on equipping this harvest will consist of the following ships thus divided among the respective Chambers:—

[Amsterdam, 15 ships, 2350 men; Zeeland, 6 ships, 1200 men; Delft, 2 ships, 425 men; Rotterdam, 2 ships, 450 men; Hoorn, 2 ships, 325 men; Enchuysen, 3 ships, 450 men.] Total 5200 . . . . . Our reason for keeping so few ships for the spring fleet is the difficulty that will be found in procuring men, should the States be then at war with France . . . . . We have just received your letter of the 23rd April, from which we regret to observe the continued illness of the Commander Hackius; and as he earnestly desires permission to resign, we cannot but grant the same in the most honorable manner, as we have been well satisfied with his services; we shall soon nominate his successor.<sup>(1)</sup>

*Abstract of Criminal Convictions before the Court of Justice, Cape of Good Hope.—1662—1672.*

53. 1662, Sept. 17.—Jan Carels; repeated desertion; sentenced, in consideration of his youth, and of his having been ill-used by a freeman, to 6 months' labour in chains.

54. Oct. 21.—Cornelis Joris Jans and Frans van Hulst, soldiers; desertion from their ship, sentence, 6 months' labour in chains, at all vile work.

55. Sept. 27.—Pieter Adriaan van Schagen, seaman, desertion; sentenced to one year's labour in chains.

56. 1663, Feb. 6.—Jacob Egbert, soldier; for buying 3 sheep from the Hottentoots at the guard house, Keert de Koe, of which he had charge, and worse still, buying them for the freemen, whom it was his duty to prevent and report; sentenced to be dismissed, and shipped as a sailor, to be flogged, and to pay a fine of 10 reals.

57. Sept. 7.—Theuntje van Warden, wife of a burger; slander against other women; sentenced to retract the slander in public, to ask forgiveness of God and of justice, to be bound to a post for one hour, and to be banished to Dassen island for 6 weeks.

(1) The next dispatch (Oct. 13) states: "We have appointed Mr. Isbrant Godske, who is well known to you, to reside at the Cape as Governor; with the ordinary pay of *f*200 monthly, (and *f*100 additional, in consideration of the trouble of building the new fortress) and we have raised the Cape to a Government." A subsequent despatch of the same year (Nov. 24) only refers to the apprehensions of a rupture between the States, and both France and England.

The Placaat Book contains 56 Proclamations or other public notices, including advertisements of sales, and citations by edict, issued during the 2d period of ten years, terminating in 1672. The resolutions passed during the same period,—and of which 6 are noticed in the Parliamentary papers,—are about equally numerous; and embrace every subject requiring the decision of government. From those sources of information, in addition to the correspondence here cited, it may be stated that it is not likely that the missing journals contain much of importance, beyond those casual notices which furnish the only certain data for determining the numbers and the position of the several tribes.

58. 1664, Nov. 25.—Jan Willem van ter Weer, sailor; drawing his knife on his superior; sentenced to fall thrice from the main yard, to receive 100 lashes, and forfeit two months' wages.

59. Dec. 6.—Burger Claas, late freeman, (vide *supra*, p. 283,) desertion from his master, frequenting improper places, and the haunts of banditti, and theft of wheat from the farmers; sentenced to be bound to the whipping post under a sheaf of wheat for one hour, and to work 2 years in irons.

60. Oct. 17.—Ytchio Wanckochuuse, Chinese convict from Batavia; frequent violence and attempted suicide; sentenced to be flogged, and, for the period of his banishment, to perform all such vile offices as the council shall deem proper.

61. Aug. 23.—Bartholt Keivit, (vide *supra*, p. 281,) assistant; theft of money; sentenced to be degraded, to work 5 years in chains on Robben island, and to refund the money stolen.

62. 1665, Nov. 4.—Egbert Joris, cooper from Mauritius, sent to be tried, for leaving his work, vagabondizing, &c.; (the journal kept at Mauritius produced in evidence,) sentenced to 3 years' labour in chains, and loss of six months' wages.

63. 1665, Dec. 30.—Arnout Allaert, soldier; house-breaking and theft; sentenced to be tied to a post for two hours, with rods above his head; then to be put in chains for 3 years,—the first year without wages, and to refund the value of the stolen articles out of his wages.

64. [A sentence pronounced at Mauritius] against Cornelis Cleas, for mutinous conduct; sentenced to be sent to the Cape for trial.

65. 1665, Nov. 4.—Cornelis Claes, (see 64); sentenced to be flogged and to work 10 years in irons.

66. 1665, Feb. 10.—Jan Cassien, soldier; theft of money; to be flogged—to stand at the post with 2 rods over his head, and a letter on his breast, explaining his offences, and to labour 3 years in chains on Robben island.

67. 1665, March 5.—The wife of the Burger Martin Jacobs, and Jan Christian, (vide *supra*, p. 285,) servant of the same; beating and ill-using said Jacobs. First prisoner to pay 6 reals, and, with her husband, child, and property, to be sent to Holland, paying for her passage. Second prisoner to be flogged and to work for one year in chains. (Before Commissioner Bitter and the council.)

68. 1665, Oct. 1.—Hendrik Joosten, soldier; a second desertion, and living by begging; sentenced to 3 years in irons on Robben island.

69. 1666, May 27.—4 Company's servants and 4 freemen's servants, desertion and hiding in ships; sentenced to be flogged and to various terms of labour in chains.

70. 1666, June 2.—Barent Andries, attendant in the hospital; theft; sentenced to be flogged and put in irons for 3 years.

71. 1666, June.—Jans Vosch, seaman; murder by an axe; sentenced to be beheaded with an axe; the sentence was subsequently modified on the intercession of the minister, and on account of the honorable parents of the criminal, and, instead of dying by the hands of the executioner, he was shot.

72. 1666, Oct. 15.—Andries, a slave; theft of a sheep; to stand at the whipping post, with the sheep skin round his neck, and then to be placed in chains. [The sheep, not being identified as any one's property, to be sent for the use of the sick in hospital.]

73. Oct. 14.—Salomon Michaels, sailor; wounding with a knife; sentenced to fall from the yard, to be flogged, and to forfeit 2 months' wages. The wounded man to forfeit 1 month's wages.

74. Oct. 18.—Jacob Ruart, sailor; desertion; sentenced to be banished to Robben island to carry shells, till further orders.

75. Oct. 22.—Willem Cornelis, sailor; wounding with a knife; sentenced to be flogged, to work 6 months on Robben island, and to forfeit 3 months' wages. The wounded man for previous provocation, to work 2 months without wages, and to pay 10 reals pro fisco, and 6 to his master.

76. Dec. 4.—Anthony Jans and Anthony Arents, soldiers; theft of vegetables from a farmer's garden,—("an offence tending to the ruin of this growing colony.") Sentenced to be flogged, and to work in irons on Robben island for 3 years, and forfeiture of 4 months' wages. The receiver of the stolen cabbage, to witness the execution of the sentence bareheaded, and to be banished for 6 months.

77. 1667, Feb. 12.—Jurgen Cramer, cook of the hospital; embezzling provisions; sentenced to one year's banishment to Robben island without wages, and to forfeit 4 months' pay.

78. March 11.—Hermans Jans, boatswain; disobedience of orders and stabbing his captain; sentenced to be degraded to common seaman, to be thrice keelhauled, to be well flogged, to have the knife stuck through his hand, and to forfeit, pro fisco, 6 months' wages.

79. Aug. 22.—Symon Cornelis, sailor; attempt to wound with a knife; sentenced, after being well flogged by the Caffers, to three years' banishment to Robben island, and a fine of 6 months' wages;  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the poor, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  pro fisco.

80. *Eodem Die*.—Pieter Dirk, ship's carpenter residing on shore; inciting other workmen to disobedience, and throwing a saw at his master, apparently with intent to wound him, upon receiving from his said master a blow with a rattan for misconduct; sentenced to be flogged by Caffers, to be banished to Robben island for one year, and to forfeit 3 months' pay.

81. Sept. 17.—Gens Maas Urbeek, late Company's soldier; stabbing the Provost Marshall: sentenced

to have the knife driven through his hand into a post, to be well flogged by the Caffers, and to forfeit 4 months' wages;  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the poor,  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the fiscal, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  as a fee to the surgeon.

82. Dec. 1.—Frans Pieters, sailor; murder of another sailor; sentenced to be shot.—Executed 2d December.

83. Dec. 2.—Claas Vegtman, wood-cutter; violent assaults and wounding; sentenced to witness the execution of Pieters, to have a ball fired over his head, to be banished in chains for 3 years, and to forfeit 6 months' pay,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *pro fisco*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the poor, besides paying the doctor.

84. Dec. 2.—B. Hendrick, labourer in Company's service; the same affray as 82 and 83; sentenced as No. 83.

85. Dec. 2.—Jerig Waller, late wood-cutter; same affray; sentenced to be well flogged by Caffers, to work in chains for 1 year, and to forfeit 6 months' wages.

86. 1668, March 22.—Joachim Cornelis, of Norway, late sailor; (the sentences down to No. 103, are signed by Admiral van der Laen, Messrs. V. Quaelbergen, *Wagenaar*, and many others, Captains of the fleet.)—attempt to raise a mutiny, to seize his ship, and murder the officers; sentenced to be hanged.—Executed on the 24th.

87. March 22.—Hans Wedding, drummer; mutiny; sentenced to be hanged.

88. A. Andries, same offence; sentenced to be hanged. Executed on the 24th.

89—99. [Eight others sentenced to be flogged, branded, and to labour in chains for 25 years, for the same offence; and 4 others for shorter periods.]

100. Same day, Michel Dirks, sailor; drawing his knife upon and wounding his officer; sentenced to draw lots at the place of execution for death or life, and according to the result, to be hanged, or to be flogged, branded, and placed in chains on Robben island for 25 years.

101. March 23.—Hans Olofse, sailor; criminal knowledge of intent to mutiny; sentenced to witness the execution of the mutineers,—5 years in chains.

102. March 23.—Gerrit van Hosselt, mate; mutinous conduct; sentenced to be degraded to a common sailor, to fall thrice from the yard of his ship, to be well flogged, and banished for 5 years.

103. [A sentence without date or signature against a sailor, for theft and drawing his knife.]

104. 1668, Dec. 6.—Thomas Eert, soldier; murder of a comrade; sentenced to be shot. Executed on the 7th.

105. 1669, March 18.—Joost Huyberts, sailor; wounding with a knife; to fall thrice from the yard, to receive 200 lashes, and forfeit 3 months' wages.

[The next 4 sentences are all against sailors, the court being presided over by a Commissioner, J. Thyssen, and the offences having happened on board of ship.]

110. 1669, Aug. 6.—[Civil Suit.] Fiscal versus Thielman Hendricks, free farmer, for recovery of 19 cattle and 25 sheep lent him by the Company in 1662; sentenced to restore them in kind to-morrow morning, or otherwise they may be taken out of his herd by prosecutor.

111. Aug. 7.—Thielman Hendricks, borgerraad and free farmer; verbal slander against the fiscal before the court; sentenced to be dismissed from his office of borgerraad, and to forfeit his licence to tap and to shoot; to make the *amende honorable*, by begging pardon; and profitable, by paying 300 Rds.  $\frac{1}{3}$  to the poor,  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the Company, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the fiscal.

112. Dec. 11.—Susanna of Bengale (alias Eenoor) late slave; murder of her own child by strangulation; (the child lived 8 days after the commission of the violence); sentenced to be drowned.

113. 1670, July 2.—Jacob Lambersen, soldier; theft of a piece of canvas from a chest; sentenced to stand in the pillory with a piece of canvas over his head, and the word "thief" written on his breast, to work three months on Robben Island, to make good the value of the stolen goods, and to forfeit one month's wages, *pro fisco*.

113. 1670, July 2.—Jan Harmens, soldier, sheep stealing from a burger, his master; sentenced to be flogged, with a sheep skin over his head, to be banished to Robben Island for five years, to make good the value of the stolen sheep, and to forfeit (*pro fisco*) 3 months' wages. (N. B. All the sentences include the costs and dues of justice.)

115. 1671, Jan. 14.—Johannes Fort, soldier; that being stationed at the Company's post Kyckuyt to prevent barter with Hottentoots, he bartered from some Hottentoots, for tobacco, 3 sheep, which he offered for sale to the wife of the burger Thielman Hendricks, named Mayke van der Berg, who bought them on condition of his first killing and skinning them; also, for desertion, in which he was assisted by the said Mayke van der Berg; sentenced to be flogged and banished to one of the neighbouring islands for 12 years, and to forfeit all his wages (*pro fisco*.) (N.B. The same sentence condemns the 4 Dutch servants of M. van der Berg to flogging, and three year's banishment for aiding and abetting.)

116. Same day.—Mayke van der Berg, the wife of Thielman Hendricks; repeated bartering sheep from the natives, employing for that purpose the soldier Johannes Fort, and attempting to secure his escape; to witness the punishment, holding rods in her hand, and to be banished for 3 years to the Eastward of the new bridge, during which time she shall not pass to the Westward, nor keep any lodging house or tavern [both the last sentences are first signed by R. de Goens, Jr.]

117. July 30.—Jan Hendricks, soldier; homicide by stabbing; sentenced to be shot. Executed.

118. Nov. 18.—1, Barent Schobbert and 2, David Heelbron, soldiers; in charge of Company's cattle, agreeing to exchange with a free man, 3 Company's cattle for 3 others and 6 Rds.; sentenced to be flogged, with some cattle hides above their heads, to work 2 years in chains on Robben Island, and to forfeit the wages due,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pro fisco,  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the Company.

3. Frans Gerrits, free man; employing 3 Hottentots to buy cattle, exchanging the 3 cattle thus bought for others, the property of the Company, in order to avoid detection; sentenced to witness the punishment of Nos. 1 and 2, to be banished for one year to the Eastward of the new bridge, and to pay a fine of 400 Rds.  $\frac{1}{2}$  pro fisco,  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the poor,  $\frac{1}{6}$  for the Company,  $\frac{1}{6}$  for the Court of Justice.

4. Claas Adrian, servant of last witness, aiding and concealing; fined 12 Rds. and banished to Robben island for one year.

119. Claas Barenski, soldier; desertion and vagabondizing; sentenced to be dismissed the army, his sword to be broken by the common hangman, and to work 2 years on Robben island.

The following cases, not found among the filed sentences, are from the rough minutes of the proceedings of the Court of Justice:—

1664. Feb. 9. Postponed from 26 January. [Vide *supra*, p.p. 274, 275.]—Jacob Cornelis, of Dantsick; Pouwel Cornelis, of Medwont; Christoffel, of Campen; and the son of Jacob Cloeten.

Sentence; Jacob Cloeten, Jan Coenraad Visser, and Jacob Cornelis, of Dantsick, to pay jointly to the Company, for the beast, the sum of 40 guilders, and further, jointly, in a fine of 40 reals, and Pouwel Cornelis to pay a fine of 5 reals of eight.<sup>(1)</sup>

[On the same date is noted a civil action, J. C. Visser versus Jacob Cloeten, for defamation; in charging him with taking from the Hottentots, 3 head of cattle, and killing and using them.]

Feb. 16.—Jacob Cornelis, Willem Willems, and J. C. Visser, are, on their own confession, fined each 6 Rds. for bartering sheep, and the sheep are forfeited. A charge of bartering 4 sheep at the house of J. C. Visser, is brought against Jacob Cloeten, but no decision is noticed.

Aug. 2.—H. Remanjenne, [vide *supra*, p. 281,] is charged with bartering sheep, &c., which was not carried into effect, he was overtaken in the field by 2 riders, with about 1 lb. tobacco, 3 pieces of brass, and 1 rod of iron; goods forfeited, and fined 8 Rds.

1667. Feb. 12.—The fiscal versus J. Cornelis and W. Willems; for contravention of Proclamation of 8th Sept. 1666, in bartering, one to the other, draught oxen and sheep, without permission; confiscation and fine of Rds. 25 claimed; sentence, to arrange the matter with the fiscal.

On the same day similar charges were brought against Carel Lettero, Stevens Jans, Theilman Hendricks, Jochim Marquart, and Wouter Mostart, which were postponed for further examination.

(1) The following more detailed statement of the same case, including the Fiscal's claim, is bound up in the minutes:—

Saturday, 9th Feb. 1664.

Present, Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar, Commander,  
Abraham Gabbema, Junior Merchant,  
Pieter Everard, Ensign,  
Hendrick Boom, }  
Hendk. van Zeurwaerden, } Burger raaden.

Hendrick Lacus, Fiscal of the Company's Residency at the  
Cabo de Bonne Esperance, ex officio Prosecutor,  
versus  
Jacob Cornelis, of Dantsick, Pouwel Cornelis, of Medwont, Christoffel  
Schouw, of Campen; in respect to the taking of a beeve (beest) from  
the Hottentoots, slaughtering it and using it among them.

Although the Prosecutor might, without hesitation claim and fully sustain against the delinquents, that their crime amounted to that for which cattle stealers are punished, nay, further, because the theft was committed against heathens and persons upon whom we rely for the prosperity of this place. But considering at the same time (niet in consequentie trecken de consideration en de publicque feyten) in what manner such offenders are punishable, the Prosecutor could, unquestionably, claim as above stated. But as these persons, from the infancy of this place, are debarred from procuring any assistance, this also is taken into consideration by the Prosecutor, with reference to whether the crime was committed at night in the kraal or pen of the Hottentoots, that is, by forcing the fences and pallsades, or by stealing in the day time, when the cattle were at pasture under the charge of herds, on the road, or otherwise; and, as far as is known to the prosecutor, he has no reason to conclude that the animal was taken in any other way than that last mentioned, namely, that when pasturing among their herd, it was caught, killed, and divided. This however remains, as is fitting, for the consideration of the Court.

But it should also be most particularly considered, after compensating the injury done to these inhabitants, who are heathens and unchristian men, and whom we, as reasonable men and Christians, ought duly to support and maintain in their rights by good and reasonable laws, tending to every end which in any degree accords with fairness, and to which laws the Prosecutor refers,—yet he concludes, notwithstanding, that the oldest, being Jacob Cornelis, of Dantsick, who showed the example to the other younger men, who killed the animal, and divided it into five portions, shall compensate for the same for the behoof *ad uso*. And because it is probable that some commotion may be expected on the subject among these heathen tribes,—that he shall be given over to the public executioner, bound to a post, and most severely flogged; and that the other fellows, (beugels) be paid in the same coin, well laid in, on their bare hind quarters, *cum expensis*.

Parties decline producing any more documents. The Court, after hearing both sides, and having paid attention to every thing which requires to be considered, doing justice, &c. &c. condemn Jacob Cloeten, Jan Coenraad Visser, and Jacob Cornelis, of Dantsick, to pay jointly to the Company, for the restitution of the stolen beast, the sum of forty guilders; and further jointly in a fine of forty reals; and Powel Cornelis, of Medwont, to pay a fine of five reals of eight.

Dated as above, signed by the before named, in the presence of—[N.B. In common with all these minutes, no signatures are attached.]

1667. March 17.—Fiscal versus Hendrick Rynste; for contravention of Proclamation against barter, in that he was found in possession of 3 Hottentot sheep, the tails of which had been recently cut off, and which therefore must have been bartered from the Hottentots within a few days; case postponed for proof of defendant's defence, *i.e.* that he had bought the sheep from Hans Ras. [N. B. On 18th June, acquitted of bartering from Hottentots, but, with the witness Ras, fined Rds. 25 each, and sheep forfeited, for bartering with each other.]

*Same day.*—Fiscal versus Jan Jacobs, sailor, in that being wounded, he will not name the perpetrator; defence,—was drunk and did not know how he came by the wound in his arm; the fiscal claimed that the prisoner be keelhauled, have the knife driven through his hand, and pay *pro fisco* 6 months' wages; sentence to pay 2 months wages *pro fisco*.

1667. July 2.—Fiscal versus L. Leenderts; for bartering an ox from the Hottentots; defence,—the animal was given as a present; fined, and the beast confiscated.

1667. Oct. 9.—Fiscal versus Claas Jacobs; for contravention of Proclamation, in killing a sheep without leave; defence,—the sheep had been injured by an ox; witness called, who says that it is true the sheep was hurt, but it might have lived a day or two; fined 24 Rds.

1668. Aug. 22.—Fiscal versus Jacob Cloeten, Jan Verhagen and Willem Schalk; for bartering cattle from Hottentots, paying 5 times as much as the Company; defence,—the Company required no more cattle, and those purchased were absolutely necessary for working their land; sentence, corporal punishment remitted for this time, through the intercession of good friends; cattle forfeited to the Company, to pay each a fine of 50 Rds.,  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the poor,  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the informer, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the fiscal. Same day similar claim made against Willem Willems.

Dec. 1.—Fiscal versus Jacob Rosendal; same offence, and sentence as in last case.

1669. July 17.—Fiscal versus Theilman Hendricks; for delivering to W. Willems 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  muids of grain for 2 head of cattle, instead of delivering it to the Company; defence,—begs pardon as it was in the middle of the ploughing season when he much wanted the cattle, promised never to do so again; pardoned for this time.

July 17. Fiscal versus J. C. Visser; for shooting without leave; begs forgiveness, as he has a house full of children for whom he must seek food; let off for this time with a reprimand, in consideration of poverty.

1669. Nov. 2.—Fiscal versus Jacob Rosendal; for not assisting in repairing roads; fined 6 Rds.

1670. May 7.—The fiscal fined 2 months' pay on the complaint of the Commander, that he had ordered 12 sheep to be landed from Robben Island.

1670. July 30.—Fiscal versus Harman Jans; for passing the outposts without a licence, contrary to the Proclamation; defence,—does not deny the fact alleged, but pleads, at that time the posts were called in, and maintains, that where there was no post, he could not have passed any; the fiscal admits the facts pleaded *in quantum pro*.—but persists in his claim, as going into the interior is forbidden. Fiscal non-suited—(*absolution from the instance*.)

1671. May 27.—Fiscal versus J. C. Rosendaal; for secretly keeping in his flock, contrary to Proclamation, some Hottentot sheep; excused in consequence of sickness.

1671. July 1.—Fiscal versus J. Rosendaal; for keeping in his flock 4 Hottentot sheep; postponed for proof.

1671. July 8.—Fiscal versus Andries Jans Vries, soldier; for riotous and mutinous conduct, and drawing his sword (with which he was wounded and had lain in the hospital 6 weeks) aggravated by his having "some time before, wounded with his sword an ignorant Hottentot, who had apparently done him no kind of harm, so that it was thought he would have died of it," but which offence had, in hope of improvement in his conduct, been overlooked; defence,—“does not deny the last charge, but says that when he wounded the Hottentot he was surrounded by many of that people who threatened him on every side, so that in that instance he had only acted in self defence;” sentence,—banishment to public works on Robben Island for one year, to be fined three months' wages, *pro fisco*, and to pay the doctor's bill, fixed by the Court at 5 reals of 8, *cum expensis*.

### Extracts from the Journal kept in the Fort Good Hope.

1672. Jan. 10. The gibbet, upon which the female Hottentoo was recently hanged, was observed to have fallen down. . . . . 11. The said Hottentoo was again suspended on the gibbet for the satisfaction of justice. (1)

(1) The following paper, from the minutes of the Court of Justice, will at once explain the circumstances noticed in the Journal, and afford a specimen of the law papers of the period. It is dated 18th Dec. 1671.

Presentibus,—JOANNES COON, Lieut. DANIEL FRAYMANTEAU and WILLEM VAN DIEDEN, Members of the Council of this Residency. The fiscal having reported to the Council, that a certain Dutch female Hottentot, had this morning hanged and thus strangled herself, in the sheep house of one of the free men, near this fortress—as shown by a declaration of the surgeon, (who, by order of the Council, had dissected the body) that the said female has died from no other probable or conceivable cause than by the violent death inflicted by her upon herself, by means of suffocation. The Council having also examined two persons, namely Francois Champelaar, servant of Joris Jans, and Angela of Bengal, wife of Arnoldus Willems, who state that the said Hottentot was found hanging in her own gown band, fastened in the thatch overhead; and that on their first coming, they observed some motion in the veins of the neck, which induced said Champelaar to cut down the body in hopes that life was not extinct; but that, on the body falling to the ground, it was found that Satan had already taken possession of her brutal soul. It was therefore concluded—as the said female Hottentot, known by the name of Sara, and about 24 years of age, had

10. Five evil disposed Hottentoots were brought in by the mounted guard, fastened together. The guard stated that the prisoners had laid hold of a certain burger's shepherd, who was herding his sheep near the guard house, forcibly rifled his pockets of all their contents, and made off with a large portion of his flock, but were pursued and overtaken by the mounted guard, who rescued the prey out of their thievish hands. (1) 11. Some Hottentoots brought, by way of ransom for the five prisoners, eight fine young cattle, and 8 sheep, but were sent back unheard; for the insolence of those people begins to get beyond bounds and insufferable, and requires an exemplary punishment to deter others, more particularly as the prisoners are subject to the chief Gonnema, through whose means 2 of our burgers were so cruelly massacred last year. 13. All the burgers were mustered in arms to the number of 93; it was a pleasure to see how well they handled their infallible weapons..

14. The Hottentoots who had brought some cattle by way of ransom for the prisoners on the 11th, returned to-day with a greater number, but they addressed deaf men. In the evening, however, some came from other surrounding kraals, and offered for sale three good sheep, which were bought from them at the usual rate. 16. The Hottentoots brought 6 sheep to the market, which were purchased for the usual articles. 18. 3 good cattle were bought from the Hottentoots. 19. The Hottentoots again offered to pass off on us 3 cattle and 27 sheep; but as some of them were not what they ought to have been, we bought only 19, rejecting the others as unsuitable. 23. The surrounding Africans offered us at the fort 39 sheep, of which we purchased 33, and refused the others, which were very lean.

24. Some people from Gonnema's kraals came into the fort again this afternoon, to request once more that we would release the prisoners in consideration of a large herd of cattle which they brought with them, but the smoke of their offerings was cast down, and rejected as unsavoury; they went away to their huts in the evening, as wise as when they came. 25. The Africans in our

resided (verkeert) from her childhood with Company's servants or free men, and that not merely for her bare food, but also with some persons for wages, by which means she had thus long maintained herself, and had thus acquired the full use of our language and of the Portuguese, and become habituated to our manners and mode of dress; and as she had also frequently attended Divine service, and had furthermore, (as is presumed) lived in concubinage with our, or other German people, (onse, ofte andere Duytse natien) not having any particular familiarity with her kindred or countrymen; which is the case also with her mother, who also maintains herself by earning daily wages among our inhabitants—That, from the said allegations and reasons, it is concluded that the said Hottentot can not be any longer considered as having led the usual heathenish or savage Hottentot mode of life, but to have entirely relinquished the same, and adopted our manners and customs (levens- en lantsaardt) and that accordingly, she had enjoyed, like other inhabitants, our protection, under the favour of which she had lived; as this animal (bestie) then, has not only—actuated by a diabolical inspiration—transgressed against the laws of nature, which are common to all created beings; but also—as a consequence of her said education—through her Dutch mode of life—against the law of nations, and the civil law—for, having enjoyed the *good* of our kind favor and protection, she must consequently be subject to the rigorous punishment of *evil*; seeing that those who live under our protection, from whatever part of the world they may have come, and whether they be christians or heathens, may be justly called our subjects—And as this act was committed in our *territorium*, and in a free man's house under our jurisdiction; which should be purified from this foul sin, and such evil doers, and enemies of their own persons and lives visited with the most rigorous punishment. It is upon these grounds claimed and concluded by the fiscal, that the said dead body, according to the usages and customs of the United Netherlands, and the general practise (ingevoer) of the Roman law, be drawn out of the house, below the threshold of the door, dragged along the street to the gallows, and there hanged upon a gibbet as a carrion for the fowls, and the property of which she died possessed confiscated, for the payment, therefrom, of the costs and dues of justice.

The court, having heard the arguments advanced in support of the conclusion of the fiscal, and attended to every thing relative to this matter;—accedes to the conclusion and claim of the officer, including the execution of the same.

In the Fortress the Goede Hoop: *datum ut supra*.

(1) The following declaration upon the subject appears among the *attestaties* of the period:—

1972. Jan. 11. Appeared before the undernamed Commissioners, Laureus Visser, of Wanfreden, and Volckman Kolbert, of Hardersleben, both soldiers in the service of the hon. East India Company, and serving on the mounted guard; who, upon the requisition of Hendrik Crudop, in his capacity of fiscal, declare and attest, upon their words as men, in lieu of oath, that it is true, that they, the attestors, when returning from the field towards their post yesterday afternoon, perceived at a distance, and near the small Salt Pan, a number of Hottentots busily engaged, and running about, which excited their suspicion that something amiss might be going on, whereupon they determined to hasten thither, and as they approached they could perceive that the Hottentots, who were 15 or 16 in number, took to flight, driving before them and taking away with them, a small flock of sheep; that they the attestors then met in the way a certain shepherd, named Luycas Harmans, in the service of the burger Willem Schalck, who told them, the attestors, that the flying Hottentots had taken from him all his flock, that he had pursued them on horseback for three hours to near Tygerberg, recovered some of the sheep, and then turned back to the stable intending to pursue the thieves on horseback; which was done accordingly, when they chased and caught the said 5 Hottentots, who, when confronted with the said shepherd, were declared by him to be of the number of those who had taken from him his sheep and all his property; whereupon the attestors bound the said 5 Hottentots fast together, and brought them to this fortress; all which the attestors declare to be the real truth, offering at all times to confirm this statement by oath.

Thus done, &c. Jan. 11, 1672.

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It is observed, on the 21st, in announcing the destruction of 2 cattle by lions at Hout Bay, that the lion is most mischievous to domestic cattle, when there is abundance of water in every direction, as there are then no certain drinking places, at which he may lie in wait with the certainty of making prey of some of the wild animals accustomed to drink at such spots.

neighbourhood brought in 9 sheep and 2 cattle, which were added to our flocks on the usual terms.

Feb. 3. Those interested for the 5 detained Africans again offered a large number of sheep and cattle for their release; their offers were rejected as before, and it is intended soon to let them feel something else, for their arrogance begins to be too great. 4. 11 sheep and a heifer were purchased from the neighbouring Africans.

10. The Council of the Fort, with the assistance of the Burgerraden, held a Court for the trial of the 5 Hottentots before mentioned, and after examination, 3 of them were sentenced to be flogged and branded, and banished to Robben Island, *ad opus publicum* in chains for 15 years; and the two others, who were not equally guilty, but were only voluntary accomplices in the theft of the sheep, were sentenced to be also well flogged, and banished to the said island for 7 years, as may be seen by the criminal roll.

11. The 5 Africans sentenced yesterday, were this morning, about 11 A.M. brought to the place of execution (after their sentence had been solemnly read in front of the fort) and severely punished for their crime, as above stated; meantime others of that people offered for sale 7 good sheep, which were added to our flock, for the usual merchandize. 18. The sentenced Hottentots were sent to Robben Island.

March 18. Ten good sheep were bought from the kraal of the native captain Cuyper, for the usual articles. 25. The Member of the Court of Justice, Arnout van Overbeek, Admiral of the fleet, and Commissioner, &c. landed.

April 7. The son of the burgerraad, E. Diemer, about eleven years old, was this morning in our hospital with a young Hottentot of the same age, where they were pelting each other with the rinds of water melon, which sport at length rose to earnest on the side of Diemer's son, so that he took a knife out of his pocket, wounded the Hottentot in the left breast, and then ran away, no one knows whither; a sad misfortune for the parents, for if this happens in the green wood, what can we expect in the dry! 8. The wounded Hottentot boy, who had been placed in the hospital under care of the surgeon, was this morning found to have absented himself; it is certain that other Hottentots have taken him away, perhaps thinking that from their native skill they can cure him better than us.

13. As our live stock has been much diminished by the large fleet now in the roads, and as all fit for slaughter are well nigh expended, and the Hottentots refuse to come to the market themselves, we found ourselves compelled to send out a party to the interior; sergeant Cruythoff was therefore ordered to set out to-morrow with some active men to purchase some cattle from the surrounding Africans, for the usual articles. 14. Sergeant Cruythoff set off, *cum suis*, God grant them a fortunate journey.

1672. April 13. Extract of Resolution of Council.—The Commissioner [Van Overbeke] stated to the meeting that he had been reflecting whether it might not be both practicable and serviceable to the Company, as well as necessary for the prevention of much future cavilling, that we should try to enter into an agreement with some Hottentots,—especially with those in whose land our residency has been, or may be established, whereby they should declare us to be the rightful and lawful possessors of this Cape District, and its dependencies, lawfully sold and ceded to the Company, or to us the Company's servants, for a specified sum of money; in order thus more firmly to establish our masters in their right of property.

And this proposal having been considered very serviceable, it was resolved and determined to enter into such an agreement accordingly, in the first place with the Hottentoo Captain Manckhagou, alias Schacher, as hereditary sovereign (Erf Heer) of the lands, on which the Company has already established her residency at the Cape, and in its district; the draft (ontwerp) of which agreement is about to be made; and also hereafter to do the same without delay, with the other neighbouring Hottentots.....

Thus resolved, in the Fortress the Good Hope, day and year as above.

AERNOUT VON OVERBEKE, ELLERT VAN BRUGEL, ADRIAN SCHIMMELPENNICK, J. SANDERUS.

1672. April 19. Agreement entered into between the Commissioner Arnout van Overbeek with the Council at the Cabo de Boa Esperance, on the part of the general chartered Dutch East India Company, on the one part; and the Hottentoo Prince Manckhagou, alias Schacher, hereditary sovereign of the land of the Cabo de Boa Esperance, on the other part.

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On the 23d March arrived Mr. van Albert van Brugel, appointed 2d in command, and to command until the arrival of Governor Goske.

First ; the said Prince Schacher promises, for himself, his heirs and descendants, to sell, cede, and deliver, in full, perpetual, and hereditary property, as he doth by these presents, sell and deliver, to the said Company, the whole district of the Cabo de Boa Esperance, beginning from the Lion hill, and extending along the coast of Table bay, with the Hout and Saldanha bays inclusive, with all the lands, rivers, creeks, forests and pastures therein situated and comprised, together with their dependencies (aanclieve) so that the same may be every where cultivated and occupied, without let or hindrance from any one,—with this understanding, however, that he and his kraals and herds of cattle may come, freely and without molestation, near to (omtrent) the outermost farms of the said district, and where neither the Company nor the freemen depasture their cattle, and that he shall not be expelled from the same by our nation, by force, and without cause.

Secondly ; that he and his people shall never again cause any annoyance, injury, offence, loss, or damage, directly or indirectly to the Company or her subjects or servants, their houses, corn lands, gardens, cattle, or in any other manner whatsoever ; nor suffer such to be done by others ; but that the subjects of the said Company may freely and peacefully pass and repass, without the slightest molestation, not only through the said Cape district, but also through his other free lands, whithersoever their journey may tend, and shall be allowed to trade therein, or to do whatever circumstances may demand, without the least interruption.

Thirdly, that he, Prince Schacher, shall endeavor to drive away and expel by force of arms any foreign European power which may, in the course of time, try to settle in the said district, not suffering them under any pretext whatsoever to settle, build, or cultivate the ground, and still less that any Hottentoes not concerned in this contract (buyten Ligue synde) should do the same or any thing of the kind.

Fourthly ; that he and his descendants, to the last of time, shall be, and continue to be the Company's good friends and neighbours, and the enemies of all, without any exception, who would hurt, offend, or injure her or her subjects in their property or otherwise, opposing such endeavors, and resisting and injuring the assailant to the best of his ability, helping and assisting the Company and her servants and subjects against all hostile aggressions, outrages, violences, and annoyances committed against them by any foreign nation.

The Honorable Company promise, on the other part, to give and present to the said Prince Schacher, for this surrender and sale of the whole Cape district, as is now given and presented, once for all, a sum of four thousand reals of 8, in sundry goods and articles of merchandize, this day delivered to his contentment.

Secondly ; that she or her servants residing here in her name, shall allow the said Prince Schacher and his subjects to enjoy the peaceful possession of his other lands, and shall allow him and his people to pass and repass freely and unmolested, wherever they may be inclined to go within the Company's territory, provided that the same does not tend to the prejudice, injury or inconvenience of the Company or her servants.

And should it happen that the said Prince Schacher and his allies are attacked in his free lands by other tribes of Hottentoes, his enemies, and driven out of the same ; in such case he may freely come with his people and his cattle, into the jurisdiction and land of the Company, when the Company shall assist and protect him, and shall resist his enemies ; and if any question should arise among the allied Hottentoes, the decision shall be pronounced by the Company.

On the other hand, he shall once a year, namely, upon the arrival of the Orange banner, or homeward bound fleet, deliver as a tribute to his protectors, the Company, some presents of cattle, receiving, in return, an entertainment at the expense of the Company.

All which aforesaid points of agreement having been read over and interpreted to the Hottentoo Prince Mankhagou, he declared himself to be satisfied with them ; and promised that he and his heirs and descendants should abide by them and maintain them to the latest day ; acknowledging at the same time to have received the stipulated price, estimated (begroot) at 4000 reals of 8, in sundry wares to his satisfaction, and to have been paid ; whereupon the contract (oirconde) was confirmed on both sides by shaking hands, and signed and sealed with the Company's seal.

Done in the Fortress the Good Hope, 19th April, 1672. (1)

[L.S.] AERNOUT VAN OVERBEKE,

[L.S.] ALBERT VAN BRUGEL,

[L.S.] CONRAD VAN BRIETENBACH,

[L.S.] J. COON.

Thus X marked by the Prince SCHACHER, aforesaid.

Thus X marked by T. TACHOU, chief person next to the Prince.

In my presence,—H. CRUDOP.

(1) On the 5th day of May, 1672, a contract, of which the conditions were the same, *verbatim*, as those above given, was entered into between the Council, and "the minor Prince D'houw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hotten-

Extract of a Despatch from Acting Commander VAN BRUGEL and Council,  
to the Chamber XVII.

1672. April 19. With regard to the barter of cattle with these native tribes which your honors have directed us to discontinue as much as possible, so that these African inhabitants might be induced to bring their cattle to the market; in compliance also with the orders of the Commissioners Van der Bronck and Goske, we have, during last year also, sent out no expeditions into the interior; but seeing at the end of the year, that during the whole season the said natives had brought us no cattle or sheep worth mentioning, and also that very few good sheep were to be had among the free men; and as, besides, horned cattle were much wanted, chiefly to slaughter for the fleets from India and Holland, it being found that the flesh of one ox, in tolerable condition, goes as far, on such an occasion, as that of 8 or 9 young wethers,—the council therefore thought proper to send one or two parties into the interior; which succeeded well, and were very profitable to the Company. It is true indeed that a good many half bred sheep are reared from time to time by the Company and the freemen; those now possessed by the burgers may be estimated at 3883. But it should be considered, upon the other hand, that the burgers require a great many for their own food, and for the passing ships. . . . . besides what are lost by disease, by carelessness, and by ravenous animals; and besides, the others are not always fit for slaughter, but are chiefly old ewes, or else young breeding ones. . . . . so that we have had to select what were wanted from the free men's flocks in small lots, and even then they were such poor things, that in spite of the low price of 6 or 8 guilders paid for each, neither profit nor advantage can be perceived in buying them.

Neither can we believe that, by discontinuing the journeys to the interior, the Hottentots will, for a long time, (voor eerst) be obliged to bring in any quantity of cattle; for those who are nearest at hand have been so ruined by constant internal wars against their neighbours, especially during this and the preceding year, that some years will be required to recruit men, herds, and flocks; and on the other hand those who have obtained the victory and the booty, will not venture to come in small parties, fearing that they will be overtaken and massacred by their enemies, as has been frequently experienced. . . . .

With regard to your Honor's directions relative to the yeomanry (Burgereye) and their exercise under arms, and also their being reviewed four times every year within the fort, paying a fine for neglect, &c.; this plan was commenced this year, and took place for the first time on the 13th of Jan. when a company of 93 fine active fellows, very adroit in the management of their weapons, were reviewed within the fort, by the late Commander and Council. . . . .

The officers of the *Grundel*, who were sentenced on the 6th of last July, to be dismissed and sent to Batavia, for leaving behind the 17 men. . . . . have been restored to their rank, and had their wages refunded to them by orders of the Supreme Government. . . . .

We have to thank the Almighty who has, hitherto at least, been pleased to grant us peaceful times at this Cape, and to free us from much unpleasantness, with the visits of foreigners, in comparison to last year; although some of our native neighbours, namely, those under the chief Gonnema, have shown themselves rather mischievous, and about 8 months ago cruelly massacred 2 of our burgers, who had gone inland to shoot sea cows and other large game for the subsistence of their families. They carried off the oxen and burnt the wagon of those men; but we have been hitherto unable to ascertain correctly how the dispute arose, and which party gave the first cause. Others of the said barbarians ventured, some 3 or 4 months ago, to attack a shepherd who was attending his flock about an hour's distance from this fort, to rob him of a portion of his sheep, and of all he had; 5 of these fellows having been apprehended, they were punished here by flogging, and have been banished to Robben Island for a long term of years. . . . .

A. VAN BRUGEL, &c.

toos Holland, and its dependencies, assisted by the Hottentot chief Dackkgy (alias Cuyper) stadhouder and guardian of the prince, and the captain Oyth'key, his counsellor and representative."

The land conveyed by this instrument is thus defined,—“the whole district of the lands called Hottentoots Holland, beginning from the Cape District, around its coast, and Cape False, with Bay False, and *Yselsteyn* inclusive.”

A resolution of the previous 1st Dec. provides for a survey of Hottentoots Holland and False Bay “including the place where the ship *Yselsteyn* lay at anchor during last June,—and which place [Simon's Bay?] their Honors at Batavia had ordered to be taken possession of.” The object of the survey is stated to be “for the information of the Directors, and of the expected Commissioner,” and it is stated that the late Commander had long contemplated this survey.

In both instances the “goods were estimated at 4000 reals,” and are stated to have been “delivered, to the satisfaction” of the contracting natives. A statement of their actual prime cost will be found in the Cape despatch of May 11, 1673, *infra*.

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—1672. April 22. Admiral van Overbeke and suite embarked in the *Tidor*. 28. The *Bride*, a small vessel belonging to some of our freemen, returned from Saldanha Bay. . . . . with 2 letters from the officer in command there, and the overseer at Dassen Island, stating their good condition in some respects, but mentioning a mortality among our sheep, and the disinclination of the Africans to sell any of theirs; our men had in all the time they had been there, procured only 80, but the natives gave hopes of bringing more next rainy monsoon.

Sergeant Cruythoff returned with 60 cattle and 140 sheep, bartered at the kraals of Gonnema; a great relief to us.

29. It was this morning reported that a certain free man named Willem Willems, residing in the country, had, in mere wantonness, mortally wounded a Hottentoo of Cuyper's kraal, by the discharge of his fowling piece; to inquire into which the fiscal rode out with commissioners. 30. On the report of the fiscal, (who returned late last night, after completing his inquiry into the wounding of a Hottentot by a certain Willem Willems) that the perpetrator had escaped, and that the wound was supposed to be mortal, the said Willems was cited in front of the fort *solito modo*, and all the inhabitants were interdicted from aiding him in his flight, &c. (1)

May 2. Some Hottentots this day reported that the wounded Hottentot had died; on which the fiscal was directed to make further inquiry.

10. As the Company's stock of slaughter sheep and cattle is much diminished by the large fleets, another expedition was resolved on. . . . . Cruythoff was ordered to supply himself with 18 active volunteers, and to go as soon as possible to the kraals of Oudasoa and his neighbours, and try to procure a good quantity of oxen and cows. . . . . he was furnished with every thing that is in any way in demand among these tribes.

#### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to the Commander and Council.

1672. May 13. . . . . In the said report, we have found a more minute and particular account of the Hottentots Island, (Eylant) of which mention has been made in former letters and reports, namely, that it is a tract of land, supposed to be 2000 or 2500 morgen in extent, lying betwixt hills of a moderate height, between which, and intersecting the valley, runs a fine river of fresh water, abounding in fish, and falling into False Bay. It is stated that the ground is flat and without stones to the very base of the hills, clothed with fine clover, and very suitable for pasture, as well as for cultivation, abounding besides with game, as harts, geese, ducks, partridges and the like, the soil being better than at the Cape, not subject to any S.E. winds; and that abundance of cattle are likely to be brought to us there. As we have already, by our letter of the 15th May last year, authorised you to occupy and cultivate that land, (for which purpose some private persons appear, according to the last accounts, likely to offer themselves,) we shall adhere to our former orders, and doubt not that the Cape will derive great assistance from that land. . . . .

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—1672. May 14. The second citation against W. Willems, for the homicide of the Hottentoo, was duly published. . . . .

16. The Hottentoo captain Cuyper came this morning to the fort with 2 or 3 of his grandees, to beg, according to custom, a bit of tobacco and a *sopie*; but he took nothing by his request, being told on the contrary, that instead of begging in that way, he should bring some cattle to the market for sale, but that did not seem to please them.

June 4. The crew of the *Lyster* took on board a fine live eland, which the Hottentots had chased into the sea from behind the *Sand-duynen* [i.e. Green Point]. 21. The Hottentots of Gonnema's kraal offered for sale two tolerable young cattle, and 2 sheep, which were bought for tobacco and brass.

July 4. As sergeant Cruythoff, who was sent out to barter cattle 7 weeks ago, has staid long

(1) 1672. April 30. The Minutes of the Court of Justice contain the following Citation by Edict:—

The Council of the Fortress the Goede Hoop, and the Residency at the Cabo de Boa Esperance, make known, that whereas, on the 28th instant, and in the country of this Cape district, a certain burger residing in the country, named Willem Willems, born at Deventer, mortally wounded a native African with a charge of small shot, fired from a fowling piece, and thereupon instantly fled, and notwithstanding every search, has not been as yet found. We therefore, at the requirement of Justice, have found it necessary, openly and publicly by bell ringing, to cite and summons him the said Willem Willems, as we do hereby cite and summon him by criminal edict, to appear in this fortress within the period of three times 24 hours, to purge himself before us of the said atrocious offence; and upon his non-appearance within the stipulated time, his crime shall be held as confessed, and shall be proceeded with according to law. . . . \*

\* Here follow the usual penalties against aiding or harbouring fugitives from justice. The summons was frequently repeated in the form prescribed by law. The perpetrator escaped to Holland in a Danish vessel. For the proceedings held upon his return, *vide infra*, 3d July, 1673.

beyond the estimated time . . . . . and may be detained by the swelling of rivers in these cold, wet days, and thus be in great want of food, and especially of strong drink, the Council resolved to send out some known and faithful Hottentots with those articles, if any of them could be persuaded to undertake it. Whatever trouble was taken, and whatever offers were made, to induce any known Hottentots to go out in search of sergeant Cruythoff, yet they all declined it, partly in consequence of the cold weather and swollen rivers, and partly from the fear which they have of the hostile neighbours through whose *jurisdiction* they would have to pass, therefore some other expedient must be thought of.

July 6. Heard of a rumour among the neighbouring Hottentots, that Cruythoff and 2 of his party had been murdered by the *Sunquaes*, a people from whom the Company obtained in booty in the year 1669, a large herd of cattle . . . . . It was therefore instantly resolved to send out 4 or 5 volunteer soldiers, assisted by 2 experienced travellers . . . . . to inquire of other Hottentots into the truth of the story. 7. The 6 men selected yesterday set off about noon. 9. The *Bridegroom*, sent four weeks ago with provisions to Saldanha Bay, returned to-day with letters from the Commandant, stating . . . . . that the neighbouring Hottentots were still quite disinclined to the cattle trade, so that he had only procured 117 sheep and 7 cattle from the small captain who lay with his kraal close to the Company's house there.

16. A certain African, a subject of Gonnema, who came here to visit some of his kinsmen, stated for certain on his way hither that our sergeant Cruythoff and his people were on their return, and had arrived in the *Soeswaas* land, 7 or 8 day's journey distant.

. . . . . 22. One of the 6 men sent out to seek Cruythoff, returned with the intelligence that he had been met by all his party at Botter river . . . . . 24. Cruythoff returned, bringing 178 cattle, chiefly young, and 375 very fair Hottentot sheep, which he had bartered in the African country from the *Hosseguas*, *Soeswas*, and other tribes, for the usual articles; during his journey he had not the slightest difference with the Hottentots; so that the reports to that effect have been only idle rumour. Under Cruythoff's safeguard came a certain captain of the *Soeswas* kraals, named by us *Claas*, and some attendants; who come in the name of his kraals to pay their respects in the Hottentot fashion, and to request that we would take care that their tribe as well as other Cape Africans, might come unmolested to the Fort with their cattle to barter to the Company. He stated that the war which had taken place betwixt them some time ago, arose principally from Captain Cuyper and his adherents wishing to compel them to give over their cattle to him, when they brought them for sale, so that he might have the selling of them to the Company; but this proposal being at once rejected, because it was calculated to benefit himself alone, he would, up to the present date, allow no peaceful passage through his country, and had thus stopped the trade. *Claas* offered to continue always a good friend and neighbour of the Company; and further requested that we would allow him and his people during their stay here, to sleep in the fort at night, so as to be secured from the Cape Hottentots, his enemies. He was informed in reply that our decision upon his proposition should be communicated to him upon his departure, and that care would be taken meanwhile that he and his retinue should lodge in safety in the fort.

25. Audience having been granted to the Hottentoo ambassador, he renewed his proposal, and offered, if the Company would supply him with some small presents of brass, tobacco, and beads, upon a pack ox, escort him by one or two Dutchmen back to the boundaries of his country, and a month hence send the sergeant, J. Cruse, with merchandize to purchase cattle at their kraals, he would then deliver to the Company 400 cattle and twice that number of sheep. On this it was answered that we should deliberate upon his request, but that it would be more serviceable and more agreeable to the Company, if, according to his first proposal, he were to come to the fort with his cattle; and that, if he were deterred by the fear of his enemies, he should send Hottentots to advise us of his approach; and that we would then send people to meet him, who would conduct him and his cattle with perfect safety. This he most gladly undertook, and promised to do. Meanwhile he and his retinue were, as usual, entertained with a bit of tobacco and a *sopie*. 27. As the *Sousequa* captain, *Claas*, had yesterday requested to be dismissed, and at the same time reminded us of his former request, it was resolved in the usual afternoon meeting, to grant him some presents of small value, to lend him an ox to convey them, and to give him an escort of 2 mounted men, to the limits of the *Souswaas* country, under the belief that the Company will derive much profit from this and other African tribes, if his assurances and promises should be fulfilled. The presents given him consisted of 5 lbs. Brazil tobacco, 30 chains of copper beads,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mas of glazed beads, 10 rods of brass, 2 quarts brandy, and 100 lbs. rice. 28. The Hottentots who had been dismissed last night, still lingered about the fort, picking up a *sopie* here and there; towards evening they at last set out with 2 mounted men.

Aug. 2. The two mounted men.....returned, having safely conducted the Hottentot captain of the Souswaas kraals, beyond the mountains of Hottentots Holland, whence he went on with the borrowed ox.

16. Mr. van Brugel rode out, assisted by 2 members of the Council, to desire the Hottentot captain Cuyper and Schacher again to evacuate these vallies, as they had come too near with their herds, and had every where eaten down the grass; but upon the arrival [of our deputation] it was found that the natives had already removed.

Sept. 14. Two Dutch soldiers and two Hottentoots brought from Saldanha Bay 134 half bred, and 117 African sheep; the first had been landed from Dassen Island, and the rest bartered from the natives from time to time. By the letter of the Commandant it seems that they had been attacked by two lions, and as the circumstances are somewhat remarkable<sup>(1)</sup> the letter is inserted here. EXTRACT.—“With regard to the blame found with me by your Honor, respecting the barter, I can declare with a clear conscience that I have done my best, and as much as was at all practicable; for of the Cochoquas, there were only three small kraals hereabouts, from whom I could procure no more than 4 cattle and 40 sheep, and the rest from the Hottentots of this bay; altogether 140 sheep and 10 cattle, of which 117 sheep and 7 cattle are forwarded by land”.....

Saldanha bay, 9th Sept. 1672.

P. SIEGFRIEDEN.

October 1. If we could believe the common Cape *prognosticon*, that whenever we have a sea breeze with dark misty weather, about Saturday or Sunday, it generally brings in some ships, we might be confident of an arrival to-morrow..... The Hottentots of the kraals near us offered for sale an old lean cow, but we sent it away, as being worth almost nothing. 2. Our hopes of yesterday were confirmed.....by the arrival of the *Polsbroek* and the Governor Goske.

7. The Governor engaged 30 Hottentots, who generally loiter about the fort in idleness, to wheel earth for the new fort, on condition of receiving 2 good meals of rice daily, together with a sopie and a piece of tobacco; these Africans undertook the work with great eagerness. 8. The Gonnema Hottentots offered 5 middling sheep for sale; they were purchased for the usual articles. 14. The fiscal delivered a return of the population; 64 free men, and 53 Dutch servants; their stock consisted of 6172 half bred sheep, 486 oxen, cows, or calves, 38 horses, of which 29 were fit for the saddle, and 109 pigs..... Besides the 64 free burgers, there were 39 married women, some of whom were widows, and they were blessed in all with 65 children, and 63 slaves, including women and children; so that in comparison of former years, they appear somewhat to increase.

15. The surrounding Hottentoots of Schacher's kraals offered 5 sheep for sale, which were purchased. 16. 80 soldiers were disembarked from the *Polsbroek*. It was resolved, in obedience to the orders of the directors, to take possession of Hottentots Holland, and, on the 18th, sergeant Cruythoff set out for that purpose with bag and baggage.

27. The Hottentot captain Schacher and some of his followers appeared at the fort to procure, according to custom, a piece of tobacco and a dram, but he was sent away without a hearing, as an impudent and shameless beggar. 31. Some Hottentoots of Gonnema's kraals, kinsmen of the 5 Hottentoo convicts on Robben Island, offered to the Governor, as a ransom for them, 10 remarkably fine cattle, but they did not obtain audience, still less did they attain their object.

Nov. 6. After the second service, the usual parade was held; meanwhile some Hottentoots brought a few sheep from Schacher's kraal, but the barter was postponed until to-morrow. 7. The Company's stock amounts to 398 cattle and 6172 sheep. Some Hottentoots offered 20 sheep for sale, but they were rejected as being too lean. 10. Corporal Visser arrived from Hottentots Holland, where all was well.

11. Three of our freemen who went out a few days ago to shoot sea cows at Berg river, complained of the hostile conduct of the chief Gonnema.....of which these men are to give a fuller statement to-morrow, when the matter shall be looked into.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) The part of the letter deemed deserving of insertion in the journal, refers to the boldness of the attacks made by lions. One is stated to have swum off to Dassen Island, and killed 8 sheep there.

(2) 1572. November 12. We, the undersigned Hendrick Cornelis, Ocker Cornelis, and Gerrit Jacobsen Cloeten, all free inhabitants of this place, do hereby declare and certify that on the 3d instant, we were licensed by Governor Goske, to go inland to shoot sea-cows; and that having reached Berg River upon the 7th, (after one of us, namely, G. J. Cloeten had fired a shot at a sea-cow,) soon after our arrival we saw approaching the Captain Gonnema, accompanied by 40 or 50 Hottentoots of his kraal, all armed with assagays and bows and arrows, they soon came up to us, and asked for a bit of tobacco and some rice, which was willingly given to them; but seeing that we had more of the same articles with us, all the said Hottentoots made ready their assagays and bows and arrows, and without any cause, threatened us, or gave us to understand in their way, that if we spoke one word, they would take our lives, on which they set to work altogether, and robbed us of rice, tackling, powder, lead, knives, and tobacco, taking even a pot of rice which stood boiling on the fire, saying at the same time, “*Duyts-*

Nov. 25. A letter was received from Hottentots Holland, stating that the Soeswaas Hottentots had come, with their kraals, to within three hours of Botter river.....and that captain Claas had invited us to go thither to barter. 28-29. It was resolved to send a party to the said tribe to barter cattle ;<sup>(1)</sup> the 4 Hottentots await the departure of our party, being afraid of their bitter enemies, the Cape Hottentoots. 30. It was resolved to send an expedition against the island of St. Helena..... Two men arrived from Hottentots Holland, who had, by order of their officer, visited the kraals of the *Caynouquas* or *Soeswaas*, at Botter river ; they were very anxious to barter with us, for which purpose they had come so far ; Captain Claas had declined coming hither on the occasion. It was stated that the Hessequas also were expected to come to the *Baccaley* place, about 25 mylen further inland, being also very desirous to barter, so that we may have a good trade. It were to be desired that we could procure from them 200 cattle, which would much reduce the expense of carrying stones to the new fort, and enable us to dispense with the aid of these sluggish and avaricious burgers.

Dec. 8. Two men arrived from Saldanha bay with 36 sheep, bought from the Hottentots.

1673. Jan. 5. Received a report from Robben Island that the 5 Hottentots confined there had escaped in a small boat during the previous night.....truly a very bold undertaking, for such savages to trust themselves to such a distance in so small a *jolletje*, with only two oars and no rudder ; it is a proof of the strong desire of freedom which exists in a state of slavery. 6. The Governor, being curious to know where the fugitive Hottentoots had landed, sent two mounted men to search for the little boat along the beach as far as opposite to Robben Island.<sup>(2)</sup>

9. Our party returned from their 6 weeks' journey to the Soeswas and Hossequas kraals, with 256 fine young cattle and 370 sheep ; the last mentioned people were disposed to sell more, had there been more goods at hand. Captain Claas and retinue came with our party to visit us, and to welcome the new Governor after their fashion. 11. Captain Claas, after being entertained with a bit of tobacco and a sopie, was, at his own request, escorted back to Hottentots Holland, as he dared not undertake the journey alone, out of fear for the Cape Hottentots, his enemies ; this courtesy was shown him, in hopes of a good trade in cattle, which he has promised.

*man een wordt calm ons u kelum,*" meaning in good Dutch, that if we made any objection they would cut our throats. Having done this, they killed a dog belonging to the freeman Gysbert Dirrepen, by throwing an assagay which entered his breast and killed him on the spot ; they then took the four linch pins out of the wagon and went away ; on which we instantly put wooden pins into the wagon, in lieu of the linch pins, and came away ; and after having travelled some way along the river, some Sunqua Hottentoots came and warned us to ride out of the way, as they knew that Gonnema and his people intended to pursue us that night, to plunder our wagon and oxen, and put us to death ; on which intelligence we set off and thus escaped. In the Fortress the Goede Hoop, this 12th November 1672.

HENDRIK CORNELIS, ✕ his mark.

OCKERT CORNELIS, ✕ his mark.

GERRIT JACOBSEN CLOETEN, ✕ his mark.

In witness whereof, H. CRUDOP.

(1) 1672. Nov. 28. Resolution of Council.—Although our hon. masters have been pleased to direct, by several despatches successively, that we should discontinue, for a time, all expeditions for the purchase of cattle from the native tribes ; or at least that we should leave them off as much as possible ; with a view chiefly to endeavor to induce them to come to us with their cattle, when the trade would be more profitable to the Company, and when, more particularly, the great expense formerly incurred in missions to the natives, might be avoided. It being however, ascertained by experience, that these natives, on the contrary, especially those who possess the greatest number of cattle, and with whom this trade has been carried on, reside at a distance in the interior, and for nearly three years have never come hither with any cattle, chiefly from fear of being massacred and robbed by their enemies, (our neighbouring Cape Hottentoots,) through whose territory they would have to pass ; and as these neighbouring tribes, on the other hand, are so destitute of cattle, through the wars they have prosecuted against the others, or among themselves for some time, that they bring nothing of importance for sale, and only now and then an old lean cow, or a small lot of equally lean sheep ; while we now require not only a quantity of slaughter cattle for the expected fleets from India and Europe, but also because a considerable number of good working oxen are absolutely required to enable us to proceed with the new fortifications ; for in consequence of disease and destruction by the lion and other ravenous animals, we are entirely destitute of such cattle, and, excepting by expeditions into the interior, have no means of procuring them. After full deliberation, and after taking into consideration the invitation of a certain Captain of the *Caynouquas* Hottentoots, and the hope thus held out, of procuring from him a considerable number of cattle by barter,—it was resolved and appointed, to send a mission to that people, (more particularly because they are abundantly supplied with cattle, and show themselves much inclined for barter,) furnished with all such goods as are most suitable, and most desired ; and that the provisional assistant Jan van Meersen, and the corporal Laurens Visser, shall be charged with the conduct of this expedition, assisted by 10 experienced travellers, and furnished with the necessary instructions for their guidance. Thus done, &c.

ISBRAND GOSKE.

(2) The Journal makes no mention of the result of the search ; but it appears by a note upon the original sentence, filed with the papers of the Court of Justice, that the prisoners were presumed to have landed in safety, as the boat had been found on the beach.

A return of farm produce dated 20th Dec. 1672, gives the names of 17 farmers, who had sown in all 44½ morgen with wheat, and about 25 with other grain ; the estimated quantity of the crop is 249 muids of wheat, and about 100 of other grain.

Jan. 12. The cattle and sheep lately bartered, to the number of 626, were sent to Hottentots Holland . . . . . where they are less subject to danger, in the event of the arrival of a hostile [i.e. European] force.

Feb. 20. A letter (sent by an escort given to conduct the 3 Soeswas Hottentoots sent hither by their chief Claas) from the overseer at Hottentots Holland, stated the frequent destruction of cattle there by lions and tigers, &c. . . . . The message of the Hottentoots was chiefly an invitation to us to come and trade with them, and stating that the 50 working oxen which their chief had, on his last visit, promised to sell us, were collected, and that their countrymen were besides well disposed to trade, provided the party set out soon; they stated further, that the chief Gonnema, assisted by the Cape and Saldanha Hottentots, had made war upon their tribe and their allies (the Oebiequaes) and that before their departure, the hostile parties had been in battle, but with slight advantage to either side; they were therefore very anxious for this bartering to proceed, doubtless because their enemies would then cease to attempt any further hostilities against them.

21. Meanwhile the Council took into consideration the invitation of Captain Claas, and that upon the last occasion we had not procured the kind of cattle that were wanted . . . . . and as the chief had renewed his invitation, it was determined by resolution<sup>(1)</sup> to resume the barter; and, considering that there is war betwixt these nations, that sergeant J. Cruse, who is well acquainted with this country and with the natives, shall be employed on the occasion, together with the provisional assistant van der Meersen, who had charge on the former occasion, and 20 active soldiers, with their arms and some saddle horses, to give us a more dignified appearance in the eyes of those African warriors; and in the event, (which we hope may not occur) of our men being attacked by either party, that they may defend themselves the more vigorously. The merchandize and other necessaries were ordered to be forthwith prepared, that the travellers might be dispatched so as to be able to return before the rainy season.

23. Sergeant Cruse having stowed his luggage in a wagon, and being furnished with written instructions,<sup>(2)</sup> set off in the afternoon with his second in command, and 15 men from this fortress, with orders to sleep at the guard house *Ruyterstall*, taking with them a letter to the commandant at Hottentots Holland, directing him to add to the party 5 men and a surgeon.

March 5. A small vessel was seen decked in a variety of flags in token of triumph, entering the bay; they fired seven guns. Soon after we found that it was the *Flying Swan*, from St. Helena, with intelligence of the conquest of that island by our arms, after a slight resistance<sup>(3)</sup>. . . . . and of the capture of a prize, the *Johanna Catharina*, from Madagascar, bound to Barbadoes, with a cargo of 240 slaves, which vessel had touched there for refreshments, thus bringing into our hands here, beyond all expectation, those useful people.

14. A certain burger, who had gone out with sergeant Jeronymus for pleasure, reported verbally that the party were on their return, and would to-night encamp at the second river, Hottentots

<sup>(1)</sup> 1673. Feb. 21. A resolution of this date states the result of last expedition to have been the purchase of 370 sheep and 256 cattle, but very few draught oxen; another expedition under Cruse and Meersen is authorised, chiefly to fetch "50 young oxen, which Capt. Claas had promised to collect, and which he had now sent to say only required to be sent for," it was hoped that with the aid of that number of draught oxen "the assistance of a portion of these slow, unwilling, free inhabitants might be dispensed with."

<sup>(2)</sup> 1673. Feb. 23. A memorandum of this date contains instructions to sergeant Cruse and assistant Meersen, who are to trade with Capt. Claas, near *Ganse kraal*, about 36 mylen off; the instructions contain the following passage, "According to our information, a certain Hottentot chief, named Gonnema, assisted by the Hottentot captains in this quarter, Cuyper, Houtebeen, Schacher, and Oudasoa, are making war upon the said captain Claas; with which dispute, as it does not concern us, you are particularly directed not to concern yourself, even should captain Claas ask your assistance. It would be much better to give up the trade entirely, than to mix ourselves up with the matter, the present times not by any means permitting it, and as the [punishment?] of Gonnema and his adherents for the insolence against us and our inhabitants, and his evil designs against the Company must be put off till a better opportunity; but if unexpectedly attacked, it speaks for itself that you must oppose force to force, avoiding collision however, as much as it may be in any way possible; and rather endeavoring to dissuade Gonnema by argument from the wicked course of conduct hitherto pursued by him towards the Company and her good inhabitants; explaining to him the probable result, and offering in our name, that if he may have been injured by captain Claas, we will use every endeavour to secure him effectual satisfaction, provided he meanwhile abstains from war. And you will say to Claas, in the same manner, that should he find Gonnema so inclined, it will be his best course to accede, and to leave all to our mediation; doing every thing in friendly terms, and employing no threatening expressions, so as to avoid all estrangement.

Meanwhile you will be constantly on your guard against unexpected attacks, for they are, as you know, a *schelmagtig* set, and therefore not to be trusted.

<sup>(3)</sup> A minute Journal held on the expedition sent against St. Helena from the Cape is inserted in the Cape Journal. The expedition is stated to have consisted of 4 ships, mounting 110 guns, and carrying 634 men. The resistance was slight, the small garrison of 40 men escaped in an English vessel. On the 6th June the *Flying Swan* found the island again in the hands of the English.

Holland, having a fine herd of 130 cattle, of which 70 were oxen fit for plough or wagon, also 100 good sheep, bartered from both Gonnema and the Soeswas, that the war betwixt those tribes was continued at the time of their departure, and that captain Claas had been plundered of his whole kraal of cattle by the Gonnemas. 15. At noon sergeant Cruse returned with 133 fine cattle, and 99 tolerable Hottentot sheep, bought as stated yesterday, from these Africans; he confirmed the intelligence as to the continuation of the war between the Soeswa and the Gonnema nations; and that the latter being the strongest, might in time ruin the other and rob them of all their cattle; that Gonnema would not listen to our interposition; and was too much irritated against the Soeswas, but had, on this occasion, shown himself very liberal in bartering. During the sergeant's stay there, it was brought to his knowledge that one of the Gonnema Hottentots was provided with a gun, which he well knew how to use against his enemy, and for which the Soeswas were accordingly very much afraid, and had requested the sergeant to take it from the Gonnemas, as they had no such weapon to oppose to it, which he had promised to do, and had effected by dint of argument and threats used to Gonnema. The Hottentots stated that they had procured the gun, together with some powder and lead, from one of our burgers for a fine fat ox, which the burger had forthwith killed and salted. 16. The greater part of the bartered cattle broke out of the kraal, from neglect in not securing the gate, and set out along the road, but were all fetched back by some men sent after them on horseback. 21. The chief Houtebeen came to visit us, with a long train of Hottentots, and sold us, for the usual articles, 4 cattle and 30 sheep, and after getting another sopie on the 22d, he set out with his followers.

April 15. Arrived the very fine new ship *Asia* from Holland, sailed 18th Dec., had lost 80 men (and had now 50 sick) including all the officers excepting the cook and third mate; they were often unable to manage the sails.

### Extract of a Despatch from Governor Isbrand Goske and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1673. May 10. In what manner the well known place Hottentots Holland was last year, during the visit of commissioner Arnoudt van Overbeek, sold and ceded to the Company in full property by the lawful sovereign (wettigen Heer) for the sum of R 4000, which was paid with merchandize of the value of *f*81 : 16 prime cost,—your honors have been informed by the despatch of the 19th April last year,<sup>(1)</sup> and probably also by the report of said commissioner. As to the delay in cultivating that place, we can only ascribe it to mere unwillingness, and to the absence of any inclination [on the part of free colonists?] We took possession of it in the month of October, and in consequence of the excellence of the pasture, sent thither the greater part of the Company's cattle and sheep; to protect which from unexpected attacks of the Hottentots,—a people who cannot be much trusted,—we have been obliged to station there 15 Netherlanders under the command of a sergeant, for otherwise the said cattle could not, from the cause before stated, be considered secure. We have ploughed about 10 morgen of land there. . . . . The worst of it is that by this extension, and from the necessity of making there stables and kraals for the cattle, 10 additional hands, besides the garrison of 15, are wanted there, which diminishes this garrison by an equal number, who are much needed in the work on the fortification, and who would be of no use to us upon the landing of an enemy, as communication with us would then be cut off.

The land of the Cape, which the owners often complained had been wrongfully withheld from them, was also subsequently ceded and transferred to the Company in full property by contract with the rightful sovereign (regten Heer) for a like sum of R 4000, but which was paid with the value—in tobacco, beads, brandy, bread, and other trifles—of *f*33 : 17, also prime cost, a sum so inconsiderable that the matter should not have been so long postponed. Copies of both contracts, regarding the Cape territory and Hottentots Holland, are herewith respectfully submitted to your Honors.

In the Fort the Goede Hope, 10th May, 1673.

ISBRAND GOSKE, &c.

June 1. Received a letter from Hottentots Holland; Extract,—“Some Hottentots have brought 12 sheep here for sale, and some of them talk of bringing cattle, I therefore request some tobacco and copper beads, and shall do my best to procure good cattle; 6 of captain Claas's Hottentots were

(1) No mention of the subject appears in a despatch of the date given, which was also the date of the first purchase. The contracts above given, from the original deeds filed in the Registrar's office, Cape Town, also prove that the Cape territory, and not Hottentot's Holland, was the subject of the first “contract.”

also here yesterday, promising to bring some cattle for sale." Hottentots Holland, 29th May, 1673. Laurens Visser.

JUNE 18. 2 Duteh soldiers who had deserted, were sent here from Saldanha Bay, under charge of some Hottentots, also, 53 sheep bartered there.

19. Sent some brass and tobaceo to Hottentots Holland.....to be used in barter with the surrounding Hottentots who might be so disposed.

29. It has been reported, by several Hottentots from the country and under the dominion of the captain Gonnema, to several freemen, that the said Gonnema has surrounded, on some point of land whence they can neither advance nor retreat, 8 of these burgers (with 2 wagons and 8 draught oxen) who had gone out with our leave to shoot large game for the support of their families—and that he intends to let them perish by preventing their getting any other provisions than what they have with them; but the report seems so improbable that it is deemed false.

JULY 3. Seeing that one Willem Willems of Deventer, who fled from this place last year in the Danish ship *Phoenix*, in consequence of a manslaughter committed by him upon a certain Hottentot—has returned with this ship, the *Europa*, and as he pretends, has procured, upon his petition, from his Highness the Prince of Orange, freedom from personal arrest (*Lant winninge en seurte de corps.*) His disreputable and irregular mode of life (*berugte en ruyge leven*) were taken into consideration at the usual afternoon council, and that imprisonment may be dispensed with until this very suspicious matter is more particularly inquired into, it was resolved to interdict the landing of the said Willem Willems, until further orders.

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The following undated and unauthenticated paper is bound up with the letters received 1663 to 1673, and is no doubt a true copy of the petition referred to:—

To His Highness the PRINCE OF ORANGE:—

The petition of WILLEM WILLEMS, of Deventer, freeman and farmer of *Caap de Bona Esperance*, most humbly sheweth— That on the 28th April of the present year 1672, a Hottentoo, a savage, entered the house of the petitioner's there, and therein wilfully broke in pieces a beer can, the property of the petitioner; who, becoming very much provoked, when the said Hottentoo had left the house and gone about 60 yards away, took his gun, which was loaded with nothing but powder, and fired after the Hottentoo, to give him a fright, but there having been some small shot among the powder, the said Hottentoo was wounded by two grains of the small shot, and died in four days; but, although the said misadventure was altogether unintentional—(there being, in consequence of the death of Commander Hackius, no superior authority at the Cape, to whom petitioner could address himself, and being afraid that the Fiscal, who had already taken an inventory of his property, would apprehend him, and proceed against him as both prosecutor and judge, according to his own will,) the petitioner, at the suggestion of the inhabitants of said Cape quitted that country and came hither, to seek grace and pardon for the said unintentional act; and seeing that the case doth in fact stand as here represented, and as may be proved by two of the petitioner's servants who were present upon the spot,—considering also that petitioner has a wife and family—that he has now lived for near 16 years at the said Cape,—that he was the first who began to cultivate land there, and that before this misfortune he had never committed any offence, but has always conducted himself well and properly; seeing also that the Hottentoes have committed much mischief and many hostilities against the free men and inhabitants of the said Cape, and in the year aforesaid, killed two persons with arrows, without any punishment having been inflicted on them on that account, as can be proved by creditable witnesses. The petitioner, therefore, addresses himself most respectfully to your Highness, most humbly requesting that, for the reasons aforesaid, your Highness will be pleased to grant him letters of grace and pardon for the said unintentional misfortune, so that he may continue in the enjoyment of his residence and in the possession of his property at the said Cape. And petitioner, &c.

[In the margin.] His Highness is pleased to require the Commandant on the spot to inform himself of the circumstances, and to transmit his opinion and advice, granting to the petitioner, meanwhile, freedom from personal arrest, (*lantwinninge en seurte de corps.*) (Signed) G. PRINCE D' ORANGIE.

By order of His Highness, and was signed, J. VAN BERGEN.

The following evidence on the subject seems to have been procured in consequence of the return of WILLEMS to the Colony, being dated July 5, 1673; it is filed among the attestations of the period:—

Appeared before the under-named commissioned members of the Court of Justice at this place, OCKERT CORNELISSEN, born at Onwerken, and JACOBUS HAUNKICHER, of Glimberg, both of competent age, and late servants of the burger WILLEM WILLEMS, of Deventer, who, upon the requisition of Mr. PIETER DENYN, the Fiscal of this residency, attested and declared upon their word as men, in lieu of solemn oath; as they do hereby declare, to wit:—the first attester, Ockert Cornelissen, that it is true, that on a certain day, in the end of the month of April, in the last year 1672, (at which time he resided with the said W. Willems,) when he was cooking the victuals in the house of the said Willems, a certain Hottentoo, a native of this colony, named — born — commonly called —, being about to do something or other, laid down his daily covering—the skin of a sheep or other animal—upon an oven which stood in said house, and when taking it up again, from carelessness, as it appeared, pulled down and broke an earthenware mug which contained water for drinking, and which also stood on the said oven.

The two attesters now declare jointly, that about 1½ hour after the breaking of the said mug, the said Willem Willems coming home, sat down near the door, and asked his little daughter to give him a drink of water from the mug; that on learning that the jug had been broken, the said Willems set his dogs upon the person of the said African, who was still present; which Hottentot kept driving off the dogs that were attacking him; when the attesters saw the said Willems go into the house, and having fetched out a fowling piece, followed the now fugitive Hottentot round the house, and at length discharged it close to the house, and almost in contact with (*op 't lyff*) the person of the Hottentot; that they, the attesters, being alarmed at this, the first named Ockert, said to the said Willems, "Willem, what are you about, whose gun are you shooting with?" on which

July 4. The reports of the Hottentots as to the detention of our 8 burgers are still continued, and it begins to be feared, unless they soon appear or we get some news of them, that there is some truth in the report, for the time of their intended absence has nearly expired. 7. Two of our burgers, who have some share or interest in the expedition of the 8 freemen, were this day ordered to inquire at the kraals of the Hottentots who had spread the report, into its truth, and the attendant circumstances.

8. Two commissioners went on board the *Europa* to interrogate W. Willems upon the deed committed by him, and the pardon procured by him in Holland. Upon their return they reported that on examining said Willems, they had found that his petition to the Prince of Orange was full of false positions; and that he had employed the most glaring falsehoods. . . . .

10. The two burgers who had been sent to inquire into the report about the 8 free men, returned this evening and stated that two Africans who had recently come from Gonnema's kraals, still persisted in the same story, and gave a reasonable account of the sources of their information.

11. After evening prayers the reports concerning the 8 burgers, &c. were debated in Council, and it was unanimously resolved, after full deliberation, to send out a respectable force, under the command of the ensign J. Cruse, consisting of 36 soldiers and an equal number of burgers, to the kraals of Gonnema, in order that, should our burgers be forcibly detained there, they may be released by similar means, and to deliver them out of the hands of these barbarians; and further, with the force under his orders, to show such resentment for this and other causeless acts of hostility committed for several years upon the good inhabitants of this place, that it may serve as a memorable warning, that no one must henceforth offend the Netherlanders; as more fully detailed in the resolution of this date; the messenger was sent to summon the burgers for 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.<sup>(1)</sup>

12. The summoned burgers, to the number of 36, having appeared in the Fort, the Governor

(1) 1673, July 11. Resolution of Council.—Whereas various complaints have, for some time back, been preferred to us, against the Hottentot Captain Gonnema, and his subjects and allies, on account of sundry gross acts of violence and outrage, committed upon Company's servants, as well as upon these free inhabitants; not only in the theft of cattle, and the burning of houses, so that a great quantity of cattle and a Dutch woman have been killed (*omgecomen*) but by the massacre of two of our burgers, (who went out last year, with licence to shoot sea cows and other large game, for the support of their families,) by the burning of their wagon, and the theft of their oxen, and otherwise; as also, now again, it would appear that they have attempted to act [in the same manner] towards other 8 of these Netherland burgers, who have gone out with the same object of shooting game to maintain their families, and having with them a slave, 2 wagons, and 12 draught oxen, and whom he has either already put to death, or at least has tried so to do, but that this wicked and murderous design has been prevented by the Captain Oedaso, and the Sunqua Hottentots, his allies and subordinates; but yet notwithstanding, he has surrounded and besieged them upon a point of land, whence they cannot escape, and where, being almost deprived of the means of subsistence, they may at length perish of hunger, [and all this] without his having made the slightest denunciation of the motive of this *unique* and hostile procedure, or sent us any intimation on the subject; all which unreasonable doings, are entirely at variance with the friendly feelings of the Hon. Company towards these tribes, excite great indignation [when we think of] the numerous favors and benefits shown them from time to time, threaten the total ruin of our good inhabitants and their property, and, with a due regard to the service of the said Company, and the public welfare of this place, are deemed of a nature no longer to be endured. It is, therefore, after full preliminary deliberation, and after weighing every thing connected with these wicked proceedings that ought to be taken into consideration,—resolved and appointed, in order to deliver our said 8 inhabitants, should they be still alive, out of the said durance, to send out a force of 36 Company's servants and an equal number of burgers, under the command of Eusign J. Cruse, provided with arms, ammunition, and eight day's provisions, with positive orders and authority, should it be found that any violence has been done, as we are confidently informed, to the said Netherlanders, by the said Hottentot chief, to take such revenge (resentment) upon him Gonnema, and all who may with him have raised their hands against our men, that their posterity may retain the impression of fear, and may never again offend the Netherlanders.—Thus done, ISBRAND GOSKE, &c.

he answered, "with my own, there is only loose powder in it," to which the same attester replied, "I assure you I thought you had done it with mine which hangs upon the wall loaded with a large sized small shot;" and the said Hottentoo not having gone away altogether, the said Willems left them, and passed through the house to the barn, whence the attesters soon after heard a shot fired, and looking at the said Hottentoo (who had mean while gone 50 or 60 yards from the barn, and stood in the field) on hearing the shot they saw him fall down; on which they ran out to meet the said Willems, when Ockert Cornelis said, "Master! what are you about, you have shot the Hottentoo," when Willems (who was coming from the barn, having in his hand the fowling piece belonging to the said attester, Ockert, and which gun was discharged,) replied, "I am certain I hit him, for I aimed at his middle," and when the first attester said, "You have made a pretty business of it," the said Willems rejoined "Well! what does it signify?" and more similar conversation passed between them. That in the evening, about an hour after this deed, the perpetrator left the house, and that they have not since seen him; adding that the injured Hottentoo was meanwhile removed by some of his countrymen, and, as it is said, brought to their kraals, where, a few days after, he is said to have died.

All which they, the attesters, declare to be the simple truth, alleging as a reason for their knowledge, that they were actually present there and thereabouts, and plainly saw and heard that which they have stated, which they are, if required, at all times prepared to verify. The witnesses further state, that they have a distinct recollection of the deed itself, as well as of the circumstances attending it.—In witness whereof, &c. &c.

explained to them the reason of their having been called together; and as they all expressed their willingness, they were desired to keep quiet, and not to let any thing of the intention transpire, but to be prepared to meet at a fixed rendezvous in the evening, so as to set off unperceived. . . . . between 8 and 9 at night Ensign Cruse was dispatched, with his party, furnished with a short letter of instructions.<sup>(1)</sup>

July 14. The *Bridegroom* arrived from Saldanha Bay, bringing a soldier belonging to the garrison there, and 2 free men, from whom we learnt with horror, the fearful massacre committed by the Gonnema tribe, under the semblance of bartering sheep, on the corporal Heerengraaf, one soldier, and 2 free men; they not only cruelly murdered these men, but plundered the Company's effects, and would have murdered the other soldier also, had he not made his escape and got on board of the free men's vessel.

This matter being looked upon as insufferable, and as an irreparable rupture (more particularly as this renders it more likely that the 8 free men are also killed) which it was inconsistent with the interest of the company and the public welfare to connive at, it was instantly (*stante pede*) resolved, forthwith to apprise ensign Cruse of the event, and to reinforce him with 18 men, burgers and Company's servants; all on horseback; with the following instructions:—

EXTRACT—(after details as above)—“Expressly ordering you, on the receipt of this, should you not have already done so, on the grounds stated in the instructions carried with you, without any delay hostilely to attack Gonnema and the people under him, and endeavor entirely to ruin them, sparing none of the males,<sup>(2)</sup> and doing with their cattle as directed in the former order; we send you a sail for a covering in wet weather, and trust that the Lord will cause the murderers to fall by the sword, and that he may bless the Company's arms. As the burger lieutenant E. Diemer now joins you—care must be taken to let him rank in Council above the burger ensign, &c. . . . . J. Goske, A. van Brugel, &c.

19. (Wednesday.) One of the soldiers who had gone with the ensign arrived at the Fort about evening council; he had been sent off express on Sunday evening, with a report that the reinforcement of 18 men had reached him the same day, and that he had not yet found the Gonnema people who were beyond Berg River with their kraals; that the ensign intended to cross that river before dark, to pursue the enemy; further, that all was well, except that the provisions had begun to fall short.

22. Received a letter from Hottentots Holland, only stating that the tiger had again killed 5 sheep, &c. . . . . the bearer stated verbally that the Cape Hottentoots had pitched their kraals directly in the passage, which had created some suspicion that, being a thievish tribe, they might upon a favorable opportunity, attempt something mischievous against the Company; it was therefore resolved to strengthen that garrison with 10 men, to send the land surveyor thither to throw up a breast work before the Company's station there; and to fetch away all the horned cattle, so as to frustrate the object of the Hottentoots.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) 1673, July 12. The “Instruction book” contains a copy of the orders issued upon this occasion. The preamble, like that of the resolution, sets forth in general terms “intolerable annoyance suffered from Gonnema and his subjects, by the theft of cattle, and burning of several houses, so that not only a great number of cattle been thus lost, but two Dutch have been killed, &c. &c.”

In adverting to the “8 burgers,” it is stated, that “he would have killed them also, had not his evil design been prevented by *Oedassa* and the *Sonquaes*.”

After ordering precautions against being discovered on the march, it is directed that “the Gonnema kraals and cattle are to be surrounded, so that they cannot escape, when you will cause him, Gonnema, instantly to appear before you, and inform you where our said 8 inhabitants are, and bring them to you without delay, inquiring of them as to their own proceedings, and as to what Gonnema has done to them; and should you find that such violence has been done to them as has been stated to us, you will employ the force under your command in revenging the same to the uttermost, upon him, Gonnema, his people, and all who have aided them against ours, so that their descendants when they think of it, will be for ever deterred from offending the Netherlanders; taking care, however, to do no injury to women and children, but using every endeavor to get possession of their cattle, and bringing them all hither, (using such only as you require for food,) in order that they may be distributed in the manner we may deem proper, telling the burgers who accompany you, that they may depend upon receiving their share.”

The residue of the instructions refers to the nomination of the council, a precaution invariably taken by the Dutch upon despatching any expedition, whether by sea or land, and whether the purpose was hostile or otherwise.

For similar instructions at full; see March 26, 1674, *infra*.

(2) A resolution of the same day runs in the same terms, sonder yits dat mannelick is te verschoonen, “to spare nothing that is male” and not, as stated Parl. Papers I. 13. “to spare none of the enemy.”

(3) A letter to the same effect, addressed to Corporal Visser, further directs, that none of the soldiers are to go out without swords and firearms, and that the Hottentot Captain Claas is to be invited to take an early opportunity of visiting the fort.

24. Heard, beyond our expectations, from the ensign Cruse, that he was on his way home, and hoped to be here to-morrow, having found the Gonnema kraals, and, besides killing some of them, had made booty of a large quantity of cattle. The *Flying Swan* arrived from St. Helena with many sick, having lost 9 of her crew out of 20, but what distressed us most, was the intelligence that that island had been retaken by the enemy.....

25. When the gate was opened in the morning, we sent off some biscuit and arrack for the refreshment of the expedition on its return; they arrived about noon all well with a herd of about 800 excellent horned cattle of various ages, and 900 fine sheep, delivering the following detail of their proceedings by way of report:—

*Daily notes kept by me, the undersigned, on the expedition against the rebellious Gonnema Africans, July 12, 1672, and the following days.*

About dusk we took leave of the Governor and Council, and set out 72 in number, burgers and Company's servants, and about 2 o'clock reached the *Hooge Craelen*, the appointed place of meeting; whence, after having mustered, we proceeded to the *Roode Sandt*, where the Hottentot captain Cuyper was encamped with his kraals, and having learnt that a certain African of the Gonnema tribe lived there, we seized him *de facto*, bound him, and compelled him by severe threats of death, to point out the place of abode of his captain with the kraals, intending to take advantage of this opportunity, and employ this man as a guide.

13. After 2 hours' ride, we stopped to dine between Mossel bank and Tigerberg, where ammunition was divided among the men, and in the evening we arrived at the Mossel bank during a heavy shower of rain.

14. We set out early, and in the afternoon reached Paardeberg, where the instructions, constituting ensign J. Cruse the commander of the expedition, were read, to which all signified their obedience, by acclamation; marched the same day to Riebeeck's castle, where we rested for the night.

15. Notwithstanding the severe rain we set out at day-light, and in the evening reached Berg river, where we made a raft, by which we might cross as early as possible in the morning.

16. It took us the whole day to cross the river with bag and baggage, but, thank God, we accomplished it without accident; and we were hardly over before we saw on the further bank, a party of mounted men, with whom, as the night was closing in, we were unable to communicate.

17. The said riders were ferried over early in the morning, being the burger lieutenant, Elbert Diemer and 16 mounted men, bringing a letter from the Governor to the ensign, by which his former commission was not only renewed, but the execrable massacre committed upon our garrison at Saldanha Bay by the Gonnema people was made known, and we were authorised to attack that people and their allies, sparing nothing that was male; for which purpose this reinforcement was sent; we dined here, and marched on in company to *Sunequa water*, where we staid for the night.

18. As our supply of provisions was almost exhausted, and as no enemy had been yet found, it was determined to collect all the provisions, that we might ascertain how long they would last, when we found that they would only last two days, within which time we trusted to find the enemy; the Hottentot prisoner called Coram, being in the most rigorous manner threatened with death, in case he would not show us the enemy, assured us, that unless they had removed, there was a chance of our finding them this very day; and after we had crossed successively 26 rivers, and had come to the Moras river, we saw some smoke rising, against the side of a high mountain distinctly three times; at this we were all rejoiced, and sent out instantly one of our trusted [spies] to bring us more particular information; this man returning half an hour after dark, reported that he had seen some enemy's kraals, and some women digging up roots; this gave us great joy, and we kept good watch this night, resolving to set out 2 or 3 hours before day, so as to fall on them unexpectedly, and as far as we could, to destroy them without mercy.

19. About half past three the ensign marched in front with the foot, the cavalry remaining somewhat in the rear, in order to surround the kraals at a distance and cut off the retreat of those who might try to escape from the infantry. We arrived by break of day at the place where the enemy had lain during the night, but they had, by some unknown means, become aware of our approach, and had decamped at an early hour; the horsemen, however, clapt spurs to their horses and pursued them; on getting sight of each other the enemy fled, leaving behind them, in the first instance, a fine flock of sheep, and, on further pursuit, a large herd of horned cattle; the enemy were forced to take refuge in the mountain, where it was impossible to overtake them. A certain horseman of the burgers who left the rest of the party in order to kill some Hottentots who had

hidden themselves from fear in a sedgy river, was wounded in the back with an assagai (though not dangerously) in consequence of his pistols repeatedly missing fire.

Meanwhile the ensign with the infantry pursued two of these kraals, whose cattle they took also, but all the people escaped to the mountain except a few of them, who were not the quickest. On this the whole party collected, drove the cattle together, and took them without delay to our last resting place to stay there for the night; but we had scarcely begun to drive them, before we found ourselves surrounded by Hottentots; the cavalry however always drove them back, so that they had no opportunity of re-capturing any of the cattle. About 5 in the evening we returned to our resting place, where we drove the cattle into the enemy's abandoned kraals and guarded them well, stationing 2 or 3 *verloren* sentries, that we might not be surprised by those *loose* rogues.

20. In the morning as soon as possible we drove the cattle and sheep over the 26 rivers, in doing which we were obliged to leave behind some old ewes and young lambs, of which the Hottentots who followed us instantly repossessed themselves; in the evening we arrived at the *Suncqua water*, where we rested for the night.

21. At day break 2 horses which had been carelessly turned loose and had got near the Hottentots, were instantly killed with assagais; one was the property of a burger, the other belonged to the Company; and seeing that the brushwood might enable the pursuing enemy to make some attempt upon us, we hastened on with the cattle, and getting upon the flat we saw that they pursued more boldly than before, but not caring for that, we gave them their own way for a little, and at last gave them a volley or two, on which they left us and turned back, as if they had abandoned all hopes of recovering their cattle; we reached Berg River the same evening, and by great exertion got across with all the cattle and rested there.

22. Saddled up early and marched on, but we had not gone  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour before it began to rain so terribly, that had there been need no one could have fired his gun; but God here protected us from attacks of the barbarians, who, in all human probability, might otherwise have destroyed us and re-captured the cattle. 23. At day break we marched on to the Mossel bank, where we fortunately arrived with our booty about 4 P.M. and slept there.

25. Three hours before day we saddled the horses and drove on to the Hooge kraals, where—God be thanked for his fatherly care of us against all harm—we arrived at 10 A.M. and found there a wagon laden with two bags of biscuit and an anker of arrack, which Governor Goske had sent to meet us, to refresh our tired men; about noon we arrived at the fort, where we gave over the cattle, which was found to consist of 800 horned cattle and 900 sheep,—God be thanked for his mercy!—

JAN VAN DER MEERSEN.

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—July 26, 1673. The Hottentot captain Claas, who had been sent for, appeared with a letter from the land surveyor, stating that the timber there could not be got out without many people and much trouble, and they had therefore made the breast-work of sods. . . . . that some Gonnema and Soesquas Hottentots had been seen in the mountains. The captured cattle were this day branded on the horns with the Company's mark to prevent their being sold or made away with clandestinely.

27. Sent for all the cattle and horses from Hottentots Holland; the natives seem not to care so much for the sheep.

28. The Hottentoo Eva arrived from Robben Island with her infant child for baptism. . . . . The chief Klaas and retinue departed to his kraals well contented; we had arranged with him to bring his people to Hottentots Holland or close by, in order to take an opportunity in conjunction with the other Cape Hottentots, of attacking the chief Gonnema and his adherents. Claas was well inclined to do this and promised compliance.

29. The Hottentot captain Cuyper, with Schacher and Hoogen Laagh, came to the fort at our call in the evening, and like the Soeswas, captain Claas, willingly and readily closed with our proposal, so that we have for the present no attack on the Company's stock at Hottentots Holland or elsewhere to fear from the Gonnoma people.

31. Gave out to almost all the freemen, chiefly those who lived by farming, from 8 to 12 cattle each, upon the following conditions.<sup>(1)</sup>

Aug. 11. A deserter, Jan Melse, of Stockholm, was sentenced to be hanged, his associates to witness the execution, with halters round their necks, and to be flogged. . . . . It is a melancholy thing

(1) The conditions required that the cattle should not be sold, or in any way transferred, until the number was doubled by breeding, and that whenever the Company required it the same number should be restored without payment.

that we are compelled to have recourse to such rigorous punishments at this Cape, so as to deter others.....

Aug. 19. The Soeswas captain Claas appeared at the fort with a large retinue, stating that some of his kraals had already decamped, and had advanced as far as the Botter river, 3 mylen behind Hottentots Holland; the rest were ready to come, as soon as they should hear that it was resolved to attack the Gonnema people.

20. (Sunday.) After the celebration of our divine service, two of the captains of our Hottentot allies, namely Cuyper and Schacher, appeared with a very large retinue of their countrymen, having with them 4 prisoners of Gonnema's people, whom they had discovered near their kraals and attacked as enemies; they stated, that although, according to their custom, those persons would have been dead men the moment they were laid hold of, and though they might thus have instantly killed them, still to show their friendship to the Company, (to show that in accordance with the existing alliance, they were not only bound, but disposed also to regard the Company's enemies as their own, and to attack and destroy them, consequently that they would make war upon the said tribe, not merely in mutable words, but in deeds also, thus to afford us every security as to their intentions;) that they had spared the lives of the four Gonnema prisoners, that they might submit the case to our jurisdiction in the first place, and then proceed therein according to their own customs in the sight of every one.

On this the said prisoners were examined by the Governor, in the presence of some members of the Council, relative to the massacre of our burgers, as also of the Company's servants, and two of them were convicted, by confronting them with each other, of having actually murdered one of the burgers and one of the soldiers; and the other two had also participated in that wicked work; whereupon they were given back to the Hottentot captains Cuyper and Schacher, with a statement of their confessions, that they might act with them as their own prisoners, in the manner usual with them, and as they might think proper.

The permission had scarcely been pronounced, when all the Hottentots, who had collected to the number of more than 100, could no longer restrain their fury and bitter enmity, but called out, "Beat the dogs to death,—beat them to death," accompanying the words with such a shout of horrid joy, as if all their enemies were already at their feet, and they triumphing over them; each of them furnished himself with a good cudgel, and impatiently awaited the delivery of the condemned persons; these, being at length brought in front of the gate and given over, were so welcomed and saluted with sticks, that one after another they sunk on the ground and expired. When the Hottentots had sufficiently cooled their passion by beating and trampling the dead bodies, these were buried in the sea, and thus closed the tragedy; the sun having meanwhile sunk to rest, a dram and a piece of tobacco were given to the Hottentots who had assisted in the *spectacle*, and they were thus dismissed.

21. The Hottentot captains Cuyper, Schacher, and Claas, set out to-day, after arranging to bring all their kraals to the neighbourhood of Hottentots Holland, to be ready to attack the Gonnema tribe at the close of the rainy season.

29. There was yesterday discovered, upon the complaint and evidence of some Hottentots, a cunning act of cattle stealing committed by a certain widow, a free woman here, who had directed her servants to kill and salt down two Hottentot cattle (which had strayed from their herd with others that had been recovered) that had joined her herd and been driven home with them; strict inquiry being forthwith instituted, the servants at length confessed having, as before detailed, by order of their mistress, concealed and slaughtered one of the cows lost by the Hottentots; they protested however that they knew nothing of the other; and thus much was also confessed by the widow. It was therefore resolved in the first place to content the Hottentots, by allowing them to choose an animal to their fancy, out of the herd, in compensation, and to order the fiscal to proceed, principally against the female thief; keeping her, as well as her servants, in safe custody in the mean time. We bought 5 fine young cattle from Capt. Cuyper for the usual articles.

Sept. 2. It was discovered that the female cattle stealer before mentioned, had killed and salted, not only one, but 2 fine Hottentot cows.

4. Received a letter from Hottentots Holland; captain Soesqua, one of the chief captains of that tribe, had come there, and stated that his kraals lay at Botter river, and that, but for the sickness of his child, he would have already come to Hottentots (<sup>1</sup>) Holland.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Hottentot*. About this period the present termination of this word began to take place of the former—evidently from the necessity of introducing consonants to form the Dutch feminine *Hottentottin*; and feminine plural, *Hottentottinnen*. The present spelling will be henceforth adhered to.

Copy of a Letter from Governor J. Goske and Council, to His Serene Highness,  
the Prince of Orange.

HIGH BORN AND ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,—

1673. Sept 17. Whereas, one of these burgers named Willem Willems, of Deventer, last year fled to Europe in a certain homeward bound Danish ship, in order to escape punishment for a homicide committed by him on one of the natives of this place (called Hottentots,) and was consequently sentenced by the Court of Justice of this fort, to banishment out of the Cape territory, as a fugitive from justice; and whereas your Highness was pleased to issue a rescript (apostil) upon a petition presented by him in the camp before Swemmerdam on the 22d Oct. 1672, containing the decision of your Highness, that the commandant on the spot should inform himself of the circumstances, and transmit his opinion and advice, granting to the petitioner meanwhile, freedom from personal arrest.

We cannot omit therefore now to put your Highness in possession of the actual facts of the case; and to state in the first place, after previous examination of the delinquent and witnesses, that all the main positions taken up in that petition have been found to be frivolous, fabricated, and utterly irreconcilable with the truth,—such as, the malice of the act committed by the Hottentot,—his (petitioner's) ignorance of the fact that the gun with which he shot the native contained any thing but powder,—that only two grains of shot took effect,—that in consequence of the death of the commandant, there being no supreme authority at the Cape, the fiscal officiated as prosecutor and judge,—that his two servants could prove that the act was unintentional,—and finally, that whatever harm might be done by the Hottentots not the slightest punishment would be inflicted on them. We have further to state—upon the authority of the voluntary revised (gerecolleerde) <sup>(1)</sup> confession, of the delinquent, and the sworn testimony of two credible witnesses, in the possession of the Honorable the Directors of the East India Company, which, if necessary, may satisfy your Highness—that the said homicide was not unintentional, but an act of deliberation, and that he would not be dissuaded from the execution of his malicious purpose. We felt considerable doubts, being unacquainted with the usual signature of your Highness, as well as with the counter-signature of J. van Bergen, by order of your Highness,—our doubts being confirmed by the absence of any seal; and therefore it occurred to us, that, according to the general opinion, your Highness's signature had been forged, for we could not bring ourselves to believe, that in the absence of the slightest annexed proof in corroboration of the pretended accidental character of the act, such a petitioner could have received a grant of freedom from personal arrest.

Still, however, to evince due respect to the signature, assuming it to have been that of your Highness, the delinquent was allowed to enjoy the benefit of it, being meanwhile placed on a certain inhabited island close at hand, as well to secure his person, as to prevent any apprehended mischief, and particularly to avoid causing any new disturbance among the native tribes, (who are a free people over whom we had no jurisdiction, and who are vindictive beyond all example, and will not be satisfied before they have revenged upon the offender, the death of a father, brother, or relation) on that island he shall be kept, until we learn what further is to be done in this matter. And now trusting that your Highness may be satisfied with our proceedings, we conclude by recommending your Highness to the merciful protection of the Almighty, &c.

I. GOSKE,—J. VAN BRUGEL, &c. &c.

Extracts of a Despatch from Governor ISBRAND GOSKE and Council, to the  
Chamber XVII.

1673. Sept. 17. . . . A certain freeman named Willem Willems, of Deventer, who has a wife and family here, last year premeditatedly shot a Hottentot belonging to one of the neighbouring Cape kraals, so that he died a few days after, and in order to evade punishment, the culprit escaped to Holland in the month of May, in the Danish ship *Magelos*, and, after four successive citations, was condemned as *latiterende*, to banishment from the Cape territory for life, with confiscation of his property. This man has, notwithstanding, recently returned hither among some other freemen, in the new ship *Europa*, under the inadmissible pretence that he had apprised the hon. Direc-

(<sup>1</sup>) The form referred to by the term "gerecolleerde" was a formal revision in presence of two members of the Court; when the deponents were first asked, whether they had any thing to add to or to alter their deposition, in and then swore to its truth. In the present instance the deponents only added, that they "saw no other person near the house of Willems, who could have discharged the gun at the Hottentot."

tors of the Chamber Amsterdam of the deed, and was permitted by them to return hither. As soon as his arrival was made known to us, we, upon various considerations, instantly gave orders that he should remain on board of the ship, on pain of death; but as he continued ceaselessly and resolutely to demand leave to join his wife and children, offering to stand his trial; and as it meanwhile came to our knowledge that he pretended to have procured a pardon from the Prince of Orange, we directed the fiscal to go on board to ascertain what this might mean, who, on demanding it, procured from him a petition, bearing upon it an *apostil*, purporting that His Highness was pleased to direct the local commandant to inform himself of the circumstances, and to make a written report of the same, together with his opinion thereon, granting, meanwhile, to the petitioner, exemption from personal arrest; below stood "Done in the camp at Swemmerdam, 22d October, 1672," signed "G. Prince d'Oranje," and lower "By order of His Highness, J. v. Bergen." This, however, conveyed no proof that it had been granted by his Highness, as there was no seal attached to it, and as we were not acquainted with the signatures; and more particularly from its being rumoured that all was not right, and considering that such an instrument might be forged and an imitation of the prince's signature attached to it to deceive the judge, it could not be believed that his Highness had thus acted upon a petition not supported or accompanied by the slightest proofs of the truth of the pretended unintentional character of the act—

But on the other hand, it was necessary to show due respect to the Prince's signature, if authentic, and to let the petitioner enjoy its fullest effect—notwithstanding that it clearly appears from the examination of himself and of the witnesses, that the chief positions of the petition are frivolous, unfounded, and false, as your honors may observe from a comparison of the said petition, the delinquent's voluntary statement, with the sworn attestations produced against him, copies of all which are herewith enclosed. Under all these circumstances we resolved, meanwhile, to detain him on Robben Island, as well to secure his person, as to prevent any harm happening about his wife, who has allowed herself to become pregnant during the absence of her husband, and not to give rise to any new disturbance with the Hottentots, who are a people revengeful beyond all comparison, and unaccustomed to be contented before the death of a father, a brother, or a kinsman, has been satisfactorily revenged. And we shall let him remain there until we learn the pleasure of your honors upon the subject, and whether to continue his former banishment, to send him to Mauritius upon a favorable opportunity, or let justice take its course. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>

We have lately most unexpectedly got into war with one of these native chiefs, named Gonnema, and his allies, who, as we have been informed, have for many years been devising mischief against the Company, and have from time to time done the inhabitants much harm in their houses and cattle; in the year 1671 he murdered two of these free men, (who had received a licence to go inland to shoot sea cows, or other large game, for the support of their families) burnt their wagon and carried off their team of 8 oxen, as reported in our letter of the 19th April of that year; although we have never been able to learn any cause for that act, nor have we ever shown the least resentment on that account.

Consequently this blood thirsty fellow, seeing that his former offence had passed unnoticed, has become so bold, that he has recently repeated it upon some of the oldest burgers, with their servants and one slave, to the number of 9 persons, (who, as in the former instance, had gone out with permission to shoot large game, having with them 2 wagons and 12 oxen;) upon whom he has committed a like execrable murder, making booty of their property, wagons and oxen.

Upon the first reports of this party being beset by the said Gonnema, upon a point of land, from which they could not escape, and where they were threatened with death by starvation; and upon the ceaseless lamentation of their wives, we were induced to attempt their rescue; and, according to the resolution of the 11th July, a force of 72 Netherlanders, consisting in an equal number of Company's servants and freemen, set out next day under the command of the ensign of this garrison, J. Cruse; this officer was furnished with orders, that, should it be found that any

<sup>(1)</sup> With this despatch the Governor and Council sent the explanation (p. 332) to the Prince of Orange—to be sent or withheld at the pleasure of the Directors,—they ask for instructions for their future guidance in such cases, and give an explanation of the cause of their not having made an earlier report on the subject. The Directors replied, first, upon the 5th January, 1674, "we shall further consider the affair of the freeman W. Willems, and communicate to you our opinion; we have some recollection of his presenting the petition to the Prince, and he probably received the answer shown to you; should he have misbehaved in this affair, it will be a heavy responsibility for him." And subsequently on the 13th May, 1674, that they had "handed the letter to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and shall await the communication of his Highness' pleasure on the subject; but you will, meanwhile, send the said Willem Willems, with his wife and children, to Mauritius, where he may earn his living as a freeman."

See, however, subsequent notices of this matter, 18th Aug. 1676; 14th March, 1677; and 30th Jan. 1680, *infra*.

violence had been done to the said party of freemen by this Gonnema, he and his people should in return receive such a punishment, that they would be deterred, by fear, from offending us in future.

But the morning after this party had set out (for they marched in the night to avoid observation) the free men's vessel arrived here from Saldanha Bay, reporting that the Gonnema tribe, who approached under the pretence of selling sheep to the garrison there, had put to death the corporal, one soldier, and 2 free men, and had plundered the Company's house there of property to the value of £300, none escaping from this sad tragedy but a single soldier, who forced his way with his knife, in spite of the numbers of assagais that were thrown at him, and got off to the vessel in her little boat.

As this atrocious proceeding clearly indicated that the party of burgers before mentioned were not kept confined, but were likewise massacred, it was resolved instantly to reinforce the party who had already marched, with 18 more men, company's servants and freemen, all on horseback, and properly armed, who were forthwith sent after them, with orders which not only renewed those before given, but also expressly directed a vigorous attack upon Gonnema, his people, his allies, and all who might have united with him against us, and to do them all possible injury, not sparing any thing male, as may be seen by the 2 resolutions on the subject, of which copies are annexed.

The last party having next day overtaken those who had gone before, they went on in company, and after a tedious march, in rainy weather, first got sight of the Gonnemas upon the seventh day, and instantly attacked them, but as, contrary to expectation, the advance of our force was not so unlooked for, but that the enemy had got some intimation of it, the greater part of their people had an opportunity to make their escape, so that only 10 or 12 of them were shot, while on the other hand, one of our burgers was wounded with an assagai, but in a few days was quite recovered. The enemy on the first attack, abandoned the greater part of their cattle which our men laid hold of as good booty, and brought hither; they consisted of about 800 fine oxen, cows, and calves, and 900 sheep and lambs. From the remains of clothing and other well known articles found, we became perfectly satisfied that the 8 burgers and the slave before mentioned, had been killed by the said Gonnema.

In this manner we have, as before stated, got into war with that savage people, without having given, as far as we know, the slightest cause, but on the contrary, ever since the arrival of the Governor, sought every opportunity of speaking with the said Gonnema, and endeavoring to divert him from his evil designs by caresses; but he could never be induced to come to the fort, a plain proof that he had too long contemplated the offence he has now committed.

We should soon be able to put an end to this difference,—which it is on various accounts necessary to do,—if we had no foreign enemies to fear, and to prepare for; and this it is which induces us to postpone any further proceeding against him until a better opportunity. The worst that can be done by those people is, that small parties of them may annoy the burgers who live in remote situations, and against these attacks we believe that we are sufficiently prepared; so long at least, as the neighboring Hottentots, and a great portion of the Soeswas continue in revolt against Gonnema, in consequence of affronts suffered from him; on this account they have resolved to make war upon him, and have, in fact, committed several acts of hostility against the Gonnema people, having beaten to death with sticks, in sight of the fort, four of the Gonnemas, two of whom they had previously accused, to us, of having killed, each, one of the burgers,—and who had come to steal cattle; this they did as a proof that they were in earnest; and we trust that we shall thus, in one way or other, find an opportunity of inflicting a satisfactory retribution for the wrong we have suffered.<sup>(1)</sup>

Extracts from Journal, *continued*.—1673. Sept. 19. Almost all the Company's working oxen were lost in the quicksands at the mouth of Salt river.

22. A court was this morning held for the trial of several offenders; when a certain Dutch free

(1) Then follows an announcement of dividing some cattle among the farmers in "conditional property," and lending out cows, for the milk, "as the Company have 880 oxen, large and small, 313 cows and calves, and 3457 sheep, which stock it would require 30 men to guard. It is also stated that Saldanha Bay has remained unoccupied since the massacre of the people there, but that, on the arrival of ships from which the vacancies in the garrison can be supplied, a post will be formed upon one of the islands in that bay, where the garrison will not be subject to surprises.

In reply to this despatch, the Directors say first, upon the 5th Jan. 1674, "We perceive with much concern that you have come to hostilities with Gonnema, and his allies; it is very true this is not a matter of very great importance, but then at the present crisis it is no way unattended with inconvenience and uneasiness; and we trust that you may have brought it to a speedy termination. Meanwhile, the cattle which you have taken from them come very conveniently, and will give great assistance," and again, on the 12th May, 1674, "The distribution of the cattle among the free inhabitants, in the manner, and for the reasons stated by you, has our approval."

woman, who had been recently concerned in the theft of 2 Hottentot cows, was condemned by sentence of the court of justice to be scourged and branded, with a cow's skin above her head, and a halter round her neck; also to confiscation of all her property, and a banishment of 12 years on Robben Island; and her accomplices, in addition to flogging, to be rivetted in chains at the public works for 8 years; 2 soldiers, for a second time sleeping on their post as sentries, to be whipt, dismissed the army, and to work three years on the public works; the runaway slaves of the freemen, for seducing 4 of the Company's slaves to desert, to have an ear cut off, to be flogged and branded, and the two ringleaders to work for the Company for life.

Sept. 23. The sentences pronounced yesterday were executed at the usual time and place; but the female cattle stealer was relieved by form of pardon, from the branding and the halter round her neck, and one of her servants from the flogging, at the intercession of some of the most respectable females, and the pitiful entreaties of her young children; the residue of the sentence continuing in full force.

27. The Soeswas captain Claas came to make known that he had killed 2 Gonnema Hottentots, (being his enemies and ours) and offered as a slave to the Company a little boy about 12 years old, whose life he had spared in consideration of his innocence; the child was however restored to him as his prisoner. It appears from this circumstance that these barbarous Africans are accustomed to look upon the innocent with a degree of commiseration which is little regarded by many Christian potentates.

Oct. 4. The *fluyt Zoetendael*, from Batavia was lost 11 days ago near Cape Auguillas.<sup>(1)</sup>

31. Heard from Hottentots Holland that the whole of Soeswas tribe, 11 kraals strong, had passed the company's lodge 2 days ago, and were now encamped at the 2d river.

Nov. 4. We contracted with 3 soldiers, who have been some time employed in furnishing us with the flesh of elands, rhinoceroses, and harts, for the food of the slaves, to draw their whole subsistence from that pursuit, without any kind of allowance from the Company, on their being supplied with ammunition and receiving  $\frac{1}{2}$  stiver per lb. for all the flesh delivered, and giving the skins to the Company gratis. 13. The usual placaat was published against smuggling and cattle barter, &c. 17. The widow of the late Thielman Hendricks, named Mayke van den Berg, upon the complaint of the fiscal, was ordered to be provisionally imprisoned,<sup>(2)</sup> being again strongly suspected of cattle stealing, which the fiscal undertook to prove in due time.

18. Captain Claas (by far the most discreet of these native barbarians) came to the fort with a retinue of 20 persons, in order to learn, as the dry season is close at hand, when we intended to join them in attacking our Gonnema enemies; for which enterprise he seemed to be very eager, on account of the glorious booty, which, upon our suggestion, they were led to expect. He was told in reply, that he must first let some of his people spy out the enemy's position, and that as soon as we had certain information on that subject, we would assist him with our force.

21. One of the mounted guard reported that the Hottentot captains Cuyper and Houtbeen had pitched their cattle kraals close to the Company's stable, this trespass within the Company's jurisdiction, and injuring the place, will be interdicted to-morrow. 22. The ensign went to the kraals of the said captains, with orders to request them in the most civil manner to remove and seek other

<sup>(1)</sup> The accounts given by the survivors of the crew throw little light upon the density of the native population in that quarter; "they had to eat grass and a drowned horse" (*i.e.* quagga?); among those who went to their assistance with provisions from Hottentots Holland, was Captain Claas. The name *Zoetendals valley*, seems to mark the situation where the vessel was wrecked.

<sup>(2)</sup> How this criminal came to be at large, so soon after her former conviction, does not appear.

1673. Oct. 15. A despatch from Holland, of this date, refers entirely to precautions for the security of the return fleet, rendered necessary by the loss of St. Helena. A despatch of the previous year (Oct. 4, 1672,) expresses satisfaction, at learning that a company of 93 burgers have been mustered; displeasure, that cultivation has not been begun at Hottentots Holland; and surprise, that the safe anchorage recently found [Simon's Bay?] had been so long unknown; it orders that immediate possession is to be taken there, but no direct reference is made to the natives.

1673. Nov. 4. A despatch of this date from the directors states, that they had been kept in ignorance of affairs at the Cape for some time, in consequence of the capture of the vessel conveying the despatches. With reference to a sentence executed upon a surgeon of a Danish ship for stabbing, the directors approve of administering justice against foreigners touching at the Cape, "unless they are so strong as to be able to prevent it." They look to the Governor for redress of the confusion and decline of affairs at the Cape; and bestow some measured censure upon the want of precaution which enabled the English so soon to re-possess themselves of St. Helena; "had the orders been complied with, and the ships kept there a few weeks longer, the enemy would not only have been unable to retake the place, but, in all probability, his ships would have fallen into our hands. . . . and our homeward bound fleet would have escaped the loss they have suffered, which would have made all the difference in the world."

pasture for their cattle; he returned in the evening, stating that the captains had promised that they would decamp to-morrow, and proceed to Tygerberg, or that vicinity.

December 8. The court of justice was assembled, chiefly in the case of the fiscal against a certain free woman, Mayke van der Berg, and her servant, Philip Buylings, for cattle stealing; who were consequently condemned to be flogged and branded, with halters round their necks, and sheep skins above their heads, with banishment for life from this place, and confiscation of property.

9. Yesterday's sentence was this morning executed at the proper time and place; it were to be desired that it may be the last, and that it may tend to deter others, and entirely root out this shameful and mischievous crime. There are, however, some more of the inhabitants, aye, even those who possess the greatest number of cattle, who are also suspected. The practice crept in so long ago among some bad inhabitants, that they no longer scruple, upon an animal straying from the right herd into another, to appropriate it to themselves, and make booty of it by cutting its throat; thus producing, independently of the injury, innumerable complaints; and yet, notwithstanding every endeavour, the culprits cannot be properly *fished out*, unless when one or other of them flies into the candle of his own accord.

12. Captain Claas and some of his grandees came to state, that for a few days back there had been an infectious disease among his people, of whom 9 or 10 males or females had already died very suddenly; this they regard as a bad omen, for no particularly severe sicknesses are known among them, and Death usually contents himself with old worn out people. 13. Capt. Claas went home, with a *sopie* of arrack by way of an antidote, conveying a letter to the overseer, chiefly concerning his neglect in not sending hay. . . . and stating also that captain Claas complained of the ill treatment which some of his Hottentots had received from some of the garrison, which the overseer was ordered to see to, as he would be held responsible.

16. Received a letter from Hottentots Holland . . . . stating . . . . that the complaints of captain Claas of the ill treatment of some of his natives by our people, were caused by those mischievous people themselves, as they often tried to steal the men's rations, and had even taken two iron bolts out of the wheelbarrow, which had only been recovered by threats of detaining one or two of them, and sending them to the Cape, but they still continued so bold and presumptuous, that nothing which could not be closely looked after was safe from their thievish hands, and that he had sometimes been obliged to show himself somewhat angry with such fellows; but that otherwise there was not any kind of annoyance done to them.

19. In reply to corporal Visser's letter of yesterday, he was told that we could not allow him nor any of his garrison to injure or abuse any of captain Claas's people, even although they might steal some articles; in which case they must be complained of to their chief, who had promised to give proper satisfaction; because the circumstances of the time would not permit, that any cause of offence should be given to any of that nation.

### Memorandum for the Ensign Jeronimus Cruse, commanding the Company's troops, and the Burgerraadt Wouter Mostaert; for their information on the present expedition.

1674. March 26. You are sufficiently informed of the reasons and motives which induced us, in the month of July last year, to take up arms against the native chief Gonnema and his adherents, to resent the outrages and murders, undertaken and perpetrated for some time back, contrary to all equity, both upon Company's servants, and various of these inhabitants; it would therefore be needless to detail them here; and as we have resolved, for the peace and tranquillity of the good inhabitants, to show our further resentment of those offences, more particularly because captain Claas (who had sent out spies) has positively informed us that the said Gonnema people are collected in one body, and are on a march with all their force, lying at present no further off than at Cleyne Berg River; thus appearing to afford an opportunity which should not be lost; we have therefore chosen you as the leaders of this expedition, giving you this memorandum by way of instructions.

As soon as it is dark you will set out with — Company's servants, and — free men, in all

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1674. March 8, and April 2. Two despatches refer exclusively to the peace with England, ratified and proclaimed at the Hague on the 6th March, and to have effect in India in eight months from that date. On the 12th May the orders, usual upon the conclusion of every peace, for reducing the Cape garrison, were once more issued; a few men were to be kept at Saldanha Bay to maintain possession, but the French were no longer feared, and as many men as the ships could carry were directed to be sent on to India, "even should it delay the completion of the castle."

— men, furnished with 14 day's provisions and proper ammunition; and proceed to the said Gonnema kraals wherever you may find them,—you will speak with the Cape Hottentots on your way, and take with you those whom you find so inclined, so as to employ them, if necessary, in any way that may be required; promising them, in the event of their behaving bravely, a liberal share of the booty; with this understanding, however, that upon a favorable result of the expedition, the division shall not take place until their return; but that they shall afterwards hear what portion the Company will give them as a booty. It is however neither our intention nor our inclination to take a parcel of cattle from that tribe for our own advantage (bevyryding) but on the contrary we hope so to employ our righteous weapons against them that their descendants may be frightened from again unjustly offending the Dutch nation; extending at the same time, as is the duty of all Christian nations, our pity to the women and children.

That you may not be discovered, you should avail yourself of the moonlight nights for marching, but we cannot lay down any express orders on the subject.

And as things that are begun in good order and after full deliberation, are generally followed by a fortunate result, we recommend you to maintain good discipline, and to undertake nothing of importance until it has been weighed in council, which council shall consist of the following persons, namely:—

Jeronimus Cruse, Company's Ensign, as Commander.

Wouter Mostaert, Burgerraadt.

Herman Ernst Gresnicht, Burger Ensign.

The Sergeants of the Company's forces.

The Sergeants of the Burgers.

These persons will, we doubt not, carry our orders into proper execution.

We would be glad to see this exploit over within 14 days, and you back here by that time; but if there are good reasons to the contrary, we shall be satisfied. You will acquit yourselves as becomes honorable and brave men; this we expect from each of you individually. Meanwhile wishing you good success, and a speedy return. Your friend,

I. GOSKE.

#### Extract of a Despatch from Governor Isbrand Goske and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1674. May 20. Our last letter was dated 18th March. . . . . The cultivation of wheat for the first time, has succeeded very well at Hottentots Holland, where we have had a return of 10 for 1; a breastwork has been thrown up there by the garrison for the defence of the house. . . . .

As yet very few burgers have shown any inclination to cultivate there, for as we could not consent, for a variety of reasons, to give them land in freehold, they were dissatisfied with the offer of leases for 10 years.

And though the number of the burgers has been much diminished, as well by the massacre by the Hottentots, as by natural causes, still the deficiency is almost supplied by the re-marriage of the widows,<sup>(1)</sup> being now, including their free and lent servants<sup>(2)</sup> 230, as may be seen by the accompanying list, including an account of their possessions, in lands and stock. . . . .

The war into which we have been unavoidably drawn with the Gonnema and their allies, is, as stated in that letter, of no importance; but has, at the same time, caused some uneasiness to the burgers who reside at a distance from the fort, lest they should be attacked by these murderers and robbers, during the rainy season, as indeed they intended doing, since the departure of the Danish ship, when they advanced in this direction with their combined forces, knowing well that in such weather, we could do little against them with our fire arms; but we were apprised of this movement by the neighbouring Hottentoots, and were encouraged, by their offering, with our assistance, to take revenge for the wrong done to them by Gonnema, and, under these circumstances, we came to the determination of checking him in his wicked attempt, the rather because it was to be feared that unless we did so, and if we permitted the further advance of the Gonnema, and allowed them to become aware of their great strength, and those on this side of their own weakness, it might happen as before, that they could have ravaged all the country in this vicinity.

(1) It is stated in this despatch that the frequency of re-marriage, without due provision having been made for children by the first marriage, had led to the appointment of *Orphan Masters* (1 Company's servant and 4 burgers.)

(2) The free servants were persons discharged from the Company's service; the lent servants were *undischarged* soldiers; a class from which the European *Knechts* were almost exclusively supplied as long as the colony remained in the hands of the Dutch.

We therefore sent out 50 soldiers, and fully as many burgers, under the command of our ensign, accompanied by about 250 Hottentots, who attacked him, and so handled him, that to all appearance he will not again think of coming in this direction or of annoying the burgers. None of our people were killed or wounded; the greater part of the enemy's cattle, being fully 800 horned cattle and about 4000 sheep, old and young, were taken as booty, which has given us the means of supplying all the burgers to their contentment, under the same restriction as last year; (namely, that they shall not sell, slaughter, or exchange any of them, until the number they received is doubled, and that whenever such is desired by the Company, they shall restore them, head for head.)

In fulfilment also of promises made to the Hottentots, in the event of their good conduct, they have had their share; by which means, as well as in consequence of the hostility they have evinced against the Gonnema, we have better security against their defection than before; and the Cape is now supplied with as many cattle as the pasture can maintain. . . . .

ISBRAND GOSKE, &c. &c.

#### Extracts of letters from Governor Goske to Corporal Visser, Hottentots Holland.

1674. Aug. 4. We observe, by your return, the number of the cattle you have bartered from the Hottentots; and as we have now a sufficiency of sheep as well as of cattle, you need not purchase any more of that breed [of sheep] and of oxen only such as are fit to be instantly put before the wagon; for the purchase of these you will now receive 25 lbs. of tobacco and a gross of pipes, which you will dispose of in the most economical manner, in particular showing no eagerness to buy, for the Hottentots are very anxious for tobacco. . . . .

ISBRAND GOSKE.

1674. Dec. 8. Your note of the 7th informs us of the intention of Capt. Claas, who, with his own and other kraals, had come over to this side, to return beyond the mountains; we should much wish first to have some conversation with him here, you must however show no anxiety about it, but let him take his own way, only ascertaining in what direction and how far he means to go, so that he may be found and sent for if necessary.

#### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to Governor I. Goske and Council.

1675. Sept. 28. . . . With these ships we have received from you 2 letters, dated 10th Feb. and 30th April, besides another of the 15th March, from which we learn with satisfaction of the safe arrival of the ships from hence, and of the general welfare of the establishment at the Cape. . . . Upon your intercession, we have thought proper to release the several freemen, among whom you had divided the captured cattle, from the condition of repayment which you had imposed. . . .

As to the person, Willem Willems, you will act in the manner which you deem best, with respect to him and to the Company. The merchant Cornelis de Cretser, was captured by the Turks, and is still a slave at Algiers.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) The late Fiscal of the Cape, who had fled upon the commission of a homicide.

The 1st volume of Resolutions of Council, commencing in 1652, ends with an unsigned notice dated 31st Aug. 1773. The next volume begins with a Resolution of the 2d May, 1674, and contains only two more Resolutions for that year, neither of which relate to natives.

During the ensuing year 1675, none of the 13 resolutions contained in the volume have any reference to the subject of these papers.

The 1st volume of *Placaats* contains no publication issued during 1674, excepting an interdict and protest served upon the officers of the Danish ship *Magelos*, on account of their having, in 1672, aided the escape of "a certain freeman [W. Willems?] who had perpetrated a homicide." None of the 6 public notices issued during 1675 relate to natives.

The *Instructie Boek* contains 6 instructions issued in 1674, and 3 dated in 1675, of which that of the 26th March, 1674, (*supra*, p. 336) is the only one relevant to the subject. No journals are to be found for the years 1674, 5, 6, nor any despatches from the Cape during 1675.

1674. Nov. 3. A despatch of this date communicates the satisfaction of the directors with the exertions of Governor Goske in advancing the fortification—in consideration of which his urgent request to be relieved is acceded to, Joan Bax, of Herentals, commander at Gale, is appointed to succeed to the Government of the Cape.

1675. Aug. 16. A letter from the Chamber Middleburgh, adverts chiefly to the European wars of the period. The Directors pray that "the result of all these wars may be a fortunate peace, in which commerce may shine forth with its former lustre. While writing, news has arrived of the death of Marshal Turrene, and the retreat of the French army." On the 22d Nov. 1675, the Governor General and Council acknowledge the receipt of nine dispatches from the Cape, between Jan. and Sept. 1675. A great variety of subjects are touched on, but no notice from which any direct information can be drawn as to the state of relations with the natives, and on the 7th Feb. 1676, 3 more Cape letters are acknowledged, still without reference to any transactions with the natives.

From all these circumstances some idea may be formed of the probable contents of the missing volumes.

We hereby approve of the establishment of a board of Orphan Masters, and the appointment of a particular day, the 1st January, for the re-election of Burger Raaden....

As there are no materials at Mauritius for making judges, you did well in withholding from them criminal jurisdiction in any case that will admit of delay.....

1676. March 4.—Extract of Resolution of Council.—The Burger Senate of this place presented the following petition for themselves and their fellow burgers:—

“To His Honor Nicolas Verburg, late Director General of India, Admiral of the fleet now here, and Commissioner to the Cape, and the honorable Council.

“The Burger Senate submit, with all due reverence and respect, in their own name and that of their fellow burgers, that, in the years 1673 and 1674, several burgers and inhabitants here, who had gone into the interior upon their own business, were, from time to time, massacred by the Gonnema Hottentots. That in order as far as possible to prevent such [excesses], the Governor and Council thought fit to send out land expeditions, to seek for the said Gonnema Hottentots, to massacre them in revenge, and to capture and carry off as many of their cattle as possible. That the petitioners voluntarily offered to serve, and did actually serve on these occasions, under promise of a certain reward and share in the booty which might be made, proportioned to the good or bad result of the expeditions. That there were brought away, upon two expeditions, a great quantity of cattle and sheep, which were retained by the Company, some cattle being granted to the petitioners, in loan, under a condition that they must be restored; and whereas some of the said cattle have since died, and the mortality among them increases; the petitioners therefore pray, that your honors will be pleased to grant them the said cattle in full property, so that they may be sold and alienated, as in the case of allodial property”.....

Which petition being read and fully considered, it was thought best to transmit the same to the directors, as its principal points had been already brought before their honors by the Governor Goske and Council, and were of too much importance to be hastily decided upon; the commissioner undertook to deliver the said petition to the Chamber XVII. and, should the subject<sup>(1)</sup> of their petition be still undisposed of, to intercede in favor of the burgers.—Thus done, &c.

#### Extract of Memorandum for the information of Governor J. Bax.

1676. March. [Governor I. Goske begins by stating that the presence of the Director General Verburg, expressly appointed Commissioner to the Cape, relieves him in a great measure of the duty of leaving any instructions to his successor. He refers to those which he had left in 1671, as commissioner, which had been approved by the Directors (13th May, 1672,) and in which, during his 3½ year's stay as Governor, he had seen nothing to alter. After lengthened suggestions for the completion of the castle and improvement of the garden, it is stated that “agriculture has daily retrograded during the whole of my residence here, and notwithstanding every exertion, is little cared for by the greatest part of these inhabitants,” and that he had been unable to devise any other plan for raising corn enough for the colony, &c. than “as soon as the castle is complete, to locate the Madagascar slaves, a very industrious set of people, at Hottentots Holland,” which proposal had been submitted to the directors. 16 soldiers were stationed at Hottentots Holland “to defend the corn land and the cattle, (which, for the greater part, were kept there,) from the attacks of the hostile Hottentots.”

The re-occupation of Saldanha Bay, as ordered by the directors, (12th May, 1674) had been postponed because “the men were much wanted to build the new castle, and also in the war of Gonnema and Odassoa.”]

“The Garden Rustenburg, otherwise called Rondebosje, was hired by H. Theilman and Hendrik E. Smidt, for 4000 guilders annually, including a right to retail spirits and Cape wine in the country, reserving however the garden house for the recreation of the Governor; but H. Theilman being meanwhile massacred by the Hottentots, and his partner being unable to fulfil the contract... the rent has been reduced to 3000, receiving from the tenant the wine it produces, at 20 Rds. per half aum.<sup>(2)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> For the decision of the Directors, vide *supra* p. 338.

The other requests embodied in the petition, are—1st. Permission to sell wine, grain, and other produce of the land, on payment of such duties as might be imposed. 2d. To be allowed to engage in trade or handicrafts as at Batavia, and elsewhere in India. 3d. For lands at Hottentots Holland, in freehold, together with a loan of cattle, or merchandise, with which to purchase cattle, and—4th. For a reduction in the price charged by the Company for rice.

<sup>(2)</sup> 1676. March The following remarks were made upon this contract by Commissioner Ryckloff van Goens, the younger, in 1681. A still more unfair and absurd scheme, is the farming of the Company's vineyard at Rustenburg; for which the

These nearest Hottentots, belonging to the captains Cuyper, Schacher, Houtbeen, and Schepper, have all become very bold by their constant communication with us; to keep them better in check, in the event of their showing ill will or opposition, we have brought it so far by gratifying captain Claas and his adherents, from time to time, that he is not only much attached to us, but also ready, whenever required, to be employed against the others, when, with the assistance of a few of our men, he could get the better of them all; as he has also exerted his good offices in frequently pursuing the evil disposed Gonnema, and as he may be employed as a balance, we esteem it highly essential that he should be rendered more and more attached to us, being a man, who, compared to all the rest, is very deserving of favour; he is very civil, and furthermore is contented with very little. In the charge of the said captain and others, there are still 931 native sheep, which he grazes on account of the Company, and brings a few of them when wanted, receiving in return, upon his appearance at the fort, a *regale* of tobacco, arrack, and rice” . . . . . I. GOSKE.

### Extracts of Memorandum for the information of Governor Bax.

1676. Mar. 15. This place of refreshment for shipping is esteemed of the greatest importance to the Company, and the directors have been induced to construct a new castle, which, after three years hard labour, has been nearly finished by Mr. Goske. And as this great castle has been built, it has become highly necessary, now still more than before, and is a matter of course, that a good Dutch colony shall be planted and reared here. . . . . Any one who expected that the small number of Dutch colonists here could raise enough to subsist this place, has much miscalculated, for the greater part of them have enough to do in attending to their gardens, so that it is indisputable that the Cape requires more labourers, and that, without a great number of slaves, it cannot be brought to the state we would desire. The Dutch colonists here bear the name of free men; but they are so limited and restrained in every thing, that the absence of freedom is rendered only too evident; this will at once be seen on perusing the proclamations and orders issued from time to time, and which I will venture to say are too minute, and in some respects rather too rigid, and if acted upon to the letter without connivance, the inhabitants would be subject to constant penalties so severe as often to produce their ruin. This cannot be endured by a new and growing colony, which requires to be fostered with more freedom, gentleness, and kindness. I make these remarks to draw your attention to the subject, but not in any respect to abolish any established ordinance, which requires consideration, and must not be entered upon and redressed without the consent of our masters. I shall, however, take it upon me hereby to direct you to avoid an over severe and rigorous system of Government, and thus to give some relief and comfort to the hearts of the inhabitants, who seem somewhat dissatisfied under the yoke. . . . .

The Cape is a place which produces abundance of horned cattle for slaughter, and consequently meat enough for the refreshment and sustenance of the human frame, but is not equally rich in fish, of which but little can be got; at the same time I should think that, if the fishing hereabouts were thrown open to all without any tax or imposition, we should have a much better supply. This you may try, and if found good, it may be continued.

Besides the fort, I see no work which it is necessary to set about, except a new stone jetty, the old wooden pier being almost all rotten, and requiring more expense to keep it up, than would build one of stone. . . . I have been surprised when I have reflected upon the mode in which successive Commanders and others have from time to time built one thing or other at the Cape, each according to his own whim and fancy. This has cost the Company an incredible sum of money, and arises in a great measure from there never having been any determinate plan or scale for the regulation of the Cape works; but now that so complete a castle is in progress, this system must be put a stop to, for the castle, upon its completion, will offer a sufficient proof that no other novelties in the way of building are to be taken in hand; and to this you will steadfastly attend.

And seeing that as yet no permanent schools have been held for the instruction of youth in reading, writing, and the christian duties; and as in a republic, schools are usually regarded as the nurseries of the state; it will be necessary that this infant colony, where a good many children have already been born, and where more will appear in due time, be provided with a good school; to attend to which Jan Wittebol, a person of competent qualifications and good character, is ap-

*pachter* only appears to pay *f*3000, without hazarding a single stiver, the Company being obliged to receive from him 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  leggers of wine at 160 Rds. which the Cape wine *pachter* must receive at the same rate: and 2 leggers more at 128, making in all 1256 Rds. or *f*3768 for 8  $\frac{1}{4}$  leggers of wine, that might be bought for 340 or 350 Rds. at the utmost.

pointed teacher, with a salary of 20 guilders. . . . and for his encouragement, he may be allowed to charge the richer of the free men and Company's servants  $\frac{1}{2}$  guilder monthly for each child, but the poorer shall be exempt from this payment, and not bound to pay anything for schooling. . . .

The strength of the garrison is now 200 soldiers, besides about 150, consisting of officers, clerks, tradesmen, sailors, &c. over whom are 3 commissioned officers, a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign, with 4 sergeants and 16 corporals, stationed as stated in the list. This number we conceive sufficient for the present defence of this place, as they may be always increased in time of need from the passing ships.—15th March 1676.

N. VERBURG.

### Extracts of a Despatch from Governor I. Goske and Council, to Chamber XVII.

1676. March 15. We have not been disturbed by the hostile Hottentots under the chief Gonnema or their allies, since the former rencounters; except that in November last, he very unexpectedly attacked, with his whole force, our allies, the Cape Hottentots, who lay about 3 mylen off; the attack took place in the night, when he massacred several of them, and carried off a great portion of their cattle. We were apprised of this attack by an express from these people, and instantly sent out to their assistance a party of horse and foot, which returned unsuccessful after an absence of three days; they found that Gonnema and his followers had retreated before their arrival, and the Cape Hottentots were not disposed to pursue their enemy. 15 of the Gonnema Hottentots were killed on this occasion. We have often intended sending out another expedition to take our revenge (*resentiment*,) but all the garrison could not be spared from the work. It will be necessary, however, to do this, as well to prevent the [boldness of] the Gonnemas from increasing, as to relieve the losses of the burgers; for the Company will not be able to spare them any cattle for two years; they last year requested your Honors, upon good grounds, to release them from the servitude imposed, of restoring head for head, when the Company might want them, the Gonnema cattle which were granted to them, and to be allowed to retain those cattle in lawful property. The losses they have suffered<sup>(1)</sup> now compel them to repeat that request. The amount of their cattle and other property may be seen from the accompanying roll.

The number of burgers has rather diminished than increased since our last letters, three families—those of two drunken tailors and another idler—having been permitted to remove to Batavia. . . . .

### Letter from Governor BAX to Corporal H. WARNAERSON, Hottentots Holland.

1676. March 20. We have this moment received your letter of the 19th March of this current year, and we have read with great concern, of the melancholy event which has occurred in your neighbourhood; we long for further intelligence from you, as to who, or what Hottentots have committed the murder, in order that we may in due time take revenge upon such sanguinary wretches, who otherwise would not fail to persevere in such acts. The bearer is sergeant L. Visser, to whom you will give up the command, remaining there yourself until further orders. JOAN BAX.

### Letter from Governor Bax to Sergeant Visser, Hottentots Holland.

1676. March 24. On your departure from this, and in the letter with which you were charged, you were particularly directed to endeavor to learn the circumstances of the last murder, and by what tribe of Hottentots the same was committed; but, to our great dissatisfaction, you have not sent us the least information on the subject; this we did not expect, and recommend you not to be so dilatory in writing hereafter, otherwise we shall be constrained to make some provision in the

<sup>(1)</sup> The losses in question are thus accounted for in the same dispatch,—[after stating that the crops have partially failed from drought, and that the orchard and vegetable garden have suffered from the same cause] “the bareness of the pasture in every quarter has caused a great mortality among the Company's cattle, as well as those of the freemen; we will hope and pray God that next season may be better.”

1676. May 16. A despatch of this date from Holland, contains no instructions directly affecting the natives; the directors approve of some farmers having been induced to settle at Hottentots Holland, on fourteen years' loan, and trust that their industry will entitle them to look forward to obtaining freehold titles; the advancement of agriculture, and reduction of the expenditure are enforced in the usual terms; and the introduction of slaves is, as usual, viewed as a means of forwarding both these objects. In addition to the despatches of last year, acknowledged on the 15th Feb., 2 more (27th July and 8th Sept.) are mentioned at this date.

matter<sup>(1)</sup>; inform us at the same time, how it is with the farming there; what wheat and other grain is in store, what is sown, and whether it will soon be necessary to plough; you will also not fail to *caress*, as much as possible, Captain Claas and his subjects, and if possible induce him to come hither, as we have fully resolved upon an expedition in conjunction with him, for the injury of our enemies, and intend giving him a good present; you will endeavor to attach him to us more and more; meanwhile, awaiting your answer, &c.

JOAN BAX.

1676. March 26. Extract of Resolution of Council.—The Governor stated to the meeting, that a report had been received from Hottentots Holland on the 22d instant, that murder had been again committed near the Breede river upon 3 free men, by a kraal of Sonquas, called in the Hottentot language Obiquas, but dependants of Gonnema, and regarded as Bush rangers, (*bosloopers*,) just as some time back, during the government of Mr. Goske, 8 or 10 freemen were unexpectedly attacked and miserably massacred by the Gonnema tribe; His Excellency proposed that this mischievous and hereditary enemy, who was a disturber and a pest to the Company, as well as to the freemen residing here, should be sought for without delay; and that we should endeavor, as we best can, to surprise their kraals, and to reduce them to a general tranquillity (*tot een algemeene rust ruineeren.*)<sup>(2)</sup>

It was thereupon resolved unanimously (the sooner the better, as the wet season is approaching, and might prove an impediment) to dispatch lieutenant Cruse to-morrow, being Friday, the 25th, with about 50 soldiers, an equal number of freemen, and a number (*een lengte*) of Hottentots in amity with the Company, with provisions for 3 weeks, ammunition, and what further is necessary for the journey, and that upon their return, the booty, which by God's blessing may be thus procured, shall be divided *na rato* by the Governor and Council (*den buyt dus dan, door God's zeegeen souden mogen becomen door Gouverneur en Raat, na rato te parteeeren.*)<sup>(3)</sup>

1676. March 27. *Memorandum for the Lieutenant Jeronimus Cruse, Commanding Officer of the Company's Troops, and Chief of the Expedition; and the Burger Lieutenant Wouter Mostert and their Council, for their guidance upon the expedition.*

It is unnecessary here to detail the reasons which have induced us to send out this force against our enemies the Gonnema and his adherents, for these are sufficiently known, more particularly as three of our free burgers have been, within these few days, most cruelly massacred by those barbarous and treacherous Hottentots, and you are not ignorant that previous to this shameful murder, a similar expedition was undertaken by Governor I. Goske, to show our resentment of the several acts of foul murder and robbery committed against our nation at various times by the Gonnema Hottentots—to be brief then, as you have been chosen to lead this expedition, we shall only draw your attention to the following points,—first, and above all, we recommend you to take due care of our Netherlanders, whether soldiers or burgers, and therefore to call on God's name, morning and evening, taking due care that all are obedient, and that none, whether burgers or soldiers, quit the party without leave, so as to avoid many dangers, from wild animals as well as from the

(1) On the 27th, a second letter was written to sergeant Visser, from which it appears that he had in the mean time furnished the information (in a letter dated the 24th,) upon which the following Resolution of Council was founded. His authorities for the allegation that the murder was committed "by a tribe called Obiquas, who are principally banditti (*Bos en Land stroopers*) but dependant on Gonnema," are stated to have been a surviving freeman, and the chief Claas, who stated his readiness "to look after the murderers, and the kraals of Gonnema, the Company's mischievous enemy."

(2) The observation of the directors upon this event (see dispatch 11th May, 1677) contains a short statement of the Company's policy towards the natives, and of the motives for that policy. "The murder committed by the hostile Hottentots upon 3 of our free burgers, demands revenge at a fitting opportunity, and if we could then pacify them, we should deem such to be for the interest of the Company."

Similar views will be found in the Cape Dispatch of March 14, of the same year. "Our people have killed 7 of their fighting men in revenge for the murders committed by them, we shall now try whether we cannot . . . induce them to pray for peace, as we conceive that we have now exacted sufficient revenge. It will also be best for us to live on terms of friendship with him and all others, so as to procure cattle enough for the shipping." In reply to which the Directors observe (18th October 1677, "You do well to endeavor, for the reasons you have advanced, to make peace with Gonnema; a large supply of cattle will doubtless be then poured in upon us.")

A letter from the Directors of the Chamber Zeeland (March, 1676) states that they have received via Plymouth, information of the good state of affairs at the Cape.

(3) The Parl. Papers (p. 13) give the following note of the substance of this Resolution:—"Resolution 26th March, 1676. The Gonnemas again murdered three inhabitants at the Breede river, and a lieutenant and 100 men were therefore dispatched to attack them, and to destroy their kraals for the public safety. The booty which might be obtained was to be divided between the Governor and Council *pro rata*."

enemy. To avoid prolixity, we will here refer you to the memorandum given to you in the year 1674, by Governor Goske, which you have with you, and which I deem judiciously framed.

What road to take, and where you will find the enemy, cannot be stated here, being as yet unknown to us; the Hottentot Captain Claas who accompanies you, has sent out his spies, and will communicate with you from time to time during the march. We have caressed and encouraged him as much as possible, and trust therefore that he will assist you in every thing, with his accustomed fidelity.

The other Hottentot captains, such as Cuyper, Schacher, Houtebeen, &c. should also go with you, so as the better to bind them to us; and you may easily pick them up as you pass, for you have already warned them. How you are to attack the said enemy, and what is the intention in that respect is already known to you; we therefore refer you to the memorandum of Mr. Goske; that is to say, rather to try to destroy the persons of our enemies<sup>(1)</sup> (women and children excepted) than to plunder them of any cattle; if however you cannot overtake them, and can overtake their cattle, these must be taken and brought hither, and you may freely promise in our name to the burgers and our Hottentots, a good share of the booty; the division shall, however, be made by us here.

We cannot positively fix the time for your return, but must leave that to you; we would not wish you to be more than three weeks away, so that we may be able to report the result to our masters by the return ships, and we think that the last of the Batavia ships will be properly refreshed by that time. You will undertake nothing of importance without due consultation with each other, as to the best mode of operation, so that you may not be chargeable with any inadvertence. The council shall consist of the following persons:—Lieutenant Cruse, Commander of the expedition, Wouter Mostert, Councillor and Burger, Lieutenant J. Valkenryck, Burger Ensign, and the Sergeants of the troops and burgers, with whose assistance we conceive that you will determine aright on what should be done or avoided; your conduct and experience are sufficiently known, and we doubt not but you will behave like brave men, and endeavour courageously to revenge the blood of our murdered countrymen. Provisions and ammunition have been supplied to your satisfaction, and now wishing you all a fortunate and successful journey, we remain your very good friend Joan Bax, entitled van Herentals. In the Fort the Goede Hoop, 27th March, 1676.

1676. Aug. 18. Extract of Resolution of Council.—It being taken into consideration that the Company is at present much in want of cattle, (for the proper supply as well of the shipping from Holland, as those from India) chiefly arising from mortality, accidents, and destruction by beasts of prey; the cattle reared here being by no means sufficient for the constant consumption, or in particular to furnish the great number of working oxen required by the Company for the completion of the fort; and which necessary supplies of cattle are not to be procured by any other means than by travelling parties to the interior.

After deliberation, therefore, upon the invitation of the Hosequas, (sent to us by a certain captain of the Essequas, named Claas, and the hope held out by the latter, of a considerable barter, and that the said tribes have, for that purpose, already approached to within about 3 days' journey of Hottentots Holland) it was resolved to send a mission to them (seeing that this tribe is abundantly supplied with the cattle required by us, and that they are much inclined for trade) with the merchandize most suitable and most in demand; and that the mission shall consist of 24 experienced travellers, under sergeant L. Visser..... The free man Willem Willems van de Venter having, in the year 1672, shot a man belonging to one of the neighbouring *Hottentot Kraals*; in order to evade the punishment, escaped to the Fatherland on the 4th May in the Danish ship *Magalos*; and subsequently, in 1673, returned hither among other free men by the ship *Europa*; exhibiting a certain petition relative to the deed perpetrated by him, and which, (according to his statement,) he had presented to his Highness the Prince of Orange, in the camp at Swemmerdam, on the 22d Oct. 1762: the apostil running in substance [as above p. 326], whereupon His Excellency the Governor and Council were pleased for sundry weighty reasons, to place him provisionally upon Robben Island, and to solicit the advice of the directors upon the subject, which was done accordingly; and in the reply, it was directed, by letter of the 12th May, 1674,

(1) The humanity as well as the policy of inflicting "prompt and sensible punishment" upon the persons of the enemy, rather than depriving them of their cattle, will be found repeatedly discussed, when the colonists—more than a century later—again came into hostile collision with tribes who *could* suffer otherwise than in person, *vide infra*.—Landdrost Faure, Nov. 21, 1802. Landdrost Stockenstrom, Sen., May 9, 1810. Governor Sir J. Cradock, March 7, 1812, and Nov. 17, 1813. Col. Cuyler, Dec. 8, 1815; Nov. 10, 1816, and Sept. 23, 1818. Major Frazer, Feb. 6, and March 19, 1819,—and Landdrost Stockenstrom, Jun., Feb. 10 and 12, and April 10, 1819; Sept. 19, 1823; Nov. 22, 1828; Feb. 6, and April 30, 1829; and May 12 and 17, and June 23, 1830.

that, with regard to the said Willem Willems, he should be sent, with his wife and children, to Mauritius, where he might maintain himself as a free man. That this measure has been hitherto postponed, in consequence of Willem's wife being unable to dispose of his fixed property;—the Directors having meanwhile, by their letter, of 28th Sept. 1675, been pleased to direct us to deal with Willem Willems in the manner we might deem best, with respect to him, and the Company; and he has accordingly been kept on Robben Island until recently, when it became necessary to bring him hither to be cured of his complaint the dropsy; and his wife having during his absence lived a very loose and unchaste life, having borne 2 children in adultery to a certain free burger named Ocker Cornelis, is now in no way disposed to live in peace with her husband, (although formerly she very earnestly desired it,) but requests rather to be placed in the house of correction than to comply.

This case being taken into consideration, it was resolved, in order to prevent all further difference with the Hottentots, to send the said Willem Willems, and his wife, to Batavia, but apart from each other; when she, according to her wish, may be placed in the *Spin-huis*; and that during their stay here, the said Ocker Cornelis shall be placed on Robben Island; and upon his return, after their departure, shall be bound properly to maintain the said 2 children begotten by him in adultery; and that meanwhile until their departure, their lawfully begotten children shall be alimanted by the burger Jan Coenraad Visser, as being their grandfather and nearest of kin. . . .

H. CRUDOP, &c.

1676. Oct. 27.—Extract of Resolutions of Council. Seeing that we have had (to our great sorrow) but too much experience that the Hottentots, that is those of Gonnema and their adherents, our most destructive hereditary enemies, have not scrupled now as before, villainously to surprise and to put to death in the cruelest manner, our people, namely the freemen, in their daily avocations of fishing or shooting sea cows and other large game, for the support of their families; as shown by the recent result (as well as those formerly experienced in Saldanha Bay) when three of the free inhabitants were unexpectedly attacked and cruelly murdered by those destructive gangs (gespuys) although they had not shown the least hostility.—

And whereas the Governor and Council of the residency had formerly resolved to send out an expedition to take vengeance for the shedding of that innocent blood, to overtake Gonnema and his accomplices, and to destroy them entirely without showing the slightest pity, that is to say, to any males fit to bear arms, and also to capture their cattle (*vee af te roven*) the said expedition (according to our resolution of the 26th March) being furnished with proper instructions; but which expedition, contrary to our good intentions, was, in consequence of some accidents, not properly carried into execution; and turned out, to our sorrow, quite fruitless, and thus we have not yet attained the object of taking proper revenge upon the murderers; and seeing that these tribes (who as experience has taught us, are of a very treacherous disposition) are not to be brought

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This is the only resolution on the subject that is noticed in the Parliamentary papers, and it is thus noticed (p. 14,) "Resolution, 18th Aug. 1676—Willems, an inhabitant, was placed on Robben Island during the time an inquiry was going on, respecting the death of a Hottentot whom he had shot."

A despatch of Governor Bax to Holland (14th March, 1677,) has the following passage—"We reported last year that we had come to no determination in the case of W. Willems, (who obtained *sewitie de corps* from His Highness the Prince of Orange,) we have since thought fit to send him to Batavia." It will subsequently appear that on the accidental return of Willems from Batavia, he was finally banished to Mauritius.

The last notice which has been observed of this individual is a declaration dated Mauritius, 18th August, 1678, signed by the Captain and Mate of the *Bode*, to the effect that when W. Willems was fastened to the mast, about to be flogged, he used the following abusive words against the commanding officer Lamotius—"You are all rogues and thieves, searching my house and finding nothing in it;" he then turned round, stretched out his arms and exclaimed,—“Here I stand, shoot me through the head and then you have done.” On the 30th Jan. 1680, Commander S. van der Stell and Council write to Lamotius—"We will not suffer ourselves to suppose that you had not some better reason for causing Willem Willems to be flogged than his destroying a wild ass; for that offence did not justify such a punishment."

1676. Oct. 21. A long despatch of this date from the Chamber XVII, contains this passage—"At your intercession, we grant to them (*i.e.* the free men) the full property of the Gonnema cattle, which had been granted to them in loan." It is again explained that "our object in sending free men thither was to be enabled in time to diminish the garrison in proportion, and to refund the expense incurred in conveying them," as it is presumed that the castle is at length completed, it is hoped that the garrison, now 417 in number, will be speedily diminished. Among a variety of subjects touched on, the following are the most material.—“To encourage the free men, and to dispose them to promote the welfare of the Company, they must not be too much restricted in their freedom.” “The slave trade at Madagascar is of great importance, not only to the Cape and Mauritius, but to India also” . . . “The English appear to be well versed in this trade, and to be in the habit of supplying Barbadoes from that island; it is strange that we, who lie so much nearer, should still be unacquainted with it; it would be a most desirable thing could that trade be conducted by way of barter for merchandize, for Spanish dollars are here very scarce and dear.”

to peace and quiet by any practicable means, or to the highly necessary cattle trade; and that the Company's illustrious reputation and dignity has only been wounded by making too long speeches, (al te lang protestation) to that worthless brood (without effecting much by such means) and as they consequently think only of ruining our people, and take them at a disadvantage on every opportunity.

The Governor therefore, for these and other preguant reasons, assembled the Council, and represented to them the good opportunity which, (according to information received) there appeared to be of getting hold of Gonnema. His Excellency stated in substance, that the free burger W. van Dieden came from Saldanha Bay on the 19th, bringing with him in his vessel a Hottentot named Captain Jacob, a deadly enemy of the Gonnemas who had reduced him to poverty and ruined him; and whom the said free burger, Van Dieden (who appeared before the Council with captain Jacob) had sent in compliance with the orders of the Governor to the Gonnema with a little tobacco, under the pretext of bartering some cattle,—to take a careful observation of the situation of their kraals, under the promise of a good reward; all which captain Jacob had not only done at ourrequest, but had brought 5 sheep, purchased from them for himself (so as to enable him to observe more minutely) reporting on his return that Gonnema was no farther off than about a day's journey beyond the Berg river, in the *Suyker Bergen*, and could therefore be taken by surprise in front and in rear, more particularly because the Namaquas and *Ciregriquas*, their sworn enemies, lie in their rear, and are also desirous of attacking them upon a favorable opportunity, and consequently they could not fly in that direction. Captain Jacob offered besides to accompany us as guide, and to take every opportunity of showing his affection and fidelity to the Company. And as, after some further inquiry, we can come to no other conclusion than that Gonnema is there, or in that vicinity, having with him a great quantity of cattle, in which the Company is very ill furnished, not having enough, without an additional supply, for the proper refreshment of the large homeward bound fleet next expected; this circumstance was accordingly taken into consideration,—every thing having been first exactly calculated for the best service of the Company; and it was resolved, in God's name, to cause all the necessary preparations for an expedition into the interior to be made in the most secret manner, for Sunday evening next, and to employ in the command of the same, at their own urgent request, Capt. D. J. Smient and Lieut. J. Cruse, both members of the Council, and persons of much experience, with such a force in men and materials, as they may deem sufficient, and can reasonably ask for—that is to say in . . . whites, to wit, . . . soldiers, and . . . free burgers, besides some of the most faithful Hottentots.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus done, &c.

1676. Nov. 25. Extract of Resolution of Council. . . . And as Captain Smient and Lieutenant Cruse, who returned from the interior with their followers upon the 19th and 23d inst. have not been able, to our sorrow, to beat up the quarters of Gonnema himself as was desired, in consequence, as we are informed, of previous warning of our approach, conveyed to him by our faithless spies; but as our party have taken from one of his accomplices, named captain Cees, 165 cattle and 30 sheep, which he was grazing near Saldanha Bay for said Gonnema, and shot some Hottentots, though only a few, in retribution for the blood formerly shed; and seeing that this booty will, according to the calculation made, fully compensate the Company for the costs of the expedition; but would still

(1) 1676. Nov. 1. Memorandum for Captain Dirck Jansen Smient, commanding officer of the Company's troops, and chief of the expedition, and the Lieut. Jeronimus Cruse and their Council, for their guidance of this expedition:—

It is needless to repeat the reasons and motives which have induced us to send out the present force against our enemies the Chief Gonnema and his adherents, the frequent massacres committed by them having rendered these sufficiently notorious; as it is also that we have adopted every practicable means of bringing them to conciliation and peace. We, therefore, saw fit to send out a considerable force against them, (in God's name,) under Lieut. Cruse of this garrison, on the 26th last March, although contrary to our good intentions, that expedition proved fruitless; since which time we have had only too much experience of the ill-will of the said Chief Gonnema towards the Company, although not the slightest cause of offence has been given to him; and as we have now become aware—through a certain stratagem of a Hottentot captain, named Jacob, that the said Chief and his kraals lie at a place called the *Suyker Bergen*, about a day's journey beyond Berg River, where they may be very conveniently attacked in front and rear, for the Namaquas and Grigriquas, their sworn enemies, lie in the rear, anxious for an opportunity of attacking them, &c. [With the exception of the two following passages the instructions from this place are (*mutatis mutandis*), identical with those of March (*supra* p. 342,] “You are also aware of our intentions as to the mode of attacking the enemy, that is to say, that it is our object rather to destroy the persons of our enemies (excepting women and children) than to apply any of their cattle to our own advantage; but at the same time, should you be unable to overtake these fellows and yet be able to overtake their cattle, it is self evident that these must be collected and brought hither.”

“The said Captain Jacob will go to assist you, as well as some of the most faithful Hottentots, to whom, and especially to the said Captain, and also to all the burgers, you may freely promise in our name, in the event of a successful issue, and provided that they conduct themselves properly, a good share of the cattle; it being fully understood that the division shall take place after your return to this place.”

be insufficient to satisfy (soulageeren) all the Hottentots and freemen, according to our wish ; it was therefore thought proper to give to some of the Hottentot captains, who behaved particularly well, so as to encourage them at all times to serve the Company, some tobacco, beads, bread, and 8 cattle of various sizes ; to give the common Hottentots some tobacco, beads, and bread, according to desert ; and to the freemen, (that they also may not be discouraged) a day of merriment instead of cattle ; and lastly, as it is to be feared that Gonnema or his adherents, will, for the reasons above stated, endeavour, by every practicable means, to injure the Company in return, and to revenge himself by every sinister and hostile device, it was deemed highly necessary to take all due precautions in every quarter, to send 8 well armed soldiers under a corporal for the protection of the Company's cattle at the Riet valley, &c. to direct the party at Hottentots Holland to be constantly on their guard against sudden attacks, &c. Thus done, &c.

1676. Dec. 10.—Extract of Resolution of Council.—Whereas the Company, on the last expedition performed by sergeant Visser and his party on the 3d September, in consequence of the want of a sufficient quantity of good tobacco, procured in barter, from a Hottentot tribe named Hosequas, only 239 cattle and 226 sheep, and, as may be fully seen by the resolution of Aug. 18, the scarcity of live stock is such that the Company requires many more. The Governor therefore, after the ordinary supplication to God, stated to the Council that captain Claas, one of the chiefs of the Sousoas, had shown a wish to trade with the Company, and to assist us with a good number of cattle for the usual articles. It was therefore resolved, (in hopes of a good trade, as well with captain Claas as with the Hosequas, from whom, as aforesaid, the last cattle were purchased) to try by this means to procure some more from the said African ; to send a mission thither, and to employ thereon, at his own request, Lieutenant Cruse, with a sergeant, 2 corporals, and 24 soldiers.

And as the Company has no more tobacco that is good and fit for the trade, it being mostly perished and rotten from long keeping, notwithstanding that Governor Goske, in order to preserve it, had it sprinkled with brandy and re-spun, the Council were compelled to resolve to buy 400 lbs. from Lieutenant Cruse, at the rate of 2 light guilders per lb. and rather to divide the spoiled tobacco among the Company's slaves, who have been recently increased by the number of 250, than to allow it to lie any longer without getting any good of it at last.<sup>(1)</sup>.....

#### Extracts from the Journal of Governor JOHAN BAX.

1677. Jan. 6. Sent the *Voorhondt* and *Quartel* to Saldanha Bay to be repaired &c. provided with ample instructions, &c. Extracts..... "As we are at open war with the Hottentots thereabouts, you must be well on your guard, and not place any reliance upon them, under whatever fair pretence they may approach you ; more particularly because our people have recently captured the kraals of a certain Hottentot captain residing there ; he will consequently allow no opportunity to slip of injuring the Company by every sinister device..... No one must land without fire-arms, on pain of severe punishment.

But at the same time, in order to create no further estrangement, it is our desire that these natives shall not sustain the slightest injury or act of hostility, except in case of the first cause being given from their side, in which case what you have to do is self evident, namely, to repel them in such a manner that they will not think of coming back.....

JOHAN BAX.

17. About 9 at night the Governor met, before the old fort, a party of 40 or 50 Hottentots, armed with assagais ; who, being asked by him whither they were going thus armed, replied, that the Hottentot captains Cuyper and Thomas were fighting against the kraal of Schacher, and that according to express intelligence which had reached them, those captains had already taken the greater part of Schacher's cattle. On this a man was forthwith dispatched on horseback to

<sup>(1)</sup> A subsequent resolution, 14th Dec., states that the expedition being ready, and no cause for any change having appeared, it should be forthwith dispatched.

1676. Nov. 27. A despatch from Batavia acknowledging receipt of 10 letters from the Cape, between January and August, contains no allusion to hostilities, but has the following passages. "The continued welfare of your Government is highly gratifying." "As your letter of August 23, . . . gives promise of a good harvest, we will hope the best ; and that you may in time conquer and get the mastery of the destructive lions and wolves at Hottentots Holland."

The resolution book contains the minutes of 13 meetings during 1676. The placat book contains 6, and the instruction book 2 entries during the same year. No journal for 1676 has been found ; on the other hand the letters despatched are complete ; and continue so down to the year 1787.

summon hither the said captains Cuyper, Thomas, and Schacher, in order to inquire into the cause of this [disturbance.]

Feb. 19. The Hottentot captains who arrived yesterday, were this morning interrogated by the Governor as to the circumstances of the disputes which had arisen between them; in the first instance they positively denied the whole, saying that there was no difference among them; but being closely examined, they confessed that Capt. Schacher's people having lost a cow in the fields, the animal had been found and concealed in their kraal by the people of Captain Thomas; but that meanwhile Schacher suspecting that the cow in question had been killed by Thomas's men, had seized and killed another cow belonging to the latter; Thomas had meanwhile sent home Schacher's cow; and on subsequently missing that belonging to himself, and learning that it had been slaughtered by Schacher's people, he caused his people to steal and slaughter in revenge, three of Schacher's cattle, and that all these disputes had set them by the ears; but at the recommendation of the Governor they arranged the whole in an amicable manner, and promised that should any of them be again injured by another, he would first communicate the same to us, before taking revenge, in order that the guilty person might be punished according to his deserts; and that they would endeavor to continue good neighbours and faithful allies.

The said captains were also told that 4 Madagascar slaves belonging to the Company had deserted, and that 3 fathoms of tobacco for each would be paid upon their apprehension; on which they engaged to use their best endeavours to find them.

Lieutenant Cruse returned to the fort from his journey to the Hossequas, from whom he had purchased for the usual articles of merchandize — cattle — sheep, which he had left at Hottentots Holland. That tribe invited our party to return to barter next year.

### Extract of a Despatch from Governor BAX and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1677. March 14. . . . . Your Honors have been pleased to observe that it would be highly desirable, if the agriculture were so far advanced, that the grain raised here would suffice for our subsistence. We shall not fail to employ every available means of attaining this object; but the want of cattle and of manure are great obstacles; and besides, we have here many indolent men, who have no other thought than of living from hand to mouth. We must admit, however, that the spirits of the industrious are very much depressed, when they see the fruits of their labour so materially diminished by the severe winds. Were every farmer supplied with 3 or 4 stout slaves, the work would be much forwarded; and we would respectfully ask, whether, upon the arrival of a greater number of slaves (of whom we shall doubtless get enough from Madagascar) we may lend or sell some of them to the farmers<sup>(1)</sup>. . . .

We sent the *Bode* to the northward to examine further Grundel Bay, and all the inlets as far as the tropic; and to ascertain exactly, how far the Hottentot race extended; some of our Hottentots have gone in the vessel, with their free will, to see whether they can understand the other Hottentots. . . . .<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) The Directors consented to this proposal, (Aug. 18, 1677,) "either in loan, or to be paid for in corn, or cattle."

(2) 1677. Jan. 18. Extracts of "Instructions to Cornelis Thomas Hobma, and other officers of the Hoeker Boede, proceeding hence to the north for the further discovery of Grundel Bay, and the other bays, under, or near the tropic."

"To ascertain by what tribe that country is inhabited, you shall endeavour, by the means most practicable, to hold a friendly communication with them; as the people of the Grundel report that as far as that part it is inhabited by numerous Hottentots, we have encouraged some of our Hottentots to accompany you.

"You shall take great care that the natives are not injured by any one, on pain of the severest punishment. . . . but at the same time you must take care that you give no opportunity to those heathen to overpower you suddenly, for the proverb says, that opportunity makes thieves and murderers. . . .

"Where the Hottentots terminate, and the residence of the Caffres commences, we wish in particular to ascertain, for the information of our masters." And again—

"But in particular we are anxious to ascertain, at least, where the Hottentots end and where the Caffres begin,—whether they are at war with one another,—what places, or towns they inhabit,—what weapons they use,—how they live,—whether they practice any kind of cultivation,—and such matters, more fully detailed in a separate instruction from our masters, of which a copy is supplied you."—Castle of Goede Hoop. JOHAN BAX, v. HERENTALS.

On the 8th June, 1677, Governor Bax states, (despatch to Batavia,) the result of this voyage to be, that, "along the whole west coast, as far as the small Portuguese fort Sombreira, in south lat. 12. 47., although there are some good bays there is neither good land nor fresh water; that to near Sombreira, there are no other inhabitants than Hottentots; and that the Portuguese never knew any thing of a St. Helena Nova."

1677. Feb. 2. In a letter of this date to Serjeant Visser, Governor Bax requires a monthly report of events at Hottentots Holland, and asks particularly as to the war which has arisen between Claas and Caepman; he also consents to the surgeon receiving a fee of 3 rams, sent him by the Hessequas, for medical attendance during the last expedition. In a letter a month afterwards, (March 3,) the Governor says "I should much wish to see the Captains Claas and Coopman here, the sooner the better."

As to the hostile or Gonnema Hottentots, they still maintain their old hostility. We sent out another expedition against them in November last; but lying so far off, he got notice of our movements through his spies, when every one flying with his cattle, a different way, through the steep and inaccessible mountains, it was impossible for our men to overtake them; as it was, we got 165 cattle and only 30 sheep; had the enemy kept his men and cattle together, we should have taken many more, but their cunning tactics of separating in their flight guarded them from greater loss. Of these people, that is to say of their fighting men, our people have put to death, in revenge of the former murders committed by them, 7 persons. And we shall now try whether we cannot, through the agency of others, induce Gonnema's people to come to us themselves to pray for peace, as we conceive that we have now exacted sufficient revenge.

It will also be the best thing for us, in order that we be not prevented from procuring enough cattle for the shipping, to live on terms of good friendship with him and all others; (1) and according to the accounts of old times, and what we collect indirectly, (ter syden) our people have not only frequently and forcibly despoiled them and others of their cattle, but have even, we grieve to say, treacherously fired upon and killed many of these Hottentots, which is shameful, and must certainly cause great hatred against us; those noble (fraay) deeds were practised chiefly during the time of Commander Borghorst; and whereas we might formerly safely send 2 or 3 men a distance of 50 or 60 mylen into the interior, without any apprehension, we at present dare scarcely send 12 men in a body to the distance of 20 mylen. We assure your honors that better care shall be taken during our time; and that we shall endeavor by every means to wash away the disgrace which the conduct of some of our people has cast upon our whole nation.

In order to prevent being in want of cattle upon the arrival of the return fleet, parties were sent out to barter with the Hessequa tribe near Mossel bay, in the months of September and December last. On the first occasion 239 cattle and 226 sheep were procured, and on the last 164 cattle and 313 sheep; so that, with God's help, we shall be able duly to supply the fleet, without touching any of our ewes or young sheep. We have also renewed your honors' ancient and lawful right of possession at Saldanha Bay, at the watering places, on Robben, Dassen, Mewen, Malagasen, Markus, and Schapen Islands, as also at Hoetjes Bay; that is, we have built up in masonry a stone, on which is cut the arms of the free united Netherlands, and beneath, the Company's mark; and that with the proper solemnities, namely, the discharge of muskets, in the presence of persons expressly commissioned, who, on their return, passed the act, of which a copy is now transmitted. We have not as yet placed any permanent garrison there, but our free sealers are constantly frequenting the bay, and hoist the Jutland flag whenever any ship is seen; this is, in our opinion, sufficient; but should your honors wish a corporal, and from 4 to 6 men stationed there constantly, we shall promptly obey. (2) . . . . .

We informed your honors by the last return fleet, that we had come to no determination as to the disposal of the person W. Willems (he, who obtained *seuretie de corps* from His Highness the Prince of Orange,) we have since thought fit to send him to Batavia . . . . .

The number of burgers has rather diminished than increased since our last letter, for, exclusive of the said Willems, we have sent to Batavia an indolent man named Pieter Wollebrants, who, besides, was not free from suspicion of being an aider and abettor of many thieves and rogues; and we are of opinion, under correction, that all who do not cultivate the ground, are good for nothing here, and may be said to serve only as ballast; the consumption of rice is increased by those useless men, and the community here derive no advantage from them. . . . . J. BAX, &c.

1677. April 1.—Extracts from Journal continued:—Capt. Smient and Lieut. Cruse handed to the Council a list, which the Governor had directed them to prepare, of the best and poorest of the farmers who absolutely required some slaves to assist them in farming; and to relieve the necessities of these persons *per force* . . . it was thought proper to supply each of them, with one slave at 100 per cent. profit, or 30 Rds. . . . and not to distress them for payment at present, provided that

(1) For the answer of the Directors, *vide infra* in note on despatch, 11th May, 1677.

(2) The Directors deemed these precautions sufficient. (Oct. 18, 1677.)

1677. March 23. A proclamation was issued urging the farmers to greater exertions in agriculture, as the Directors had said "in distinct terms, that the country cannot be called a colony, which cannot produce its own corn," and as the government at Batavia were unable to send any supply of rice. The proclamation contains some enactments against trespass, and to promote enclosure, founded upon the injury done to the corn lands of the farmers, by neglect of herding.

they employed these slaves exclusively on agriculture ; on which terms 14 slaves were disposed of to sundry inhabitants.

April 7. The overseer at Hottentots Holland reported in writing, that the Cape Hottentots had placed their kraals close to the Company's lodge there, and that he had frequently asked them civilly to remove, as all the grass was wanted for the Company's cattle ; that they had twice removed for a short time, but had as often returned ; that among their flock of Hottentot sheep he had seen several that were half bred, which they said they had got from the freemen ; he further reported that Cuyper had said that several women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace, and consequently about an actual attack upon him, [Cuyper?], which must be well inquired into.

8. Seeing that [here follows a recapitulation of the statement of the 7th, with the following addition], that some of the women of the Company's mischievous enemy, the Chief Gonnema, are said to have been sent to one of the Company's allies, named Claas, to make peace with him, and another named Schacher, and further, as it was understood, to ruin and destroy the kraals of Cuyper ; it was resolved to send Lieut. Cruse thither with 6 men, to inquire into this, and to oppose it in civil terms ; and also as Claas has for a long time not attended to our frequent summonses, (thus raising a presumption that there may be some truth in these statements,) to invite him to come to us in a friendly way ; and generally to attend to the Company's interests.

12. Lieut. Cruse returned with . . . cross-bred sheep bartered by him from the Cape Hottentots, who said as before, that they had earned them by service among the free men. The Lieut. had also told them that they must be pleased to remove thence, and to look out for other fitting pasture for their cattle ; as they had their cattle daily on the Company's grass, which would make the food very scanty for the Company's cattle ; with this they undertook promptly to comply.

1677. April 12. Extract of Resolution of Council.—Further—It having been represented by the master butcher J. Marquart, and subsequently by the Lieutenant J. Cruse, that the Hottentots have among their flocks many half bred sheep, which they pretend to have got from the free men ; and that as they often herd their sheep close to those of the Company, they might easily thus get Company's sheep into their flocks, and conceal [the fraud] under the pretence that they had earned them from the free men as wages or otherwise. And seeing that it has been formerly provided by Proclamation that no free men are to have any Hottentot sheep in their flocks ; and it being found notwithstanding that the said free men try secretly to do so in some prohibited manner. It is therefore resolved, not only to renew the said Proclamation, but so to amplify it, as strictly to prohibit the payment of Hottentots in half bred sheep, and to restrict such payment to something else that is permitted, as the Company is likely to suffer great injury by that practice.

1677. April 12. Proclamation.—Johan Bax of Herentals, Governor and Director, on the part of the Dutch East India Company, at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Council.—To all who may see, hear, or read this, greeting;—We make known, that whereas, according to old established orders none of these free inhabitants were permitted to keep in their flocks, under any pretext whatsoever, any Hottentot sheep, still less to procure such sheep from the Hottentots by barter, or by other unlawful means ; yet we find notwithstanding, that those orders have not been duly obeyed, and that, besides, the free men have not scrupled to pay Hottentots whom they have employed in their service, with some of their own cross-bred sheep ; and it has consequently appeared to us, to our sorrow, according to the information conveyed to us, that the said Hottentots have had such sheep in their kraals and running with their flocks, (though now taken from them, with loss, by the Company,) whereby they are enabled, under the pretence that those sheep have been procured in the manner described, to seek for and to appropriate to themselves, according to their covetous nature, such sheep as occasionally stray from the Company's flocks, and then to say, that they had received them, as the wages of labor, or otherwise, from the free men. And whereas this practice tends to the evident prejudice of the honorable Company—we, therefore, in order to provide therein, do hereby most strictly prohibit and interdict all free inhabitants, residing under our jurisdiction, without exception, from keeping any Hottentot sheep in their flocks, still more from bartering any such sheep from the Hottentots ; or paying as wages to any Hottentots whom they chance to employ in their service any cross-bred sheep ; but we hereby direct that instead thereof, they shall recompense those services with that which is permitted,<sup>(1)</sup> on pain of arbitrary bodily correction of

(1) *t'Geene g'oorloft is*.—The obscurity of this part of the law does not appear to have been accidental—the payment of wages in money, was soon found to be still more objectionable than in sheep. Subsequent proclamations define what, under the policy of the period, was intended by the expression “that which is permitted.”

such as shall be found to have contravened this order, over and above a pecuniary fine of 50 Rds. and that this our order may be the better attended to, the Fiscal of this Government is directed to cause a close watch to be kept upon the contraveners, as we find the same for the service of the honorable Company.—Thus done, &c. JOHAN BAX.

April 17. In the evening two Soeswaas Captains, named Coopman and Claas, appeared at the fort with some of their great men (staats personen). 19. The Soeswaas Captains having been entertained with a belly full of rice and a soopie, returned to their kraals.

May 4. According to the orders conveyed in the despatch of the Directors of 28th Sept. 1675, . . . the Gonnema cattle were presented to the free men in the name of the Company.

### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to the Governor and Council.

1677. May 11. The murder committed upon three of our free burgers by the hostile Hottentots demands revenge on a suitable opportunity; and if we could then again pacify them we should deem it serviceable to the Company. . . .

We trust that you have been, long before this reaches you, fully supplied with seed corn hence, as well as from India. . . . .

It is our desire that no free men shall be sent to Batavia or Ceylon, before the expiry of their term of 15 years, as we observe has recently happened. . . . .

Having read and examined the instructions left at the Cape for the present Governor, by the late Director General Nicolas Verburg, we cannot omit to confirm them with our approval, and to require the Governor and Council to take them for their guidance until further orders. . . .

As the Danish ships that have been last at the Cape have entirely abused the freedom allowed to them, we have deemed it best, for this as well as for other reasons, somewhat to limit the assistance hitherto allowed them, granting them henceforth nothing but water, and a little refreshment of vegetables, and that as little as possible. The English vessel, the Society, of Boston in New England, having touched at the Cape on her way to Madagascar to trade in slaves—you acted quite right in refusing to supply her with rice, on the plea of your own necessities, and you will continue to act in the same way.

If you require good Spanish dollars for the Madagascar trade, you may supply yourselves from the passing ships, even to the extent of 2 or 3000; but as we before observed, we would much prefer carrying on that traffic in goods. . . . The complaints made to us from time to time, as to the scarcity of slaves, and the necessity of procuring some, we can easily understand are by no means groundless. . . . .

As to the designs of the French. . . . we have no reason to believe that that king will a second time fit out such a fleet, still less that he will send them to the Cape or the East Indies; but as the thing is possible, you should be at all times prepared against such sudden attacks. The garrison, according to your last accounts, 462 in number, should, with the aid of the free men and their servants, be sufficient to repel such an enemy; but if you deem it necessary, we are prepared to consent to your increasing the strength of your garrison as far as 20 or 25 men. . . .

If European nations touching there commit any outrages or violence, you must protest against such proceedings, in writing, sending the protest to us, to be used on a proper opportunity; for our strength, hitherto at least, is by no means sufficient to enable us to resist such outrages by force. . . . .

Having written thus far, we received, via England, your letter of the 20th of last December, by the English ship Society, and were much gratified to find that affairs there were in so good a condition, that you anticipated a good harvest, and in particular that you had purchased by the Voorhont, 254 slaves at Madagascar. This is what has been so long desired, and what, consequently, will be most serviceable there; we much approve of your sending some of them to Mauritius.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Another despatch from the Directors during the same year, (Oct. 18,) chiefly relates to the hopes entertained of a reduction of expenditure, in consequence of the introduction of slaves (190 more having been meanwhile received from the eastern islands.) The expense incurred in mining for the precious metals, was discontinued, as the quantity of silver extracted from copper ore found near the Lion's Head, near the old fort, and at Riebeeck's Castle, (12, 8, and 6 *loot* per *centener* respectively,) would by no means pay the expense of working and smelting. The same remark is made upon the cultivation of Hottentots Holland by Company's servants.—"Hottentots Holland must necessarily be abandoned to free men, or to emancipated slaves, to keep 24 receivers of wages there, is burdensome to the Company."

The directors promise to send out some large dogs, which had been applied for, to defend the sheep, &c. from "the great injury done by wild animals, and in particular by lions," but the following is the only passage which relates directly to the natives:—

1677. May 13.—Extracts from Journal continued:—Arrived the return fleet... with the following despatch from Batavia, dated 11th February. *Extract.*—“We are glad to learn that you have had a good harvest, and that your expedition has returned with 239 cattle and 226 sheep; as also that the journey of the Captain-Lieutenant has not been altogether fruitless. A good peace and a friendly trade with that and other tribes is much to be desired, and is by far the best thing that can happen.”

June 3. Received 30 muids of barley from Hottentots Holland, with a letter stating,..... that on the 18th ultimo, some Hottentots of Schacher's kraal had passed that place on their way from beyond the mountains, having with them 40 head of cattle, and more than 100 sheep; and that on the 24th, some Africans of Cuyper's kraal had passed with 32 cattle and 46 sheep, all bartered by them from the Hosiquas. Those Africans had reported that the Captains Coopman and Soeswa were at war, and had already come to blows. 4th. A certain letter received from the officer commanding at Hottentots Holland, was taken into consideration; this letter was to the effect, that the Hottentots in alliance with us, were daily employed in strengthening their kraals by purchasing an abundance of cattle from the Hosiquas and other tribes, and upon other secret machinations to the prejudice of the Company; and seeing that these are matters of very serious consequence, and highly deserving of notice; (for this covetous people have not only commenced this traffic without our previous knowledge and consent, but should it be continued, they would begin to take it into their heads that when the Company are in want of cattle we should be obliged to buy from them at a much higher rate, whereas the Company had carried on a good trade in their presence with those and other tribes;) and in order to prevent this traffic and other sinister practices (*slinxe trecken*) in the best and most civil manner, it was deemed for the service of the Company, and accordingly resolved, to summon before us the Hottentot Captains who were concerned in the smuggling (*morsereye*), and to express to them our just displeasure; representing to them that such proceedings taking place without our privity, *smacked* of feigned friendship with the Company, and rendered them objects of great suspicion, for as they were carrying on, in our absence, this unusual practice of bartering from other tribes, it might be presumed that they wished to form a league with them to oppose the Company; and that, if they did not cease to do so, we should be obliged to keep a strict eye upon them, and to show our resentment; or at least that we should try to make friends with other tribes, to their exclusion, and to oblige those tribes so far by small presents and kindness, that these would henceforth be unable to buy any more cattle from other Hottentots except with our knowledge and consent, when they would be bound to make over to the Company, *na rato*, a portion of the bartered cattle.<sup>(1)</sup>

The wagons having come from Hottentots Holland for the usual monthly rations, the Governor wrote to the overseer, that as it appeared from his letter that some smuggling was being carried on among the Hottentots, it was thought advisable to invite the Captains hither, under the pretence of giving them a belly full of rice, and making them merry; recommending him to urge them to come, and directing him to ascertain the state of the feud between the Captains Coopman and Soeswa, as we would gladly see their disputes arranged, and Captain Claas should assume the place of mediator; or otherwise, that they must be spoken with either here or at Hottentots Holland, that we might arrange their differences to their mutual satisfaction.

In the evening our allies, the Hottentot Captains Cuyper and Thomas, came to the fort with some of their people, having in their company four other Hottentots from the kraal of Gonnema, who represented themselves to be ambassadors from him with a message to the effect, that he and his allies were inclined to enter into a treaty of peace, if we would grant him or his messengers a safe conduct; but for certain reasons the said Hottentots were not yet allowed to see the Governor.

5. The Gonnema Hottentots or messengers were brought before the council, and on being questioned, persisted in stating that they had come for no other purpose than that above stated; that they had

“You did well, for the reasons you have stated, to endeavour to make peace with Gonnema; beyond all doubt this would be the means of a greater supply of cattle being poured in; meanwhile it is a great point to have procured by barter, near Mossel Bay, upwards of 900 cattle and sheep before the arrival of the return fleet.”

(1) The Resolutions of Council, between the last of May and 8th June, contains the following, in continuation of what is above given from the Journal.—“And finally to try to dispose them to bring us something annually by way of homage, although we should at first pay a double price for it. Lieut. Cruse also stated to the Governor that the Hottentot Captains Cuyper and Thomas, who were guilty of the said dirty work, had appeared upon our summons, accompanied by some messengers from the Company's mischievous enemy Gonnema, who stated themselves to be expressly commissioned, &c. &c.” as in the Journal of June 5. This jealousy was not new, on the 22d Sept. 1670, Mr. Hackius writes to the corporal at Saldanha Bay, that “it is no less suspicious than strange, that some Cape Hottentots have been buying sheep from the Saldanhars with tobacco in our name,” and orders inquiry.

brought no presents or offerings as a token of peace, and that the mission consisted of common people, who came to learn what chance there was of peace being granted, Gonnema intending to come in person, after an assurance of our friendly disposition, in order henceforth to live in amity with the Company; and as this is a matter of high importance to the Company and the free men, and has been long wished for, could it but be effected in a manner tending to the reputation of the Company, it was unanimously resolved, after full discussion, to let them be informed that it would be gratifying to us and satisfactory to the Company, if they would come hither and humble themselves to the Company as was reasonable, with more evident proofs of their peaceful object, brought by a more respectable embassy; in that case we would be disposed to enter into a treaty with them, provided it included the Captains Cuyper and Schacher. The ambassadors were ordered to be well entertained until their departure, in the house of Lieut. Cruse, without being made aware that they were entertained by the Company.

June 7. The ambassadors of Gonnema returned to their kraals, having been furnished with a passport to the following effect:

“The bearers, being 4 or more messengers from Gonnema, are hereby permitted freely to pass and repass, wherever they will; and all Company’s servants and free burgers are ordered to cause them no hinderance or molestation. This safe conduct or passport to remain in force for three months. By order of the Governor and Council. M. van Banchem, Secretary.”

23. In the evening we received intelligence by an African, sent express, that some ambassadors from the Chief Gonnema, with their attendants, had arrived near to the kraals of Captain Cuyper; among them, as it was reported, was a brother of Gonnema, and a brother of Odasoa, the most respectable of these natives; we therefore sent, as an escort to conduct them hither, Lieut. Cruse and 3 or 4 men on horseback.

24. The Gonnema ambassadors named *Nengne*, *Harru*, and *Nuguma*, having arrived here yesterday, expressly commissioned by their Chiefs Gonnema and Odasoa to request for a permanent treaty of peace, for which purpose they had brought with them 9 cattle as a present to the Company; they were this day, after due deliberation, admitted before the council, accompanied by the dignitaries (staats personen) who attended them, when various conditions, to the advantage of the Company were stated to them, but as it would be in vain to use much ceremony with these stupid and savage Africans, or to make formal contracts with them, in our manner, as from the shortness of their memories and the impediments of language, many conditions would only confuse them, and make them remember as little of the most important as of the most trivial—a few particulars were, therefore, drawn up to be explained to them, and signed by them.

25. The articles of peace which were yesterday drawn up, were explained in council to the ambassadors of Gonnema, in the presence of the Borgerraden, and having been repeatedly interpreted to them, were accepted by a general exclamation of “Sam, Sam,” that is to say, peace; they were then signed by both parties, and ran word for word, as follows:—

Conditions upon which His Excellency the Governor Joan Bax, titled van Herentals, and Council of this Residence, in the name and on the behalf of the renowned united and chartered Dutch East India Company, on the 25th day of June 1677, has granted the peace requested by the Hottentot tribe named Cochoquas, who are subject to two chiefs named Gonnema and Oedasoa, in whose name, and with full authority there appeared here, for that purpose, the Hottentots or three ambassadors Nengne, Harru, and Nuguma.

First,—the said plenipotentiaries of Gonnema and Oedasoa request pardon of the Company, for whatever they have done during the war to the Company’s prejudice; and that they may henceforth have a friendly intercourse with the Company as before.

They offer and promise, as a tribute, and acknowledgement for this peace, to deliver yearly, upon the arrival of the return fleet, 30 horned cattle.

They promise to punish their people as we do ours. Also to make no war upon any of our allies without our knowledge.

That in this peace are included the Captains Cuyper and Schacher, and also Cees and Cleyne Captain, and all that are subordinate to Gonnema, Cuyper, and Schacher. Thus passed, contracted, and signed by both parties in full Council, in the Fort the Goede Hoop, day and year as above, and was signed with distinct marks, close to which stood the names of the Hottentot ambassadors Nengne, Harru, and Nuguma. *In margine*, signed Johan Bax van Herentals, H. Crudop, D. J. Smient, J. Cruse. Lower, in my presence, M. van Banchem, R. & S. We the undersigned burgerraden Elbert Diemer and Johannes Valkenryck, together with the burger Ensign, and privileged trader to Saldanha Bay, Willem van Dieden, declare to have been present in Coun-

cil, and to have heard and seen the said articles explained from sentence to sentence to the said Hottentot ambassadors and signed by them; also that they had previously declared, (according to the interpretation of Kemney,) that they were fully empowered to conclude this peace by Gonnema and Oedasoa. In the Fort the Goede Hoop, day and year as above, signed Elbert Diemer, J. Valkenryck, Willem van Dieden. In witness whereof, M. van Banchem, Rt. and Secretary.

When some tobacco, pipes, beads, &c. were given to this never satisfied and covetous people, in return for the present given to us, as an acknowledgement for the peace, and also as a similar acknowledgement of the peace from our side.<sup>(1)</sup>

June 26. The Gonnema ambassadors, with their retinue, returned to their kraals; meanwhile, with their concurrence, the Cape Hottentot Captains, Cuyper, Schacher, Houtbeen, &c. were warned not to have any traffic with the embassy while passing their kraals, that might in any way tend to the prejudice of the Company, as there is no reliance to be placed on the fidelity of these savage Africans, and as we must keep a close watch upon them.

July 4. Lieut. Cruse proceeded to Hottentots Holland.

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Extract of a Despatch from Governor BAX and Council, to the Governor  
General and Council.

1677. July 6. With respect to the peace with the Gonnema or Cochoqua Hottentots, we have to state that the same was concluded with them on the 25th ult., as will appear by the enclosed copy. This is certainly a most fortunate thing at this moment, when we are so ill supplied with cattle. God grant that we may soon be able to barter from these savage men, a good quantity of oxen and sheep, so as to keep out of want, and to be able to spare our tame cattle, and half-bred and young stock. We trust also that we may be able to continue in a state of peace and tranquillity with all these natives, by which means this colony will flourish more and more....

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1677. July 7.—Extracts from Journal, continued:—Mr. Cruse returned, reporting that Serjeant Visser had proceeded beyond the mountains to the Soeswas Hottentots, to try to induce the chiefs to come to the Cape.<sup>(2)</sup> 8. A certain farmer's servant having some time ago broken a Hottentot's arm, though not without cause; yet that we might prove to them that we punish the faults of our people, and are not disposed to leave them any ground for taking revenge, to which the savage Africans often resort, whether justly or otherwise—we appointed Captain Smient and Lieut. Cruse to settle the matter in a friendly way, which they did, on condition that the servant should give the Hottentot, for the pain he had suffered, some rice, 3lbs. of tobacco, and a pint of arrack, with which the Hottentot was perfectly satisfied.

<sup>(1)</sup> The following *undated* Government Notice was evidently issued during this month:—

By the Governor and Council of these countries:—Whereas the Hottentots of the Gonnema tribe are daily approaching nearer to the fort; and as at their request the Company concluded a good and firm peace with them on the 25th instant. Now therefore, each and all of these free inhabitants and Company's servants, whether officers, or private soldiers, or sailors,—no one excepted, whatever be his rank, and whether belonging to the garrison or the shipping, are hereby informed and most expressly ordered, not to give the slightest trouble, annoyance, or molestation, to any of the said Gonnema tribe or natives; but to treat them kindly in every respect, under the pains and penalties provided against the violators of a treaty of peace, in proportion to the nature of the offence or crime. And that no one may pretend ignorance of this peace, we have directed this notice to be every where affixed, signed in our name by our secretary.

By order of the said Governor and Council.

HENDRICK CRUDOP, &c.

In transmitting this notice to Hottentots Holland on the 29th, the Governor mentions that "the Cape Hottentots have agreed not to barter with other tribes without our leave, nor to pass the mountains with that object, and orders the detention of any Cape Hottentot coming from the interior with bartered cattle." Precautions are ordered to prevent the ivory and wax brought by Class's people from falling into the hands of the soldiers; and, in directing the invitation to that captain to be repeated, it is directed to be conveyed "not by Dutch, but by Hottentots."

<sup>(2)</sup> A letter from the Governor to Visser dated the 3d July, directs him to proceed with 12 men to "settle the disputes betwixt our allies and neighbours, as they cannot be otherwise than injurious to the Company, and utterly ruinous to themselves."

A resolution of the 2d states that Visser had reported that captain Coopman and other inferior captains had been quarreling upon old affairs with Claas and Soeswa, and had been skirmishing and taking cattle from each other, and "fearing that Claas, who has been the most faithful and friendly to the Company," might be defeated, it was resolved to send lieutenant Cruse and 12 soldiers "to forbid hostilities in a friendly manner, and to invite the disputants to submit their quarrels to the Governor's arbitration. Visser's report is dated the 29th June. The sergeant states that he had complied with the orders, but that "captain Soeswa had summoned all his Sonquaas, being resolved not to make peace with Coopman, until he had retaken all his cattle." That Claas was not inclined to go to war, but had been compelled by his people to assist against Coopman who was, they said, always the first to create disturbances," "all the Sonquas of the kraals of Claas, Cleyne Captein and Soeswas had assembled against Coopman," and the hostile parties lay on opposite sides of the Swart river.

1677. July 14. Extract of Resolution of Council.—It was also resolved on this occasion, to take the widow Theilmans, Mayke van der Berg, from Robben Island, (where she has been provisionally placed by the court of justice, in consequence of her thievish disposition and her habits of receiving stolen goods, by which she tempts many honest people to commit theft,) and to banish her for life to the Island of Mauritius.<sup>(1)</sup>

And as it has frequently occurred, to the great disrepute, and contempt (*vilipendie*) of the good and flourishing exercise of justice by the Company, that these heathen Hottentot people, when we would correct and punish them for their faults, have reproachfully observed that we are ourselves backward in this respect, and do not administer good justice upon our own people; instancing Willem Willems, who has lately returned from Batavia, and saying that he had long since killed one of their people, and had not been punished for it according to his deserts, and that they must still suffer him to remain here. These circumstances being taken into consideration, it was deemed serviceable to the Company to send the said W. Willems also to Mauritius, out of the sight of the taunting Hottentots; as well as to avoid other disturbances.

1677. July 14.—Extracts from Journal, continued:—The overseer of Hottentots Holland set out with 12 men to proceed to the Hottentot tribes named Soeswas, whose Captains Coopman, Claas, and Sosoa, had come hither by our orders with the Serjeant, in order to settle the disputes about which these tribes were now at war, and to cause them to restore all the cattle to the right owners; this these Captains promised to do; but as the Soewas allege that Coopman will promise this to us verbally, but will not fulfil the promise when he gets home, and would thus frustrate our good intention, we have, with their own concurrence, kept the Chiefs here, until upon the Serjeant's return we are fully satisfied that these stipulations have been complied with....a Hottentot reported that all our cattle at Riet Valley had been lost from the kraal in the night, no one knew how.

15. A mounted express having been last night sent to inquire after the lost cattle, Mr. Cruse was sent after them this morning; in the afternoon he wrote that he had at last found the spoor, and he could not say how they came to have so far inland, the Gonnema Hottentots thereabouts their Sonquas are strongly suspected by us, and this causes us to entertain by no means the best surmises concerning these savage Africans.

The free man Bartolomeus Borus, &c....who had formerly settled at Mauritius, but had removed in consequence of the *sobere privelegien* granted to them, and which had hardly enabled them to earn their food....hearing that a new Commander (J. J. Lamotius) was going there, urgently requested leave to return, which was granted.... he further asked permission to take with him to Mauritius the two minor and orphan children of the late Pieter van Meerhoff, procreated by his lawful wife the late female Hottentot, named Eva; which was acceded to, as being a good relief to the church-wardens, and preventing any diminution of the slender capital of the orphans; provided that he be bound to bring them up in all christian virtue and godly exercises, until their majority or marriage.<sup>(2)</sup>

And seeing that, to the great disrepute of the Company's flourishing administration of justice—it has frequently been reproachfully answered by these heathen natives, called Hottentots, when we would correct their faults, and [tell them] that evil doers among them ought to be visited with the punishment they deserve, that we do not ourselves punctually observe the precept; instancing the case of a certain free man, named Willem Willems van de Venter, who shot a Hottentot here in the year 1672; and who was sent to Batavia, but has returned with the last homeward bound fleet. We have, therefore resolved, for the prevention of any mischief, or further estrangement (for they would not be satisfied before they revenged the death of their father, brother, or kinsman,

(1) On the 8th June a Resolution provides, that this female "who had been condemned (in addition to her former well-earned and inflicted punishment) to banishment, for receiving stolen rice," should be provisionally placed on Robben Island. A Resolution of the 23d July gives freedom to a slave of the late Thielman Hendricks, in fulfilment of a promise made by the Governor and Council for the discovery of stolen property, and because, from the conviction of the widow of Thielman Hendricks for buying stolen rice, her property had fallen into the hands of justice.

(2) 1677. July 23. This proposal is the subject of a resolution of council. The application is stated to be solely founded upon regard for the children, as orphans of the deceased Meerhoff; the council confirm the conditions, which are proposed by the church-wardens,—the daughter Pieterneel Meerhoff, to be brought up in all good manners, honour, and discipline, with clothing, instruction, and what further is necessary for a respectable education, until such time as the contract terminates by marriage or otherwise, with the approval of the chief authority at Mauritius. The son Salamon Meerhoff, in addition to instruction and clothing, &c., to be taught some trade, by which, upon the expiration of the contract, on his attaining the age of 20, he may earn his living; the proposed conditions were assented to, with the stipulation that they are to be punctually fulfilled, and that the commander at Mauritius should pay particular attention to the education of the children.

by taking the life of the offender,) to send the said Willem Willem to Mauritius, to maintain himself there in freedom, like other colonists. . . . .

July 16. *Phæbus* had scarcely appeared in the East with his golden rays to scatter the darkness of the dreary night, when we saw a ship anchored in the Bay. . . . Lieut. Cruse returned, and reported that they had not found the cattle, but were still upon the traces, and are now certain that they have not been driven away by any Gonnema or other Hottentots, as it appears from the spoor that they have strayed all over the mountains; Lieutenant Cruse intends going out again to-morrow in search of them. 18. Lieut. Cruse returned and stated that they had at length found all the cattle that had been missed, that they were found altogether, behind *Blauwen Berg*.

19. Being entirely without sheep to issue to the shipping. . . . . unless we should kill the ewes, to the great injury of the Company, Lieutenant Cruse was sent out with some men to the nearest Hottentot kraals to buy some. . . . . 21. 40 sheep were brought in, which had been bartered by Lieutenant Cruse. 22. Lieut. Cruse returned bringing. . . . . sheep, (besides the 40 sent yesterday) which he had purchased from the nearest kraals for the usual merchandize.

23. Sergeant Visser returned from the country of the Soeswas tribe, reporting that his friendly mediation had been so far successful that he had brought them to restore reciprocally in his presence all the cattle taken during the war; and to promise to live henceforth in peace and quiet, and never more to give each other any cause of offence; but when any one injured them, to inform the Company, who would settle the difference as mediator. 28. The Soeswas chiefs, Coopman, Claas, and Soeswas, returned this day to their kraals, as also sergeant Visser to Hottentots Holland. . . .

30. Some Hottentots came to day on the part of Gonnema and Oedaso, who informed the Governor that Gonnema had come with his kraals to within  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour of the Berg river, which he could not pass in consequence of its being flooded; that he was much concerned (according to the account of his ambassadors) that we did not come to meet him, with some goods to barter; for on their parts they had not hesitated to send several ambassadors to us, to contribute all they could to peace; but now seeing that none of our people made their appearance, he could not well approach any nearer, from fear and distrust. He requested, therefore, as they were now so near, that some of our people would come only to this side of Berg river; and said that as soon as they should see our people they would use every endeavor to cross the river, that we might trade in amity with each other, when he would himself accompany our party to the Cape to congratulate the great Captain. And seeing that those people, who are themselves of a false and distrustful disposition, deem it certain that others are more fickle and worse than they are; and as it is much to be apprehended that if we do not show ourselves there, they will suspect us of evil designs, as, God mend it! has appeared before; and through those idle fancies, might retreat again into the interior, to the great prejudice of the Company, when much trouble would be required once more to induce them to approach. The case was therefore taken into serious consideration by the Governor and Council, and Lieutenant Cruse (an old traveller, and well acquainted with the disposition of these fickle tribes) was asked if he saw any difficulty in sending a few people there to express our kindly feelings (ernst.) He replied that he believed Gonnema in earnest, and as there was little cause for apprehension, he thought that the invitation should be accepted; offering to show his own zeal for the Company's service by going thither in person; believing that he would not only find a good trade, but could induce that tribe to cross the Berg river, and to come nearer to the fort, where we might trade with them the more easily and with less expense; and also might induce Gonnema to come personally to the fort.

It was therefore resolved, after some debate, to be for the good of the Company's service, that the said Lieutenant should, according to his offer, set out to-morrow morning, with a serjeant, 2 corporals, and 18 men, to assemble and rest for the night at the Keer de Koe, whence the party should march in good order in the morning; it being understood that they should remain on this side of Berg river, and if possible await the approach of the natives, and not cross it too readily, as it is much more advantageous for the Company to trade at the Fort than at a distance. . . . and as many of the free inhabitants (who subsist by shooting sea cows and other large game) have for some time back been deterred by the foul murders committed by the treacherous Hottentots, from going to the interior to seek their subsistence in that manner, and as we are now, as far as we know, on good terms with the Gonnema tribe, peace having been recently concluded, it was also understood that such inhabitants should be warned by the messenger, that they might proceed in company with Lieut. Cruse, thus to strengthen his party; and meanwhile to shoot sea cows about the Berg river, the resort of those animals, their flesh being much wanted for the Company's servants and slaves. (1)

(1) A Resolution of Council, dated 29th July, runs in the same terms.

July 31. Lieut. Cruse set out with his party; a few free men who intend shooting sea cows will follow to-morrow.....

August 2. A farmer brought in a young rhinoceros, the mother of which he had shot....it will be taken care of, in hopes that it may be reared, as a present to the Prince of Orange. 3..... A letter from Hottentots Holland contained nothing particular, except a request for a little tobacco to barter with the Hottentots. 8. In the evening Lieut. Cruse returned from the interior, bringing with him the three supreme African Chiefs, Gonnema, Odassa, and Cocheusoa, the most powerful chiefs of that tribe; they had with them some of their wives, kinsmen, and officers of state, having received and treated the Lieutenant with every African civility, and shown themselves willing to come hither. The body (corpus) of their whole tribes, consisted of 20 kraals, having about 1000 cattle and 2000 sheep; their power being about 500 fighting men. According to their accounts the Namaquas had plundered them of great quantities of cattle, during the war between them and us. Our party had bartered from them only .... cattle and .... sheep, as several fine cattle had been killed and drowned in crossing the Berg river, so that the barter must be put off until a better opportunity.

9. The Hottentot Captains Cuyper, Schacher, and Thomas, came to day with some of their train, that they also might cram their hungry, and almost insatiable stomachs with some of the stray scraps left by Gonnema's party; to whom also we, (in order to keep on good terms with them, and to prevent them from injuring, with their cattle, our hay ground at Tygerberg) gave some entertainment. To our great sorrow the young rhinoceros died.

11. The chiefs Gonnema, Odassa and Cocheusoa (who had staid with us till now for their recreation, and to pay their visits to every one) being now disposed to return home, they were this morning admitted to the presence of the Governor, with whom were the merchant, H. Crudop, Capt. Smeint, and Lieut. Cruse; when they requested to take leave and to depart to their kraals; the Governor presented with his own hands to Gonnema, as being the most illustrious of these chiefs, some tobacco, brass, beads, and pipes, together with a proportionate quantity to the other two chiefs, and then gave them a sopic of arrack; on this they showed themselves well pleased, but still their covetousness was not yet satisfied, and their hopes of getting a little more by their importunity in begging, led them, with much African politeness and eloquence, to solicit a few glass beads; this request the Governor civilly got rid of, stating that the Company was unprovided with that kind of beads; this satisfied them. We took this opportunity of reminding them in general terms of the articles of the peace which had been concluded between us; and with which articles they promised prompt compliance, and to throw away all their former hostility; they also promised that as soon as the Berg river would allow them to cross it, they would remove their kraals to the Tigerberg, and then have a good barter with the Company.

25. The commissioners appointed to count the Company's cattle, reported that at Jan van Bommel's Hoek were 556 sheep; at Hout Bay 78 cattle; at Boken Hoek 166 goats; at the Boere boomen 584 sheep; behind Steinberg 201 cattle; at the Cornschuyr 155 draught oxen, 30 cows, and 44 calves; and at the fort 80 oxen. 30. At Hottentots Holland were 479 cattle and 409 sheep, of which 10 were Hottentot sheep, 62 horses, and 1 ass; 16 male and 12 female slaves.

Sept. 2. The Governor wrote to Hottentots Holland expressing a hope that the Obiquas might come there on the first opportunity, and that we should wish to hear how it was with captains Coopman, Claas, and Sousoa, and what further the overseer may know about the African<sup>(1)</sup> chiefs.

8. To the great surprise of the oldest Company's servants and free burgers, who have been here from the time that this Colony was first established, we daily see innumerable whales in this bay, making a wonderful noise with their roaring and blowing, and occasionally coming quite close to the shore.

21. The overseer at Hottentots Holland had heard nothing more of the Obiquas, but had sent an African expressly to inquire; Captains Coopman, Claas, and Soeswas were on very good terms with each other, but still living apart. He had also heard that the Hessequas tribe were now lying at the Buffels Jacht and Backley Plaats, and stated that he intended to embrace the opportunity of going there to barter, as it was not likely that they would come any nearer this year..... 22. Directed the overseer of Hottentots Holland to come hither towards the end of the month to speak further concerning the intended barter with the Hessequas.

24. Gonnema came to the fort to-day with some of his officers of state. 25. At the solicitation of the African chief Gonnema, and some of his people, the Governor granted them a licence to go

(1) In the letter here referred to, the Governor, besides expressing his wish to communicate with the Obiquas, &c. asks the opinion of Serjeant Visser as to the expediency of sending a party to barter with the Hessequas.

on board of the ships in the bay to have their hungry stomachs filled, and to rejoice their insatiable nature with the gifts of Bacchus. 26. A lion was shot at Hout bay, after killing 2 cattle. 28. The freeman's boat, the *Bride*, came from Saldanha bay, laden with the fat of sea cows shot in Berg river with our leave, and which they sold to the garrison and freemen at a cheap rate. Gonnema and his retinue returned to their kraal.<sup>(1)</sup>

Oct. 4. Sergeant Visser set out with the goods for the Hottentot trade, stowed in a wagon, and attended by his party of Company's servants and freemen. 6th. Lieut. Cruse and 10 men set out for the kraals of Gonnema, with some goods, in the hopes of procuring some cattle. 8. Lieut. Cruse returned with 13 cattle and 53 sheep, which he had purchased for the usual articles from the Hottentot tribe called Gonnema. 12. Lieut. Cruse this day, after great trouble and annoyance, recovered the 2 guns, (one from a Hottentot of Cuyper's kraal, and the other from a Soncqua belonging to the same kraal,) with which they were daily scaring and driving away the game, to the great injury of the Company and freemen, and which might do great harm on the arrival of an enemy or the like; and for that reason no trouble was spared to recover them.<sup>(2)</sup>

17. This evening we received, by an active African, a letter from our travellers, dated the 14th instant; they had reached Hessiquas Kloof, but were still unable to cross the Sonder end river.... They had learnt at the Souswas kraals that the Hessequas lay scattered about, their nearest kraal being at Breede river. The freemen who were going to shoot sea cows were still with the party, but they were about to separate. 27. Received a letter from our party of travellers stating that they had visited 13 kraals of the Hessequas, but that (God mend it!) there was little appearance of a good trade. We will, however, hope and pray that they may return with a good lot of cattle for the relief of the Company and of the free burgers. 28. The freemen who went out to shoot sea cows returned unsuccessful, having killed nothing whatever.....

Nov. 3. Received a letter from sergeant Visser, stating that he would reach Hottentots Holland on the 5th. 6. Sent Messrs. Cruse and Diemer to divide the bartered cattle, giving a just third to the freemen, they paying the expenses, &c..... 6. The whole quantity bartered was 113 cattle, 411 sheep, all procured from the Hessequas. Under Visser's escort came 2 chiefs of the Hessequas, who had never been here before; and whom he had induced to come by promises of a kind reception, but chiefly with the object of getting them to make some arrangement for an annual cattle barter. The Soeswas captain Claas also came in his company. 7. The cattle were divided by lot among the burgers.<sup>(3)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> 1677. Oct. 2. A long resolution of this date, authorises a party proceeding to barter with the Hessiquas, who had come to the appointed place within 50 miles, as the Company are in great want of cattle, and the natives rarely approach so near; some free men are allowed to take a share in the barter, and a few more are allowed at the same time to go out to kill sea cows under the orders of two Burgerraden, who "are inclined to fetch a wagon load of that animal." On the same date, it is resolved, that Lieut. Cruse is to go with 10 men to trade with Gonnema. There being some fear of European enemies, it was at the same time resolved, that upon any attack all the cattle and horses belonging to the Company and the free men should be sent for security to Captain Claas. On the 16th, the shooting of large game in the interior was forbidden, to keep the inhabitants together in the event of attack, and the Hottentots were to be warned to fly beyond the mountains with all their cattle, in the same event, and that if they supplied the enemy with any cattle, they would be severely punished.

1677. Oct. 18. A resolution of this date gives the names of 6 of the most faithful free men, and those best acquainted with the country, who were to accompany Serjeant Visser and 5 Company's servants into the interior with all the cattle on any attack. On the 19th, the Captains Cuyper, Schacher, Thomas, and Houtbeen,—and on the 20th, the Chief Gonnema, and the Captains Odasoa and .... appeared in the Fort, and readily promised to remove their cattle on any attack—not to assist the enemy, but on the contrary, to try to kill them, and to leave some people at the Fort to act as spies and messengers.

<sup>(2)</sup> On the 15th October 1677 a Proclamation was issued, setting forth that two persons, one of whom had since been killed by a lion, and the other shot for homicide—thus avoiding the punishment due to the present offence—had supplied 2 guns to Hottentots. On account not only of the injury thus done to the game, but of the attendant danger; "for no inhabitant's life could be safe if these blacks were armed with our weapons," it was declared a capital offence to sell, give, lend, or alienate in any way whatsoever to any native any firearms, or other weapons, or any ammunition, &c. A Resolution of the previous 24th September refers to the same subject, offers a reward for the apprehension of the Hottentot who "to the great injury of the Company and the hunters" was maintaining himself by shooting sea cows, and states that useless the said African is apprehended within a few days, a placaat shall be published, &c.

<sup>(3)</sup> The following Proclamation was issued a few days after the return of this expedition:—Johan Bax of Herentals' Governor at the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. and Council, make known to all who may see, hear, or read these presents,—That whereas we have discovered to our great displeasure, that for a considerable time back, certain covetous Burgers have not scrupled, in defiance and contempt of all laws and orders issued against the cattle trade, or bartering rhinoceros horns, elephants teeth, ostrich feathers, and all kinds of skins from these natives not only surreptitiously, but openly, when the Company were bartering in the interior, to buy from these native Hottentots, for merchandize, but chiefly for tobacco, some cattle and other articles; offering them for the same, very excessive [prices], and more tobacco for an elephant's tusk, skin, or the like, than the Company is the habit of paying for 3 or 4 sheep: as recently appeared, to our great sorrow, in the trade with the Hessiquas and Soeswas;—and consequently, by this means seducing these natives from continuing to trade with the Company, and attaching their affections to themselves, thus infringing upon the Company's lawful prerogatives, and bringing

Nov. 8. The two Hessequas captains got audience. As the Company has often traded with that tribe to our contentment, and has now induced these chiefs by kind treatment to come to the fort to habituate them to the intercourse and trade at this place, so as to endeavor to relieve the Company of the great expense of such distant journies, it was deemed highly necessary,—this tribe being much more opulent in cattle than the others,—to attach them to the Company by favors and small presents, and thus to secure their support, in the event of attacks by other European powers who might desire to expel us from this territory. For all these reasons, but more especially on account of the very essential cattle trade, it was thought proper to make them some presents of beads, tobacco, &c. the chief Claas receiving a similar present for his faithful services, and upon other considerations.

9. Sergeant Visser returned to Hottentots Holland, accompanied by the Hessequa captains, and the Soeswas captain Claas.

Dec. 6. The chief Gonnema accompanied by some of his officers of state, came to congratulate the Governor, and in return to beg a belly full of rice, and a bit of tobacco. . . . . 7. The renowned African chief Gonnema obtained an audience of the Governor, and was reminded of the stipulations in the articles of peace to deliver annually to the Company, upon the arrival of the return fleet, 30 head of cattle as an acknowledgment. He appeared at first rather unwilling; but upon its being represented to him by the Governor that he must promptly, and without any alteration, fulfil the articles signed by his ambassadors in his name, as otherwise the Company would not have the best opinion of the sincerity of the peace which he had offered and requested, and that it might lead us to entertain some doubts as to how far we could acknowledge him as an ally and confederate of the Honorable Company; upon these arguments being interpreted to him, they made so much impression upon the savage African that he seemed to yield to them. The Governor then regaled him with some tobacco, bread, and rice, and dismissed him.

The wagon going to Hottentots Holland, the Governor wrote to the overseer, to the purport that too much reliance must not be placed upon Gonnema and his people, or on other artful Hottentots, and particularly to guard against surprise or the firing of the ripening corn. . . . . for evident daily proofs show us more and more how little dependence can be placed upon their fidelity. 19. At Hottentots Holland are 511 cattle, 910 sheep, of which 403 are Hottentot sheep.

1678. Jan. 19.—Extracts from Journal, continued.—The African General (Velt overste) Gonnema came to the fort to-day, accompanied by the captains of the Cape Hottentots, Cuyper and Thomas, with their followers, bringing 5 fine cattle in payment, or on account of the tribute which he is bound to deliver annually, in terms of his treaty with the Company.

a dearness into this land, of which, to our heavy displeasure, we have already felt the weight only too severely; and it has therefore become full time to make provision therein.—We, therefore, for the prevention of such illegal proceedings, do hereby forbid and interdict all free inhabitants and Company's servants, from purchasing for goods, particularly for tobacco, any article whatever, especially cattle and sheep, on pain of bodily punishment," &c. Then follow provisions, that on any kind of merchandize being offered for sale by Hottentots, the person to whom the offer should be made, "shall be bound to bring the same to the Fort to be sold to the Company," and if the Company should not require the article so brought, still to prevent enhancing prices, the Company's officer was to buy it for the behoof of the bringer, under a penalty of 20 Rds. in addition to "arbitrary correction;" under the same penalty tanners were "forbidden to prepare skins for any one without express consent."

Another Proclamation of the same date was directed against the "vile practice of secretly and illegally purchasing sheep for a little tobacco at the kraals of the Cape Hottentots in this vicinity, to the great injury of the Company; and thereupon, not knowing how to convey them with sufficient secrecy into the fort, or to their own dwellings, slaughtering them upon the spot where they were purchased in this sinister manner, burying the skin and offal, and bringing the flesh to its destination hidden in sacks, as if it were any kind of goods, not contraband." To root out this illegal and injurious practice, the purchase of cattle or sheep, alive or dead, was again prohibited, on pain of corporal punishment, and all wagons were to be searched at the outposts.

1677. On the 23rd Nov. it was resolved to have a general muster of the free men under arms to hear the orders issued for their guidance in case of hostilities; all were to repair to the castle upon the signal of alarm, with their most valuable and most portable property, leaving their cattle to be driven into the interior; and the Company, in consideration of the services rendered by the free men against the enemy, "engages to assist as far as possible in compensating any loss that the enemy might cause to them." On this occasion it was resolved that the Governor should "entertain the burgerraden and chief servants of the Company and their wives with a collation, and that the yeomanry in general should be presented with a *sopie*, and their loss of time compensated by 2 casks of *Mom*, and half a cask of pork, besides 2 lbs. of bread each."

1677. Dec. 10. Extract of a Despatch from Governor BAX and Council to the Governor General and Council.

. . . . . We have now to apprise your Honors of the state of these countries; and we have first to state that we are living on good terms with these Hottentot tribes in every quarter. . . . .

1677. Dec. Company's cattle 662, sheep 1649, goats 216—38 free farmers are named who had sown 82 muids of wheat and reaped 398.

Jan. 20. In return for the cattle brought yesterday, and at the same time to attach those savage Africans to the Company, Gonnema was this day presented with the following articles (under a promise, however, of delivering the rest of the stipulated cattle, by the time of the arrival of the return fleet of the present year):—8 lbs. tobacco,  $\frac{1}{4}$  gross pipes, 50 lbs. biscuit, 100 lbs. rice, and 12 quarts arrack, after which they departed to their huts in the evening.

22. A letter was received from Hottentots Holland, principally stating that 12 sheep had been this month bought from the Hottentots of Capt. Coopman.

31. In obedience to the orders of the Directors, by their letter of 18th Oct. 1677.....to make over the lands at Hottentots Holland on certain conditions, to freemen, or to the Company's emancipated slaves, the Governor made the following agreement with some of the most opulent of the freemen.....hiring to them the lands in question for three years on the following conditions:—Extract. "But as to the crossing Berg river to shoot large game, or trading in any manner with the Hottentots, the same is forbidden, under the penalties provided or to be provided on the subject."

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### Extract of a Despatch from the Governor-General and Council to Governor Bax and Council.

1678. Feb. 15. We last year permitted the Burgers, Willem Willemse van de Venter, and Bart. Borus, to remove to the Cape with their families, as appears by our resolution of 22d Jan. 1677, which resolution we omitted to transmit at the time, or at least to mention the subject in our letter. At that time we were not aware that the person first named had shot a Hottentot, or that his wife had not conducted herself honorably; otherwise we should not have sent you these people. You may now, if necessary, get rid of them by sending them to Holland.....

We perceive with satisfaction that you have made peace with the Gonnema or Cochoqua Hottentots, and have thus put an end to war, the most injurious thing in a country dependent upon agriculture, which we conclude the Cape to be; as you will require in time to feed yourselves and to send your surplus produce to other places. You inform us that you see little chance of attaining these most desirable objects for some time, as last harvest produced no more than about 18 tons, including all grown both by the Company and freemen; and that even that quantity is great in comparison with former years.

We can easily conceive that the agriculture has many obstacles to encounter, but the main obstacle is indolence, a defect which would render the richest gold mine utterly worthless.....

R. VAN GOENS, &c.

March 4. Extracts from Journal continued.—The Council resolved.....that the issue of rice to the freemen should continue only three months longer, and that every one must begin to maintain himself, and if it comes to our knowledge that any one fails to exert every endeavour to attain this object, all such persons shall be weeded out as sluggards and useless men in the cultivation and extension of this Colony, and without remission sent to Mauritius, or elsewhere, where they will be obliged to learn to support themselves.

19. One of the slaves who recently deserted came home of his own accord, in a great measure compelled by hunger, as his appearance sufficiently shows; two others returned with him.....and another had been killed by the Hottentots with an arrow.

24. Five messengers came to the fort from the Hottentot tribe named *Obiquas*, bringing six sheep, and saying that they were sent by their Captain to request that they might henceforth live on terms of peace and amity with us; offering the sheep they brought to secure their object; and stating that if the Company would permit, their chief would come to trade with us.

25. The Obiqua messengers this day waited on the Governor, and the sheep brought by them were accepted to satisfy these savage Africans; but to show them at the same time, that the Company did not require such presents, their sheep were abundantly paid for; and they were desired to tell

1678. Feb. 25. A resolution of this date states that two company's shepherds, Henning Husing and Claas Gerrits, had requested to have their discharge and to maintain themselves by keeping sheep on the farther point of Steenberg, towards Cape False. The request was acceded to—as the situation was too much out of the way to be of use to the Company, on condition of their paying annually to the Company the tith of the stock reared: 40 lbs. of rice and the same quantity of biscuit to be found them monthly for one year, they paying for the same; and they being bound to continue freemen for 10 years, as their period of service was expired.

their chief that the Company had never desired any thing but to live on terms of peace with them, and to trade with them; and that it would, therefore, be very gratifying to us if their Captain could find leisure to visit us in person, and conclude a closer alliance with us; this they promised to do, and departed for their kraals.

A certain Hottentot having yesterday most mischievously wounded one of the Company's slaves on the head with a stone, we gave orders, for the prevention of further mischief, to keep the Hottentots out of the fort. Some Hottentots this day presumed to force their way through the main guard, and to throw stones at the corporal of the guard; on which we gave orders—as they are every day very mischievous and presumptuous—that if they again attempted to come into the fort, the men should fire at the hinder part of their thighs with peas, so as to prevent accidents, until such time as they point out the offender, and themselves punish in our presence.

### Extracts of Resolutions of Council.

1678. April 12. . . . . As it had reached the Governor's ears that two of the Company's hunters of large game, had, in the interior, shot two Hottentots—not knowing what tribe they belonged to—the Governor reported the case to the Council, and stated, that as this was no trivial affair, but a matter of great importance, he had, upon the complaint being made, placed the hunters in arrest, and summoned all the Hottentot Captains to the fort, for further inquiry into the murder alleged against our people, in order to proceed according to the nature and exigency of the case.

15. The Governor stated that the Company's hunters, now in detention, had, themselves, sufficiently admitted having committed hostilities against some Hottentots of a tribe not known,—pretending, however, to have been first attacked,—and that they could not be discharged until after trial of their case and execution of the sentence; that, supposing the result to be the most favorable, still (for the prevention of further trouble) such persons should not be employed again in that capacity in the interior; and further, that as the numerous slaves of the Company, who were employed on hard labor, could not work without food, he had called before the Council the free hunters. . . . . who entered into an agreement to deliver monthly 2,500 lbs. of the flesh of wild animals at the rate of one half heavy stiver per lb. . . . .

15. Extracts from Journal continued.—The nearest Hottentot Captains, Cuyper and Schacher, came to the fort, bringing, the first fourteen, and the other seven sheep, in liquidation of what they have to reimburse the Company.

16. The Hottentot Captains who came yesterday, received as a *regale*, a little rice, tobacco, beads, and a dram of arrack, a little more liberally than usual, to encourage them to bring us a few more sheep before the arrival of the fleet; after which these Africans set out, in high spirits, to their huts. In the evening the African General, Gonnema, accompanied by some of his officers of state, brought four calves and four sheep, in diminution of the annual tribute, which their treaty obliges them to pay to the Company.

17. Gonnema received for the cattle which he brought yesterday, a present (like the other Captains) of some biscuit, tobacco, and a dram; on which he and his train returned to their kraals.

21. The frequent complaints of the open violence and robberies committed by the Hottentots upon several burgers in the country, and upon the shepherds in the fields in the day time, are intolerable; twelve of those vagabonds yesterday laid hands upon a certain shepherd in the service of the widow of Gysbert Direk Verwey, who was attending his flock here on the Table hill, and after, in his presence and in his sight, taking a sheep out of the herd and cutting its throat, he tried to stop them; but they, instead of their being thus deterred in their wickedness, all fell upon him, and after binding him hand and foot, instantly cut the throats of sixteen of the best sheep, broiled a great portion of the flesh upon the coals, and having filled their hungry stomachs and feasted upon some of it, took away the rest, excepting three slaughtered sheep which they could not carry. And as such thefts of stock almost tend to the total ruin of the community, an expedient must be devised for the apprehension of those scoundrels, in order to make an example of them.

1678. April 1. In a letter to the Assistant at Hottentots Holland, Governor Bax says, "I send you the tobacco and the beads for the Hottentot barter, which must be continued on the old footing, as we now perceive that they will not come hither."

9. Laid the first stone of the Cape church. . . . . 10. Arrived the *Tommers Wall*. . . . . with the intelligence of the marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange with the daughter of the Duke of York.

April 22. Several burgers from the country came again to pour out their grievances and complaints respecting the open violence, tyranny, and robberies of the Hottentots, which are daily increasing, and must, therefore, be provided against. The Hottentot Captain, Schacher, and three or four of his train, also appeared upon our summons, and were instantly placed in custody, and told that they should not be released, until such Hottentots as were known to belong to his kraal, and had been among those who had committed the robbery on Table hill, were given into our hands.

1678. April 23. Extract of Resolution of Council.—And whereas various freemen from several quarters have represented in Council that the thefts and violence of the Hottentots had so much increased that every one of them had not only lost, by open force, a considerable portion of his cattle, but that the sheep herded for them by their servants were killed and eaten in their sight, and threats used to the herds of breaking their necks, so that life was no longer in safety; and various acts of hostility and insolence having come to our ears, such as that this riotous people had not scrupled forcibly to take out of the freemens' houses, in open day, pork and other flesh; threatening to beat such as tried to prevent those acts, and persisting so that they could not be opposed. These thefts being principally caused by the economy now enforced in the issues of rice, those issues to the freemen being so much diminished, that the greater part of them were forced to cease supplying their Hottentots with that nutritious grain; these circumstances being taken into consideration by the Governor and Council, and seeing that such hostilities, arising from hunger among these Africans, tend to the ruin of the poor burgers, and, unless provided against in due time, are likely to increase rather than diminish:—the Governor and Council having, therefore, carefully weighed the subject, it was resolved (in order to prevent these thefts and deeds of violence) to issue to some Hottentots, who had formerly served the freemen, in payment for their labor, biscuit (with which we are still well provided) in lieu of rice; and to secure the persons of the Hottentot Captains until some of those rogues are given up to us, that they may be punished according to their deserts. And that every one may be well on his guard, and may not be unexpectedly assailed by the violence of those hungry rogues, it was also resolved, that Lieut. J. Cruse, shall, to-morrow, visit all the farms in the country, and warn the inhabitants that every one who may apprehend and lodge in prison any such rogue, shall receive a reward of 260 lbs. rice; and as the Hottentots are very nimble, and cannot be easily overtaken on foot or horseback, that mounted patrols shall be kept up by night as well as by day, and endeavour thus to prevent some of these annoyances.

24. The imprisoned Hottentot Captains asked to be released from their detention, under a promise of making compensation for the sheep stolen from the freemen by the thievish Hottentots; but their supplication was not listened to, but entirely rejected; and they were told that until the robbers were given up, they should not be set at liberty.

1678. April 26. Extract of Resolution of Council.—Lieut. Cruse having gone out in accordance with our resolution of the 23d, to trace and apprehend the Hottentots, brought in six Hottentots called *Souquas*, charged with being concerned in the thefts and other *impertinent* hostilities committed against these inhabitants; and as there still were some more of their chief accomplices who had been enabled, by their activity, to take shelter in steep, rocky, and inaccessible mountains, whom it was impossible for our countrymen to overtake, in spite of their daily endeavours; and as such attempts have been totally fruitless, and gentle measures being deemed highly serviceable, the Governor assembled the Council, and after deliberation upon the subject, it was thought proper to call the Hottentot Captains, Cuyper, Schacher, and Thomas, before the Council, and seriously to inform them, that they must give up to us such evil doers, or give orders to that effect, and that they must meanwhile remain in arrest, and should not be released until Trompeter and Hartebeest, two of the worst of the robbers, were given up to us; and that they must use their best endeavours to effect this if they wished not to have the Company on their backs. This having been represented to them in Council, they gave orders for the apprehension of the said two Hottentots, and (after receiving each a glass or two of arrack) willingly remained in arrest as hostages. And the more easily to dispose this people, in the most gentle and kindly manner, to give up cattle stealers and robbers, as well as to prevent as much as possible depredations by those natives, it is also resolved, as tending to the service of the Company, and to the security of the farmers and free burgers—seeing that the said Captains complain that the Hottentots have at present much difficulty in procuring food, and are very hungry,—to employ such persons upon digging the ditch of the Company's fortification, paying them in rice and biscuit; and further, to show that it is our determination, with respect to the authors and chief conspirators in such roguish proceedings, to punish them according to the circumstances of the case, and to intimidate and

deter their accomplices and other suspected rogues,—to banish them to Robben Island for a term, to work there under good superintendance, upon any work that may be required for the Company's service.

J. BAX, &c.

April 27. Extracts from Journal continued.—The Fiscal and Commissioners were busily employed in examining the Hottentots, who are beginning to confess the knaveries they have committed.

28. The Hottentot Captains, Cuyper and Schacher, were to-day released from confinement, under a promise that they would (if possible) deliver into the hands of justice the rebellious Hottentots who are still wanting; and that they would exert all possible diligence to secure them: they went home to-day, after swallowing another scopie.

May 6. When the gate was opened, we discovered that the four Hottentots who had been confined in the jail, had broken a hole in the wall, though it was built of stone, and five feet thick, with nothing but their hands, a thing which appears to every one impossible; but still this appears to have been the case, for we cannot imagine that the rogues were furnished with any kind of iron implement. They kept themselves concealed somewhere in the fort, until, watching their opportunity, they fled through the gate, and, from their agility, could not be overtaken, excepting one old man who could not keep pace with the other active fellows, and was chased and caught by a soldier. Seven soldiers were instantly sent out, to secure the others, if possible. On further examination we found that they had also broken a hole through the stone wall of the store, by the side of the prison: we could not discover that any further harm had been done by them, except that a few bits of cinnamon were found in the prison.

#### Extracts of Despatch from Governor Bax and Council to Chamber XVII.

1678. May 18. . . . . We have hitherto seen nothing of any enemy, and we cannot imagine that they will readily make any attempt against the respectable force which your Honors now have at this *Storm Hoek*; we shall, nevertheless, be always on our guard, and not hold our enemy too cheap. You will see, below, the measures we have taken for the reception of an enemy; and we will only say at present, that it was most gratifying to us all, and to the Governor Bax in particular, to find that we were regarded by your honors as faithful servants, and as no degenerate patriots. We shall not use many words, but would most respectfully say, that, should any enemy make his appearance, (which may God forbid) we shall endeavour to prove ourselves such as your honors esteem us to be. Having now replied to your despatch of Feb. 2, we shall proceed to that of May 11, from which we were glad to perceive that your honors were prepared to approve of our intention of taking revenge upon the guilty Hottentots, for the murder of the Netherlanders, and then entering into an advantageous treaty of peace with them. You will perceive from the sequel, that every thing has fallen out as desired. . . . .

We have mentioned Gonnema in a former part of this despatch, and as we have to recur to the subject, we shall pass it by at present. . . . .

We shall now, with your permission, revert to the subject of the Chief Gonnema, and the other surrounding Hottentots. After we had, as before detailed, taken a portion of his cattle, and killed seven men, in revenge for the murders committed against our people; he sent, in the end of last June, first, some forerunners (*voorloopers*), and afterwards some qualified persons, to the number of thirty (including women and children), requesting to have peace with the Company as before; and as they stated that they were empowered to come to an agreement, after having given them a sharp reprimand, we granted them peace upon the terms specified in the annexed copy; from which it may be seen, that they must pay annually, to the Company, thirty horned cattle; all our Cape Hottentots, who lie close by, being included in the treaty. We have also made a treaty with all the other Hottentot Captains hereabouts, namely, that they shall be bound to bring up, annually, upon the arrival of the return fleet, a certain number of horned cattle and sheep, each according to his ability, and thus we shall render them more and more tributary without their perceiving it, provided we always give them a present in return; we trust this will have your approval. . . . .

On the 27th of last May, a few days after the departure of the return fleet, the *Bode* returned in safety, having surveyed and sounded all the bays and inlets along the coast, between this and Sombriera, a Portuguese fort, in 12. 30, south latitude. Grundel Bay is not, properly speaking, a bay, but a bight; and along the whole line of coast no fresh water is to be found, nor any

fire wood, except what is cast up by the sea; the country also, as far as Sombriera, is dry and barren, and peopled by Hottentots, with whom they had a skirmish. Those wild Africans could not understand our Cape Hottentots who sailed in the vessel. . . . Without your further order, we shall not send any more expeditions in that direction, as we are now certain that there is no St. Helena Nova to be found in the world; and also to avoid any difference either with the Portuguese or with the West India Company. At the same time we must say, that we prefer one Angola or Guinea slave to two from Madagascar. . . .

This year has been particularly unhealthy. . . . 47 Dutch and 125 Company's slaves, male or female, having died. . . . Early in the year died the well-known Borgerraad Wouter Mostaert, in his day one of the best farmers; and it is surprising that sickness and mortality have been very prevalent among the Hottentots also. . . . We were much pleased to observe that your Honors understand how necessary it is to have slaves here; what prevented us from procuring some long ago, it would be vain to inquire, as it was before our time. We trust henceforth to procure a sufficient number for your relief, and that of the inhabitants, as they will much diminish the expence, and consequently render bread and corn plentiful and cheap. . . .

On the 20th and 21st of last December, the *Quartel* and the *Voorhontje* returned (*i. e.* from Madagascar), bringing 77 live slaves; they were so long on the voyage that 43 died. All the said slaves were under 16 years of age, a time of life which experience, and the English have taught us to be the best: for those who are older take to fretting, when they but think of their country, and soon die; whereas the young are light-hearted and frolicsome, and thus preserve their health better. We have had the slaves last imported distributed, for a little at first, among the houses, and their improvement in health is most perceptible; for, however well they are fed and nursed by Company's servants and slaves, we have found the expence to be greater in the proportion of 3 to 1, and the mortality in that of 6 to 1. . . . The heavy surf on the coast prevented our people from touching at the place named Os Medos d'Ouro, where the *Grundel* abandoned the 17 Netherlanders in 1671. . . .

It were to be wished that any other means of relieving the heavy expenditure could be devised without burdening these poor Colonists; for were we to tax them any further, it would be impossible for them to support it, even now they have work enough with *corssen en borgen*, others by *rapen en scrapen*, and others again by lying and cheating, to collect money enough to pay for the rice and other necessaries which they must buy monthly from the Company; most of them being burdened with debt to the poor fund, for money which they have taken up at the annual interest of 6 per cent. And they earn almost all their money upon the annual arrival of the homeward bound fleet; arranging all the contracts among themselves, to become payable on the arrival or departure of the return fleet of such a year; and should a single fleet fail to put in here, many persons would be reduced to the utmost distress.

We shall now, with your leave, say a few words of the free Colonists, whom we have here now; their number (as specified in the roll now transmitted according to the annual practice) would be large enough, were they but all good farmers; but one-third of them are not so employed, nor have any knowledge of agriculture, and are, therefore, of no advantage to the Colony, only helping to consume what little is produced. The handicrafts which occupy some of them, such as the *tappers* and tailors, produce no advantage; the free blacksmiths are always complaining for want of work, and when you give them any thing to do, they tell you they did not come hither to work, and thus it is with the wagonmakers and free coopers also; and we have, therefore, particularly to request, that should your Honors ever resolve on sending any free persons hither, that you will send us none but farmers.

H. CRUDOP, &c.

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### Extracts of Resolutions of Council.

1678. June 14. A certain Hottentot recently confined in the prison (among other sheep stealers, who had been engaged in stealing from several inhabitants residing in the country, and who have broken out of the prison, leaving behind only this individual) being an old man, who had done no harm himself, except helping to eat the stolen flesh, it was resolved to set him at liberty, more especially because he requires to be fed at the Company's expence.

The female slave of the carpenter Brakel, imprisoned for theft and suspected housebreaking,

committed at the house of the *burger* Lowys of Bengale, was restored to the owner, who shall be bound first to satisfy the said Lowys of Bengale respecting the stolen articles.<sup>(1)</sup>

June 29. Extracts from Journal continued.—Died this day, to the great grief of the whole Cape public, the Governor Joan Bax . . . . . having nominated, as provisional Commander in Chief, the second in command, H. Crudop.

July 1. Two wagons arrived from Hottentots Holland, with no other intelligence than that all was well there. 4th. The funeral of the late Governor was attended by all the Company's servants, high and low, all the free inhabitants, and even by the nearest Hottentot Captains, and some of their chief men; the weather seemed to sympathise with us, for it was all day dark and dismal, ending in rain in the evening.

8. It is rumoured that the Chief Gonnema has recently got hold of two of the robbers who, among others, broke out of the prison and escaped; and that, in order to show that he does not harbour such rogues, he had one of them, as being his own Soucqua, instantly massacred, and put to death; and that the other, being a Soucqua of Captain Cuypers, had been sent to him, that he might be dealt with in the same way, or given up to the Company. If this be true, it is somewhat remarkable in these savage Africans.

12. A letter from Hottentots Holland informs us that the overseer had, as directed, sent two active Africans to Captain Claas to summon him hither; and requesting some tobacco and pipes, of which he was destitute, to be employed on such an occasion in Hottentot trade. These articles were instantly sent to him.

28. Captain Cuyper, with some of his followers, came to the fort in the evening, bringing ten sheep in liquidation of those lent him by the Company, out of the Gonnema booty: he was recompensed with a dram of arrack and a bit of tobacco, &c. with which these Africans made very merry among themselves.

29. One of the nearest of the Hottentot Captains named Schacher, came also, like those of yesterday with . . . . . sheep, in diminution of those still held by him in loan from the Gonnema booty; these sheep come very conveniently at this moment, to prevent our slaughtering any of the ewes. This Chief and his train were also presented with a dram, &c. and returned to their kraal in the evening.

Aug. 12. We daily hear more and more numerous complaints of the thefts and robberies committed in the country by the rebellious Hottentots who broke out of the jail, and their accomplices. A gang of four of these were yesterday near Reit Valley, where they assaulted the son of one of our Burgerraden, who was out shooting; and after binding him hand and foot, and putting a halter round his neck, beat him black and blue with their sticks, threatening to let him lie till dark, and then kill him, which they would have done, for they left him there till near dark; but that he was unbound by a certain other Hottentot, not one of their accomplices, who was passing that way; and who thus saved his life. These robbers have also recently stolen of the Company's sheep behind Steinberg. These outrages neither may, nor can, be any longer tolerated; and we have therefore thought of every practicable means of laying hands upon those robbers if possible, and letting them feel the weight of justice; and, previous to adopting any other measure, which might tend to produce estrangement, we have resolved to summon the nearest Hottentot Captains, that we may, with their assistance, concert measures for the purpose.

15. The Hottentots of Cuyper's kraal brought 2 sheep for sale, which were bought for tobacco; they informed us that their Chief, as well as Schacher and Thomas, when they received the summons to attend at the Cape, were just setting out upon an elephant hunt, a great number of those animals having appeared near their kraals; and that it was for the purpose of procuring tobacco for their use during this hunt that the 2 sheep were sent for sale; on their return from the hunt the Chiefs would attend without fail.

24. Beyond all expectation, five of the rebel plundering Hottentots before mentioned, were

1678. Extracts of letters from secretary Crudop to Assistant Opmeer, Hottentots Holland.

June 30. "On receipt of this you will instantly send for two Hottentots to the Captains Claas and Coopman, giving them some tobacco, and telling the said Captains to come as soon as possible with as many sheep as they can bring, in repayment of what they still owe the Company; we expect to see Captain Class here."

July 2. "We have your letter of yesterday, and send you the tobacco and pipes you ask for, for the trade. You will buy skins and other rarities from the Hottentots as before; and send them hither for the Company; taking good care that no private persons interfere with the trade. To send you biscuit to be used in barter with the Hottentots, would be too expensive to the Company."

(1) On the 14th July, the *free black*, Lowis, of Bengal, complained to Council, that Brakel will make him no compensation for the theft; on which the Council resolved that, if he can prove the justice of his claim, the slave shall be sold for the benefit of those concerned, provided that the owner consents, or otherwise satisfies the complainant.

brought to the fort late this evening,<sup>(1)</sup> by the Hottentot Captains Cuyper and Thomas; they had discovered them somewhere in the interior, and caught them all, except one of the greatest villains whom they had massacred; they begged that we would be pleased to take better care of them this time, and let them be punished, or otherwise given over to them to be put to death, according to the custom of the country. This is assuredly a mark of the fidelity of these savages, which ought not to pass without a reward. The said robbers were instantly thrown into prison, their hands and feet being secured in irons and handcuffs, so that we need not fear that they will escape.

Aug. 25. The Hottentot Captains, who came yesterday, solicited for a good present as a reward for the apprehension of the said thieves; and seeing that this faithful deed must not pass unrewarded, but that they may be still more stimulated to catch the five remaining vagabonds, and thus to clear these countries of such mischievous scum, it was, therefore, this day discussed in Council, in what manner these covetous men may be best contented and rewarded, and it was resolved, for the causes above stated, to give them a present to the value of *f*60, in rice, tobacco, beads, arrack, &c.; the Chiefs were also exhorted to get hold of the remaining vagabonds, alive or dead; in which last event we would be satisfied with a mark (token) of them. And as the outrages, violences, and robberies committed by the said Hottentots and their accomplices for some time back, are a pest in the bosom of a colony, tend to the ruin of the country, and deserve to be punished and extirpated in an exemplary manner; it was understood that they should be given over into the hands of the fiscal, to be proceeded against in due form of law.<sup>(2)</sup> The Hottentot Captains having received their presents—with which they were highly elated—were in the evening dismissed to their huts.

Sept. 14. The Court of Justice was assembled for the trial of the Hottentots; when the culprits were, according to the sentence of the Court, for their repeated crimes of violence and cattle stealing, committed upon the persons and property of the Company and good inhabitants, condemned to be hanged upon a gallows until death ensues. It were much to be desired, and would be most praiseworthy, could all such villains be deterred from the commission of crime by this example. But the commission of crime is (God mend it) so implanted among many christians, and so habitual to them, that, notwithstanding that they are fully aware of the attendant punishments, of which they have examples every day—still these are not sufficiently powerful to divert them from their evil courses, and to lead them to improvement; and this holds good independently of that class of criminals to be found in every country, and in every quarter of the world, that has yet been discovered, who are entirely incorrigible, and, with respect to their disposition, education and conversation, appear to be more brutes than men, &c. . . . . Wrote to the overseer at Hottentots Holland, that we had heard nothing certain of Captain Claas, and that unless he was already on his way hither, an express must be sent him by Hottentots, to remind him again that the Company is much in want of sheep, and that he should therefore think of bringing up a good many, in restitution of those formerly given into his charge.

16. The Hottentot Captain Schacher, having been summoned by a mounted express, appeared this morning in the castle, when the sentence pronounced against the Hottentots, as being his dependants (subalterne) was communicated to him, and his advice heard thereupon; he was perfectly satisfied therewith, and the sentence of death was this day at 10 o'Clock communicated to the delinquents in the presence of their Chiefs. To all outward appearance, they cared very little about the matter, answering nothing further than "*dats goed.*"

In the evening about 9 o'Clock it was discovered that the Hottentot prisoners had again attempted to break out of prison; and had in a great measure accomplished their object; they had

(1) 1678. Aug. 24. Extract of resolution of Council.—Daily complaints being still preferred to us of the robberies and thefts committed on the burgers in the country by the rebellious Hottentots, who broke out of prison some months ago, and their accomplices, without our having as yet been able to hit upon an expedient to check this mischief, for which purpose we have frequently summoned the Captains of the nearest Hottentots to concert with them the best mode of getting these robbers into our hands—a matter not easily practicable by us without their help. But as the said Captains have as often, upon one or other specious pretext, put off complying with our desire, chiefly out of fear that they will be detained as on the former occasion, it was, therefore, resolved, previously to adopting any measure tending to produce an actual rupture, once more to invite

(2) A resolution of Council of the same date, contains these details in the same terms, and is therefore omitted. See also abstract of convictions of this year—*infra*.

not only broken and got rid of their irons, but had already made a large hole in the wall, and wanted nothing but to remove a single stone, the outer one; this is a clear proof that, although these savage men have not the slightest knowledge or conception of the immortality of the soul, the consideration which renders death very terrible to some, still they are taught by nature to adopt every practicable means of prolonging life.

Sept. 17. The sentence pronounced against the Hottentots was carried into execution at the usual time and place, and was effected with due solemnity.....

Oct. 4. Wrote to the overseer at Hottentots Holland, that no more buildings there were to be given over to freemen.....to refuse them any longer use of the kitchen, to warn all freemen and Company's servants against bartering any thing from the Hottentots, and to keep a better watch upon the proceedings of the freemen.....

6. The Soeswas Chiefs, Coopman and Claas, appeared here with a great train of their men; bringing with them 85 sheep in payment for those formerly placed in their charge from the Gonnema booty, a supply which is very well timed for the ships and the great number of sick in the hospital.

22. Capt. Cuyper came to the fort with five sheep, which were bartered from him for the usual articles.

Nov. 2. The wagons arrived from Hottentots Holland for the monthly rations for the garrison and slaves there; we were informed by a letter from the overseer, that all was well there. In accordance with the resolution of last month (1) to send a party to barter with the Hessiquas and Soeswas, Serjeant Visser set out with a corporal and 18 men, and the necessary merchandize and provisions.....may the Almighty be their guide and bring them back safely after good success.

21. Although the Hottentot Captains in this vicinity have very few cattle, it was still deemed necessary to take a journey thither, namely to Gonnema, who is the richest in cattle, to try whether any more may be had there; the merchandize and provisions were accordingly collected and stowed in a wagon, with which Lieut. Cruse and six men set out this evening.

24. In the afternoon Lt. Cruse returned, bringing 21 fine cattle and 37 sheep, all purchased from the Gonnema kraal, for the usual articles. They found this tribe with their kraals pitched at the Paardeberg, about 10 hours distant, and came just at the right time, as they had intended in two days to decamp and go further inland beyond Berg River. The said Lieutenant had, among other things, urged Gonnema and his adherents to pay their annual tribute, consisting of 30 head of horned cattle; towards which we have up to this date received only nine head; but they answered that it was not possible for them to deliver said cattle before the arrival of the fleet; requesting at the same time to be excused from bartering cattle to the Company for two or three years, until their stock had increased by breeding, when they hoped to be able, as before, to accommodate the Company with a greater number; as they were at present very ill supplied, in consequence of the war. They behaved in other respects very civilly, and did not show the slightest inclination to oppose us again; but on the contrary appeared convinced that war with the Netherlanders was not profitable, at least to them; and resolved therefore sedulously to cultivate mutual peace.

these savage Africans, in a friendly manner, to come hither; and to effect this with the greater formality to depute two members of the council, namely, Lieut. Jeronimus Cruse, and the junior merchant Martinus van Banchem, who in the event of the Captains refusing to come, are also empowered to apprise them of our intentions, and to deliberate with them upon the best and surest mode of getting these thieves into our hands.

Upon the petition of the burger Cornelius Stevens, he was permitted to graze a flock of sheep beyond the Steenberg, near a certain place called the Wynkelder, especially as the permission will not tend in any degree to the prejudice of the Company, upon condition, however, that, in the event of the Company hereafter requiring that pasture for their cattle, he must give it up, and look for another place, &c.

1678. Aug. 31. A despatch from Holland of this date replies to the Cape letters of 14th March and 22d May, 1678, conveys intelligence of the conclusion of peace with France, touches on the state of crops, and the supply of slaves, but makes no reference to the natives.

1678. Oct. 3. Extract of a letter from Secretary Crudop to the Assistant, Hottentots Holland.

"Captain Claas is very dilatory in coming hither, we shall expect his answers to the allegations about him by a Hottentot express, dispatched as soon as your messenger returns."

(1) 1678. Oct. 26. A resolution of this date, after setting forth in the usual preamble, the necessity of purchasing cattle, states, that "the cattle reared will not nearly supply the great consumption," that "these nearest Hottentots are now so impoverished in respect of cattle, that only a few sheep and a few old and lean cattle could be got from them," and on these grounds Sergeant Visser and 18 men are ordered to proceed to purchase from the Hessiquas and Soeswaes, whose kraals are at present near at hand, with provisions for six weeks, &c.

Dec. 16. The Hottentot Chief Gonnema came with some of his ministers of state and great ladies, to make known, that, with our approval, he was resolved to quit the Tygerberg where he still lay, and to remove further inland; as the Cape Hottentots, according to his statements, complained that he lay, with his cattle, too near in their jurisdiction, to their injury, as they conceived. He also requested at the same time to be provided with such sticks, bearing the Company's arms, as had been given to Cape Hottentots; as a token that they also were included among the number of the Company's allies.

17. The Hottentot Chief, Gonnema, with his followers, departed well satisfied, having been first presented and regaled with a piece of tobacco and a soopie; and being graced, as well as Oedasoa and . . . . . with each a stick with a copper head, bearing an engraving of the Company's arms. . . . . Received a letter from Serjeant Visser. . . . . 1<sup>st</sup>—Serjeant Visser and his party arrived safe and successfully, bringing with them a fine herd of 142 horned cattle, chiefly young, and 550 pretty good Hottentot sheep, purchased by him in the interior, from the Hessequa and Soeswa tribes, for the usual merchandize. During the whole journey, they had not met with the slightest molestation (*quade rescontres*) from the Hottentots of the interior.

1679. Jan. 24. It was reported that three freemen commonly called "the informers," as having informed against those who brought private goods in the Tidoor, had absented themselves—four Company's horses, two belonging to freemen. . . . . and two slaves were missed at the same time.

26. Some Hottentots brought in a deserted Company's slave. . . . . and received a reward of tobacco, pipes, &c. Two active Hottentots of Gonnema's kraal undertook, upon a promise of a good reward, to apprise their Chief of the desertion of the three free burgers and a slave with six horses, and to request him to secure them, and send them back, and to inform us of his proceedings by express.

Feb. 6. We received certain intelligence, by four of Gonnema's Hottentots, that the three freemen, &c. were at Oliphants River. . . . . Gonnema requested the aid of Dutchmen to apprehend them, as they had fire arms, and had offered to resist. . . . . It was resolved to send twelve armed men on horseback, six Company's servants, and six freemen, with fourteen days' provisions, under Serjeant Oloff Berg, with written orders to bring them back alive or dead. . . . . (1)

7. Some Africans of the Hessequas' tribe, this day informed us that they had been sent by their Chiefs and Captains, expressly to invite us to come to trade with them for cattle, at the Bakkeley Plaats, where they had assembled for the purpose. . . . . a fortunate thing for the Company. A burger Serjeant returned most unexpected for the party sent out yesterday. . . . . with the melancholy intelligence that the burger Lieutenant J. Valkenryke had been killed. . . . . having been dragged on the ground 150 yards by his horse.

8. The Hessequas' messengers were again heard, and adhered to their application. . . . . It was resolved to send a party to trade with them, but to postpone their departure for fourteen days, as the party sent out after the fugitive burgers were still absent. . . . .

13. Serjeant Oloff Berg returned with his party all safe, but unsuccessful; according to their verbal report, after marching four days, they sent out several Hottentots to find out where Gonnema was residing, who on their return, reported that they had fallen in with him and some of his people between the Gericquas and their own kraals; that he was on his return, and that they expected him to join our party next day.

On Gonnema's arrival, he detailed to them at length, that he had travelled three days with three Dutchmen and a slave who had with them six horses, and whom he had left at Oliphants

1678. Nov. 1. Extracts of a despatch from the Chamber XVII to the Governor and Council, Cape of Good Hope.

"As peace is now happily concluded between the King of France and these States. . . . . you will reduce the garrison as much as, without making it altogether too weak, shall be in any way possible or practicable. . . . . The 100 burgers which you have there may be of great use in time of need. . . . . We have also resolved to reduce the Government of the Cape of Good Hope to a Commandantship, and shall soon select, and send out, a fitting person.

1678. Nov. 30. A resolution of Council, and proclamation of this date interdicted, under the penalties provided by the Statutes of India, and arbitrary correction, the practice of concubinage with female slaves. The proclamation set forth the sinfulness of the practice, &c. The resolution added, that "it tends besides to the evident prejudice of the Company, as we are obliged, after the lapse of a few years, to discharge the *mestic* children, which are the result of such commerce, from servitude, while those procreated by their own countrymen always continue slaves."

1678. Dec. 21. A resolution of this date raised the price paid by the Company to the contractors for supplying the flesh of wild animals, from half a heavy stiver to thirteen light penningen, per pound; the ground stated was, "the great scarcity and decrease of game hereabouts."

(1) A resolution of Council of the same date, and detailed instructions to Serjeant Berg, relate to the same expedition; but convey no additional information relative to the natives.

River. That hearing afterwards from the Cape that those men were deserters, whom he should endeavour to apprehend, he had proceeded to the place where his three Soucquas had left them, with a good number of Hottentots, but they were gone; he examined their resting place, but found nothing but dead horses . . . . . that had he travelled along that river for four days until he reached the country of the neighbouring Hottentots, the Geriquas, without hearing any thing of the said Dutch; that he then turned back hastily from want of victuals, and partly in consequence of a hurt on his arm from a fall. He assured our men that it would be impossible for them to pursue, in that direction, as for several days' journey there was no water for man or beast, and the party consequently returned; the fugitives, in all human probability, having perished miserably of hunger, or been killed by wild animals, or by the savage natives of Africa.

Feb. 21. One of the fugitives was apprehended by a farmer in his vineyard. 25. Serjeant Berg returned from his search after the two remaining fugitives, having heard nothing certain about them. (1)

27. The Hessequa messengers who came on the 6th instant to invite us to trade, then undertook to apprise us as soon as their kraals were advanced to a certain spot called by them the Bakkeley Place, but have not yet done so . . . . . It was, however, resolved to send Serjeant Visser with eighteen experienced travellers to that tribe to barter. (2) . . . . .

March 1. The trading party set out . . . . . 9. A Madagascar slave was this day brought in by the Hottentot Captain Cuyper, and his followers, for which they were rewarded . . . . . 16. Some of Cuyper's Africans brought in two more fugitive slaves. 22. A corporal and three men returned from Visser's trading party with 185 sheep and 20 horned cattle, which were bought in passing from the Soeswa's tribe . . . . . Serjeant Berg writes that he had seen two Hessequas, who informed him that their kraals were still separate, one portion inland towards the mountains, and the other towards the coast, but that they were about to collect together.

April 15. Received a letter from Serjeant Visser, stating that he had returned to Hottentots Holland upon the 13th, with 320 sheep, and 100 cattle.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from the Council, Cape of Good Hope, to the Chamber XVII.

1679. April 18. . . . . In our last letter we adverted slightly to the good understanding and neighbourly terms now existing between us and these native tribes: the Captains and great men of the nearest kraals, including those of Gonnema, have given frequent proofs of their good will. They even, last year, searched for, and gave up to us as prisoners, with a view to punishment, some banditti of their nation, who had been in the habit of annoying the Company and private persons, by cattle-stealing and other outrages, and who thus rendered the whole country insecure; and those persons having received, at the hands of justice, the due reward of their offences, we have been, for a considerable time, free from such annoyances; and have, besides, conferred such obligations upon the natives, that whenever they find any deserted slaves, they restore them to us; indeed they seek for them the moment they hear of their flight, always receiving some small present upon giving them up.

The desertion of slaves cannot be entirely prevented by any vigilance or exertion, no less than—having run away in the course of one year, who have not been recovered. It is a melancholy fact that these poor men are sustained by a vain hope of some mode of escape; while in fact there is no prospect before them but certain death, from hunger and thirst, the fury of beasts of prey, or the barbarous hands of the remoter tribes of Hottentots.

According to the conditions of the peace concluded with Gonnema two years ago, he is bound

(1) Feb. 14. One of the fugitives . . . . . called last night at the Schuur, he said he came from Hout Bay, and knew nothing of the others . . . . . he took the alarm and escaped,—eighteen soldiers were sent to search . . . . .

It is stated in a resolution of the 22d, that punishment of the deserted informer against the private goods, shipped in the Tidoor, was delayed, lest it should produce an impression among the common people—which would be strengthened by the threats held out by the officers of ships—that “such men were always treated in the same way as a reward for informing.”

On the 1st May, however, he is ordered to be prosecuted, having confessed the theft of the horses, and the attempt to find his way to the Portuguese; he had quitted his companions four days' journey beyond Oliphants River, and returned alone to the Cape, where he lived by stealing grapes until apprehended. By the Abstract of Convictions, it appears that he was subsequently sentenced to death for these offences, and executed.

(2) A resolution adds as the grounds for this expedition, that the men could now be spared, in consequence of the arrival of intelligence of peace in Europe, and because the wet season was coming on.

to deliver to the Company, annually, on the arrival of the return fleet, thirty head of cattle; but although the stipulated period has twice elapsed, and in spite of repeated warnings, he has, from inability, delivered only nine head on account. This tribe, as well as all the Cape Hottentots, who live hereabouts, are still so impoverished by the wars they have waged against each other, that we have been able to procure from them, by way of barter, only 190 head of cattle and sheep together; and we have been thus compelled to seek what we require in distant journeys, and at a heavier expence; by such means we have purchased, in two separate trips, 259 cattle, and 1060 sheep, which, with the assistance of the increase of the Company's flocks and herds, has enabled us to meet the consumption of the passing ships and of the hospital.<sup>(1)</sup>

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Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to the Provisional Commander,  
H. Crudop and Council.

1679. May 19. We are well pleased that we are at length awakened out of the dream about St. Helena Nova, and are now assured that all that has been written and spoken about that island is pure invention.

We have now so often sent vessels to the eastward of the Cape, or touched upon that coast, without finding any thing worth the search, that we would wish those voyages discontinued, at least for a time, and until you receive special orders upon the subject from this or from Batavia. If, indeed, rice, millet or other grain were to be had there, we might still turn our attention in that direction, but as such is not the case, we may abandon the search altogether. . . . . We were well pleased to observe that you have again made peace with the Chief Gonnema upon the conditions detailed by you; we also approve of the additional treaty which you have made with the other Hottentot Captains.

We have just received your letter of the 20th February, by which we are grieved to learn the death of Governor Bax, to supply whose place,—that is to say, with an officer of the rank of commander,—Mr. Simon van Stell will take his departure in the ship *Free Sea*. . . . .

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Extract of Resolution of Council.

1679. June 7. The free burger, Jacob Aerts Brouwer, having petitioned the Council during the visit of his Honor Dirk Vlam, &c. that there might be restored to him three draught oxen, of which his wife's former husband, Claas Jacobs, of Meldorp, had been robbed when he was massacred by the Gonnema Hottentots, in the year 1673, and which cattle he stated to have been retaken among others in the booty captured by the Company during the same year, on the expedition sent against the said enemy; but that they had not been restored to his wife, nor since that time to himself, although the Government, at the time, agreed and promised that, if he could prove by evidence that the said cattle were among those captured, his application would be favorably disposed of; and as it has been recently resolved, that upon the production of proof, the cattle claimed would be restored, he this day renewed his application, supported by the attestation of two concurrent witnesses, to the foregoing effect, and that the cattle have been since used and kept by the Company as its own. And as it does not appear that any restitution or compensation has been made, it was resolved to give in lieu three similar oxen from the Company's stock, more especially as the applicants are poor people, and much in want of oxen, &c.

23. [Journal.] One of the neighbouring Hottentot Captains named Schacher, appeared at the fort with four sheep, which were bought of him for the usual merchandise. 27. The Hottentot Captain Cuyper this day brought into the castle six sheep, which were bought for the usual merchandise.

July 14. The neighbouring Hottentots, with their kraals, to the number of three or four, having encamped at the Tygerberg, at the spot whence the Company annually fetches the greater part of

(1) The same despatch contains the following notices of the advancement of the Colony :— . . . . . The Cape burgers now consist of 62 families, comprising 83 free males, 55 women, 117 Dutch or *mixed* children, 30 Dutch servants, and 191 slaves of both sexes, in all 486. They have sown 156 muids of wheat, rye, and barley, and reaped 750 muids; to this may be added 400 muids of wheat, 60 of rye, and 40 of barley, reaped at Hottentots Holland; in all about 50 tons of 3000 lbs. each. On the other hand, these 486 persons will require, on an average, 150 muids or 21,000 lbs. of grain monthly; or in other words, 84 tons for the whole year. . . . . Your Honors will thus perceive that, even in a favorable season, the crops will barely meet the annual consumption, and this grain, besides, does not go so far as rice in feeding the slaves, and is far from equally nutritious. . . . . and here we have said nothing of the consumption of the garrison, the Company's slaves, or the hospital, which have hitherto required 12 tons of rice monthly. . . . .

the hay, a sergeant was sent off when the gate was opened, to say to them that they must remove; he returned before evening, reporting that they had removed before his arrival.

### Resolution of Council.

1679. Aug. 5. Appeared the burger and free butcher Hemming Husing, who represented that the flock of sheep possessed by himself and his partner was so increased, that the pasture behind the Steinberg was not sufficient to maintain them; he therefore requested, in his own name and that of his partner, that they might pasture their sheep for a certain term of years beyond the Eerste River, somewhere about the mountains between this and Hottentots Holland; offering acceptable conditions, and rent to the profit of the Company, and that he might, besides the said place, have a suitable spot for cultivation also. This being discussed, and as it was considered that this permission (*vergunning*) would not be at all prejudicial to the Company, but that an annual revenue might be thus raised,—it was resolved to accede to the said request in full, and that for the term of three consecutive years, provided that the applicants should be bound always to satisfy the Hottentots who are in the habit of coming there with their cattle, and are allowed to graze their cattle, so as to avoid any discontent between those tribes and us; and further, that for this grant, as well as for the privilege of butchering, they shall pay annually, as agreed, at such two separate terms as may be fixed by this Government, 80 wethers good and fit for slaughter; and that a formal contract to this effect shall be signed by the applicants.<sup>(1)</sup>

5. [Journal.] Some wild animals drove away from the Schuur, a herd of 58 working oxen; the cattle herd was present, but could not prevent it, nor does he know whither they have gone. All the people at the Schuur were sent in pursuit. 11. Some of the people sent after the missed cattle, returned with them all; they were found all together behind Tygerberg.

Sept. 6. It is reported that there is among the neighbouring Cape Hottentots a great mortality, and that those affected are carried off very suddenly; many people think it a sort of pestilential infectious disease.

13. The report of a pestilence among the Hottentots, has been found, upon inquiry, to be of far less importance than was at first stated.

14. Seeing that the Company is so ill supplied with slaughter cattle for the expected ships, and the sick in hospital . . . . it was resolved to send out Serjeant Visser with four or five men with the necessary merchandize among the neighbouring Cape Hottentots . . . . .

23. Serjeant Visser returned, having purchased from the Cape Hottentots, close at hand, for the usual articles, no more than . . . . .horned cattle and 50 sheep.

30. Some freemen who had been in the Interior with our licence to shoot sea cows for the maintenance of their families, returned to the fort, and reported that they had been robbed of their wagon oxen, (24 in number,) by some Soucquas of the Obiqua tribe, who had further threatened that if they did not return to the Cape, they would come and massacre them; that they were thus compelled to abandon their wagon and the flesh of the animals they had shot, and to make a precipitate retreat, as fully appears by the declaration passed by them;<sup>(2)</sup> but it is much to be

1679. Aug. 30. By a resolution of this date (passed by desire of the Burgerraden—and after the wagonmakers had been heard,) the price of wagons, &c. was raised to the following rates, on the ground of the increase of the cost of food, and the greater difficulty of procuring timber:—A complete wagon *f*56; the carriage of a wagon, without the body, sides, or yokes, *f*40; a plough, *f*18; the four wheels of a wagon, *f*24—(and other things in proportion). A premium of Rds. 3, one-third of which was to be paid by the Company, and the rest by the burgers, was established for killing a wolf; that is to say, “within the usual limits of these countries.” In the papers of 1707 and 1748, will be found some explanations of these general terms.

(1) The same resolution grants in loan to Pieter Visagie and Jan Mostaert, a piece of arable ground on the east side of Tygerberg, near Buffels Kop, upon consideration of their supplying the Company with straw, equal in quantity to the hay formerly cut there; and that the other lands of the applicants be still kept in cultivation. Numerous notices of the practice of thus extending the Colony, until it became an authorised system, will be found below.

(2) In the *Attestatics* of the year appears the following account of this transaction:—

1679. Oct. 3. Appeared before me, Andries de Man, Secretary, &c. in the presence of the undermentioned witnesses, Gerrit Visser, Hendrick Jacobs, Jan Stoffel, and Willem Meyer, the three first being freeburgers, and the fourth a servant lent by the Company, all of competent age, who depose and declare, under offer of solemn oath, that it is true, that they, the attestors, in company with the burger Jochim Marcq, and two of his servants, set out for the interior with the previous knowledge and consent of Government, on the 6th day of September, having with them three wagons and 24 oxen, and taking with them two Hottentots, commonly called Dickop and Trompetter, intending to shoot some Hippopotami for the support of their families. That having pursued their journey to the river Zonder Ende, they were there joined by six other Hottentots (of the kraal of the Soesqua Captain, named Coopman,) who accompanied them to Brede River, where the said Hottentots left them without notice, in the evening, and during rainy weather. That on the ensuing day they, the attestors, proceeded about half a day's

doubted whether the said Hottentots had not received some provocation before they resorted to such insolent and predatory conduct; and this must be further inquired into.

Oct. 3. In order to acquire a correct knowledge of the violent proceeding of the Obiqua Hottentots, and to ascertain whether any provocation had been given to them by the freemen who have come back, or any one else, the Company's Overseer in Hottentots Holland was directed, in writing, to induce some Hottentots of the Soeswa tribe to desire the Captains, Claas and Coopman, to come hither, without delay, sending them with that view, a present of tobacco.

12. Arrived the ship *Vrye Zee*, with our new Commander, Simon van der Stell and family. Notwithstanding her long voyage, this ship had only sacrificed to Neptune 11 men out of 259.....

15. The Soeswa Captain, Claas, appeared in the castle upon our summons, accompanied by some of his officers of state, and bringing with him ten fine cattle; he detailed to us at length that Coopman (also a Captain of that tribe) could not make up his mind to come hither also on our summons, and that for sundry weighty reasons; but that he would give every satisfaction to the Company regarding the predatory behaviour of the Obiquas Hottentots (said to have been in no small degree supported by his people) who had taken the cattle of the freemen, when in the interior under our licence; protesting that he knew nothing whatever of that proceeding; but that he had, notwithstanding, sent the ten cattle as a present to the Company, to show his innocence. This gives us by no means so good an opinion of this African, as he would endeavour to impress upon us, more particularly as we know the extent of their liberality.

19. The Soeswa Captain, Claas, after having been, as usual, treated with a piece of tobacco and a soopie, took his departure for his kraal, with his train. 21. The Hottentot Captains, Cuyper and Thomas appeared within the castle, with six sheep, which were bought for the usual wares; they took this opportunity, in their way, of congratulating the Commander.

Nov. 3. A certain Captain of the Hessequa tribe has been here for some days, who, upon procuring an audience of the Commander, explained that he had been sent hither by his tribe to invite us to barter cattle from them; for which purpose all their kraals were already assembled at a certain place called the Bakkeley Plaats, where they wished to have a good trade with us. This proposal will be taken into consideration. The said Captain being now disposed to go home, was, in return for his *ambassado*, regaled with a little tobacco, some pipes, biscuit, &c. which, to this African, who had never been here before, seemed a very prodigal gift.

There being no shipping here at present, nor any thing of importance to be attended to, the Commander resolved to take a trip to Hottentots Holland, that he might personally inspect that fertile and pleasant part of the country and its vicinity, for which purpose he mounted his horse at six A.M., accompanied by some members of the Council; having first placed every thing in charge of the second in command, H. Crudop.

8. The Commander and his party returned from Hottentots Holland, having found on the way thither that all the waste land from about two hours' journey from the Cape, all the way to Hottentots Holland was fit for cultivation, and that that place is as subject to high winds as the Cape. Near Hottentots Holland was excellent arable land, supplied by nature with a delightful fresh water river, ornamented with trees fit either for timber or fuel, and consequently that to advance agriculture nothing is wanted here, but industrious Fatherland farmers.<sup>(1)</sup> The crops looked

journey down the said river, during which time the first attestor shot two hippopotami; that while they were engaged in skinning those animals, the evening began to approach, the said oxen being meanwhile grazing at the distance of about 150 paces; that on one of their number going towards the oxen, he found that they had been driven away; when all the attestors followed the traces to the ford of the river, which they could not pass, as it was flooded; that they, thereupon, returned to their wagons until next morning, when eight or ten Hottentots belonging to a kraal of Sonquas, which lay on the further bank of the river, showed themselves, and shouted to the attestors, that if they did not go away forthwith, they would kill them; also adding that the attestors' cattle had been driven along the mountain to the upper kraal (where there were also a party of Sonquas); that the attestors were then induced to return to the Cape, and to leave behind them three wagons, and the flesh of the animals they had shot. All which they, the above attestors sincerely declare to be the real truth, offering, if required, further to confirm it. Thus done, &c.

(1) The want of industry was not the only obstacle to success—or the real cause of the extension of the Colony; this will soon become more apparent.—The following is a specimen of the policy which as the Colonists subsequently alleged, compelled them to graze their cattle at a distance:—

1679. Nov. 27. A resolution sets forth the abuses arising from the system of furnishing oxen to the freemen, on credit, at the rate of *f* 12; and the necessity, at the same time, of assisting poor farmers, with working cattle. To avoid these abuses, but still to "assist the farmers," the following plan was determined upon "to assist some of the poorer farmers with oxen, no longer on credit, or incumbered with any servitude of restitution, but in full property, provided that they be bound to pay the Company, previous to delivery, 24 guilders for each head."

The cattle thus sold "*in full property*," were "not to be sold, killed, or exchanged," without express leave, under "a penalty of Rds. 100 against the buyer, and corporal punishment against the seller;" they were to bear the Company's mark, and

exceedingly well and promise an abundant harvest if they were only free from high winds and fire . . . . . Besides the tract of land at Hottentots Holland, the Commander inspected another tract, at a distance of three or four hours' journey from thence, being a flat valley comprising several thousand morgen of fine pasture land, also very suitable for cultivation, supplied with a very excellent river of fresh and running water, both banks of which were ornamented with fine lofty trees, fit either for timber or fuel. He also discovered there a small island, encircled by a running stream of fresh water, and thickly studded with lofty trees; here the Commander passed the night; and as the spot had never before been visited by any chief authority, it was named *Stellenbosch*.

Nov. 13. It being taken into consideration that the Company is now very ill-supplied with slaughter cattle for the ships from Europe and the sick in hospital, but particularly with stock to be kept in readiness for the return fleet; and as the neighbouring Hottentots are now so impoverished of cattle, that although a party were sent to them, they would procure only a small flock of sheep, and a few old lean cows. And upon the other hand, as an opportunity appears to be presented of procuring a good quantity from a rich tribe named Hessequas, who lie further inland, and who, according to the statement of a certain Captain of that tribe, are very well disposed to barter cattle, having already assembled for that purpose at a certain spot called Bakkeley Plaats, while he had come hither chiefly to invite us to trade. It was, therefore, resolved not to let this opportunity escape, and to send a party there to barter. . . . .

14. Lieutenant Cruse, with a serjeant and eight experienced travellers. . . . . set off in the evening with bag and baggage. . . . .

Dec. 8. The African General and Captain Gonnema appeared at the fort with a considerable train of his officers of state and great ladies, bringing—cattle and—sheep, which were bought of them for the customary articles. These allies were, as usual, presented with a soopie of arrack.

11. Received intelligence that Lieutenant Cruse and party would this night sleep at Tyger Valley, having made a pretty good trip, and procured, besides 120 cattle, a flock of about — sheep. 12. Lieutenant Cruse returned to the fort with a fine flock of — sheep, besides — cattle left at Hottentots Holland. 25 sheep that could not travel, had been left behind. All this stock had been bought on the usual terms from the Hessequas. The Lieutenant was told by some of that tribe, that about six or seven months ago, four strange ships, three large and one small, had been in Mossel Bay, near which place the natives lay with their kraals. The ships had taken in wood and water, but had procured no cattle. The said Africans were unable to say what Europeans they were; but it is most likely they were Portuguese, and that they had gone on to the newly established Colony at Zena in latitude — on the African continent.

[The Journal for 1679 ends on 14th December.]

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1679. Dec. 23. With regard to the slave trade, at Madagascar. . . . . A vessel leaving the Cape about the middle of May, might take a closer survey of the east coast, or might, at least, touch at a certain place named ———, lying in latitude 20. 58, where the crew of the *Voorhout*, in 1673, purchased, from the natives, at a cheap rate, for some articles of dress, two stout slaves, who were real Kafirs; both are still alive; and as they thrive well in this climate, and have been a little instructed, they would be serviceable in making us acquainted with the trade in slaves and other merchandize, which has, from the want of such assistance, been hitherto concealed. .

We concur with your Honors in the opinion that greater zeal ought to have been displayed in agriculture, seeing the great importance of reducing the expence of importing provisions. Our resolutions and letters afford abundant proof, not only that we have stimulated these Colonists, by kindness and by threats; but that the Company has always favoured the agriculture to its own injury, supplying both cattle and slaves far below prime cost, and that on credit. . . . . but much was also owing to the absence of zeal and industry among the Colonists, especially when they were fed to their contentment at a cheap rate for their money, with rice from the Company's stores, at that period that they did not trouble themselves about the plough, more than they were obliged to do for their own welfare, pursuing in preference, even with the effect of reducing themselves to

“on pain of arbitrary correction,” only to be used in agriculture, and not in carrying firewood, or other hard work, beyond what was required for the use of the owner. For the alleged effect of this policy, see the Remarks of Governor General Van Goens—*infra*.

poverty, lighter and more agreeable employments.....All these things we trust to be able to remedy; with a view to which the Commander went last month to Hottentots Holland, and found, not only that much more corn could be grown at that place, but that there was near it another tract at least equal in extent and fertility, and about equally distant from the Cape, which is supposed to be not much subject to the S. E. wind, and where nothing has to be done but to put the plough into the ground, as has been found by one of our burgers who has been placed there, and to whom as much land has been given as he can cultivate.

It were to be wished that we had a number of real laborious Dutch farmers planted there upon favorable conditions; and doubtless there are many to be had, who, having been ruined by the war, would be glad to undertake it.....

With the aborigines of the country, that is to say, with all those with whom the Company has long lived on friendly terms, and who were once more pacified about three years ago, we now live on very good terms. But another tribe called *Oebyquas*, or rather their *Sunquas*, who, as they possess no domesticated stock, subsist chiefly by hunting and theft, have again, about four months ago, plundered some of these burgers who had gone far inland to shoot game, of twenty draught oxen, with hostile threats of attacking them unless they forthwith quitted that country, and which they were accordingly compelled to do, leaving behind their wagons and other property.

We have made various endeavours to discover who is chiefly concerned in this daring act, as it has been suspected to have been done by our Hottentot allies, in the name of others, or at least with their previous concurrence. As yet, however, we have been unable to get at the real truth. The Company has indeed little injury to expect from them, as they lie at a considerable distance; but at the same time, this circumstance will make those tracts of country somewhat unsafe, and render our people thereabouts more circumspect, teaching us at the same time, that these outcasts of savages (*schuym van brutale menschen*,) are not to be trusted, even when they make a show of friendship.

The scarcity of cattle among all the neighbouring Hottentots, including Gonnema, still continues the same; and we have, consequently, been obliged, as before mentioned, to trade to a distance of 50 or 60 *milen* further, whence we have recently procured a considerable number of sheep and cattle, towards the increase of our provisions for the return fleet. We shall have to send out another expedition for the same purpose two months hence, to keep up the number of the Company's cattle, which have suffered by disease and otherwise, but in particular to procure the necessary draught oxen for the ploughs and wagons.....

### Extracts of Resolutions of Council.

1680. March 14. A certain soldier, named Hendrick Willems, of Hamburg, Company's cattle herd, made known that about three years ago, an ox was lost from the Company's herd while in his charge, and debited against his wages at the rate of *f* 50; which animal had been stolen by the Hottentots, and was now restored to the Company; he, accordingly, requested that the said *f* 50 might be returned to him, and it was resolved to accede to the request.

15. It having been remarked, and brought under consideration, that certain lands in the interior have been heretofore granted to some of these free Colonists on the tenure of loan for a fixed term of years, whereby those persons have been discouraged from paying due attention to the cultivation of the land, more especially because it is burdened with the servitude of paying annually to the Company the tithes of the produce; and consequently many persons, towards the expiry of the specified term, leave the land uncultivated; and their farming is thus entirely stopped, out of an apprehension that the Company might enter into possession of the land, and thus deprive them of the advantages which ought, in fairness, to appertain to the farmer; and whereas such is quite

The Journals for the years 1680—1—2—and 3, are wanting. On comparing those of other years with the contemporary notices extracted from the Resolutions of Council, Despatches, &c. it may be in some measure ascertained in how far the loss is supplied by the notices here given, which, as the evidence they contain is chiefly negative, have been abbreviated as much as possible.

It may here be observed, that the annual despatch rarely fails to advert to every important transaction with the natives; and from the following instruction issued by the Directors, on the 23d January, 1681, it would seem that this was expected:—

“In all matters of importance, you will be pleased to bring forward the substantive matter in your letters, and not to content yourselves with a mere reference to your resolutions or journals, so that we may have before us, in a compact shape, what we have to examine; and you will affix short marginals to your letters, as is the practice in India.”.....

This order is entered in the Index of Standing Orders for the guidance of the Cape Government, and that portion of the order which relates to marginals, was punctually observed in every subsequent despatch.

opposed to the intentions of the Company; and besides many examples have clearly proved that it would only be a loss to the Company to take in hand the culture of such lands.

It was therefore resolved to grant, in full freehold, all such arable lands as were heretofore given out to the said burgers, on the conditions alluded to; as also to all others who may henceforth come to request for lands—those in Table Valley excepted—with this restriction, however, that whenever the lands are allowed to remain untilled, and when the holders do not properly cultivate them, and have been warned of this our intention, the lands shall be taken from them, and given to some others who may be inclined to bestow more attention upon their cultivation; in which case, the first owner shall not retain the slightest right or any claim whatever upon such lands.(1)

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Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council,  
to Chamber XVII.

1680. March 27. We have learnt, through W. van Dieden, a free burger and trader at Saldanha Bay, that the *Geeregriquas* have had a war with the Namaquas, (supposed to be the most distant Hottentot tribe,) and that the greater part of them, having been defeated by that tribe, have sought refuge under our protection, promising, as being assured of peace with us, to come hither to ask leave to reside more in this direction, as the peace now existing between them and the Namaquas, will endure only as long as the latter see fit. They also offered to accompany some of our people to the Namaquas, who, as they say, carry on a trade in cattle with a strange black tribe who lie in that quarter.

This proposal would not be much amiss, as we could thus get into a friendly trade with the Namaquas; and the discovery of this strange black people cannot be deemed injurious to the Company. For the accomplishment of this purpose, a certain slave will be very useful: this man ran away with three freemen more than a year ago, and after suffering many hardships, joined these Gerigriquas, who have now delivered him up.(2) He understands the Hottentot language . . . . . The free burger has also made a good beginning by bartering from them six young cattle.

Notwithstanding that we still enjoy, in tranquillity, the result of a very good understanding with our neighbours, the adjoining native tribes, and though we have formerly so far obliged them by small presents, that whenever any slaves have deserted into the interior, they have searched for them, and restored to us those they could find, always receiving a suitable recompence; still, neither hunger nor thirst, the fury of ravenous animals, nor the murderous hands of the more distant Hottentots, nor finally the certainty of death, will suffice to shake their wicked resolution; and desertion has become more prevalent than formerly. . . . . We have been compelled to give to the Hottentots residing at a distance, as well as to those in the neighbourhood, for every deserted slave brought in, a recompence equal to what is paid in barter for an ox(3). . . . . Our Commander requests permission to take a journey into the interior with twenty men, in the hopes of discovering something advantageous towards the compensation of these heavy expences. . . . . It has been determined by resolution, for the prevention of discontent among this community, that every farmer, who shall receive any land beyond the district of Table Valley, for the purpose of farming, and who employs the said lands properly, shall hold them in freehold; but that if they are neglected, they shall be taken from him, and given to another who will exert more industry; and we can assure you that there was never greater zeal and industry shown in agriculture than now. . . . . Since the departure of the Romeyn, a certain Serjeant Visser has been sent into the interior,(4) where he has bought, from the natives, for the usual articles of trade, 209 horned

(1) This resolution is signed, in addition to the usual members, by S. Abbema, Commissioner, and A Bogaert, both of whom take precedence of the local Commander. It will be seen that Mr. Abbema disapproved of other restrictions imposed by the local Government.

(2) 1680. Feb. 12. In a resolution passed for the purchase of the slave, who had deserted in company with the three informers, on account of the knowledge he had acquired in the interior, it is stated that he had lived "with the Grigriquas. . . . . who had been induced to engage to give him up, on the stipulation, however, that he should not suffer the slightest injury, otherwise they would not give him into our hands, and this the Governor was obliged to promise accordingly."

(3) 1680. Jan. 22. A resolution fixing the reward to be given to Hottentots for apprehending deserted slaves, at the "the quantity of tobacco, beads, &c. which the Company is accustomed to pay for a cow or an ox," fixed that to be paid to the Dutch at three Rix-dollars.

(4) 1680. Feb. 10. Resolutions. A journey to the Hessequas under an assistant, a Serjeant and 16 men, was resolved on upon the usual grounds, the party were expected to be back in three weeks.

cattle, and 615 sheep; and we shall not fail to continue such expeditions on every suitable opportunity.....

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Extract of Memorandum, &c. for Mr. Simon van der Stell, Commander, &c.

1680. March 27. In order that you may in time raise enough for the subsistence of the Colonists, garrison, and Company's slaves, and also for the supply of the shipping, the farmers must be assisted to the utmost of your power, as indeed you have most properly done hitherto; and every measure must be adopted which can in any degree tend to that object. Their greatest want seems to be cattle, and in this respect you must favor them (as you have already begun to do,) from time to time as much as possible, especially those who are most zealous in farming; and that on the former footing of repayment and restitution. It would be impossible for these poor farmers to undertake any thing without draught oxen, as well as ploughs and other implements; and as the greater part of those who seem most disposed for farming, are the poorest, it is but fair that they should have a little assistance. For, he who would establish a new Colony, may be justly compared to a good gardener, who expends a large sum upon a young orchard, with the sole prospect of his labour and capital being amply repaid in due time; and it may be further remarked that he has often to pluck off some of the blossoms, particularly from weak and tender branches, so as to allow them to gather strength to yield him the fruit which is the ultimate object of his solicitude; and thus also should we act with these Colonists, who are still young and very weak, and unable, from the want of means, to work out the objects of the Company; and still less will they be able to do so, if we begin to give out the Company's lands, which are surely sufficiently extensive, upon such hard and intolerable conditions as were recently entered into by the burger, Monsieur Van Dieden and other Colonists, to whom some land at Hout Bay, about four hours off, was granted, upon condition of their paying the Company a tenth of the produce for ten years, at the end of which time the land was to revert to the Company; a very hard condition, which destroys the spirit of the cultivator, and which is the immediate cause of the land having been, for the last two or three years, so inadequately manured and cultivated. For what can the Company do with the land? when we have before our eyes the lessons taught by experience, namely, that all that is raised by the Company, by means of salaried servants is more loss than gain; of which, as may be seen by your books, the Corn schuyr is a notorious example. I, therefore, conceive that it will be the best for the Company that the lands are only burdened with the servitude of tithes, and thus our resolutions of the — instant, which granted the said lands in freehold, subject to the condition stated, was well founded; the lands were, however, granted with the restriction, that if they remained uncultivated, even for a single year, they should revert to the Sovereign<sup>(1)</sup>.....

SIBRAND ABBEMA.

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Extract of Resolution of Council.

1680. April 8. The Commander having explained to the Council that he had discovered, during his recent visit to the farms in the country, that several old placats and wholesome regulations were contravened and wholly neglected, not only by several Company's servants, but also and principally by the free inhabitants; and it being, therefore, highly necessary that the same should be re-enacted, and particularly with regard to the planting of tobacco, which has again been brought into general use, the farmers not hesitating to cultivate it in large quantities, by which means the Hottentots also contrive secretly to procure their supplies, there being also great reason to suspect that the burgers, illegally, and under frivolous pretences, deal in this article and supply the natives therewith.

It was therefore resolved, not only to prohibit this practice *de novo*, but also to enact—that on the first offence the tobacco plants shall be rooted out, on the second offence the cultivator shall be fined 25 Rix-dollars, and on the third offence shall be publicly flogged.

(1) Beyond the passage quoted, the instructions of Mr. Abbema offer nothing for extract. The greater portion of the paper relates to the public Accounts; but it contains orders for the periodical returns of the state of the Company's live stock at their several grazing farms, to collect which was long the chief duty of the *Landdrosts*, and which constitute the greater part of the correspondence of those officers with the Government.

Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander Simon  
van der Stell and Council.

1680. June 20. You have found a tract of country which you deem quite as fertile as Hottentots Holland, at a like distance from the Cape; also, less subject to the hard S. E. winds, where there is nothing to be done but to put the plough into the ground; but we see very little chance of being able to provide you, from this quarter, with industrious farmers; because people who will work can at present earn a very good livelihood here, and there is no want of land to work upon; it will be for you to consider whether the work may not be best performed by enfranchised slaves. . . . . The wine you have sent us, as a specimen, we have had fined, and have got it pure and clear; it is much better than that sent us 13 or 14 years ago, and the flavour is thought to approach very near to that of the wines of Madeira and Terceira, and also of Fayal; but without the substance or body. . . . .

You mention a place to the eastward of the Cape, in lat. 20. 58, where the *Voorhont* procured two slaves, Caffers, at a cheap rate, for clothing, in 1678; that they were still alive at the Cape, and that you thought some slaves could be got there; the endeavour might be made *en passant* on a fitting opportunity, although we have very little opinion of any trade to be established in that direction. If you will read the letters of your predecessors for many years back, you will find that several voyages have been made to the eastward, without discovering any thing worth notice, and it has besides been always deemed a very naked and dangerous coast. . . . . The building of a church must await a better opportunity. As to the baptizing slave children, you will be guided by the practice at Batavia. . . . . The cattle must now be very scarce among the nearest Hottentots, to oblige you to seek them at the distance of 50 or 60 *mylen*; it would give us great security and convenience if we could provide ourselves a good stock by breeding; as far as sheep are concerned, Robben and Dassen island would be very suitable.<sup>(1)</sup>

Extract of Resolution of Council.

1680. Nov. 17. It having been submitted to Council by the Commander, that it had been observed for some time back, that a mischievous practice had crept in among the Company's servants and free inhabitants, when any of the neighbouring Hottentots, who daily frequent the castle, but especially the houses of the inhabitants, performed the smallest piece of service, or brought any trifling article for sale, instead of giving them in return a little rice, or tobacco, or any thing else of that kind, as has been usual with us, <sup>(2)</sup> they pay them in money; whence it has arisen that these savage natives have become so bold and presumptuous, that they are not now to be satisfied or contented without money; nay, it has gone so far that they insist upon being paid in money for every thing that we desire from them; and which demands are complied with, to

(1) The rest of this long despatch refers chiefly to the constant topics, reduction of expenditure, and the improvement of the Colony by the propagation of a variety of valuable productions.—The cultivation of the farinha root—indigo—sugar-cane—tobacco—honey, &c. occupied the greater part of the despatches for many years.

(2) *Vide supra* pp. 349—357.

The resolution of 8th April proceeded to provide against the illegal destruction of game, on the ground of "the ruin of this place" that would follow the entire destruction of the large game; and the indolent habits fostered by the practice of hunting.

It was provided under penalties (of Rds. 25, 50, and corporal punishment successively) that no game should be shot without leave; that in the Months of March and April the burgers should receive a licence to shoot "one sea cow, one hartebeest, one rhinoceros, and an eland, for the sustenance of their families, provided that they preserve the lean as well as the fat of the sea cow, and do not, as has been usual, leave the flesh for the beasts of prey."

On the 28th June, 1680, the sale of tobacco was prohibited, however small the quantity, under a penalty of 100 Rds.; and it was provided that as the greatest profit was made by the retail of this article, the Company would appoint a person to "sell it for dubblejes and stivers."

It was, however, soon after (March 1, 1681) proposed to check the illegal sale of tobacco by farming out the right to retail that article,—“as the Company has not succeeded in the attempts made to retail, even in fractional parts of a pound,—an attempt incompatible with their dignity.” The chief injury arising from the contraband sale of tobacco is thus stated:—“The Strand loopers buy up the private tobacco for a lower price, and carrying it into the interior, persuade the natives, not only that the Company rate their tobacco too high in exchange for cattle, but that Company's tobacco is not so good as that imported by individuals.” This proposed regulation was aimed against “such mischievous infractions of the Company's trade in tobacco,”—“the only merchandize upon which the Company has been able to rely for annually turning *een moye stuyver*.”

the great injury of the public ; for by these means the natives, under the pretence of purchasing what they require for their own use, contrive to buy up a large quantity of tobacco, with which they proceed into the interior, and there purchase cattle and sheep from other tribes (with whom the Company is accustomed to carry on an annual barter) ; for it was recently brought to our knowledge, that some of the Hottentots, living nearest to us, set out for this purpose some days before our bartering party commenced their journey, and entirely spoiled the Company's trade ; they are also the cause of our being obliged to pay higher prices to the natives than we have been formerly in the habit of paying.

It was, therefore, unanimously resolved, after deliberation, in order entirely to eradicate the abuse which had thus crept in, most strictly to prohibit by Proclamation, every one residing under the jurisdiction of the Company from giving money to any of these natives, or receiving any from them, under any pretence whatsoever ; on pain of a fine of 50 Rix-dollars, for the first offence ; 100 Rix-dollars for the second ; and corporal punishment for the third.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander Simon van der Stell and Council.

1681. Jan. 23. The French, who state their intention of always touching for refreshments at the Cape, will be much disappointed when you have put into execution the directions as to the mode of receiving foreign vessels contained in our letters of 21st Nov. 1679, and 20th June, 1680,<sup>(1)</sup> as well as in former letters.....and you will take care that no refreshments are furnished to them by the freemen.

But what gives us the greatest dissatisfaction, is your asking instructions upon so many points provided for in our former letters : had these been read, as we expected that the Commander would have done, he would have found orders upon every point now submitted to us. That the crops have turned out so well at Hottentots Holland and elsewhere, so that the issue of rice to the burgers can be discontinued for a whole year, is highly gratifying.....the promises you make on this head are good ; we shall expect a corresponding result.....

If the Hottentots or Namaques are not too far off, and there be a chance of getting a good quantity of cattle from them at a moderate price, we are inclined to approve of an expedition being sent thither ; but that the Commander, whose proper station is the fort, should absent himself for such a purpose, is a matter requiring consideration, and of which we are not prepared to approve.

We approve, however, of the high premiums paid to the Hottentots for the apprehension of deserted slaves.....We wish that you could, in these peaceful times, somewhat diminish the garrison of 294 soldiers and sailors, by sending some more of them to India, where they are so much required ; and should any change occur, you may always supply yourselves from the passing ships.

<sup>(1)</sup> The despatches here referred to contain the strongest censure of the profusion with which supplies were lavished upon the foreigners who were ready to pay for them, while the Company's ships were often in want, unless the law was infringed by supplies being purchased from the freemen. Abuse of the kindness shown to foreigners in some instances was another ground for the harsh regulations of this head, which were, perhaps, a necessary part of the Company's commercial system. An English vessel, of which nearly the whole crew had died at sea, was kindly brought into Table Bay by a Dutch ship, and repaid the kindness by seducing 43 of the garrison or the Colonists to desert. Another sent a boat's crew to shoot the Company's sheep on Dassen Island.

But on the other hand, the Company's system left no available alternative. The first ship must have been abandoned or sold to the Company for want of hands,—and in the second instance, no concealment was used. The English said,—“ If you will not sell, we must steal.”

In compliance with similar orders it was resolved (30th Dec. 1680) when “ a small English vessel arrived from Mocha, in a very miserable condition,” to render her stay here distasteful to these very unwelcome guests,” by obliging the inhabitants, under a penalty of 25 Rds. to “ charge these Englishmen 18 guilders for a sheep, and to sell their vegetables at a price proportionately excessive.”

“ Discountenancing the visits of foreigners ” was soon after (20th March, 1681) laid down as one of the most important duties of the Cape Government. These notices may explain why (*supra* p. 90) Van Riebeeck apologizes for his liberality to the English captains, by stating that the oxen supplied to them, “ though not unwholesome,” “ seemed likely to die.”

See also the dismissal of Commander Qualbergen (*infra* p. 299), partly for letting the French, “ doubtless on account of the advantages received from them,” “ pluck all the ripest pears, leaving the refuse for our fleet,” instead of “ allowing them, as we have often directed, to drift upon their own fins.”

Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell  
to Chamber XVII.

1681. March 20. To avoid the great injury done to the harvest by the severe S. E. winds, to which the Table Valley, and some parts of the country are subject, we deemed it highly necessary to have the greater part of our cultivated lands in a situation not exposed to such visitations (*land plaagen*). The Commander, therefore, did not fail to search for such a place, upon his first arrival, and having discovered a very fertile tract, equally distant from the Cape and Hottentots Holland, as fully stated in our letter of 24th Dec. 1679, some of these inhabitants, with their families, to the number of eight, removed thither in the month of May last, and upon our recommendation, they have earnestly set about the cultivation of the ground, in which we have afforded them every assistance.<sup>(1)</sup>

The most watchful vigilance and the severest punishments, can in no degree prevent the desertion of the slaves; a gang of whom, to the number of 30, belonging either to the Company or to private persons, assembled together in December last, with the intent of flying to the interior; their design was, however, discovered in time, and severely punished. Seven Company's slaves, besides, escaped during last year: it is much to be lamented that these men are not to be deterred from their mistaken attempts, although they have certainly nothing to expect but to perish by hunger, to be devoured by wild beasts, or to be massacred by the Hottentots.

We have been again obliged, by the great scarcity of cattle among the nearest Hottentots, to send out two expeditions, in the months of November<sup>(2)</sup> and January last, to the Hessequa tribe, one of the richest, and nearest at hand; and on those two occasions we procured 447 horned cattle, and 1,292 sheep, chiefly for the supply of the fleet now on their way home. It is strange that although the Company has been in possession here, for so many years, we have never been able to bring it so far as to live upon our own increase. It is said, and our own observation confirms it, that there has been formerly much neglect and fraud about the management of the cattle; we have reason to believe that such is not the case at present, as a much closer superintendence is held over the proceedings of the overseers, so that malversation is rarely possible; and should we be meanwhile free from any considerable mortality, we can assure you that our own increase will be brought so far in the course of a couple of years, that we may afford to discontinue the barter in the interior. To attain this end we have already divided 1800 good ewes into three flocks, each stationed at a separate post, and which are to be kept exclusively for breeding<sup>(3)</sup>. . . . .

Memorandum for Commander Simon van der Stell and Council, &c.

1681. March 20. I have first proceeded to the consideration of the orders, memorandums, and instructions which have, during the last 24 years, been issued, either by the Directors and their Commissioners, or left here by Commanders quitting office; and I find that they comprise an abundance of excellent directions, well calculated to promote the interests of the Company, and the welfare of its possessions here. It would have been a most desirable thing, if so many good laws, memorandums, and recommendations had been followed by the proper effects; and had the views of the Company been steadily carried into execution. In that case there can be no doubt that the Colony would have been further extended, and the Company would have been relieved from many burdens which have hitherto been borne, and which must still be endured.

It appears by the account books of this Cape that subsequently to the instructions left here by the present Governor General, Mr. Ryckloff van Gocns, in 1657, the Colony has cost the Company an expence—after deduction of all the profits—of *f* 1,005,207 14 10 of which sum the

<sup>(1)</sup> This settlement was approved of by despatch, 8th June, 1682,—the titles to be freehold, subject to tithes.

<sup>(2)</sup> 1680. Nov. 4. A resolution of Council provided—upon the usual grounds, and upon an express invitation of the Hessequas, who had sent messengers to say that they were approaching with their cattle for the purpose of trade—that a serjeant and 18 men should proceed with the customary articles of merchandize.

On the 1st March, 1681, it was set forth among the merits for which Serjeant Oloff Berg was promoted to the rank of Ensign, that “he had exhibited proofs of courage in several warlike expeditions, and was particularly well qualified for the charge of the annual expeditions for the purchase of cattle.”

<sup>(3)</sup> In a subsequent despatch of this year (May 26), Mr. Van der Stell expresses his readiness to travel to the Namaquas, generally “lying about 80 *mylen* to the north,” in hopes of bartering a good quantity of cattle, but chiefly for the purpose of discovery. The proposed journey was sanctioned in 1685, by Commissioner Van Rheede.

expences of the shipping only constitute  $f451,971\ 14\ 9$ ; but if to this we were to add the materials, and the wages of Company's servants, it would amount to a sum which would almost exceed the bounds of credibility. It naturally follows, from this short statement, that it is now full time to think of the means by which the Company's affairs may be henceforth carried on with the smallest expense, the shipping being still properly supplied, and how the Colony may be, at the same time, extended with greater profit, and with a greater population.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is certain that these important points may be very easily reduced to paper by passing Commissioners; but unless they are obliged to stay here longer than has been the case hitherto, and are thus furnished with an opportunity of witnessing the actual working of their plans, instead of merely arranging a certain number of words in due order, the inspections of this command will be of little use; still less will they tend to the establishment of one single fixed principle of Government; for before the Commissioner has waded through the papers, so as to inform himself duly upon all points, or heard the opinions of a few people, three or four weeks have passed by—a time far too short for the acquisition of the requisite information, and still less for the adoption of adequate remedies. For these reasons—and as it is quite impossible for me also to attend to the interest of the Company in a fitting manner, or to arrange the results of my own inquiries in a proper form—I, like my predecessors, deem it far the best course to refer you to the preceding instructions; adding, however, this recommendation, *i. e.*, to bring into one view all such orders as are similar in character, and as coincide with the orders of the Directors; and having done this, promptly to carry such orders into execution, and those in particular which tend towards a *better system of policy—the proper administration of justice—the extension and edification of the christian community—the reduction of the expenditure—the increase of the revenues—the extension and subsistence of the Colony—securing a sufficiency of refreshments for the Company's valuable shipping—discountenancing the visits of foreigners*, and every thing else that is demanded by the general interests of the Company. If this suggestion is properly attended to, a change for the better will soon be perceptible, to the great satisfaction of the Directors.

Every one knows that the refreshment of the Company's shipping was the chief object of taking possession of this promontory, and building such an expensive stone castle, and at the same time, that it has always been kept in view to raise up a Colony, in order, in time, to relieve the Company of the expense of the garrison, and also to make the Colony find its own supplies in the cultivation of the soil and by breeding cattle.

How little assistance the Company has, at least up to this time, derived from the yeomanry (*borgerye*) is proved by our keeping up, (and that in times of peace) a garrison of 300 Company's servants. As to the castle, we have important reasons for silence—the thing is done, and is irreparable; we shall, therefore, turn to the agriculture, horticulture, and grazing, in all of which we are well advanced, and we must testify that through the zeal of the present Commander, under God's blessing, they have advanced so far that all the Company's servants, with the burgers and their wives and children, amounting to fully 600 souls, may henceforth subsist upon the produce of their own harvests of wheat, rye, and barley, but not their slaves (amounting to an equal number), and who must be fed on rice.....

Having now pointed out how rice is to be procured for the slaves, it will be necessary that you apply yourselves with all zeal to the increase of the quantity of grain.....which has induced us to provide that the Company shall receive all the wheat and rye which the burgers can spare from their own consumption, at  $f6\ 10$  and  $6$  per muid, or  $58\frac{1}{2}$  and  $54$  Rds. per ton of 4,200 lbs. thus to remove the complaints and pretences that the farmers have no other vent for their grain<sup>(2)</sup>..

The Commander has also been attentive to gardens and to the rearing of cattle, and it appears that the burgers are now possessed of about 9,000 sheep, goats, and pigs; 1,100 oxen, cows, or

(1) The revenue and expenditure of 1679 and 1680, as stated in the same paper, were  

1679	Expenditure	106,745,	Revenue	44,974,
1680	-----	83,685	-----	46,534

An improvement so perceptible, that a hope was expressed, that, excluding the article of supplies of shipping—(an item which always appears in the Company's Colonial Accounts, though evidently an expense of the general government) the revenue (chiefly consisting in profit on goods sold), if Providence should bless the Colony with peace and fruitful seasons, would soon equal the expenditure.

(2) A resolution of 28th Feb. states that these prices were fixed in concurrence with a principal burger, on condition of the Company giving him in freehold as much land as he might require, and as many oxen as he wanted for  $f24$  each; on these conditions he contracted to deliver all his grain for four years, and an advertisement was published inviting every one who was willing to deliver grain upon the same conditions, to select land which would be granted in freehold.

calves; and 95 horses or foals;.....the Company having 5,000 sheep and goats, 1,200 cattle, and 91 horses; from the increase of which stock, and the yearly barter with the Hottentots, the shipping may be supplied with fresh meat, and the flocks still continue increasing; for last season the gross amount of cattle, sheep, and goats, was increased by 1,053 head. Calculating the annual consumption at 2000 sheep and 300 cattle (an ample allowance), we may see how the live stock has been managed formerly, and that the Company no longer depends so much upon the barter with the Hottentots, as was formerly the case, but may henceforth rely upon our own stock, and if necessary, upon that of the farmers.....You are recommended to consider whether it will be more profitable for the Company to continue to breed cattle, or to leave it to the burgers, under good conditions; many arguments present themselves *pro* and *con*, which will be best solved by experience.....

I must again call your attention to what the late Mr. N. Verburg has before said upon the dispensation of justice in the Colony; for it appears to us to have grown into a practice to pay *very little attention* to the formalities and the indispensable proofs in actions at law, but *frequently* to yield too much to the influence of the passions, and to *proceed too readily to infamous punishments, banishment, and pecuniary fines, which cannot be recovered,—proceedings entirely opposed to the advancement of a poor Colony, which we would be glad to see encouraged; and which tend to awaken the wrath of God.* We, therefore, would most earnestly impress on you this most important subject; for this it is which renders the power and character of the Company so renowned in India; and when the life, the honor, or the property of our neighbour is at stake, we should proceed with the last degree of circumspection, with the utmost fear of God before our eyes. By this course you may draw upon yourself, and upon the trade and government of the Company, the blessings of the Almighty; and this Colony will, at the same time, increase in welfare and security.....

20th March, 1681.

RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS.(1)

### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council to the Governor General, &c.

1681. Dec. 21.....All is still in a flourishing condition at this African Cape; we have been this year, by the divine blessing, freed from the vehement south easters, and have consequently every promise of an abundant crop; and in all probability we shall reap so much, in comparison to former years, that we shall have enough for the maintenance of the garrison; and have resolved to begin next year, 1682, to issue to the garrison bread instead of rice, looking forward to the blessings of Providence.....when about to close this despatch, we received an express from our Ensign, who was sent about a month ago to purchase some slaughter cattle from the Hessiqua tribe, in readiness for the arrival of the return fleet; he states that he is on his return, within two days' journey of this place, having with him about 250 cattle and 1000 sheep, which will come in good time for the fleet.(2)

### *Abstract of Criminal Convictions* (3) *before the Court of Justice in the Castle of the Cape of Good Hope 1672—1682,—(continued from pp. 254, 314.)*

120. 1672. Feb. 11. *Kharri, Dhaurry, Tteutsche Achtony, and Chamtagou*, all residing under the jurisdiction (*gebeid*) of the native Captain Gonnema: Assault and Robbery of Sheep, &c. Sentence: 1st,

(1) This officer was Governor of Ceylon, and son of the Commissioner of the same name who visited the Cape in 1657 (*supra* p. 99) and who, at this date, was Governor-General.

(2) 1681. Sept. 30. Extracts of Resolutions of Council.....Resolved to send a party to barter from the nearest Cape Hottentots only as many sheep as are wanted for the ships now here, and for the sick in hospital. Oct. 21. For the reasons stated in our resolution of the 30th Sept. it was thought proper to send a party to the Soeswas tribe, for the last party to the Cape Hottentots have procured only a few sheep.....Any more distant journey was for the present declined, as we daily expect express messengers from the Namaquas, from whom we hope to purchase a good many cattle, and as we have not proper persons at hand to place in charge of both expeditions at the same time.

(3) It was stated in a note (p. 16, Part II,) that condensed details of the Convictions and Sentences will appear in the course of these papers in periods of ten years, from Mr. W. Harding's "Descriptive Abstract of Convictions 1652 to 1837." The object was to give a full view of the administration of the Criminal Laws, as affecting *the several classes of the inhabitants.* When Mr. Harding left Cape Town, his Abstract was completed between the years 1726 and 1837, but no further. The Abstract from 1652 to 1726 has been consequently supplied, with very inferior qualifications for the task, by the Editor.

2d, and 3d prisoners to be flogged, branded, and banished to Robben Island in chains for 15 years; 4th and 5th prisoners to be flogged, and banished for 7 years.

[Executed on the 11th. Prisoners escaped to the main on the 4th January 1673.]

121. 1672. May 11. A. J. Fries, convict on Robben Island: Stabbing: sentenced to be flogged and marked on the back with a red hot knife, with 2 years banishment in addition to his former sentence. [The "marking" remitted by pardon on the 14th.]

122. July 6. G. Gabriels and O. Knoets, convicts: Assault: sentenced to be flogged and banished for 5 years, chained together, in addition to their former sentences.

123. July. W. Willems, burger: Homicide of a Hottentot: sentence (in the absence of the culprit) outlawry, banishment, and confiscation of property.

124.—Wolters, Jagers, and Pieters, soldiers: Violent Assault with swords and prison breaking. 1st prisoner to be thrice flogged at the gallows, sword to be broken at his feet, dismissed from the service, and to work 6 years in chains. No. 2, 100 lashes, and 1½ year in chains. No. 3, 50 lashes, 1 year in chains. Each to forfeit 6 months' pay, *pro fisco*.

125. Aug. 17. J. Jans, free man: Theft of Money, by picking the pockets of a drunken man, (it is mentioned in aggravation, that the prisoner not only got drunk himself, but intoxicated the dogs and pigs also, with sugar and eggs mixed with wine, sentenced to be flogged, to work in chains for 3 years, and all his property confiscated. Executed on the 27th.

126. Aug. 26. Heyn Elers, cook's mate: Theft of coats from Company's stores: sentenced to be flogged, with a coat above hung above his head, then to be branded, and to work 5 years in chains, with confiscation (*pro fisco*) of all his wages.

127. Oct. 21. Joan Tenger, soldier: Mutinous and Seditious Conduct, repeated Prison Breaking, Desertion, and Theft of a sheep, the property of Hottentots, while vagabondizing: sentenced to be severely flogged and dismissed from the service, his sword to be broken, to be pilloried the whole day under the gallows with a halter round his neck, and a sheep skin above his head, to labour in chains for 10 years, and to forfeit all his pay.

128. Nov. 24. Four soldiers: Inciting others to Mutiny and to demand a greater allowance of food: sentence,—two of the prisoners to be hanged, and the other two flogged, and to labour in chains for 25 years. Life or death to be decided by drawing lots. Executed accordingly on the 26th.

129. Nov. 24. Errick Orre, soldier: same offence in an inferior degree: sentenced to witness the execution of last sentence, to be thrice flogged, and to work in chains 3 years.

130. Dec. 6. A. Roelofse and F. Cuyper, soldiers: Desertion, Housebreaking, and Vagabondizing; 1st prisoner hanged, 2d to witness the execution, to be severely flogged, and to work in chains for 12 years.

131. Dec. 10. J. de Vos, ships' carpenter: Stabbing: sentenced to be thrice keelhauled, disgrated, and to forfeit 6 months' wages. (The keelhauling was remitted.)

132. 1673. Jan. 5. Jan Peters, surgeon of a Danish ship: Stabbing: sentence to be thrice keelhauled, to be banished from the Company's territories for 25 years, and to recompence the wounded man for the pain, loss of time, and medical expenses. (Executed on the 6th.)

133. Jan. 25. J. Meyer and 2 others, soldiers: Theft of Arrack under their charge as sentries: sentenced to be flogged and banished to Robben Island for 10 and 5 years, to forfeit the wages due, and to pay for the stolen spirits.

134. Feb. 13. L. Erickson, soldier: Store-breaking (Company's stores,) and Theft, sentenced to be hanged. (Executed on the 15th.)

135. Feb. 13. Three sailors: Theft of Rice: sentenced to be pilloried, a sack of rice being suspended over their heads, and to hard labour at public works for 4 and 2 years. (The pillory remitted.)

136. Feb. 13. G. Gems, soldier (lent out as a servant): harbouring the fugitive Danish surgeon (vide No. 132.): to witness execution of sentence, and to be banished to Robben Island for 4 years. (The sentence to witness the execution remitted.)

137. May 31. P. Bartolomei, free carpenter: *Lese Magestatis*, in having repeatedly said that he would soot the governor like a dog: to be bound blindfolded to a post, and to have a bullet fired over his head, with 3 years banishment to public works at Robben Island, with confiscation of all his property.

138. May 31. D. J. Lubregts, master smith: offering resistance when beaten for drunkenness by Lieut. Smient: to have a bullet fired over his head, and to be banished for 5 years to public works. (By a pardon dated 1st June, the two last prisoners were excused that portion of their sentences only which required that they were to have a bullet fired over their heads at the place of execution.)

139. May 31. B. J. Jongeman, boatswain: striking his captain when drunk, in return for a blow inflicted on him by the captain; sentenced to be thrice keelhauled, well flogged, to work 3 years on public works, and forfeit 6 months' wages.

140. May 31. J. van Es, sailor: Stabbing: sentenced to be keelhauled and well flogged, to be banished for 2 years to public works, and forfeit 6 months' wages.

141. July 14. C. J. Potman, drummer of the ship "Europa:": Homicide, by Stabbing: sentenced to be shot to death. (Executed on the 15th.)

142. 1673. Aug. 11. Four soldiers: Desertion. with intent to go to Mozambique: sentenced, one prisoner to be hanged and the body exposed, the others to be flogged and 6 years' labour with forfeiture of wages.

143. Aug. 11. J. J. Dorp, quartermaster: Theft of Spirits from the Company's stores: sentenced to be flogged, with a halter round his neck, to hard labour for six years, and to forfeit his wages.

144. Aug. 11. Hans Vitter, soldier: Desertion: sentenced to be thrice flogged, and to work six months without wages.

145. Aug. 11. D. Momsing, drummer: drawing his sword to defend himself when beaten by the corporal: sentenced to be thrice flogged, and to work one year at public works, forfeiting 3 months' wages.

146. Aug. 11. C. Gosselinx, acting master of a vessel: Stabbing (inflicted upon the cook because the victuals were not kept warm): to be thrice keelhauled, and labour at public works for one year.

147. Sept. 22. Tryntje Theunissen, free woman, H. Cornelissen, and Jan Theunissen, her late servants: concealing in her herd and slaughtering two cows, apparently belonging to some of the Hottentots, which had strayed: sentence, the first prisoner to be bound to a post at the place of execution, with a halter round her neck and a cow's hide above her head; to be severely flogged, branded, and confined on Robben Island for 12 years, to make good the stolen cattle, and to forfeit all her property. The other prisoners to be flogged, with a cow's hide over their heads, to be placed in chains at public works for six years, and forfeit all their property. (*vide supra* p. 335.)

(Executed on the 23d, with the exception of the halter round the neck, and the branding of the 1st prisoner, and the flogging of H. Cornelissen, as per pardon of that date.)

148. Sept. 22. Three slaves: Desertion and inciting others thereto, (in hopes of reaching Angola, not from want of proper support, but in hopes of having an easier life there:) sentenced to be severely flogged, their ears cut off, to be branded on the back and cheeks, and work for life in chains, &c.

149. Sept. 22. Two soldiers: (a repeated offence) of sleeping on their post as sentries: sentenced to be thrice *strappadoed* (*gewipt*), to be turned out of the service, and work three years without wages.

150. Dec. 8. Mayke van der Berg, free woman, and P. Buylings, her servant, (notwithstanding their lenient punishment about five months ago): Theft of three Sheep of the Hottentot breed, the property of the Company: sentenced to be bound to a post with a sheep's skin over head, to be severely flogged, and banished for life; Mayke van der Berg with a sheep's skin fastened round her neck with an iron ring, and P. Buylings rivetted in chains to public works, with confiscation of all their property.

151. 1674. Jan. 19. H. J. Hamboes, soldier: Stabbing: sentenced to be flogged, dismissed the service, and to three years' labour.

152. May 21. S. le Grand, sailor: Stabbing: sentenced to be thrice keelhauled, flogged, and to lose six months' pay.

153. Aug. 1. Dirk Jansen, sailor: Stabbing: sentenced to be thrice keelhauled, flogged, the knife drawn through his hand, to work 4 years without wages, and lose four months' pay.

154. Aug. 1. Two soldiers: Theft: sentenced to be flogged, and to work in chains, one for five, the other for three years.

155. 1675. March 2. Two sailors: Stabbing: sentenced to be flogged and branded, and to labour at public works for six years, with confiscation of pay due.

156. March 2. Joan Pfyver, late soldier, in service of the licenced retailer of spirits: fraud against his master, by selling spirits on his own account: sentenced to witness the execution of criminal sentences, with rods suspended over his head, to be flogged by four Caffres, to work six years on Robben Island, the three first without wages, and the remainder of the time for soldier's pay, to go towards compensating the loss sustained by his master.

157. March 2. Jooste Verne, ship's gunner: Theft of Gunpowder, Mutiny, and Stabbing: sentenced to be thrice keelhauled, to have a knife stuck through his hand, and to labour in chains for six years.

158. March 19. Seven soldiers of various countries: Mutiny and Conspiracy on board of ship: four of the prisoners sentenced to death, three to flogging, and twenty years' labour in chains. (By the minutes of the court it appears that the captains and members of council in two ships were mulcted in from one to three months' wages for not having proceeded regularly against the conspirators.)

159. April 30. Jan Coursen, soldier: Stabbing: sentenced to be flogged, and to labour in chains for 4 years, to forfeit his pay, and pay for the injury, &c.

160. June 21. Aran, aged 15 or 16, slave of Wouter Mostert: Manslaughter, committed upon a Hottentot of Schachers Kraal, (a number of that people sitting on the ground near the door of the kitchen, prisoner said he would frighten them, and discharged a gun not knowing it was loaded,) "an offence of great consequence, not to be tolerated in a land where justice flourishes:" Sentenced to be flogged, branded, and to work in chains for life, with expenses.

161. July 26. Two soldiers: Housebreaking, Theft, and Assault: sentenced to be thrice whipped, and to work three years in chains.

162. July 26. Two soldiers and one sailor: Theft of rice from Company's store: sentenced to be pilloried, with a sack of rice over their heads, to be flogged, and to work in chains on Robben Island for 5 years.

163. July 26. Two slaves: Housebreaking and attempted Theft: sentenced to be flogged and branded, to have both ears cut off, and to labour in chains for 12 years.

164. 1675. Oct. 25. A soldier : Desertion : sentenced to be thrice whipped, to be dismissed the service, and work 6 years in chains on Robben Island.

165. Oct. 25. Two soldiers, convicts : repeated Theft : sentenced, the 1st prisoner to be severely flogged, the 2d to witness the punishment with rods round his neck, and both to additional terms of 8 and 6 years banishment.

166. Nov. 8. Domingo of Angola, slave : Sheepstealing and Housebreaking : sentenced to be hanged. (Executed on the 9th.) [It appears by the minutes of Oct. 25, that the prisoner after confessing the crime retracted his confession, and that he was sentenced to the torture notwithstanding a subsequent confession.]

167. Nov. 15. Hans Jonger, soldier : Desertion and Housebreaking : sentenced to be flogged, pilloried, and to work in chains on Robben Island for 12 years.

168. 1676. June 17. Jacob van Leeuwen, assistant : Manslaughter : sentenced to have a ball fired over his head blindfold, and to be banished for life to Robben Island, with forfeiture of all his property. (This is also the first case entered on the minutes of 1676.)

169. June 17. A sailor : Stabbing : sentenced to be severely flogged, to be branded with a red hot sword, be banished for 25 years to Robben Island, and pay £ 100 to the surgeon, with forfeiture of property, &c.

170. June 18. Two slaves : Theft of Cabbages : sentenced to be pilloried with cabbages over head, to be flogged, branded, both ears cut off, and placed in chains *ad vitam*. 2 a

171. 1677. April 2. C. Landleven, soldier : Housebreaking and Theft : sentenced to be dismissed, flogged, to work in chains on Robben Island for five years, and to compensate the injury.

172. June 1. Jan, of Macasser, slave of W. Mostert : Desertion, repeated Sheep Stealing, and attempt to commit Suicide : sentenced to be hanged.

173. June 1. Mayke van den Berg, widow of the late free burger, Thielman Roos : Receiving Stolen Rice, knowing it to have been stolen : sentenced to be pilloried with a rice sack over her head, to be severely flogged, to have a gallows branded on her back, to be banished for life, all her property being confiscated, &c.

174. June 1. Five sailors : Embezzlement of Company's Goods : sentenced to three years' hard labour in irons.

175. June 1. Victor Bucker, soldier : Theft : sentenced to be dismissed the service, and to hard labour for 3 years in chains.

176. June 1. J. E. v. Swerin, soldier : Theft : sentenced to 2 years hard labour.

177. July 30. W. v. Stratsburg, soldier : Stabbing : sentenced to have his sword broken, to work in chains for 5 years, to compensate the wounded man, and pay the surgeon, to forfeit all his pay, &c.

178. Sept. 24. Jan Beyts, free farmer : Homicide upon the person of another freeman, (in a quarrel) : sentenced to be shot to death.

179. 1678. Sept. 14. The Hottentots *Quisa, Comoko, Gamaka, Ore, and Derva*, all five *Suncquas* of the *Attiqua* Kraals, subject to the Chief Schacher : Theft and robbery of Cattle and Sheep : first, some time ago on Table Mountain, 10 sheep of the Widow Treyntje Thenis, alias the new *boerin* ; at another time, one ox of B. Hendricks ; afterwards from the kraal of P. van der Westhuisen, 2 cows ; about six weeks ago, at Steenberg, 10 of the Company's sheep, and during last year 2 cows, the property of the Burgerraadt J. Valckenryk, besides various robberies from cattle herds, until they were captured, and one of their accomplices killed by Captain Cuyper ; having made it their profession to live by robbery. Sentenced to be hanged, and their dead bodies exposed, to forfeit all their property, and pay costs, &c. x

[The minutes state the answer of the prisoners to the Fiscal's charge to have been "*Maski*," (although !)  
*Vide supra p. 365.*]

180. Oct. 5. Two slaves : Desertion, Sheepstealing, and Housebreaking : sentenced to be hanged.

181. Dec 28. Jan Smit, soldier : Desertion and Theft : sentenced to be thrice whipped, to be dismissed the service, to work 3 years on Robben Island, make good the loss, forfeit his pay, &c.

182. 1679. April 12. Paul of the Malabar Coast, slave of the Burger, Anthony of Bengal : harbouring in his master's garden for 3 nights a deserted female slave belonging to the Company : sentenced to be flogged and marked with a red hot iron.

183. May 3. Jan Jans, sailor : Desertion, in company with 2 free burgers, with intention of escaping to the Portuguese or other nation, stealing horses to aid in their escape, seducing a slave to accompany them, &c. (See Journal.) Sentenced to be hanged. Executed on the 5th. (By the minutes of April 27, sentenced to be brought *ad proximam torturam* for denying the charge)

184. May 12. D. Gebrandts, sailor : Stabbing : sentenced to be flogged, and work 3 years on Robben Island

[No. 185 is a copy of a sentence, 18th Nov. 1671, against two soldiers for exchanging Company's Cattle.]

186. July 12. Abraham van Daversvele, soldier : Murder of a Comrade : sentenced *ad proximam torturam* on the 4th : sentenced to be shot to death. (Executed on the 15th.)

187. July 26. Jan Cinto, of Colombo, convict : Theft : sentenced to be flogged and branded, with 6 years (additional to former sentence) in chains.

188. Nov. 27. Jan Antonies, cook's mate : Stabbing : sentenced to be flogged, branded with a red hot sword, and to work in chains on Robben Island *ad vitam*.

189. 1680. May 20. Emanuel of Bengal, Company's slave: Theft of Cabbages: to be flogged, with a cabbage hung round his neck.

190. June 12. Two slaves: Desertion and Theft of various Articles of Food: sentenced to be flogged and branded, to work in chains, 1st prisoner 10 years, the 2d, 5 years.

191. Oct. 7. Fredk. Pokelman, late Company's butcher: Falsehood and Fraud. (Prisoner's cattle had been confiscated by sentence of the 5th July, for illicit barter, and he condemned to 3 years on Robben Island, and he was now tried for making a false sale of his sheep, with intent to defraud the Fiscal of his dues). Sentence to be pilloried, with a sheepskin round his neck, the fraudulent writing on his breast, and two oars in his arms, and to 3 years additional banishment.

192. 1681. Feb. 3. Cupido of Bengal, slave: criminal conversation with his master's daughter, and about 3 years ago with another European female, both before and after her marriage, *diverse en ontallige maalen*, "thus adding to his offence the greater crime of adultery:" sentenced to be hanged and burned under the gallows. (The minutes state "the prisoner had nothing to say in his defence, but left all to the will of the court.")

193. Feb. 3. Pasqual, of the coast, slave: Desertion. (It is stated in aggravation that the prisoner stole some ears of corn from the garden of the free burger Louis of Bengal, and that a fire which he made to roast the corn had spread and done some mischief.) Sentenced to be flogged and branded, and work in chains for one year.

194. Feb. 3. Anthony, of the Coromandel coast, slave of the free burger Louis of Bengal: Desertion and wounding in the hand with a knife Lieutenant Baptista, who tried to apprehend him: sentenced to be pilloried, with a halter round his neck, to be severely flogged, marked on the back with a hot iron, to have the middle finger cut out of each hand,<sup>(1)</sup> to be rivetted in chains *ad vitam*, and thus sent back to his master, with costs. (Executed on the 8th.) In the minutes it is added "the nose to be cut off."

195. 1681. Aug. 10. Two soldiers: Desertion, with intent to reach the Portuguese: to be dismissed the service, flogged and banished to Robben Island for 5 years.

196. Aug. 10. Claas Cat uyt 't Slight, soldier: Theft of Money from a chest: sentenced to be dismissed, flogged, and banished to Robben Island, to refund the stolen money, &c.

197. Nov. 30. Pieter of Batavia, slave: Attempt to induce other Slaves to join him in deserting: "a most dangerous offence in this infant colony, and which might bring about the ruin of many of the inhabitants;" sentenced to be flogged, branded, and rivetted in chains *ad vitam*.

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*Notes of Cases, Civil and Criminal, from the Minutes of the Court of Justice, 1672—1682,  
which are not noticed among the filed Sentences.*

1674. June 6. The *Political Council* sentenced a sailor for Vagabondizing, to carry eight crow bars for three days, and two months' labour: a soldier for being out of the fort one night without leave, to ride the wooden horse threedays with 24 lbs. weight on his legs, and two months' labour.

July 24. A ship captain and two seamen: sentenced to be drowned for unnatural offences.

Aug. 1. Dirck Ringel, son of a burger: condemned at the suit of the Fiscal, to one month's labour, and to pay for the injury done, in maliciously Killing a Duck, the property of a free black.

1675. Feb. 15. A sailor: sentenced to be drowned for an unnatural crime.

March I. W. V. Dieden and J. Rosendael, are frequently named as litigants. The Court this day order them to settle their disputes amicably, on pain of prosecution as "contumacious and *temeraire twisters*."

May 9. A burger and a Dutch servant: criminally prosecuted for maliciously Shooting a Horse: the burger sentenced to be flogged on the scaffold, and to work four years in chains; the servant to witness the flogging, and work 20 months; each to pay a fine of 50 Rds. and to make good the value of the horse.

Nov. 8. A burger: sentenced, for Buying from a Company's Slave, to work three months at common farm work, and to pay a fine of 30 Rds.

1676. July 17. Application to the Court by the creditors of "the burger Hendrick Baart, recently massacred, among others, by the Gonnema Hottentots or their adherents."

1677. M. Lamnurts: for Theft of a Ewe and Lamb, sentenced to five years' labour on Robben Island, and a fine of 50 Rds.

1678. Jan. 20. H. Smeyndt, free burger, prosecuted for Contravention of Placaat of August 1677, in keeping in his kraal a Cow, the property of the Company, for one night; the Fiscal claimed six years on Robben Island, and a fine of 50 Rds. Sentenced to three months' labour, and fine of 25 guilders.

1680. April 12. Two Company's cattle herds sentenced at suit of the Fiscal, for Theft of one of the Company's Cattle, to one year on Robben Island, and forfeiture of 2 months' pay.

1679. March 22. Jackje van Angola, free Kaffer, recovers a debt of Rds. 93 from Antoni of Bengal, free burger.

1680. June 17. The “*black free burger*,” Antoni of Bengal: fined Rds. 25, at suit of the Fiscal, for Killing a Steinbok.

Sept. 2. The black free burger, Eerst, of Guinea, prosecutes the free burger Steven Jansen, because his slave girl had beat the plaintiff’s wife: plea, the plaintiff’s wife had been so abusive that the slave girl could not bear it: sentence,—the slave girl to be flogged by Kaffers before the door of defendant’s house. On the 9th, Jansen prosecutes Eerst for a debt of Rds. 7: debt admitted, but cannot pay before the arrival of the fleet: sentence,—“*Fiat uytstel tot de vloot.*” [*vide supra* p. 363.]

1681. January 6. Second default granted against J. Marquart, at suit of C. Sturns, for recovery of the price paid for a free person who had been sold him as being a slave. (This case is, on the 13th, referred to the evidence of the plaintiff’s wife.)

June 30. R. Pasman, free burger: sentenced to a fine of Rds. 50, or one year’s labour; for Buying 1 lb. of Tobacco.

July 21. The Veltwachter *versus* two Company’s shepherds: to show how they came into possession of a quantity of salt smoked Hart’s flesh: plea,—the animal was killed by a *poisoned arrow*, and it was better that they should use it than leave it to the wild beasts; fined 3 Rds. each, for the Veltwachter.

1682. June. One of many prosecutions at the suit of the Veltwachter, for contravention of a Proclamation in sawing planks without licence, in which the defendant is allowed the benefit of three defaults as in civil cases.

Aug. 31. J. Andrian, free burger: fined 20 Reals at suit of the Veltwachter: “for Bartering Milk and some Flesh: and on 28th Sept. Jan Mostart: fined 3 Rds. for Bartering Milk from the Hottentot tribe *Gongeman*: both defendants pleaded ignorance of the law.

The Veltwachter prosecuted in cases of Firing the Grass: on the 22d Feb. 1683, a Company’s shepherd was fined 25 Reals for that offence.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1682. April 23. . . . We still continue on very good neighbourly terms (*seer goed verstant, en nabuyschap*) with the natives, and that not only with those nearest at hand, but also with those urthest inland; this circumstance gives great security to the free farmers, who are now fixing their abodes in various quarters, and prosecuting their agricultural operations with much zeal; but as the fidelity of the natives is not much to be depended upon (this observation does not so much apply to the principal chiefs, and those subject to them, who still—the chief Gonnema, for example—too well remember the war they carried on with the Company, but) especially the *Soncquas*, a sort of Hottentots who subsist by plunder, and who have nothing to lose by war. We have, therefore, directed that (at a certain spot named Stellenbosch, whither on account of the good situation, and fertility of the soil, the principal farmers have either begun to cultivate, or are inclined to commence) the habitations are not to be placed too far from each other, for the sake of mutual assistance in the event of attack.

According to the treaty of peace entered into in the year 1677, between the Company and the Chief Gonnema and his adherents, he is bound to deliver annually, about the time of the arrival of the fleet from India, 30 head of horned cattle, as an acknowledgement; he has not, however, during all the time which has since elapsed, in spite of repeated remonstrances, brought in any more than 30 head in all, in diminution of our claim, for, like all the rest of the Hottentots who lie hereabouts, he is very poorly off for stock; and we have thus been obliged to seek our necessary supplies from a more distant tribe, named Hessequas, who live on the east coast of Africa, and are very opulent in cattle: from this tribe we have procured, in three journies, 669 horned cattle and 2,374 sheep, from which we were not only enabled to supply all the shipping during last year to their satisfaction, but were able also to meet the consumption of the hospital, which, in consequence of the number of the sick from the ships and garrison, was very great in comparison with those of former years. The absence of any mortality, worth mentioning, among the cattle during the past year, as well as of much annoyance from ravenous animals, such as lions, tigers, wolves, &c., has greatly contributed to this desirable result.

It is not that necessity has obliged us to have recourse to these trading journeys, nor is it from the absolute want of cattle, but chiefly to spare our breeding stock, so that we may at length be able to subsist upon our own means, an object which the Company has long had in view, but which has not hitherto been attained; we trust, however, that we have at length good grounds for assuring your Honors, that we have so far advanced that essential work, that we may soon

expect to enjoy the fruits; and thus be freed from those toilsome journeys, performed at such a heavy expense to the Company. In the month of February last, the Company were actually possessed of 4,013 half bred sheep, of which 2,061 were breeding ewes, besides 250 goats; last year there were reared 2000 lambs, of which say 500 were ewes; our breeding stock will thus be increased in four or five months to 2,500, from which number, unusual accidents excepted, we may fairly expect an annual supply of 2,400; and 3000 slaughter sheep each year will fully suffice the shipping. Your Honors may perceive what progress we have made towards this object, when we state that, independent of the saving of the expense of those long journeys, a half-bred sheep, the progeny between the Dutch and the Hottentot breed, is much to be preferred to the native breed, on account of nutriment as well as of size. . . . .

Speaking of the Hottentots, we may here state, that as you were pleased by the last general Despatch of the 23d January last year, to consent to our proposal to take a journey to the Namaquas, for the better examination of that country, we had intended to set out towards the beginning of last dry season, but as we had no information as to the exact position then occupied by that people, and were not inclined to risk the expense that must be incurred upon an uncertainty, we had recourse to the expedient of inducing two Hottentots by high rewards, to go thither with small presents, in order, if possible, to induce the Namaquas to come to us. In this endeavour we have so far succeeded, that some of the principal Chiefs of the Namaquas came to Geregri-quas,<sup>(1)</sup> another tribe generally living about 50 mylen from the Company's Residency, where they staid under the plea of ignorance of our manners and customs, not having been at the Cape, and they desired either to be escorted hither by some of our people, or to return to their country; we accordingly sent out a Serjeant and a party of soldiers to fetch them in December last, and they came, to the number of 12 of both sexes, including four Chiefs whom they called Captains, and who explained as well as they could, the situation and circumstances of their country; among other things we have learnt from them that the river of *Vigiti Magna*, which our people took infinite pains to find when we first took possession here, was known to them, and was, according to them very wide and deep all the way to where it discharges itself into the sea in the north of Africa. They also pointed out the general line of the coast, which agreed with the map of Africa. They showed us several bits of copper taken by themselves out of the mountains in their country, where it must be very abundant, seeing that they are entirely ignorant of the art of smelting ore, as you may clearly perceive by the copper herewith enclosed, which appears to have consisted of small pieces, run together into a lump by the heat of the fire. It is remarkable, also, that these Namaquas have brought to our knowledge two other sorts of people, who live very far to the north of this African promontory, and whom they called *Bri* and *Griequas*<sup>(2)</sup>; the last, residing furthest inland, and, according to them, the most distant, are real (*opregte*) Kaffers, who trade with tribes still further off, among whom they say that a kind of metal is to be had not unlike silver<sup>(3)</sup>. . . . . An extraordinary sickness and mortality has prevailed here during the last year; even the natives, who are generally free from such visitations, have not been exempted, and many of them have been thus swept off (*gesnevelt*) a circumstance which never, or at least very seldom, happens among them, in comparison with the numbers carried off in the course of nature (*door de doodt*). In the course of last year, we have lost by death, among the garrison and the burgers, 85 persons,<sup>(4)</sup> chiefly by fevers.

(1) The same details are given in a resolution of Nov. 26, 1681, which has been, therefore, omitted.

(2) For explanation of the Hottentot term *qua*,—which like the Kafir *ama*, signified “tribe” or “people,”—*Vide supra* (note) p. 248.

(3) On the 3d Oct. 1682, the Directors assent to the proposed expedition to the north, “for the discovery of those countries, and of such of their products as may be profitable to the Company, especially the copper and silver that are spoken of; as also of the river *Vigiti Magna*, of which so much has been heretofore written, and so little known, which is now said to discharge itself into the sea to the north, whereas it was formerly supposed to run to the eastward.

(4) In the same despatch the whole European population is stated to have been 663, of which number 300 belonged to the garrison, 162 were children, and 45 Dutch servants. 2,549 muids of grain had been reaped. It was calculated that each person would consume one quarter of a muid monthly—total 165 $\frac{3}{4}$  per *ensem*, or 1,984 muids per annum,—“thus it is evident that the Company's servants, the burgers, and their wives and children, may be henceforth subsisted upon grain grown by themselves, but not the slaves, who including those belonging to the Company, will not amount to a less number, and must necessarily be fed on rice.” Much was said of the flourishing state of agriculture, particularly at the new settlement of Stellenbosch; of the encouragement that had been held out to the agriculture, and of the still greater encouragement that was required “to keep up the present zeal of the farmers;” for were we to restrict them too much, this needful work would be once more entirely crushed.” The same despatch has this passage,—“For the prevention of all monopoly, a price must be fixed, at which the Company may henceforth receive the grain from the free farmers; in our opinion those who have made no contract with the Company should be satisfied with *f* 10 for wheat, *f* 8 for rye, and *f* 4 10 for barley, per muid, and should not be allowed to sell to private persons at a higher rate, otherwise they would leave the Company in want.”

Extracts of Considerations for the information and guidance of Commander  
Van der Stell, by Governor-General R. van Goens.

1682. April 24. . . . . We have further to consider whether the extent of the Cape lands will suffice for the cultivation, and in particular for the quantity of cattle that will be reared in the process of time. . . . . the land now in our possession is enough for our present stock [18,000 sheep, 2,000 horned cattle, &c.] but more land must be sought for the probable increase. Thus, in time, a further extension of the Colony must be thought of, for which purpose a widely extended field lies open to us. . . . . Within a distance of 70 *milen* from E. by N. to N. E. some considerable rivers and large forests may be found, and in all probability the river named on the coast *Rio de Infante*, but called in the interior *Camissa* or *Cumissa*, a very large river, the discovery of which will be a great point, and a step towards the subsequent discovery of the river of *Monomotopa*, and more and more of the countries of Southern Africa, so far at least as the service of the Company may in time require, selecting in the first place such lands on this, that is on the south, side of Rio de Infante as are nearest, best situated, and most easy of access.

This space comprises a great extent of of country, which is (to all appearance) inhabited, or wandered over (*door geloopen*) by none but various tribes of poor ignorant Hottentots in their migratory mode of life, but still it is abundantly stocked with oxen, cows, steers, elands, harts, sheep, all kinds of deer, hares, birds, and other useful animals. The Company and the burgers being thus supplied with abundance of land,—time, and the future condition of the Company and the Fatherland, will point out what else is necessary. . . . . It would be a very desirable thing if we could induce the Hottentots to adopt some kind of civilized habits, and thus teach them to be faithful to us, which would give us much security in such an emergency (*i. e.* an invasion by any European power); but of this there appear as yet but slender hopes, from the great barbarism and rude manners of those people. What may be effected upon those ignorant men in time, and with skilful management, depends upon the will of Providence; but nothing will be accomplished by any kind of severity; and it will be necessary to exhibit much patient forbearance, discretion, and, especially, affability.<sup>(1)</sup>

R. VAN GOENS.

Extract of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander Simon  
van der Stell and Council.

1682. 8th June. "That the Kaffers who are found to be the most laborious, and the most easily habituated to the circumstances of the country, are so given to desertion, is most vexing. The premium paid upon the Hottentots bringing deserted slaves to the castle ought to produce some effect; or if too low, it may be somewhat raised. If you should be of opinion that they would

(1) This paper details, at some length, the motives of taking possession "28 years ago, as the English were inclined to take possession of St. Helena to our injury," and the gradual growth of a Colony, of which the object was still "merely to secure a place of refreshment in a temperate and healthy climate." The additional object of "raising cheap provisions," rendered it necessary to encourage the farmers by buying their grain at a fair price, and finding them servants by discharging such persons in the service of the Company,— "being protestants, and either Dutch or Germans,"— as were so disposed.

The Governor-General gives hopes of a change in the system of every passing officer giving new orders; censures arbitrary practices in the administration of justice; lays down directions for the defence of the Colony against the French, and other external enemies; but does not further allude to the relations with the natives.

The only portion of the "Considerations," excepting the extract above given, in which they are mentioned, is in directing a party of 30 men to be sent to explore "the country near the Bay of St. Lucia and Terra de Natal, near where, as stated in the Portuguese accounts, "the Rio de Infante falls into the sea;" this party are not separate, so as to be able to defend themselves against the attacks of "lions, elephants *wild asses*, or ill-disposed men,—without, however, injuring any one, thus proving,—even if attacked,—by a friendly bearing towards the assailants, that we come to hurt no one."

1682. July. Resolutions of Council. Detention by the rivers is stated to have been so frequent on trading journeys, that two small flat boats are ordered to be made for such occasions; "they will be very convenient on the proposed journey to the Namaquas."

1682. Aug. 31. A Resolution of this date extends the limits within which the law of 1670 had fixed the premium for killing lions (at *f* 75, from Wynberg to Tygerberg, and for such as were killed beyond those limits at *f* 25,) and fixed the premium at *f* 50 wherever the animal was killed,—see Resolutions 1707, upon fixing a boundary for the purpose of this law.

be more zealous if made free,<sup>(1)</sup> you may make the experiment with one or or two families; and leave nothing untried which is likely in any degree to tend to the advancement of agriculture. . . . . We are much gratified to learn the increase of produce and revenue, and no less so with the prospect you hold out of being able, in the course of two years, from the increase of your own stock, to discontinue the barter for sheep in the interior."

### Extract of Resolution of Council.

1682. Oct. 21. "But on the question, whether, in the event of the said Namaquas not yielding to amicable request, to show us the pretended mine, they should be compelled to do so; it was resolved, that every diligence should be exerted, and every conceivable means of kindly persuasion first employed, to induce them to point it out; but if our object is not thus to be attained in any way, they must be gradually (*allenskens*) constrained so to do, not killing or injuring them, however, provided they do not first attack our people."<sup>(2)</sup>

1682. Oct. 29.—Extracts of Instructions, &c.—When you have approached the Namaqua kraals, you will inform their Chief that it is our desire always to continue on good terms with him, as for many years back, and that you have chiefly come to purchase a quantity of cattle, but before coming to that, you will yourself, as well as through the Hottentots, endeavour indirectly to learn the situation of the copper mines they speak of. To remove all jealousy or suspicion, you must try to impress on them that it is by no means our intention to injure them, or to deprive them of it, advancing some kind of plausible plea; but should you find every kind of friendly inducement in vain, and that they will not listen to persuasion, you must still persist with urgent remonstrances, but without employing force.

About 20 years ago, the Company made an attempt to pass through these Namaquas to seek for something profitable, and upon their offering resistance, the party turned back; this example you must not follow; but in a similar event you will try to induce them, by every friendly solicitation, to allow you to pass unmolested; but should they not consent, and continue obstinate, you will go on notwithstanding, whether with or without their consent,—paying them, in the event of their offering a hostile resistance, in the same coin; still not attacking the whole nation, but only such as attempt to prevent your passage. . . . . "Should they, on the contrary, receive you well, you will do all in your power to induce some of them to guide you to the *Gri* and *Bri*, another race of people in the interior of Africa, if not too distant."

(1) The practice of emancipating Company's slaves on account of long services had been discontinued on the 8th April, 1682, on the ground that several enfranchised slaves had subsequently become burdensome to the Company; and it was further resolved, that "upon any of those who had been formerly enfranchised becoming dependent on the Company for support, they should again become slaves, it being but fair that if the Company maintains them, they should be again subject to their former bondage." Three years later, provision was made by Commissioner Van Reede, for rewarding by enfranchisement the good conduct of Company's slaves, of not less than 30 years of age if imported, and 40, if born at the Cape; provided they were of the reformed religion, and had not been convicted of any crime, "so that these men need not sigh under perpetual slavery."

The *opinion* that the right of burgership was an exclusive privilege of the whites, seems to have had no foundation in law, and to have been of later origin; and the same observation applies to the *practice*, (notwithstanding that opinion) of retaining in slavery the progeny of female slaves and free fathers, who by law were free.

1682. Jan. 5. It was not until much later that any legal provision was made for the relation of master and servant, between the colonists and the natives, and from a Resolution of this date it appears that the relative rights of burgers and their *European* servants, or non-residents, had not been hitherto defined; it was resolved, that a servant might be summarily imprisoned on complaint to the Fiscal; a burger accused by another of assault or threats, might be detained, provided the accuser allowed himself to be detained also, with a view to immediate investigation of the charge. A non-resident might be detained on the engagement of the resident complainant to appear against him.

(2) The first portion of the Resolution authorises the expedition in the usual terms; it was to consist of 30 men for security in the event of being attacked. The result (as stated in a despatch of May 28, 1683, and Resolution of July 26, authorising another expedition) was that "after approaching to within a day's journey of the Namaquas (their *reduced* distance from the Cape being from 50 to 60 *mylen*) they had turned back "chiefly, as reported by them, from want of water (*Resolution*);—"under the pretence of scarcity of water." (*Despatch*).

In the instructions issued on the 29th October, it is further stated, that among the 30 Hottentots who accompany the expedition, is one commonly called Captain *Cees*, and in their language, *Couca*,<sup>(1)</sup> a Captain of the Sonquas, or as commonly called by us, banditti, whom we have induced to accompany you as a guide; "with him you will keep good friends, giving him now and then a bit of tobacco and a dram, for his greater encouragement, as you are not ignorant that this mode of treatment is the most efficient with these savage natives." The Resolution of the 21st became the subject of further discussion on the 26th. On the 21st, Nicolas Schaagen, a Councillor *Extraordinary*, presided. But upon the 26th, the subject was

(1) In similar instructions for the expedition in the ensuing year 1683, it is stated that as Captain *Couca* and others had not interpreted faithfully, Captain *Claas* had been induced to send one of his *Socwas*.

## Extracts of Resolutions of Council.

1682. December 8. Seeing that the Chief or Captain of the Hottentots who lie nearest to us, named Schacher, has got into contention with his Hottentot subjects, who are daily quarrelling, so that he has been for some time deserted by those who owe him allegiance, and who now threaten to make war upon him; and as the party opposed to him are more numerous than his adherents, being all young active fellows,—while those who adhere to his cause are old worn out men, who from their age and want of bodily strength rather than of courage, are unable to reduce the malcontents to obedience,—the said Schacher, therefore, felt himself compelled to address this government, requesting that his said subjects may be reduced to the obedience they owe him, either by our friendly mediation or by force; and after they had been summoned hither in our name, and both parties had been heard in Council, upon their reciprocal grievances, it was at length brought so far, through our mediation, that the rebels pledged themselves, by shaking hands, to obey their said Captain in every thing, and soon to rejoin his kraal; with this both parties were fully contented.....<sup>(1)</sup>

1683. March 22. Whereas for some months back a very great mortality has prevailed among the Company's cattle at Hottentots Holland, to the extent of 30 or 40 monthly, which still continues, and which, in the opinion of persons well acquainted with the country, is owing to the insalubrity of the pasture there; the Commander therefore proposed to the Council as a matter serviceable to the Company, that he should proceed in person to search for another place to which the cattle might be removed; and this was authorised by the other members of the Council.....

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revived before a superior authority, the *Ordinary* Councillor Martin Pit, and what is very unusual, the opinions of the members are given in detail. Mr. Schaagen "did not think that any force should be employed, but still that the expedition should proceed in conformity with the orders of the Directors, 23d Jan. 1681, and the instructions left by Governor-General Van Goens."

Commander Van der Stell observed, "that although the Namaquas had spread a report that they would attack our people as soon as they entered their limits, he was convinced from his experience of the effeminate and cowardly character of the Hottentots, that they could be dispersed by merely scattering a little gunpowder on the ground, that it was quite out of the question that the Namaquas would think of offering resistance or ill-using our people, and such a contingency need be taken into consideration; still less fear was there of any hostile attempt upon their part; and that the resolution to resist them in the event of their showing any opposition, was formed merely to stimulate the officer in command to bring the expedition to the desired conclusion, as otherwise, upon the slightest demur, the party would be turning back.

Adriaan van der Heyden, a Member of the Court of Justice at Batavia, thought that the expedition should proceed, and that if the Hottentots resisted, our people should break through, so as to accomplish the object in view.

Capt. J. Cruse was of opinion, that as all was prepared, the party should proceed, that every possible pains should be taken to pass through the tribes on good terms, but should these endeavours fail, and should the natives be the first to attack, they should be paid in the same coin.

Lieut. Dubertyn altogether coincided with the opinion of the Captain.

The junior merchant, Andries de Man, felt that the matter should not be undertaken by means of force, but that the natives should be induced by kindness and presents to allow a free passage, and that according to the orders of Governor-General Van Goens, every imaginable means should be employed; but if the Namaquas were not disposed to allow us a passage by any amicable means, and should they, previous to our people having given them any cause of offence, try to prevent our party from passing by a hostile attack upon them, in that case he deemed that our party should be at liberty to repulse them, in order to bring the affair to the termination wished for.

The junior merchant, Van Banchem, adhered *in toto* to the first resolution.

Councillor Pit observed, that by the tenor of the authority for the expedition, the object was to procure cattle; and that the Governor-General, in his orders for ascertaining the character and productions of the country in the interior, most expressly lays down that such investigations are to be made in an amicable manner, and as the advantages to be brought thence are very uncertain, that the Cape Council is not authorised to conduct such discoveries by means of force; that he is, therefore, of opinion that—should our party be repelled and actually prevented by force—by the Namaquas, according to the threats held out by themselves—according to the statement of Mr. Van der Stell,—in such event it is most advisable to return, and not to proceed in our design by force. But on the other hand, as the expedition was in perfect readiness to proceed, according to the orders of the Governor-General, it should certainly be dispatched, with a recommendation to the officers in charge, to adopt every imaginable means of procuring the concurrence of the natives to a passage through their country, to seek for what could be found there. But should obstinate opposition and actual hostility be met with, the reputation of the Company's arms should not be allowed to fall so low, that this journey, so recommended, and in such readiness, should on that account be abandoned; for, however brutal those tribes may be, they must still be quite capable of apprehending that proceedings so just have a greater tendency to enforce respect than to produce contempt? (*want of dese natie nogh soo beestachtigh syn, soo sullen sy, evenwel konnen begrypen dat soodanige rechvaardige proceduren meerder aanleydinge en persuasie geven tot groot als tot klein achtginge.*)

(1) Then followed a Resolution for the despatch of a trading party of 15 men "to the Hessequas, the richest of the tribes near at hand," for the purchase of stock for slaughter, upon the usual grounds.

1683. March 22. A letter of this date to Hottentots Holland, directs that a message might be sent by Hottentots to summon Capt. Claas to the Cape, "without letting him know why;"—the object stated is inquiry into the alleged detention of a freeman's slave by Claas.

Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell  
and Council, to the Chamber XVII.

1683. May 28. These natives or Hottentots have for some time back shown themselves very turbulent, having committed several acts of violence and insolence towards our nation; this disposition increases daily, and it will therefore be necessary to apply some correction in order to deter them from their evil designs.

To provide against irregularities among the free colonists at Stellenbosch, as they have now increased to a considerable number, and are about to be joined by others, and as it would be very inconvenient for them, and would waste much valuable time, had they to come to the castle on every trivial occasion, we have appointed four of the most respectable burgers there resident, under the name of *Heemraden*, for the settlement of all disputes among themselves, and we trust this measure may have your approval.....and as several families have settled there, and several children have already been born, and more daily expected, it will be highly necessary to establish a school there, to instruct the youth in the christian duties, and in reading and writing.<sup>(1)</sup>

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Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII, to Commander  
Simon van der Stell and Council.

1683. June 22.....In order to live at peace with the Hottentots, you must watch narrowly that no injustice is done to them, nor any annoyance given them by any of our people; you must direct your attention in drawing them more and more towards us with their cattle, and to inspiring them with full confidence. It is much that you have, in three journeys to the east of Africa, procured 669 cattle, and 2,374 sheep.....we trust that you may soon be able to subsist upon your own stock.....

We approve of your having assisted the needy farmers with seed corn and other necessaries, and we learn with satisfaction that the harvest has succeeded so well, that from 325 muids sown, you reaped 2,549, upon which you calculate on maintaining the garrison and burgers, amounting to 663 persons. Now that the agriculturists have seen so good a return for their labour, let us hope that they will be stimulated to greater zeal and industry than before, in the advancement of this highly necessary work, so that in time the slaves also may be supported by their own labour, and you may thus subsist upon your own means, this would afford great security, for, independently of the expense of importing rice, accidents may sometimes occur which might reduce you to great distress. We approve of the prices which you have fixed upon grain for the prevention of monopoly, as you state them to be so regulated, that the farmers can subsist by them. With regard to the cultivation of wine, every thing must be done to advance it, that can be effected without injury to agriculture.....

We will trust that the measure of farming the slaughtering of sheep to two persons, and fixing the price at two heavy stivers per pound, has been a judicious arrangement, and that care has been taken that the freemen may get rid of their sheep at a fair price, so that they may not lie on their hands; that they may be thus encouraged in the propagation of that kind of live stock.<sup>(2)</sup>

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Extracts from the Journal of Commander Simon van der Stell.

1684. Jan. 18. ....The Captain of that English vessel had been nearly three years upon the east coast of Africa, at a place named by him——in latitude 29 degrees——minutes, he had bought some slaves, gold, and ivory, which he had sold at Surat.....24. The freemen requested permission to buy some slaves brought from Madagascar by the English vessel *Frances*, which was granted.....

(1) On the 28th Sept. 1683, a clergyman is stationed at a certain place called Stellenbosch, where there are already about 30 families; among the grounds for the measure is its tendency towards the advancement of the Colony.

On the 28th May, 1683, the stock of sheep is reported to have increased to 7,052, of which 3,496 are ewes; it is stated, that "in two journeys performed this year, we have procured from the Hesseguas, 398 cattle, and 1,932 sheep; and if free from any considerable calamity or disease among the sheep, we hope to be able to dispense with the trading parties next year, in which we hope the Lord will lend his blessing."

(2) In a subsequent despatch (Nov. 29.) the directors repeat their approval of discharging persons of industrious habits, locating their families upon suitable lands, and assisting them in every thing reasonable.

Jan. 27. The report spread by a Hottentot of Schacher's kraal, on the 22d, that the *Obicquas* tribe had plundered the *Gonnemans* Hottentots of all their cattle, was found to be not quite true; the *Obicquas* having only, according to the statement of some of the *Gonnemans*, carried off about 20 cattle, and killed three people; none of the *Obicquas* were killed. . . . . the *Gonnemans* stated that they would have now to take their revenge; so that they do not trust each other, but live wide apart.

Feb. 1. It is rumoured that the *Namaquas* have encamped close to the Cape Hottentots, at Berg river, but as this is only a flying rumour, three men were sent thither to ascertain the truth. . . . .

5. The three men sent out on the 1st. . . . . returned, and reported that none of that tribe with their cattle had been seen near the Cape Hottentots in that quarter.

16. The Commander having ascertained that some *Namaquas* Hottentots had come to the kraal of the Cape Hottentots, he had sent to invite them hither; some of their chiefs appeared to-day, with their wives, children, and suite, who were all regaled with a pipe, tobacco, and a soopie, which pleased them much; the Commander questioned them closely as to the mine of which they had spoken so highly two years ago; and they not only adhered to their story, but offered forthwith to show the way to it. They stated it to be only 15 days' journey off. . . . . It was resolved to send some one with them. . . . . 23. One of our serjeants is to set out with 15 men in company with the *Namaquas*, who have been all this time entertained in the castle. These African noblemen appeared well satisfied; it is therefore to be hoped that they will keep their promise, and that this journey may not be as vain as the two last. (1)

Feb. 25. The necessary merchandise was again issued to Capt. Claas, with which he proposes going to-morrow to buy cattle for the Company from the *Hessequas*. (2)

March 16. Before closing the gate the Serjeant returned from Zonder-end River, stating that Captain Claas had again purchased a good many horned cattle for the Company, and had brought in three deserted slaves.

18. In the evening came two freemen resident at Stellenbosch. who had some days ago gone out with two others and a freeman's servant, with the. . . . . of the *Heer* Com. . . . with 2 wagons and 16 oxen to shoot each one sea cow for the support of their families, who having come to a certain place called the *Moort Cuyll*, (being the spot where the *Gonnema* Hottentots had some years ago murdered several of our people, who had gone out for the same purpose,) and while busy skinning a sea cow which they had killed, their wagon being a little way off, in charge of some *Gonnema* Hottentots, some Hottentots of the *Obiqua* tribe came and carried off their 16 oxen, destroyed the wagons, and wounded a Dutch servant with an assagay, so that he soon after died. . . . . This is a matter which requires revenge, more particularly as such acts have been before committed by that tribe.

April 16. Some Hottentots came from Capt. Claas, who went out some weeks since to barter; they stated that he had bought 197 horned cattle, with which he was on the way hither, . . . . . but that the *Obicquas* had posted themselves in the passage, with the view of taking the cattle; it was accordingly resolved to send off the Ensign and 15 men this evening, to escort that fine lot of cattle, and at the same time to look after (*gade te slaan*) those *Obiqua* robbers; they set off by night without tuck of drum. (3)

(1) 1684. Feb. 23. The instructions issued to Serjeant Schryver, after directing him to accompany the messenger, &c. have this passage,—“and although we do not anticipate the probability of the *Namaquas* committing any hostility against you, still you must not depend upon that, but be always on your guard, and in a situation to defend yourselves, particularly at night, as they are a deceitful people; and you will avoid encamping among bushes and thickets, which are their usual places of concealment.”

(2) 1684, Jan. 7. In a letter of this date to the serjeant at Hottentots Holland, Mr. Van der Stell writes,—“Capt. Claas will bring you 280 lbs. of rice, half a gross of pipes, and 30 lbs. tobacco, half Brazilian and half Virginian; the residue of 200 lbs. tobacco, 2 gross of pipes, and 10 quarts of brandy, Claas may keep to barter with the *Hessequas*.” And in Feb.—“We are well pleased to find by your letter of the 3d, of the good beginning Capt. Claas has made in the trade, and trust that he may procure a good number of cattle among the *Hessequas*.”

(3) The following Resolution was passed on this occasion:—

1684. April 15. (Saturday, 6 P.M.) Resolution of Council.—The Commander having assembled the Council (assisted by J. H. Thun and Steven Schorer, the commanders of the fleet now here,) and represented, that about 4 months ago a certain conditional contract was entered into, on the part of the Company, with a certain Hottentot Captain, commonly called Claas, to purchase horned cattle from the more distant tribes for tobacco that would be supplied to him, and in this manner to save the heavy expense which the Company has been hitherto compelled to bear, in sending for that purpose a number of the garrison into the interior, &c.—In fulfilment of this contract, 200 fine cattle had already been brought from the interior; and the Commander having this day received intimation that the said Chief had again purchased 197 fine cattle for the Company, with which he was on his way hither; but that, having sent some of his people in advance to see to the safety of the passes,

April 23. . . . . In the evening our Ensign and party returned, accompanied by Capt. Claas, and bringing 197 head of horned cattle, of which according to his contract he kept——head, ——the usual interest of 20 per cent. . . . . thus in these two trips he had procured 397 head for *f*237, very different from the former expeditions. They had seen nothing of the Obiqua banditti, who had apparently retired to their hiding places on seeing that the advance of our party would frustrate their design.

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Extract of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell  
to the Chamber XVII.

1684. April 30. . . . . We have for several years lived on good intelligence with these natives or Hottentots; but those who live nearest to us, ordinarily called the Cape Hottentots, have for some time back shown themselves rather insolent, they have even gone so far as to threaten to set fire to the houses of our burgers living at a distance. Should this continue, we shall be compelled to apply a civil correction; should that fail, and should their threats be carried into execution, we shall visit the offence with a degree of severity proportioned to its importance. We are, however, far from believing that it will come to this, as the war they had with the Company some years ago is still too fresh in their recollection.

It is from the Soncquas that we have to expect the greatest mischief towards the burgers. A people of this sort called Obicquas, during last month, took the cattle of a party of burgers who had gone inland to shoot sea cows, and killed one of the party; this affair absolutely demands revenge, otherwise worse consequences might be looked for.

These are a kind of men who live in the mountains, who maintain themselves entirely by robbery, and have nothing to lose by war; they do not hesitate, upon a favorable opportunity, to steal the cattle of their own nation, under whose dominion they live, and therefore the Captains are always looking out for opportunities for revenge.

As we are now upon the subject of the Hottentots, we must not omit to inform your Honors that we have agreed with the Soeswas Captain, Claas, (upon whose fidelity, compared with that of others, considerable reliance may be placed) that some tobacco shall be given to him on the Company's account, for which he will purchase from the Hottentots in the interior, and bring to us as much horned cattle as he can procure, receiving for his trouble nothing but the cows that may be found among them; with this servitude however, that out of each 100 head he shall be bound to deliver 20 annually to the Company, and that in perpetuity, delivering to us without deduction all the rest of the cattle bought by him. Under these conditions he has already, on two successive journeys, brought us 393 cattle, of which 57 were cows; which cattle cost the Company in all no more than *f*237½. By this means we have also saved not only the cost of the necessary provisions and other supplies for the journey, but also the wages and ration money of 17 or 18 Europeans for 6 or 7 weeks; we will hope that this arrangement may not be displeasing to your Honors, for it is evidently profitable to the Company.

In our letter of the 28th May last year, we stated our intention of resuming the expedition to the Namaquas, which was accordingly done during the month of September last, but without the expected success; our party penetrated a little further than on the previous occasion, having reached the lat. 30° 18', where they turned back, as they stated, from want of water, and because they found it impossible to pass through inaccessible mountains, beyond which lay a sandy plain,

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he had ascertained that the Obiqua tribe had taken post in the passes to rob him of the Company's cattle, and that Claas had been thus obliged to return to his kraals; and seeing that the said Obiquas are a tribe (*natie*) who live by robbery, and who recently at the Oliphants' river attacked some burgers who had gone out with our permission to shoot sea cows for the support of their families, carried off all their cattle to the number of 16, and massacred one of the party; such outrages, violences, and murders having been frequently committed against our people by the said Obiquas, without our having hitherto had an opportunity of taking revenge for those acts, as they live in inaccessible mountains; and as a favorable opportunity now seemed to be presented, the Commander proposed to the assumed and ordinary members of the council, whether we ought not to seize this opportunity of taking our just revenge. This proposal having been taken into consideration, it was resolved,—That it is absolutely necessary for the prevention of all further murders, robberies, and public violences, which might be committed here in time to come against the Company and these good inhabitants, to send thither 20 soldiers under command of the Ensign, to escort Captain Claas and the Company's cattle, to unite themselves to the Soeswas tribe, and to watch for a favorable opportunity of tempting the said Obiquas to try to steal the cattle, and then to receive them as declared enemies of the Company, and so to handle them that they will not again forget it, trusting that if any of them are killed, or should fall into our hands, they will refrain from such proceedings in future.—Thus done, &c.

which the Hottentots living thereabouts described as five days' journey broad, and destitute of water. . . . . Our orders were that they should continue their journey to the Tropic of Capricorn, where something worth while may be looked for. We have, however, by no means abandoned our hopes; but trust to find out so much through the remotest Hottentots before we close this, that we can give some further account of that country, and in particular of the reported copper mine. God grant that means may at length be found of lightening the heavy expense which the Company has sustained for so many years; and of this there now begins to be some appearance. . . .

In our opinion we cannot have too many freemen here, if they are only of industrious habits; and to this attention is paid in granting discharges. Men of other habits are only a burden to the Company, and at length fall back upon their last resource—the poor fund; but men who will work cannot be at a loss for the means of earning their subsistence.<sup>(1)</sup> . . . . .

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Extracts from Journal, continued:—May 8. A soldier arrived in the fort who had been sent by our Serjeant Isaac Schryver, to apprise us that he was on his way back, having found that our intelligence from the Namaquas was correct. . . . . and sending some pieces of the ore. . . . . This soldier had left the serjeant on the first day of this month, about 3 days journey to the eastward of Oliphants river, as well for the reasons before stated, as to fetch some provisions for the party, their food being entirely consumed; this must be attended to to-morrow. 9. . . . . A wagon was sent off with some provisions for serjeants Schryver's party.

20. Our serjeant and party returned from the Namaqua journey all in good health, they were accompanied by the Namaqua Captains, who were well lodged and entertained within the fort. . . .

30. The Commander Jorisplas Vosch rode into country,<sup>(2)</sup> &c.

June 4. Mr. Vosch returned from Stellenbosch, &c. 17. A lion was this day brought into the fort; it was killed at Tygerberg by our shepherds, being the third shot there in the last 14 days.

July 4. The Commander returned from Clapmuts, Stellenbosch, and Hottentots Holland, having given the necessary orders at those places, and left every thing in a good state.

Aug. 6. The Commander rode out upon a report of the cattle herds, that 3 dead whales had washed on shore, about an hour's distance from the fort,—to see if it was worth while to keep them for the oil. . . . . He immediately gave orders that no Hottentots (who had already almost stripped the two smallest) should come near them, and ordered our wagon drivers——21. 68 half-aums of very fine oil, from the whales washed on shore, were placed in the Company's stores.

Sept. 6. Two more large lions were shot at the Company's post, Diep river or Bommels Hoek, about 3 hours distant. . . . . 7th. The Hottentots, near the Clapmuts, caught a wild horse. . . . . which unfortunately died on the way hither. . . . .

18. The Commander submitted to the Political Council that he had for some time observed, that a great abuse was practised by Company's servants and freemen, in giving money to the Hottentots, which tends to the injury of the Company's lawful profits, and to render illusory our Orders and Proclamations. It was, therefore, resolved, to issue a new Proclamation this week, forbidding all Company's servants and inhabitants to barter any thing from the Hottentots, and still more to give them any money.

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### Proclamation.

1684. Sept. 22. Simon van der Stell, Commander, on the part of the General Netherland Chartered East India Company at Cabo de Boa Esperance, and Council, to all who may see this, or hear it read,—Greeting: Whereas we have learnt, to our great displeasure, that for a considerable time back, some avaricious burgers have not hesitated or abstained, in neglect and contempt of all published orders and proclamations, to barter from these natives or Hottentots, Rhinoceros horns, Elephants' tusks, Ostrich eggs, and all sorts of skins, not merely for tobacco, but even for ready money, offering to the Hottentots for these articles not only a greater quantity of tobacco

(1) "You state," say the Directors on the 24th June 1684, "that you want *boers*, (as we can easily conceive;) we design sending you some, if we can light upon any of industrious habits, sluggards would only be a burden."

(2) A minute account of the extent of the Cape Settlements drawn up by Mr. Vosch, makes no reference to the relations with the natives.

than the Company is in the habit of giving, but even somewhat more in money than such things are actually worth; and thus consequently indisposing the said natives from trading with the Company, and attracting them to themselves; thus forestalling the Company in its lawful profits, and so bringing a dearth into the country; of which, to our great displeasure, we have already but too severely experienced the injurious results. For these natives—through a mischievous abuse which has crept in among all, as well Company's servants as free inhabitants—receive money for the smallest piece of service they perform, or the most trifling article which they offer for sale,—instead of a little tobacco, rice, or the like, as has been heretofore customary; whereby these savage people are becoming so bold and impudent, that they are not now to be satisfied except with money. Aye! so far that they insist upon being paid and contented for any thing required of them, to say nothing of fairness as to value, with money; which demands are furthermore, at much inconvenience, complied with.

We, therefore, for the prevention of such illicit proceedings, prohibit and interdict all persons, whether free inhabitants or Company's servants, as they are hereby prohibited and interdicted from bartering—directly or indirectly—whether for goods, money, tobacco, or any thing else, from these natives or Hottentots, Rhinoceros horns, Elephants' tusks, Ostrich eggs, Tiger or Bush Cat skins, any other Peltries, or any thing else, under any plea or pretext whatsoever; but should any of the articles above specified be brought to the houses by the Hottentots, every one shall be bound to show them to the Company, on *pain* that whosoever shall be found to act, or to have acted otherwise, shall be punished by a fine of 25 Rds., or more severely, according to circumstances.

And that this, our order, may be the more effective with respect to the Hottentots; all persons are hereby warned henceforth to give no money to any of these native people, or to receive any from them, as otherwise it will be taken from the Hottentots by the officers of justice, and the owner shall have no claim upon it. And the Hottentots are to be told that they shall be bound to bring such things as they have to sell to the usual market place or *passer*. &c.

Oct. 10. Extracts from Journal continued.—Arrived Mr. Ryckloff van Goens,<sup>(1)</sup> Commissioner to this Residency . . . . . in such a bad state of health, that he had to be carried into his room.

21. One of our serjeants returned with a fine flock of 250 sheep, which he had, in 4 or 5 days, purchased for the usual articles, from the neighbouring or Cape Hottentots; they were all very good for slaughter, for which purpose, chiefly, they were bought,—there being at present so many sick in the hospital.

Dec. 11. The sale of the following articles was farmed by auction on the following terms:—Brandy, *f*7,400; Cape Wine, *f*9,900; Foreign Beer, *f*1,000; Malt Beer, *f*950; Pork, Beef, Oil, Vinegar, and Butter, *f*300; Tobaceo, *f*1,025; slaughtering Cattle (to 2 persons) *f*150; the Corn Mill, *f*110; so that the *pacht* in general has increased *f*4035 since last year.

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### Extract of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1685. Feb. 6. The cattle trade may almost be conducted for tobacco alone; we shall, therefore, keep the copper beads sent us by the Chamber Amsterdam, for presents to the Hottentot Chief and Captains, although they are much esteemed by all; we, therefore, request that no more may be sent. . . . .

And whereas this Colony is now, by God's blessing, brought so far, that we have far weathered the Cape of want of bread, wine, beer, flesh, fish, fruit, and vegetables, and as our Colonists chiefly consist of strong, gallant, and industrious bachelors, who for the solace of their cares, and for the managing of their domestic concerns, would most gladly be married; and as such bonds would establish the Colony upon an immovable basis, and much increase the zeal of the freemen for agriculture, we have deemed it proper most respectfully to request your Honors, that, for the attainment of those desirable objects, 30 or 40 young girls may be sent to us as soon as possible, all of whom will be well disposed of at this place.<sup>(2)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> 1684. Nov. 28 and Dec. 13. Mr. Van Goens presided over the Council and authorised a voyage by sea, to ascertain whether any communication could be had with the shore near the copper mountains; and the provisional occupation of lands by Company's servants, pending an application which had been sent to Holland.

<sup>(2)</sup> A despatch of the ensuing month (March 28) states the Company's live stock to be 157 horses, 1331 cattle, and 6983 sheep and goats; and that the crop of 1684 had in a great measure failed, but makes no reference to natives.

1685. March 13. Extracts from Journal continued. A lion was brought hither from Stellenbosch which had been shot by a free burger soon after it had devoured his neighbour, Barent Hendricks. 27. A certain Captain, named Claas, brought to the castle a number of cows, oxen, calves, and sheep, which he had taken from the Cape Hottentots, because they would not barter with him. (1) 31. Several Captains of the Hottentots were this day examined in Council regarding the disputes which had arisen between them and Captain Claas.

April 8. The Commander heard the statement of three inhabitants of Stellenbosch, concerning their adventures when lately at Berg River, with leave to shoot sea cows. Having come to the appointed place with a number of Cape Hottentots, they were warned by some *Soeswas* Hottentots, to be on their guard, that they were about to be attacked by the *Hessequas*, which happened accordingly three days after, when the Cape Hottentots [the Dutch?] killed three of the *Namaquas* [Obiquas?]

### Extract Resolution of Council.

(Minute of Orders issued by Governor-General R. van Goens, from the Company's Garden, Rustenburg.)

1685. April 8. Whereas the freemen, who have been from time to time permitted by the Commander to go inland to shoot sea cows and other game, for the support of their families, have frequently complained to us of the unsafe state of the roads and passes in the country of the Soeswa Hottentots, in consequence of actual attacks made on our Netherlanders, and of their being robbed of their cattle and wagons, even of their lives,—under the pretence that such acts have been committed by a people called Obiquas; although the said Soeswa tribes, the Company's allies, are suspected, and not without cause, to have joined in these outrages, and to have, at least, assisted the Obiquas,—as recently experienced by some of our freemen(2); while in former times the Soeswa country was quite safe, and could be traversed without fear. It was, therefore, resolved, by general consent, for the prevention of all further mischief and outrage, to enjoin the Chief of the Soeswas, now present in the castle, to take order within the country under his jurisdiction, that none of our Europeans be henceforth ill used in any respect, as, in the contrary event, he, the Chief, shall be held responsible, and must give us full satisfaction.....

10. The burger, Hennigh Husing, having complained, first to the Fiscal, and subsequently to this meeting, regarding the violence committed upon his domestics in the country by the Hottentots; and also that some days ago his servant, who was attending sheep in the field, had been missed, and subsequently found dead and buried, not without great suspicion that this massacre has been committed by some Hottentots; it was therefore resolved to summon hither immediately, on one or other plausible pretext, all the Captains or Chiefs of the kraals, so as to remove their distrust; and to tell them that they must deliver the perpetrators into the hands of justice, detaining them meanwhile in the castle.

Thus done, &c. in the Company's Garden, Rustenburg.

R. VAN GOENS.

(1) No explanation of this has been found.

(2) The following appears in the "Attestaties" of this year:—On this 5th April, 1685, appeared before me, Gillis Borremans, sworn clerk of the Commander and Council, in the presenee of the undermentioned witnesses, Diederick Pitter, J. Coenraad Meyer, Gerit Jans Visser, Nicolaas Cleeven, and Jan Lammerts, all free burgers; the two first residing here, and the others at Eerst River, who declare upon their words as men, in lieu of oath,—that it is truth and fact, that in the beginning of the month of February we went out in company with 5 others, with the leave of the said Commander, to shoot sea cows, when we were treated as follows.—On coming to the Breede river, we were frequently warned by the Hessequas to be on our guard against the Obiquas, so that we might not be surprised by them; proceeding along the said river, where the road was somewhat narrow so that our 6 wagons had to move one after the other, as otherwise we could scarcely get through the brushwood, we saw one of the Obiquas dogs, on which the Hottentots with us seized their weapons, and searched in order to see whether any of the Obiquas were to be found, they found 40 of them, fully armed, and concealed in the bushes. Our Hottentots wishing to apprise us of this, so that we might assist them, they were attacked by the said Obiquas, who shot some arrows at them, without however hurting any one; on this we came up to the rescue of our Hottentots, when the others fled; in this flight we took (*bequamen*) 5 Hottentots, and shot 3 of them, as we well knew them to be Obiquas, as was testified also by Trompeter and Dickop, (who had lived 2 or 3 years in their kraal,) and released the two others, (because they said that one of them belonged to Coopmans kraal, and one to the Hessequas.) The following day, being on our return, (that we might incur no further risk) and having reached the river Zonder-end, we met two kraals of Captain Claas's people, among whom were some Obiquas, being in all about 250 men; we sent one of our Hottentots to them, to learn what was their intention, or what they wanted; we received for answer, that they wished to have a fight with us (*pluckhuiren*); on this we called one of Captain Claas's Hottentots who spoke good Dutelh, to learn whether Captain Claas's people also wished to fight us; we received an answer in the negative, and that they only came to look on; we then bid them leave the Obiquas, when the said Obiquas went away, accompanied by Captain Claas's people. All which the appearers declare to be truth.

1685. April 13. Extracts from Journal continued :—One of the Hottentots, (who had been given up to justice by his Captain,) this day admitted that he, and three of his comrades had recently murdered the servant of the free burger Henning Hnising.

14. The Commander received some information respecting the murder of the freeman's servant from the Hottentot Captain Cuyper.

19. In the afternoon arrived His Honor Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, &c., representing the Chamber XVII.(<sup>1</sup>), &c. 26. The Court of Justice was assembled to hear the imprisoned Hottentots, when 4 of them were condemned to death for the murder of one of the freeman's servants. 27. After the imprisoned and condemned Hottentots had their sentence read to them in the castle, they were beaten to death with sticks by their own tribe, in the presence of their captains. 29. The Commissioner, actuated by his natural kindness of disposition, presented to some Hottentot captains, a dozen sharp pointed irons, suited to dig out a certain root in flavour not unlike the European earth-nut.

July 20. The Commissioner communicated to Council the Instructions(<sup>2</sup>) given by him to the Commander.

### Extracts of Instructions for the Commander Simon van der Stell.(<sup>2</sup>).

.....The greatest advantage that the Company expects in this country, consists in fixing here a good Colony and peopling it with our own countrymen, in order that by agriculture, and breeding cattle, they may produce all that is required to provision the garrison; and further, that by their increase, they may become so powerful that they may prevent the landing of any enemy, secure the possession to the Company, and, in the course of time, afford to the Company, as the sovereigns

(<sup>1</sup>) On the 25th April, 1685, Commissioner Van Rheede published a Proclamation, calling upon all persons having any complaint to make of having been wronged or injured in their rights, honor, property, or person, by any one whomsoever, to bring forward their grievances during his stay, on pain of obtaining no redress, and, complaining thereafter, of being deemed persons of a seditious disposition.

(<sup>2</sup>) These ample instructions commence with general precepts upon the advantages of good government, and the duties of the governing power. A Council is, it is observed, "appointed to assist the Governors or Commanders, as it may happen that those who wield the chief authority over others, are not (as they ought to be) the most intelligent, the most prudent, and the most experienced; still those who are placed in subordinate situations must not despise the authority of their superior; for they were appointed as his co-adjutors, each according to the degree of his knowledge and ability; and the imperfections of our superiors will never justify insubordination; it is our duty to bear with and to conceal their faults, for we are not their judges."

"Seeing that no one brings knowledge into the world with him, but that it is the result of experience, and demands much time in the acquisition,—it is impossible for any Governor who arrives from another country, to be at once competent for the discharge of the duties of his office. The first work, therefore, of a Commander ought to be to read all the letters, memoirs and instructions appertaining to his commandantship, that he may thus learn what has been done by his predecessors, and how they thought and acted in various emergencies. It is on this account that our masters have ordered commanders quitting office to leave instructions for their successors....."

Neglect of this duty has been often the cause of differences between successive commanders, the last appointed frequently taking a view of the interests of the Company, opposite to that taken by his predecessor, because he had not duly informed himself of the reasons and considerations by which his predecessor was actuated."(\*)

"The Company have 964 oxen, 151 cows, 5,056 ewes, 784 wethers, 43 rams, 76 horses, 8 mules and 764 goats, from which it is calculated that the Company's stock will soon supply 3,000 sheep, (the estimated annual consumption) "when the sheep and cattle barter with the aborigines (*naturellen*) will be quite unnecessary to the Company, and may be, either left to the burgers, or turned to advantage in some other manner that may be found out.

The next product is the corn, of which 2,500 muids are expected, for 173 of wheat and 80 of other grain have been sown upon 370 morgen of ploughed land.

"Hottentots Holland, as it is called by our men, little corresponds with its name, which clearly shows that little profit is to be made of renting land to the free men." "And as you have been ordered to occupy a fine piece of ground, more inland towards the mountains," you will place the buildings there in the form of a square.....which will tend to secure the stock not only from wild animals at night, but also against the natives, in the event (which we hope may not occur,) of a war with them; the free men also must be shown how they should build and secure their remote farms."

(\*) To facilitate the acquisition of this necessary knowledge, the Directors had ordered "Positive Orders" [an alphabetical digest of successive orders relating to the several subjects] to be formed in every Government. This had been hitherto neglected at the Cape, where however it had become absolutely necessary from the great variety of the orders and opinions which had been already authoritatively given; and Mr. V. R. nominates persons to prepare this digest.

"The object of the Company, is to secure the property of the lands of the Cape and the dominion over them; which object demands a fortification and a garrison. While it is the business of the local Government to improve the capabilities of the Country, so as to refund the outlay of the Company."

The greater portion of the instructions is devoted to the consideration of the various questions arising out of those two heads. 1st. As to the Fort itself. The Commissioner combats the general opinion that the new castle, which it seems "stood 72 roods nearer to the Wint Berg than the old one," was very ill placed, for although it was so much further from the Lion's Rump than the former, he observes, that it is still commanded by the latter hill, and in short, that no fort can be so placed in Table Valley as to command the water and the anchorage, without being subject to being commanded in its turn.

and patrons of the territory, a revenue (*recognitien*) for the payment and maintenance of her garrisons.

That this object is not very easily attained fully appears from the slight progress hitherto made. In the time of Commander van der Stell, however, there has been a considerable increase; there are now in Table Valley or about the castle, 30 families, chiefly subsisting by keeping lodging-houses and taverns, by their gardens, and a few cattle; besides 24 houses from Table Valley to Steenberg, whose inmates subsist by their farms and vineyards; but in Stellenbosch, recently established, are 99 families betaking themselves to farming. These people must always be assisted; at present their live stock amount to 14,501 sheep, and 2,297 oxen and cows.<sup>(1)</sup>.....

The labour of the Company's slaves also produces much profit, and holds out equal hopes for the future; but these poor men must be looked upon with other eyes, for they are the Company's own people, not hirelings; they cannot quit the service of their master when tired, but are bound, not only for all their lives, but for those of their children and descendants. The better we make them, the fitter will they be to perform their duty, the more will they love their masters, and the more faithful will they prove to our nation. They are heathens, ignorant of the true God; and we, in whose power are their bodies—we may almost say, their lives—are christians. It would be a shame to us, whose part it is to take good care of our irrational domestic cattle, if we permitted men to run wild, and left them in a worse condition than when in their fatherland. Our masters are the foster fathers (*vochter heeren*), of Christ's church, and if we fail to employ the means in our hands, and do not exert every endeavour to bring these men to the knowledge of the redeeming faith—we shut the doors of that church. How do we know what God, in his mercy, has determined as to these people, and what will not foreign nations say to our shame, if we allow them to live together by hundreds, like brutes, in utter licentiousness, and do not provide herein as for our own countrymen? You are, therefore, most earnestly recommended and required, to cause the orders now given to be duly observed.<sup>(2)</sup>

[The origin of the office of Landdrost is thus stated]:—For the superintendance of the Company's farms Klapmuts, De Kuylen, Tygerberg, Bommelhoek, Boerenboom, Diepe river, Hendrik Vissers, and Riet Valley, a superintendent, of a good character, having a knowledge of accounts, and of farming, is to be selected and appointed, with a monthly salary of *f*24, and 4 reals provision money; he is to be allowed a Company's horse, and one slave, to have two Dutch men to assist and keep him company, to have the title of *Landdrost*, and to be the Company's Sheriff (*schout*), and officer over the (*vlek*) village of Stellenbosch.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1)“The profit which the Company draws from the Colonists is still small, we cannot as yet impose any tax upon produce or cattle, still less exact the tenth sheaf,” “in hopes that after next harvest they will be more able to bear those burdens.”

“The profit derived from the cattle consists in this, that in order to assist the farmers, we sell them Company's cattle at *f*24, (the price here among the burgers being much higher, indeed, as much as *f*80,) this source of revenue brought in, during last year, near a sum of *f*4,272. There is also some profit from the farming implements and goods bought by the Colonists from the Company's stores, but this cannot amount to much.

On the other hand, the Company receives from them in liquidation of their debts, wheat at *f*10 per muid; this will do well enough so long as the Company requires the wheat, but when sufficient for the consumption of the garrison is produced by our labour, we should not know how to get rid of wheat brought at *f*10,.... you may, however, allow at that rate for such Corn as is paid in liquidation of debts, but as an article of merchandize, in ready money, you will pay no more than *f*9.....

(2) Then follow regulations for separating and instructing the youth of both sexes, whose advancement is to be ascertained by a public examination in the church every Sunday, on the conclusion of divine service; 58 children of the Company's female slaves, by Dutch fathers, “the Company can entertain no idea of keeping in slavery;” such children have no share in the faults of the parents, but, being indisputably children of our own nation, cannot be made slaves.” Then follow regulations for their instruction, (until the males have attained the age of 25, and females of 22, when they are to be emancipated under an obligation to repay *f*100 for the expense of their education,)—and various regulations for clothing such children and teaching them various trades, to enable them to maintain themselves in freedom, and all of which are directed to the expressed object of creating an attachment to the land of their birth.

(3) One of the duties of this officer is to see that no more corn be kept in the farmer's houses than what is necessary for seed, and for the use of the inhabitants,—but be secured in the castle, as well to be safe from fire, as to be ready in the event of a sudden attack. “The operation of thrashing is attended with much trouble and requires many people and much time; you may, therefore, try to have this done by oxen, as practised in many countries with great advantage.”

“Stellenbosch being ruled by Heemraden, may continue to be so managed for the present.....under their good care we hope the inhabitants may live in peace and quiet.” A civil jurisdiction, without appeal, to the extent of *f*25, and with appeal of Rds. 50, is given to the meetings of Heemraden.\*

\* An Instruction of the same date to Johannes Muller, appointed the first Landdrost, directed him to preside at the meetings of the Heemraden, to watch over the Company's interests; no criminal jurisdiction was given to the Court, but the Landdrost is ordered, “for the prevention of offences and misdemeanors, whereby the interest of the Company might suffer, to overtake such delinquents, whether free burgers or Company's servants, or to cause them to be overtaken (*agterhalen*) by the Veld Wagter under your *commando*, and to prosecute them before the Hon. Court of Justice,” “leaving to the Fiscal, however, his right of prevention.”

\* Slave



The third mine lies in the country of the Amaquas, 74 *milen* to the N. W., whence the ore has been brought by persons sent thither by the Commander. . . . Mr. Van der Stell is very desirous of undertaking that journey; he is hereby permitted so to do at the most suitable time, which is deemed to be in the month of August. . . .

A very great deal depends upon the preservation of peaceful relations and friendly intercourse with the inhabitants and Hottentots; the manner in which the Commander renders that people well disposed towards our nation is most praiseworthy, and must be persevered in. They are a people who are satisfied with very little, and who may be entirely won by a kind address; but ill-treatment on the contrary estranges them and makes them hate us, and from their desultory (*dolende*) mode of life, they have it in their power to do the Company and the Colony very serious injury,—indeed entirely to ruin the latter. We must also take into consideration some mode of arranging with them, when our people, by extending themselves further from time to time, shall come to narrow the bounds of the pastures where the natives graze the cattle, from which they derive their sole subsistence. For it would not be fair, after ceding to us these lands, upon condition of both parties depasturing them in common, that we should expel them indirectly, by occupying, not only the arable lands, but such as they require to depasture their cattle; and, thus, their bounds not being sufficiently extensive, they would be driven, in retiring from us, into war with their neighbours; to send them away, even though we assisted them against their neighbours, would be any thing but just (*aen de quaatste kans*); and, therefore, we should try whether an arrangement could not be made with them, for a separation of bounds, and of pasture. This should, however, be commenced with care and circumspection, lest they be led to entertain suspicion of any evil design,—such as that the Company was contemplating their expulsion. You should begin by previously impressing our good intentions upon the captains and chiefs, and by rendering our proposals acceptable to them by presents.

To keep them divided by jealousy, is wisdom; while to allow no wars among them, and to suffer none of them to be oppressed, is the course dictated by prudence; we will thus be useful to them, while they will neither become too powerful for, nor useless to us.<sup>(1)</sup>

H. A. VAN RHEEDE.

July 16, 1685.

(1) A suggestion that “there would be some economy in employing slaves, or the children of female slaves, on work that is now done by Dutch,”—“for instance 2 Dutch with each wagon,”—renders it probable that few, if any, Hottentots were employed by the Company in such services,—for there is very little mention of natives in the whole paper;—indeed, with exception of the general precepts given above, the Hottentots are but twice mentioned, (in a suggestion to make butter (*grec*) as in Bengal, from the milk brought from their kraals, by persons privileged to visit them for the purpose of buying it and where precautions are ordered to be observed, lest rewards be paid upon the heads of ravenous animals, which have been bought from the Hottentots:) while of the slaves frequent mention is made. Provision is made for rewarding by enfranchisement good conduct in slaves of not less than 30 years of age (if imported, and 40 if born at the Cape,) of the reformed religion, and who have not been convicted of any crime, “so that these men need not sigh under constant slavery;” “this will tend to stimulate them to good conduct, for except in this way, there is no hope open to them.” “Marriage shall not be permitted between our Netherlanders and emancipated female slaves, but this restriction shall not apply to the children of female slaves by Dutch fathers.”

“No slave of a private person shall be bound to the whipping post and flogged, by order of the fiscal upon complaint of his master, without the previous knowledge and consent of the Commander; this consent shall, however, not be refused, provided only, that the punishment be not inflicted out of hatred, or the unreasonable caprice of harsh or cruel masters, but for an offence actually committed, and which must appear to have been committed, in order that slaves may neither become insubordinate nor be ill-treated.”

The grounds of the first imposition of the transfer duty upon fixed property is thus stated. “And as it has been found that many persons soon sell and dispose of to others the lands which they receive gratuitously from the Company; there shall be collected from such as sell their land within 10 years of the date of the grant, the 20th penny, and from those who sell within 3 years, the 10th penny, and no transfer shall be valid until it shall appear that this duty has been paid,—the 40th penny shall also be levied upon all fixed property of houses or lands, as often as such property is transferred from one to another.”

The following refers to the power of political removal, frequently exercised by the Company, and occasionally by their successors.

“Things well commenced may be expected to turn out well, and the remark may apply to this Colony; for to bring hither a number of people, who might afterwards be of no service to us, or with whom we might be at a loss what to do, would have been a bad beginning, and would have promised no good result; and accordingly no one shall henceforth be discharged from the ships and the garrison, with a view to residing here as a burger, except subjects to the State—(who are not Roman Catholics, nor of bad character, but as far as is known, honest, or who are indebted to the Company in more than 4 months wages)—or subjects of German States whose princes or sovereigns do not fit out any shipping.”

The same precaution shall be taken as to those lent to the Burgers as servants, for such persons thus gradually acquire the right of becoming Burgers, should they deem that course of advantage to them; nor need any one who has already become free, and who, in consequence of dissolute or irregular habits, is no longer capable of fulfilling the good objects with which the Colony was formed,—be suffered to remain here, but should rather be sent back to the fatherland” . . . . .

Extracts from Journal continued. August 21. The party who were to go into the interior were busily employed preparing the burdens of the oxen, intending to set out to-day to try whether they could procure a loan of the necessary pack oxen, for the Company, from the surrounding Cape Hottentots.

Aug. 13. Serjeant Christoffel Henningh and party returned from their journey, bringing with them——pack oxen, purchased by him, on the Company's account, for tobacco, from the Soeswas Hottentots beyond the mountains; and which oxen were absolutely necessary upon the ensuing journey to the Namaquas. 16. Lieut. Oloff Berg went out to the neighbouring Cape Hottentots, to try to borrow some more oxen for the approaching expedition into the interior.

25. At 3 P.M. the Commander set out on his journey to the Namaquas.....

Sept. 28. Corporal Jurien Obenhaus returned to the castle with his party, bringing with him 217 sheep, and 42 cattle, bartered for the Company for tobacco and other merchandise from the Soeswas Hottentots beyond the mountains.

Oct. 16. We, this day received intelligence that after much toil the Commander and his party reached Oliphants River, in good health, upon the.....20. The Council resolved to send two men to Capt. Claas to desire him to come with some pack oxen to carry the merchandise, it being resolved to send a party to barter cattle, a letter was sent by the two men, addressed to Corporal Jan Herbst, desiring him to send another man from his post, to conduct these two men over the hills to the Soeswas.

Oct. 3. The two men who were sent out to Capt. Claas on the 20th, returned to the castle, reporting that they could not find the Capt. there; and had understood, from some other Hottentots that he made war upon the *Sonquas*, commonly called *Bosjesmans*,<sup>(1)</sup> and that he had in the fight killed a captain and seven others; so that he had now retreated and fallen back to Cape Agulhas, and had encamped there.

Nov. 5. Commissioners appointed to count the Company's cattle at the outposts, reported as follows:—(i. e. at 11 stations, specified 933 horned cattle, 7,127 sheep and goats.) 8. The Hottentot Capt. Claas brought three sailors belonging to the *Pylswart*, who had been long vagabonding inland; they said that their object was to hide themselves till their ship had sailed, and then to enter the Company's service. They were given over for prosecution.

12. A corporal and 15 men went out to-day with three wagons laden with provisions and merchandise, to barter a quantity of cattle from the Hessequas for the next return fleet.

(1) The term *Bosjesmen* occurs here for the first time.

The visits of Commissioner Van Rheede to all the Company's Establishments in the East are frequently noticed by *Valentyn*. In his account of Bengal, p. 176, is a full account of the Commissioner's fruitless endeavors to prevent the private and illegal traffic carried on by the Company's servants. The abuses attendant upon monopoly were the objects of the attention and legislation of the Company. On this subject, *Valentyn* observes:

“Mr. van Rheede knew quite as well as the Directors that no servant of the Company there or elsewhere could live on his bare salary, and unless he possessed some private income, without smuggling, and therefore it was formerly contemplated to double all the salaries, and to impose heavier punishments upon smuggling, but the plan was not carried through.” A director in Bengal had no other acknowledged income than 160 guilders monthly, while a few years' smuggling could secure a large fortune. Under these circumstances, says *Valentyn*,—“the dismissal by Mr. van Rheede of the best servants of the Company was not only useless but injurious, and the smuggling increased ten fold,” for—“those newly appointed were, like hungry lice, beyond all comparison more ravenous than their predecessors who had been already fattened.”

1685. Sept. 12. A resolution, passed in the absence of the Governor, authorised a party of 9 men to proceed to buy sheep from the Soeswa tribe; it was stated, in addition to the usual grounds, that “the Chief of that tribe invited us to barter when last here.”

On the 6th Nov. it is stated, that although the party sent in September had procured a good number of sheep, more were required, “no other expedient can be found than another expedition.” For want of a better Commander, a corporal was sent to the Hessequas with 15 men, &c. A notice of the ensuing 3d Jan. states, that although a good many sheep had been got from the Hessequas, many had died, or been reduced in condition by the fatigue of the journey; and as intelligence had been received that all the Soeswa tribe were collected together, Lieut. Berg should proceed with 8 men, and a quantity of tobacco, &c.

1685. Sept. 30. In a letter of this date to Batavia, the Council mention the departure of the Commander on the 25th Aug. “to seek in the North of Africa, for means of lightening the heavy expenses borne by the Company.”

1685. Oct. 3. The Directors state, that they have been induced by the reports received by Messrs. Van Goens and Van Rheede, to “increase the number of the Colonists, for the advancement of the agriculture, and to relieve us of the expense of that large garrison,” and announce the embarkation of 48 young women.

1685. Oct. 20. A letter of this date directs the serjeant at Hottentots Holland, to send three men to Capt. Claas, cattle being wanted. Claas is to fetch as many oxen to the Fort without delay, as he shall deem necessary to carry the necessary goods.

1685. Nov. 9 and Dec. 31. Two attestations of these dates refer first to the apprehension, at Berg river, of three Dutch deserters by Captain Cuyper, who claims payment for 4 sheep supplied to provision them; and, 2d, to the purchase of several cattle from the natives by private persons for dogs and tobacco, during the last expedition.

Dec. 16. This day we received intelligence from two Hottentots of the Soeswa tribe, that several Obiqua Hottentots, with their Captain, had gone to the Soeswas during last November, to buy some tobacco; that they were well feasted upon nine or ten sheep, and then, by order of Capt. Claas, killed in revenge, because the Obiquas had killed some of our people some time before.

23. The party sent to barter with the Hessequas returned this morning, bringing with them 261 cattle and 386 sheep, bought for tobacco and other trifles.

*Extracts of a Diary, and Description of the Journey to Amaquas Land, under the conduct of  
Simon van der Stell, Commander of the Cabo de Boa Esperance. (1)*

Saturday 25th August 1685.—At ten o'clock we marched out of the castle with our baggage—in the name of the Lord—Amen! being in number 56 whites, besides the Commander, also *Dain Bengule* and his slave, being Macassers, and 3 slaves of the Commander. Our equipage consisted of a coach and 5 horses, 8 asses, saddle horses, 2 field pieces, 8 cars, 7 waggons, 1 boat, 289 oxen for draft or burden, and the wagons of 8 free farmers, each with 8 oxen, who were to escort us to Oliphants River.

Shaping a course E. 53 N., we came, after travelling  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mylen, to a place called *Hooge Kraal*, where we encamped; found the latitude by observation 34. 9—the weather rainy.

The Commander arrived at 4 p. m., in company with Andries de Man, second in command; Captain J. Cruse, and several others of the Council, and others of inferior quality; our people stood in full order, and saluted with three volleys.

Sunday 26. *Stink River*, so called from the bad smell of the water in the dry season. A fine valley encircled by high mountains, and a very convenient and pleasant encampment, as there was good grass and water, and the ground beautifully covered with flowers of all colours.

Monday 27. Parted with our visitors at half past 8; our course was variable in consequence of our having to pass over, or along high mountains; came to a flat called *Ronde Bosche*. The mountains mentioned, are all called *Tygerbergen*; they are almost all composed of a clay soil, tolerably clothed with grass, and provided with water, being inhabited by a people called Hottentots, who live together in assemblages of men and cattle, which they call kraals; of these we this day passed three. The first two were part of those under a captain called *Schager*, the third was one of captain *Kuiper's* kraals. In the evening captain *Kuiper* came, bringing with him for the Commander a present of an ox for slaughter, in return for which he was presented with a bottle of brandy.

Tuesday 28. On one of the hillocks on our right, near *Mosselbanks River*, we passed a Hottentot kraal named. . . . . The river is so called, because muscles are sometimes found in it, of a bad taste and entirely unfit to eat; the river had water in it 3 feet deep; came to *Doorn Krall*, well supplied with grass, but having *brak* water; on searching, the Commander found a stream with clear good water, which had never been found by others who had frequently encamped there; it was close under *Paardenberg*.

Wednesday 29. Passed *Dassenberg* on our left. . . . . passed a fine valley fit to be inhabited by several families, watered by a small stream coming from the *Paardenberg*, and lined with thorns, but no other firewood; having passed this stream, we ascended the *Hoogen Heuvel*. When we reached the summit, we perceived the hollows well covered with firewood, and a very pleasant valley which seems sown by nature with flowers of all hues and abundance of grass, a delightful scene. As we went on we had on the right very high stony mountains, lying beyond the *Berg River*, and sometimes covered with snow, but inhabited, notwithstanding, by a tribe of Hottentots called *Obiquas*, who maintain themselves by robbery and stealing from the other Hottentots as they do not possess any cattle, or any thing on which to subsist, and thus seize the cattle of their neighbours; encamped at *Holle River*, found our reduced distance from the Castle  $12\frac{3}{4}$  mylen.

Thursday 30. To *Riebeck Kasteel*.

Friday 31. To the *Berg River*, a spot called the *Sonquas* ford. This river takes its name from the mountains in which it rises, it discharges itself into St. Helena Bay; we travelled along the river to the ford of the *Drie Huisjens*, where we encamped.

Saturday, Sept. 1. Went on chiefly along *Berg River*, toward the *Honingbergen*, (so called from the honey there found); they consist of two hills of moderate height, separated by a kloof; along the whole way which we had passed, we had chiefly sandy and stony hills, except behind the *Honingbergen*; we passed also about the 24 *Rivers* and both sides of *Berg River*, a good many huts belonging to the banditti before mentioned, called *Sonquas*, constructed in the same manner as those of the other Hottentots, with this difference, that these are covered with branches and rushes, while the others are covered with mats. This day the Commander issued an order, as we began more and more to approach to the Hottentots' kraals, that none of our people should have any intercourse with the female Hottentots on pain of being flogged and dismissed from the Company's service as *schelms*.

(1) This Journal may be seen at full in Valentyn's General History of the Company's Possessions, it is here materially abridged, by the omission of unimportant details.

Sept. 2. Passed two kraals of captain *Goereman*,—travelled along the Berg River,—the country hilly and in parts stony, but partly fit for corn land. There was here an abundance of the shrub called in Holland *Parey*, which scented the whole country; encamped at the ford called *Misverstand*.

Monday 3. Prepared to convey our baggage over the Berg River, here the sergeant found us; he had been sent out 8 days before to barter some cattle and sheep for our journey; he had procured a good number.

Tuesday 4. Got also our baggage across the river without any accident; while we were still so employed, we saw 5 savages (*wilden*) who fled as soon as they perceived us, on which the commander sent a sergeant and 2 men to follow them, and to induce them, by signs of intending them no harm, to stand and allow them to approach, giving them a pipe of tobacco, and signifying that they should come with them; they did so, and the Commander inquired of them, through our Cape Hottentots, of what tribe they were; they said they were *Sonquas*, being the beforementioned banditti, they had come hither in search of an eland which they had wounded with a poisoned arrow the day before: this poison usually kills on the day after the wound. They carry bow and arrows and assagays, have no cattle, and live upon honey and the game they shoot.

Their skins were very rough and scurfy, owing to the great hunger which they must sometimes endure, and to the want of fat, with which to *smear* themselves. The Commander presented them with a sheep, and although those people had received no education, still they had the politeness to present his Honor in return with the skins of three Bush Cats. They instantly cut the sheep's throat, skinned it, and first cut off the shoulders. They did not allow any part to be lost, except 4 kernels (*kliertjes*) which are in the buttock; these they cut out and threw away. Being asked why they did this, they said they never ate that part; they put the flesh under the ashes for half an hour, and then ate it, knowing it like beasts.

After much inquiry by the Commander, they admitted that they were among those who had some time ago taken the cattle of a captain of the Amaquas, but said that they had been requested to do so by a captain of the said banditti, towards whose kraals they pointed, and where they said the cattle, excepting 3 oxen which they had helped to consume, still were. We could not get to this kraal, as it was too much out of our way; they told us also, that we could get better information from the Grigiquas, who had been participators.

Wednesday 5. Left our encampment called *Trompeter's Drift* near *Picket Berg*, (so called, because at the time when Mr. Gotske was at war with the *Gongemans* they set up pickets there, and made merry;) we came to a small kraal belonging to the said *Sonquas*, in which no one was found except the 5 still with us,—the rest were out hunting; meanwhile appeared a rhinoceros of an incredible size, which rushed right into the midst of our train with great fury; he passed along to the rear where the Commander stood in his carriage, towards which the animal charged, leaving the Commander scarce time to get out; he leaped out, however, with a blunderbuss in his hand, and took aim at the animal not 6 paces off; the gun missed fire, but the furious animal, when we expected nothing less than that he would tear the Commander to pieces in our presence, rushed past him touching his body, caused apparently by a shot given him by one of our men; he rushed past us with great swiftness; several men who were on horse-back not knowing how to escape, flung themselves in great alarm from their horses, hurting themselves in several places.

Thursday 6. Detained in the same place by the heavy rain;—in consequence of our encounter, we called this place *Rhenoster Rug*; meanwhile the Commander arranged the question as to the robbery of the Amaquas' cattle; the *Sonquas* promised that on our return they would restore all the cattle they had stolen, and henceforth live in peace.

Friday 7. Passed several rivulets rising in Picket Berg, clayey soil, covered with abundance of grass and wild oats, and every where provided with good fire-wood and timber; one of our party going on before us, shot an eland weighing perhaps 1,000lbs. we halted, to skin it and to secure the flesh, in a very large flat which we called *Elands Flat*.

Saturday 8. Passed the Picket Berg, and through a marsh covered with fatherland reeds, to a resting place close below the *Jackhal's Kloof*, and also below the *Kanarie Berg*, being the last of the Picket Bergen. Here the mountains stretching from the Berg River to the eastward of us, joined those of the Picket Berg. In the evening the Commander ascended the *Kanarie Berg*, whence were seen twelve fine valleys which we had left to the eastward.

Sunday 9. Passed *Olofson's Kloof*, being a passage to the *Zeekoejen Valley*, and also a good road to the Kleine Olifant's River, in the dry season, but impracticable in the rainy season; passed along the Kleine Olifant's River, came to a valley which we called *St. Martin's Valley*; the hills which we this day passed were all sandy and stony ground, wild and desert, the valley with reeds very solitary and dismal.

Monday 10. We departed from the flat before mentioned, named *Grigriqua's Valley*, halted in consequence of the high sand hills, which we had to pass, as the cattle could not bear any more this day, for this reason we call the place *Doolhofshoek*.

Tuesday 11. Travelled through a steep rocky kloof, approaching the said sand hills; they were an entire wilderness; an elephant approached us but fled in consequence of the great noise we made; we then passed through a marshy valley and encamped; while here, another elephant approached us, on which the Commander ordered the trumpet to be blown, and the drum to be beaten, of which he appeared to take some notice, for he passed on one side of our encampment without doing any harm.

Wednesday 12. Left our resting place which we called *Olifants Valley*; at noon we passed through a

valley called the *Olifants Jagt*, lying between two hills, and encamped midway opposite to a kloof in the hill on our left; this valley is covered with rhinoceros bosch, so called, because the rhinoceros usually lies in it.

September 13. Marched to *Brakke Valley*, where we encamped.

Friday 14. Passed along a hill called the *Vilen Berg*, from the great number of owls found there, came to a fine spring called the *Klip Fountain*, springing out of the mountain, being very excellent water. This mountain has an echo, such as is rarely to be heard, for on blowing a trumpet it gives a great number of reverberations; passed the *Dassen Berg*, so called from the great number of rock rabbits (*dassen*); we were obliged to encamp at the base of this mountain as we had this day passed through deep and high sand hills, and our cattle were too much tired to drag us up the height before us; our resting place had very fine grass, and was watered by several fine streams from the mountain, in which there was abundance of firewood; the Commander ascending the hill in the evening, shot a klipspringer, resembling a Netherland ree buck, but much smaller; also a hare, having a muzzle (*smuil*) like a jackal, and a tail like a fox, but of good flavour and white flesh.

Saturday 15. Having passed a sandy flat covered with many sorts of wild rushes, we came to a mountain, beyond which is a valley called the valley of *De Hoogen Boomen*, because 2 high trees are found there. The mountain is of tolerably easy ascent, but is very rocky and dangerous to descend; contrary to our expectation we got down without injury to our wagons or cars;  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a myl further, we reached the *Oliphants River*, and went on to the place where we had to be ferried over.

This river takes its rise to the eastward, and runs to the westward, with many windings, till it reaches the sea; it is so called from the great number of elephants often found on its banks, which were clothed with trees, a kind of what we call willows in Holland, and also thorns of unusual size, bearing fruit like Turkish beans, but altogether wild and ill tasted; our resting place had abundance of grass.

Sunday 16. Prepared our baggage to cross the river; but being rainy could not proceed. There are in this river fish resembling the *karper*, in taste like Dutch salmon, and of the size of an ordinary cod fish. While lying here we found that the Oliphants river was increased by a small river running N. N. W., and, as we understood from the Grigriquas, taking its rise out of the *Hessequa* mountains to the S. S. E., and along its course inhabited by the Sonquas, before mentioned; we found upon inquiry and other information, that the Sonquas are like our poor in Europe, every tribe of Hottentots has some of them, and they are employed to give warning when they discover any strange tribe. They do not plunder any thing whatever from the kraals in whose service they are, but from others, whether in war or in peace, for, as before mentioned, they have nothing but what they procure by theft.

Monday 17. The free burgers who had escorted us thus far with their wagons, took their departure this morning; at their request the Commander gave them leave to shoot for themselves sea cows, elands, and rhinoceroses; being rainy all day, we could not get our baggage over the river.

Tuesday 18. Fine weather, we took the rest of our baggage across the Oliphants river;—we set off from the ford at 2 P.M. and ascended a height, thence to a hollow along the river, where we encamped;—the country where we staid was knee deep with grass and wild oats;—one of our men shot a hare, very like those of Europe, except the ears? (*lepels*) which were as long as those of an ordinary sized ass.

Wednesday 19. Passed two branches of the river, and came upon a flat, so thickly overgrown with wild oats, that we could not but fancy we were in a European corn field;—encamped near *Baviaans Berg*, so called from the baboons that inhabitant its ravines. Clay soil with plenty of water and fire-wood, abundance of quails, in plumage and size just like those of Europe. The Hottentots with us went to hunt them, placing themselves in a row each having a *kierrie* or heavy walking stick in his hand; they run along, and as soon as they start a quail they fling it at on the wing, with great certainty of aim; in the same way they hunt partridges, hares, and all kinds of small game.

Thursday 20. Travelled through numerous low hills, often changing our course, and found unexpectedly a small river with good water, which, except in unusually rainy weather, is entirely dry, now there were three feet of water in it. Its course was marked with thorn trees, and all along it there was fine grass; it falls into the Oliphants river. Came once more on the Oliphants river, which rushes through between high rocky banks, encamped in a hollow called *Bakkeley Plaats*, having on one side the river, and the mountain on the other.

Friday 21. Lay here that we might somewhat recruit the strength of our people who were rather tired, and to have such as were in any way indisposed duly restored, as has been heretofore the custom at this place; and as the Commander was informed that a kraal of Hottentots of the Grigriqua tribe lived here, 3 men were sent to seek them and to dispose them to come to us with their huts and cattle, but on arriving they found that the Grigriquas had removed the evening before, fearing that we would take their cattle, because they had rebelled against their Captains, (appointed by the Company, and having sticks with copper heads, on which was the Company's mark,) and had taken away their cattle, because they would not barter. That their flight was out of fear that we should take their cattle, appeared from this.—30 of them came to us this same evening, with some sheep, to discover, as it seemed, whether any evil was likely to be attempted against them, and as they could perceive nothing [of the kind] and as every mark of friendship was shown by presenting them with tobacco and brandy, they resolved the same evening to send some of their people to bring their wives, huts and cattle. Lat. observed 30. 56—Long. 38. 15.

September 22. We were obliged to remain here as we awaited the arrival of the kraal above mentioned, in order that they might sell us some cattle as well as milk, for tobacco; a portion of them came in the afternoon, and made a kraal, after which they soon brought to us their milk and some cattle to barter. On this the Commander treated them with mutton and rice, and gave them some brandy with which they made merry the whole night.

Sunday 23. Remained at the same place, as they had requested us on the previous day to stay one day longer, promising to bring us some more cattle, which they did about noon. In the mean time the Commander endeavoured to settle the dispute among the said Grigriquas, a portion of whom were here collected, in which (he succeeded) after much exhortation and earnest advice, to the effect that peace was the best thing for them, as they were a small tribe, and that war among themselves was evil, and that the Hottentots might hereby with greater facility rob them of their cattle; they at last promised to restore the cattle to their captain; the Commander, for their greater contentment, paying them with tobacco for every head besides; they promised henceforth to live together in peace.

This afternoon the Commander visited their kraal; upon his arrival they were slaughtering a sheep, as a parting meal to one of their Captains and masters, who was to accompany us. The operation was thus performed:—the sheep was first laid on its back, and a man cut open the belly, and putting in his hand drew out the bowels while the sheep was still alive; then the skin was in a slovenly manner taken off one side, the flesh cut from the shoulder blade, and the ribs on one side broken from the spine, and one by one separated from the flesh; and then the other side was similarly handled. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the cattle they slaughter is to preserve the blood, which they collect, boil, and then eat; indeed, when hungry, the skin also is boiled and eaten by them; so that of the whole sheep, nothing is thrown away except the contents of the bowels.

Monday 24. Left Bakkeley Plaats, ascended a kloof, and after crossing a great flat, with a course N. by W., we came to a rapid little river where former travellers had found little or no water, it was now three feet deep, though *brak*; we were two hours busy in getting our wagons over, as the banks were steep and required sloping; halted at a pool of water, as no more was to be found for six or seven *mylen*; there was here, as well as along the whole road, little grass and a wild desert country, large hills on each hand; latitude by dead reckoning, 30. 50, longitude 38. 14.

Tuesday 25. The hills on either hand, as we travelled, seemed to contain iron and copper; at a spot called Hogge Kraal, we found ore resembling that of the Amaquas; found a pool of good water and encamped; little or no grass here, but there were green shrubs upon which the cattle were obliged to browse, and which served us for firing; we passed this day over and through hills, rocky, sandy and entirely desert, many wild horses appearing at a distance; they were of an ashy grey colour; we called the place the *Goode Hoop*, as we had found water here where it had never been found by others; this led us to hope that we should find it again on our return, latitude 30. 41, longitude 38. 3.

Wednesday 26. Passed the first and the second *Modderkuil*, so called because former travellers had found no water except in them, it was very muddy and *brak*; arrived at *Meerhoff's Kasteel*, a mountain so called after a person who had travelled through this country; there is in it a large cavern with a natural porch; the Commander ascended the mountain, and perceived that it extends with a high ridge fully five *mylen*, having on one side a vein? (*gang*) of fine white alabaster, (*albast*) and on the other, red and white marble, also grey and white, brown and white, and entirely white; we rested here after a fatiguing day's journey through hills, and, what we did not expect, marshy valleys; the ground was stony and little grass, but there was a little running water never seen by others, something brackish but fit for use; as there was no wood here we were obliged, as before, to burn rushes and shrubs, latitude 30. 31, longitude 37. 38.

Thursday 27. Halted upon a height to rest our cattle, they were much tired with the rocky or marshy ground which we had passed on the heights as well as in the hollows, and in which our wagons frequently stuck; little grass, but many wild useless plants. Here we found a small stream like several we had passed, somewhat salt, as we supposed from saltpetre in the soil and in the mountains. The country here looks like a perfect wilderness, for to whatever side one turns, not a tree is to be seen; it is also uninhabited, except by Sonquas, who wander through it and maintain themselves on game, and are employed by the Amaquas, to whom they are subject.

Friday 28. Came to the last *Modderkuil*; as it was closed up, the Commander ordered it to be cleared out, in order that we might have water here on our return, for otherwise no water was to be had fit for use, except a little in a hole under a rock, and something *brak*; the running waters, hereabouts, are very salt and smell like pickle; having cleaned out the pool, we went on three-fourths of a *myl*, to a great flat, and finding tolerable water, we encamped.

Saturday 29. Ascended a height and saw before us a small mountain flat on the summit, like a table, also a great many mountains of unusual height, which we left to our right; arrived at the river called *Klein Doorn Bosch River* because thorns are found along its course here and there. Former travellers had found little or no water in the river, but it was now running very strong, and in several parts had fully three feet of water. Hence we proceeded N. by W. along this river, along the foot of a very stony mountain with a very few

trees; crossed the river and encamped; we had this day extremely warm weather, and were much plagued by a sort of flies called *Blinden*, yellow and also black in color, they sting with an [*angel*] on their heads, to the great annoyance of man and beast, and, according to the account of the Hottentots, continue here until a flower withers, which is much like the European gold flower, latitude 30 5, longitude 37 39½.

Sept. 30. From a rising ground we saw the sea to the W. S. W., about 6 mylen distant; after a winding course through the hollows between mountains, we reached the *Great Doornbosh River*, where we halted; the hills we passed had not the least vestige of trees; there was however at our encampment abundance of wood, but little grass.

Monday Oct. 1. Proceeded along the river, being forced frequently to cross it to avoid the large stones on each side, and also from its tortuous course through the hill, and the numerous branches joining it from the mountains; several of our wagons and cars were so injured that we could barely convey them to our resting place; we were thus employed from early in the morning until 3 p. m., when we left the river on our right, passed N. by E. between the mountains, and N. N. E. along a high sandy hill, and came once more upon the river, where we encamped, a high peaked mountain lay N. N. E. of us, directly before a kloof through which we had to pass; the mountains which we had seen this day were almost all of massive rocks. The Doornbosch River is so called from the numerous large thorns along its course; it rises in the mountain to our north, and, after being increased by numerous streams from the hills on either side, discharges itself into the sea. Former travellers had found no water in this river, except in pools; it was now deep and rapid; while lying here towards evening, we perceived a fire, and the Commander sent a sergeant, with 10 of the Hottentots who attended us, to see what it might betoken; after an absence of about 3 hours, he returned, having with him an *Amaqua Sonqua*, and reported that, having seen fully 20 of these Sonquas together, he sent one of the Hottentots forward, according to his orders, to desire them to come to us, promising to do them no harm; but as soon as they saw this Hottentot, notwithstanding that he called to them to stand, they fled in great alarm, leaving all their weapons, consisting of bows, arrows, and assagays; the sergeant seeing this, instantly pursued, calling to his Hottentots to secure one if possible; they pursued this man accordingly, and brought him with them. The Commander received him well, and inquired why they fled, but he was in such alarm that for a long time he could not utter a word; he was therefore detained for the night.

Tuesday 2. We remained here to repair our wagons and cars, as the trees here were of sufficient size to supply axles, poles, and what further we required, and even to be used as timber.

The Commander sent out the Sonqua whom we had kept all night with one of our Hottentots, to try to find, and bring to us, his companions who had fled the night before, giving him tobacco to offer them as a mark of friendship; soon after his departure we saw three fires beyond the river, on which our Hottentots set out with their bows, arrows, and assagays to ascertain who might be there; as they ascended the mountain, 5 Sonquas who were at the fire took to flight; but at last, on their calling to them that they would not hurt them, they stood still, and resolved to come to us. Meanwhile those whom we had before sent out returned, bringing with them the remaining Sonquas. They were all very lean and emaciated (*tenger*) in appearance, arising from the severe hunger and hardships which they endure. They eat nothing but the bulbs of flowers, called by them *ajuintjes*, land tortoises, a large kind of caterpillar, and locusts, of which there are great numbers here.

The Commander ordered a sheep to be killed for them, and boiled with rice and bread, they ate it up so ravenously that it seemed as if they would never be satisfied; he then gave them some brandy, on which they became merry, dancing, singing, and screaming in a very strange manner; they could be compared to nothing but a parcel of young calves, (*hokkelingen*;) just out of the cow house. It was certainly, and according to their own admission, the only happy day that they had enjoyed during their whole lives. Latitude 29. 49, longitude 37. 51.

Wednesday 3. Left our resting place to which we gave the name of *Keert Weder*, because former travellers had turned back from about this place as the mountains before us are impassable, and besides the road was unknown, and the tribes would not point it out. Ascended, through a kloof, a high stony mountain, here and there morasses between the rocks, into which the wagons constantly sunk to the axle; after descending from the mountain, we came to a hollow, also somewhat marshy, where we were obliged to encamp, because we found good water, and because it was 4 in the afternoon; the hills which we had passed were here and there sprinkled with aloes, as were, according to the account of the Sonquas, most of the mountains here; some of the aloes were 15 or 16 feet high; while marching, some of the Sonquas, who had left us in the morning, rejoined us with their wives and children; the Commander had them well entertained, and, therefore, they sung and screamed no less than before.

Thursday 4. Ascended a height where we encamped; we had here good grass and water; we staid here because we had been informed by the Sonquas that there were hereabout, some kraals of the *Amaquas*; the Commander immediately sent four of our Hottentots to search for the kraals, giving them tobacco and pipes to present to the chiefs, with an invitation to visit us; towards evening some of the *Amaquas* came to us among them a son of a captain *Nonce*, whose kraal, as they said, was close by, and that there were five other kraals of different captains assembled further inland, who had announced an intention of attacking us and

taking our cattle so soon as we entered their country; the Commander received them very kindly, and gave them brandy, tobacco, and food, on which they were employed the whole night.

Oct. 5. Lay here awaiting the Hottentots whom we had sent out; the Amaquas returned to their kraals; in the afternoon Capt. Nonce came to us himself, having with him a great number of his attendants and many of their wives and children; he rode upon a pack ox, having with him 11 milch cows and an ox to carry his baggage; he went into the Commander's tent and wished to present him with a sheep and a can of milk, on which the Commander asked him if he was disposed to barter; he replied that he had no cattle, and was a poor devil; on which the Commander answered that he might keep his sheep and milk, that our nation was of that way of thinking, that they would receive nothing from the poor, but would rather give to them; and therefore the Commander would treat him with sheep of his own; upon this answer he was completely puzzled, not knowing what to do; he had immediately 6 sheep brought before the tent, to give them as a present, but they were also refused; he then begged the Commander to receive them, saying that he had cattle to barter in abundance, and that he was not one of those who had been disposed to make war; but adding, at the same time, that he was master here, and that the Commander (was master) at the Cape; on which a show was instantly made of breaking up our encampment, threatening to march to his kraal, and to see who should be master, he or us. Upon this he was quite abashed, and begun to speak with much more civility, saying that the other captains had said so, but not he; he sent his son to the kraal to desire it to remove and come to encamp by us. The Commander had him and all of them well entertained, with which they were well pleased, and displayed great good will towards us.

Saturday, 6. The son of Captain Nonce returned to us, alleging that the kraal to which he had been in order to fetch it, could not come, on account of the great swamps in the way, which was altogether at variance with his story the day before, when he said it was a very good road for us to travel with our cars and wagons; from which we could perceive that he was projecting some mischief towards us, more particularly as he had received the former travellers with various indications of hostility. This man was commonly called *Jonker*; in all his proceedings he showed not the slightest respect for his father, who was obliged to be silent whenever he began to speak. The Commander perceiving this, ordered him to hold his tongue, and let his father speak; on which he replied, that he and not his father was captain. In consequence of this and other knaveries, (*quaade streeken*) which we perceived in him, the Commander had him and another of the same kraal whom they called *Rabe*, also one of the principal ringleaders (*belhamers*) placed under arrest; and it was at once resolved, that next day the sergeant and 20 men should go to the kraal to ascertain whether they would come to us voluntarily (*met goodheid*), and, in the event of refusal, to compel them to come by force.

Sunday 7. At day break the sergeant set out with his men to seek the kraal, and returned with them in the afternoon; they were well provided with milch cows, but only tolerably with sheep and oxen. The sergeant reported that when he approached the kraal, many took to flight; on which he told them, through our Hottentots, that no harm would befall them if they went with him willingly; taking possession of all their weapons in the mean time. They seeing themselves overpowered, broke up their kraal and accompanied him; they asserted it to be quite true that the roads was entirely unfit for wagons or cars; and that they were obliged to unload several pack oxen upon which their baggage (*kraal goed*) had been stowed. The Commander had *Jonker* brought before him in his tent, and asked his reason for directing to the wrong road; he denied ever having done so; but his people on the contrary admitted it, and at once accused him of never having come to the kraal, in order to bring them, but said he had given orders that they should make ready to go away. Also, that he had sent some people to the other kraals to dissuade them from coming to us, as he pretended that he knew well that we had no good designs towards them. Hence it clearly appears that he intended to mislead and detain us, so he was still kept fast with severe threats of punishment; and it was proposed to the people, and that they should again acknowledge the father, and him alone, as their Captain; they could not well comprehend us at first, but were at last compelled to do so by threats.

Monday 8. We were obliged to remain here, as the Hottentots whom we had sent out had not returned, and as we had appointed this place for them to rejoin us. Meanwhile Capt. Nonce came with cattle, sheep, and milk to barter; he also sent out 2 of his kraal to learn where the other captains staid so long, and at the same time to tell them, that no harm was intended, and that they might therefore come to us without fear.

Tuesday 9. Captain Nonce came again with cattle and milk to barter, and seemed to be in high good humour; towards evening the Hottentots whom we had sent out, returned, bringing with them 5 Captains, named *Oedeson*, *Haramoe*, *Otwa*, *Haby* and *Ace*, who welcomed the Commander in their manner, expressing great joy at his arrival, particularly Captain *Oedeson*, who frequently stroked the Commander's person, patting him on the shoulders and pointing to his own breast, thereby meaning to show the good heart which he had towards us; as the Captains were now assembled, the knaveries of *Jonker* and *Rabe* were made known to them, and they were asked what punishment they deemed them to have deserved, upon which they consulted together for a long time, requesting at last that *Jonker* might for this time be pardoned, and that they would, in the presence of the Commander, lay down for him a rule for his further conduct. This was acceded to at their request. They then told him that he should no longer bear the name of captain, but should be contented to be a common soldier, also, that he should not again undertake anything against the Company, and that he must acknowledge his father as captain, and pay him due respect; and should he transgress in any of those

particulars, that they, the captains, would join together and punish him with death, without mercy; with all which he promised to comply, and he was then discharged.

October 10. We still remained here in order to interrogate the Captains concerning their country and their customs, and at once to fix the place where they should come to us with their kraals, in order to barter cattle, and also to make a further contract of peace with them; they appointed a spot for these purposes, and promised to accompany us thither. The second prisoner *Rabe*, they had also brought before them, and after having examined him a long time, they condemned him to be flogged on the buttocks, and should he resume such evil designs, they would punish him as they had stated in the case of Jonker. By many entreaties of others, he was however excused from the punishment to which he had been condemned, under a promise of better conduct. He then presented those who had interceded for him with a fine milch cow as a mark of gratitude. The Commander had the captains and their wives well entertained with food, strong drink and tobacco, in order to attach them to us more and more, after which treatment it could be plainly perceived that they began to be more unreserved in their answers to any thing asked of them, particularly when they saw that no harm was intended towards them.

Thursday 11. Ascended a kloof betwixt two very high mountains, course N. N. E.; when we reached the summit we found the mountain was quite flat, we went on to N. N. E. until the mountain where the Ensign Oloff Berg was forced to turn back in the year 1683, was right before us, and 1 or 2 mylen distant. This mountain is incredibly high, nothing but steep massive rocks, and to all appearance inaccessible; after going due North about half a myl, we were forced to encamp, as upon the flat there was nothing but an entire morass, into which our wagons and cars were constantly sinking, and we were often forced to yoke other cattle, which so exhausted both cattle and men, that they seemed powerless. The cause of this is that the ground is full of rocks with much sand between them, which the heavy rains in the last stormy monsoon had converted into marsh, for the water cannot escape through the rocky soil, and can only be dried up by the heat of the sun; the roads had thus been impassable for a long time back, and as the Amaquas told us, this last rainy season is the only time that this country has been moistened for the last 4 years; we had but a moderate supply of grass and water, our fuel was thorn trees found along a small stream, Lat. 29. 32, Long. 37. 49.

Friday 12. Remained here to examine the roads before proceeding further: sent out the serjeant and 6 men, who returned in the afternoon, stating that the roads were something better than those we had passed.

Saturday, 13. Ascended the ridge of a mountain, and then a very high kloof betwixt two high rocky mountains, with several streams of good water issuing from it; the kloof was 1 myl in the ascent, and full of loose stones which had rolled down: after passing a small stream we encamped; the way we had come was generally hard, but marshy in some places; we encamped on an open flat with plenty of water, grass, and fuel; in the evening 3 kraals came and encamped on the other side of the river, to barter to us some cattle and milk.

Sunday 14. Lay here to treat with the Amaquas; our negotiations terminated well, in stipulations to the purport following:—That we should for ever live together in good and profitable peace; that they (Amaquas) should no longer make war upon each other, and if any one transgressed against this stipulation, the Company, whom they deemed to have the right, should be held bound to assist; also that the Commander should wain the Cape Hottentots, Hessequas, Grigriquas, and others who lived under the dominion of the Company, that this peace had been here concluded, and prohibit them from any hostile attempts upon them, in order that they might come, free and unmolested, to the Cape to trade with the Company.

As to the copper mountain, no contract was made with them, because we did not as yet know how it was situated with respect to our search for a bay; this point was, therefore, postponed until further examination. The Captain Oedeson is the Chief to whom the copper mountain belongs of right, and he was to conduct us to it, and to point out every thing minutely. These Amaquas have a gum which exudes from the trees, also a glittering sand, which we considered metallic. They declared unanimously, the Captains as well as the common people, that they brought it from a river, called by them *Tyen*; this river, according to their accounts, is very deep towards the sea, and runs rapidly; one might travel to it in 10 days from the copper mountain, and it lies, according to our calculation in the same latitude as the river *Vigiti Magna*, or *Angra das Voltas*. It is inhabited to the sea by the Amaquas; they stated it to be impossible for us to reach it with our cars and wagons; into this we shall inquire further after having made a proof of the mineral. As this was the Commander's birth-day, we fired out of compliment to him, 3 volleys, each followed by the discharge of a cannon. The Amaquas hearing this came to compliment him with their music; their instruments were long hollow reeds, upon which each could blow a different note, producing a loud and deep harmony (*galm*) like the sound of an organ. They stood in a circle, fully 20 in number, having one in the centre with a long thin stick in his hand; he sung the first part and beat time, according to which they all played with accuracy; they leapt all in a circle, holding one hand to the ear, while they held their reed to the mouth with the other. Around the players were men and women who danced to the music, swelling it by clapping their hands; and, considering that they were savages, all passed off with much propriety. The dance continued the whole day, meanwhile the Commander had an ox slaughtered to entertain the captains, musicians, and dancers; the entertainment took place after the dancing, and some arrack being given to them they enjoyed themselves still more, and then departed to their kraal. This day they bartered to us cattle of various kinds, and towards evening another kraal came to encamp near us, who, as well as those who were already with us, brought their milk to exchange to us for tobacco.

October 15. Staid here to see whether the kraal which had come last, could barter any thing more; meanwhile another kraal came, who also sold us some cattle. Towards evening, the Amaqua Captains came again, followed by the musicians, to take leave of the Commander; and two Captains, named *Oedeson* and *Haby*, resolved to accompany us, and show us every thing; the Commander gave them 3 sheep and some bottles of arrack, on which they, the musicians, and the whole kraal feasted the whole night.

Tuesday 16. Entered a kloof and proceeded N. by E. to the high stony mountain; descended along a small river, where we halted; on all sides we had incredibly high stony mountains; the road was tolerable, sandy and clayey, covered with wild rushes; in the afternoon our *stuurman* ascended the mountain and saw the sea about 12 or 13 *mylen* distant; the river had very good water, the banks were lined with small thorn trees and good grass; we staid here because the Amaqua captain told us that if we went further we should find no grass or water, and that the road was full of loose stones: latitude 29. 19, longitude 37. 50

Wednesday 17. Ascended a narrow kloof full of large stones; after much trouble we got upon the ridge of another mountain; the descent was much more difficult than the ascent, the passage narrower, the stones larger, and more numerous; several of our wagons and cars were overturned, so we were obliged to encamp at the bottom upon a small running stream of brackish water; we lay enclosed by high mountains covered in some parts with two kinds of aloes; some had thick and pretty high stems, and a coronet of many branches at the top; others were clothed with leaves from the ground upwards, and 7 or 8 feet high without a branch: latitude observed 29. 12, longitude 37. 56.

Thursday 18. Encamped at a river to repair our wagons, as we had here two sorts of trees, thorn and cypress; the river was 20 roods broad, but shallow and somewhat *brak*: latitude 29. 10 longitude 37. 57.

Friday 19. Ascended a kloof, passed between mountains and descended to low ground entirely flat, stretching to the east; encamped, after passing several beds of torrents, now entirely dry, as we were told that we should reach no other water this day: latitude 29. 0, longitude 37. 56.

Saturday 20. Approached a kloof which we found impassable; turned back, and, passing a fine spring which the Amaquas told us gave water the whole year round, encamped upon a small river; very little wood or grass, but water was, at present, easily enough procured: latitude 28 52, longitude 37 59.

Sunday 21. Came to a very large and high mountain, being a single rock, having, as the Amaquas said, a good spring of water on the summit; left this to our right, went on E. and E. N. E. until before a kloof, which we entered, and arrived at the place of our destination, the Copper Mountains, latitude observed—29. 0, longitude 38. 21.

Oct. 22 to Nov. 4. [Digging for ore, seeking wood to make charcoal, distance from Cape, 75 *mylen* 16 minutes, height above the true horizon 24 minutes or 912 roods; from the summit of the mountain, high mountains were seen on all sides; employed until Sunday, the 4th Nov. in mining for copper in different places.]

Monday, Nov. 5. Set out along our former road, found the waters we had passed dried up.

Tuesday 6. To our resting place of Oct. 18; the Sand river called *Touse* by the Amaquas, was entirely dried up; obliged to dig holes for water.

Wednesday 7. In the difficult kloof which we had passed on the 17th, broke the fore wheel of one of our wagons, made it into a car; from the hill top the sea could not be seen, but a kloof was perceived which seemed to offer a way thither.

Thursday 8. Travelling toward the sea, the Amaqua captains, who were still with us, began to be unwilling to go any further, or show us the way, particularly *Oedeson* and one *Nonce*, (an Amaqua who had fled to the Cape Hottentots because he had made war against the Amaquas; and who on learning we were going thither, had offered to the Commander to show the way to the Amaqua country;) until now he had been faithful and had behaved well, but now he was entirely swayed by *Oedeson*, and also showed much reluctance, and endeavoured to divert us from our purpose by falsehoods; the Commander seeing this, resolved to secure them, asking them why they availed themselves of so many lies and evasions, and why they would not guide us further; they answered that this was not the way to the sea, and that it made their heads ache to say anything more, so that whatever was asked them they would not answer a word, and remained from this evening entirely mute.

Friday 9. The sea seen to the west from the summit of a mountain, apparently six *mylen* distant, also the appearance of a small bay S. W. by S.; a large river lined with large thorn trees passed the base of the mountain in a S. W. direction; meanwhile the Commander resolved to let Captain *Haby*, who was still with us, return to his kraal, as he was indisposed, but to retain with us the other two who still continued merely sulky.

Saturday 10. After endeavouring to find a passage to the sea side, we set out about 2 p. m. to follow the road found by the sergeant the day before; Capt. *Haby* parted with us; the Commander gave him tobacco, pipes, copper beads, and other things regarded by them as rarities, with similar presents for the absent chiefs of their tribe: meanwhile the two prisoners began to show their knavery, and told us they would show us the right way to the sea, and that the sergeant's road was not fit for our purpose; the Commander believing this, as they added many plausible arguments, we shaped our course according to their directions; this led us S. E. and E. S. E. to a high mountain where some Hottentots came to us; from this we supposed that some kraals must lie hereabouts; proceeding S. S. E. we were obliged to halt on a small stream, as we per-

ceived that we were within the distance of one quarter of an hour from the place where we were encamped on the 14th Oct., together with the kraals, who were still in the same place; towards evening all the captains joined us, and the Commander detailed to them the misconduct of *Oedeson* and *Nonce*, which much surprised them; they immediately called *Oedeson* before them, asking him what reason he had for attempting such roguery, and that against him who had received them so well at the Cape, and, who had, at their departure, presented them with various curiosities, and who had now again given them similar proofs of goodness and friendship; they asked whether he was not one of those who would give cause of war with the Dutch, adding that it was better to put him (*Oedeson*) to death, than that they should, through him, be reduced to such inconvenience; they offered him at once to the Commander, with a request that he might be punished as he deserved, and that if the Commander would not do so, then they would kill him; upon this the Commander requested that they would forgive him for this time, which they did, after having severely admonished him. The other, namely *Nonce*, they called before them, and Capt. *Atwa*, without hearing him speak, made him pull off his kaross, and gave him a severe beating with a stick on his bare body, asking if the Commander was satisfied; the Commander answered in the affirmative; the Chiefs were then presented with brandy, and departed all together to their kraal.

Nov. 11. Lay here that we might have further conversation with the captains; meanwhile some came with milk to barter.

Monday 12. Set out at 6, proceeding directly towards our encampment of the 14th October; while on our way, the captains before-mentioned came to meet us, each presenting the Commander with a cow; meanwhile we perceived that all the kraal people were in motion, and making demonstrations as if they designed to fight with us; upon which the Commander instantly formed a *wagenburg*<sup>(1)</sup> and levelled our two field pieces, before which they sat down in whole troops, thus showing their ignorance of the power [of artillery]; the captains were, however, much alarmed at our levelling the guns, not knowing what it might mean. After all the matter was examined into, it appeared that a Hottentot had come running to the kraals, saying, that we would take from them all their cattle, which expressions had thus alarmed them. Perceiving at last that we entertained no evil design against them, they came immediately to us, and requested that we would stay there that day, as they intended to barter to us some cattle and milk; we staid accordingly. In the evening, the Commander gave to each captain a bottle of arrack, upon which the kraals made merry the whole night through, and had now at once a good opinion of us.

Tuesday 13. Reached within a half *myl* of the place where we had rested on the 4th October, our road was now quite dried.

Wednesday 14. The Commander sent out the sergeant with the *Stuurman* and some men to examine the road, as we were now at the place, whence, as the Hottentots told us, we might approach the sea; on returning they said they had gone about 4 *mylen*, and had found a good road, as well as a resting place, with grass, water, and wood. Two Hottentots were also sent to the kraals, as 4 of the bartered cattle had run back in the night; on arriving there, Captain *Oedeson* asked them why the Commander had not sent about four of the Dutch with them, when he should have broken their necks: Capt. *Atwa* and he got into such high words upon his using these expressions, that they beat each other with sticks: the others instantly sought the cattle, and sent them to us by some Amaquas, to whom the Commander gave for each captain, with the exception of *Oedeson*, some tobacco as a mark of thankfulness.

Thursday 15. Proceeded along our old road, until we reached our encampment of the 11th of October, then changed our course and travelled S. S. W. to W S. W.; halted at a river; the road was good, a party sent out to examine, found a good road, and saw the sea about 5 *mylen* distant, latitude 29. 41, longitude 37. 34.

Friday 16. Travelled generally S. W.; a flat sandy country; rested at a river, having here and there a little water; fuel scarce; latitude 30. 8. longitude 37. 35.

Saturday 17. Remained here all day; a party sent out to the shore reported that they had found an even beach without the least surf on the shore, but no means whatever of approaching with a vessel; they had been at the mouth of the river on which we lay, the sea flowed 3 *mylen* up, but there was no place for us to encamp there, there being no grass or fresh water; good ore was found in a hole beyond the river.

Sunday 18. All our Hottentots were sent out to go to the coast to the south of us, and to seek for a bay, or a place for us to encamp; a party also, under a sergeant, were sent to the north; this party returned in the evening informing us that they had found [the channel of] a very large river entirely dried up, except pools here and there, but abundance of grass and wood; the Hottentots did not return this day.

Monday 19. Our Hottentots returned in the evening, they said they had been at the place where the *Great Doorn Bosch River* runs into the sea, but that as far as they could see, the beach was very foul and rocky; we, therefore, determined to proceed to the river found by the sergeant.

Tuesday 20. Reached the river after travelling about four *mylen* through deep sand: latitude by reckoning 29. 36, longitude 37. 16.

Wednesday 21. Went about 3½ *mylen* N. W. by W., not along the river, in consequence of its numerous windings, but direct on a flat sandy country, halted upon the same river; grass, water, and wood, as before;

(1) A circular arrangement of the wagons for defence.

estimated latitude 29. 27, longitude 36. 57½; a party sent towards the sea, thought they saw, from a hill at a distance from us, that the river discharged itself into a bay.

Nov. 22. Remained working for ore. Friday 23. Proceeded to the hill whence the sea was seen and there *spanned out* our cattle, while a sergeant proceeded to the sea, and to look for a spot for us to encamp; he returned in two hours, having found a suitable place on the shore; we proceeded thither, and encamped at the mouth of the river; there was grass and water within half an hour of our camp, but no fuel except brushwood; we found, on the beach, very large trees washed up by the sea, which led us to the conclusion that there must be hereabouts a great river with large trees on its banks, the rather because the Hottentots had informed us that at the river called by them *Eyn*, and by us *Vigiti Magna*, there were found very large trees; it certainly does not lie far off, because we found among the Amaquas several of those Hottentots who are called *Kamesons*, who reside on that river; we then interrogated them on the subject, but they would give us no information whatever.

Saturday 24. Remained here not knowing whether we could find water further on, and to examine the supposed bay; we found it a mere bend of the coast, affording no shelter for any vessel; the serjeant with some men were sent along the beach to the north, and returned, having gone five *mylen* without finding any water; took a meridian altitude, and found our latitude 29. 55, longitude 37. 18; corrected course and distance since the 13th W. by S. 16 *mylen*; variations of the compass 15. 27 north westerly, observed by a compass of which the needle lay *in t' kruis* [Azimuth compass?].

Sunday 25. The Commander sent two of his hunters and ten Hottentots with two days' provisions northwards to seek for water; the *stuurman* found about two-thirds of a *myl* to the north a small sandy bay, which appeared calculated to shelter a small vessel in time of need; in the evening took the bearing of the Sun with a compass of which the needle lay parallel, [a common compass?] and found the variation 7. 48 north westerly.

Monday 26. Towards evening the party returned; about 8 *mylen* off they had found a large but dry sandy river, with some pools of water mostly *brak*, here and there a little grass and no fuel—at its mouth a bay; two *mylen* from that river they had found a small spring on the beach with tolerable water, but not enough of it for us and the cattle.

Tuesday 27. The Commander sent a sergeant and party to see whether they could not find water to the N. E. between the river and our encampment; they returned in the evening and stated that they had found a good road, but no water within six *mylen*, on which it was resolved to send a sergeant again to the said river to find the nearest way thither.

Wednesday 28. The *stuurman*, sergeant, six men, and two Hottentots, went out at daybreak, with provisions for two days, and with orders to ascertain whether any more water could be found on the way.

Thursday 29. The sergeant and party returned in the evening, and reported that they had found the river as the hunters had reported, but deemed the bay entirely useless, as it was quite shallow, encircled by rocks against which a great surf broke for more than a *myl* to seaward, but they found no water; the road was deemed by them impracticable for wagons, being entirely sandy and covered with brushwood, appearing to cut off all means of exploring further, as it was impossible to cross it in one day, or to keep the cattle two days without water.

Friday 30. Sent out a party to find a way to a bend of this river, whence we thought we could in one day reach the other river; upon their return we proceeded N. E. three *mylen*, over flat sandy ground, and there encamped on the same river.

Saturday Dec. 1. Set out at 6 A.M.; at 2 P.M. encamped at the river before-mentioned; the bay was entirely useless, many large trees were found washed up on the beach; course and distance since the 25th Nov. N. by E. 6½ *mylen*; latitude of the centre of the bay by observation 29. 30, longitude 37. 19½.

Sunday 2. A sergeant and party who were sent out to examine and open the spring found by the hunters and Hottentots, reported that they had found it, but that it was *brak*, as the sea flowed into it at high water; went on through the sand hills to the spring, course N. W.; there was here no grass, nor any other fuel than the trees washed up on the shore; the water was as before described and scanty, so that we were forced to send our cattle back to the river.

Monday 3. Some men were sent out to seek for a road to conduct us further, and for good water,—returning in the evening they informed us they had found a large foot path, but no grass or water, except that about two *mylen* onwards they had found a small spring, which they thought, if cleared out, might afford water enough for cooking and to drink, and that here and there along the rocks water may be found not so salt but that the cattle might drink it.

Tuesday 4. Two parties were sent out, the first to clear out the spring, and the other to explore for a road to lead us further. The first party returned at noon, having done as they were directed; we proceeded thither and encamped. Late in the evening the second party returned. They had advanced 6 or 7 *mylen* along the shore, and said that neither there nor inland had they found the least drop of water, so that they were almost exhausted, and several had been forced on the road to drink their own water. The whole coast from the place where we first came upon it, as far as we examined it, was found equally foul and rocky, with a fearful surf.

Wednesday 5. Party sent out to seek for water, they returned without success.

Thursday 6. Remained here, and perceived that our cattle had become quite weak, as we thought, from being compelled by thirst to drink salt water, and while we were employed in baling fresh water for them several of them died; for fear of losing more we were obliged to send the others back to the river; meanwhile the Commander resolved to send the sergeant, the *stuurman*, 10 soldiers and 4 of our Hottentots to the *Angra das Voltas* with 3 days' provisions.

December 7. The sergeant with his party set out at day light, they returned on the evening of the 10th, informing us that on the 7th, after advancing  $5\frac{1}{2}$  mylen along the beach, they had seen 5 Sonquas of whom they caught one and kept him as a guide, and after going 5 mylen further along the beach, they slept on the shore.

Saturday 8. After proceeding  $5\frac{1}{2}$  mylen along the beach, they came to a river called by us Sand River, but as the Sonqua said, called by them the *Touse*, being the same river which we had passed 6 or 7 mylen South of the Copper Mountain. The river was so named, as he (the Sonqua) said, from two Buffaloes which they had found there, so that its right name should be Buffalo River; there were no trees in the bed of the river, but there was sweet water and reeds like those in Europe, and fully 8 or 9 feet high; at the mouth of the river there was a bay foul and full of rocks, and therefore unfit to admit the smallest vessel. Their estimated course and distance was N. by W.,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  mylen. Estimated latitude 28. 23, longitude 37.  $6\frac{1}{2}$ .

Sunday 9. They returned to the place where they had first come upon the river, where a small kraal had lain of the same tribe to whom this Sonqua belonged. Here they again filled their water flasks, and as they now deemed themselves in the latitude of *Angra das Voltas*, they determined to turn back, as they were not provisioned for a longer period; proceeding S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  myl, they again reached the shore, and found that there was a bay there, which after examination they deemed fit to shelter a *Hoeker* or smaller vessel; the northern shore terminated in a reef which extended S. S. W., about a gunshot from the shore; this reef broke off the sea, thus making smooth? [*slecht*] water in the bay; a lower reef, about a musket shot long, was attached to the reef before mentioned; it is covered at flood tide, ending in a sand bank, where no surf was seen, and the opening by which the bay might be entered appeared very deep, and runs S. S. W., and N. N. E.; they walked along the beach till noon; a foul rocky shore, on taking a meridian altitude they found the latitude 28. 34. They were then 2 mylen from the bay, so that it lies in the latitude 28. 25, longitude 37. 6.

Monday 10. The party, as before mentioned, joined us this afternoon with the Sonqua; they had found neither grass nor water between us and the river; meanwhile nothing occurred except that we found here, as we had before observed at the Copper Mountain, that every day at noon, and towards evening the wind blew mostly from the S. W., and on the 7th first began to blow from the North, with which wind on the following day the sea appeared quite red to the distance of a musket shot from the shore; the cause of this appearance was unknown to us.

Tuesday 11. Staid to rest the party who had been out; prepared to set out for the Cape for the reasons before mentioned; orders were sent to fetch the cattle from the river to which they had been sent; the Commander sounded the Sonqua, who now said he was no Sonqua, but one of the tribe called *Kamesons*; after having conversed with him a long time, the Commander resolved to take him to the Cape, that he might be of use on some future occasion, as he was acquainted with all the country in this quarter.

Wednesday 12. Returned to the river, found the pools very *brak*.

Thursday 13. To latitude 29. 42, longitude 37.  $35\frac{1}{2}$ .

Friday 14. To where we rested on 21st last month, latitude 29. 56, longitude 37. 41.

Saturday 15. Staid here to rest the cattle.

Sunday 16. Some men sent out to examine the country to the south, to ascertain if there were any means of getting to the coast, returned in the evening, having found neither grass nor water, so that they were obliged to seek for our resting place of the 20th ult. which they found in its former condition.

Monday 17. Set out in the afternoon, encamped a little higher up the river than before, as the water was deemed a little better there.

Tuesday 18. Remained here; meanwhile a serjeant and some men were sent to see what was the state of the country at *Doorn Bosh River*; about noon two Sonquas came to the vicinity of our camp, who, according to their own admission, intended to kill one or two men if they could have surrounded them, and to drive off some cattle, on which the Commander sent some people out in order, if possible, to make them prisoners without violence, but in the event of resistance, to treat them as enemies are usually treated; the people coming to the spot saw eight men, of whom five Sonquas fled; but two of the other three, perceiving that they were surrounded, voluntarily surrendered themselves; the third resisted, and was therefore fired upon, wounded in the leg, and thus brought to the Commander; they confessed, after a long examination, that they and all the Sonquas belonging to the *Amaquas* were sent hither to do us as much injury as they possibly could; they, as well as the *Kameson*, were kept in custody; about 9 p.m. the serjeant returned, having found good water in pools in the *Doorn Bosh River*, also abundant grass and fire-wood; he brought also two wives of the Sonquas, who were kept with the other prisoners.

Wednesday 19. To *Doorn Bosh River*, latitude 30. 27.

Thursday 20. Went on along the river generally W. N. W.; this river, like all the others which we had passed, was near the sea destitute of wood, while higher up they were closely set with thorns.

Dec. 21. Lay still; two parties were sent to examine the coast north and south; the sergeant found a large sandy bay, into which the sea broke with fury, and which would be daily enlarged, as they could observe that the sea daily encroached on the land, &c.

Saturday 22. Proceeded E. to S. E. to the place where we had rested on the 19th.

Sunday 23. Some men who had been sent out to seek the old path of Ensign Berg, returned unsuccessful.

Monday 24. To the junction of the *Kleine Doorn* with the *Groot Doorn Bosch River*; a party sent out returned at night, having found the old track of Ensign Berg and a good way of reaching it; we had to dig for water.

Tuesday 25. Travelled various courses along the river, and rested to let the cattle drink where there was water, and in consequence of the great heat of the day; in the evening got into the track of Ensign Berg; tolerable supply of grass and water by digging.

Wednesday 26. Late in the evening we reached the last *Modderkuil*, which had a fine supply of water; rested here to let the cattle drink by turns, as there was not enough for the whole number.

Thursday 27. A sergeant went off with the greater part of the cattle to *Meerhoff's Kasteel*, and to let them drink on the way where water was to be found; we followed with our train, reached *Meerhof's Kraal* about noon, and outspanned to let our cattle drink up what little water we found in the spring; yoking the other cattle, we reached the first *Modderkuil* at sun set, it had a tolerable supply of water, but stinking, and not the sixth part of what our cattle needed. This evening we allowed the cattle which were very thirsty, to drink each in proportion as much as possible. The roads, which on our outward journey had been so marshy, were now entirely without water and dried up as hard as bricks.

Friday 28. The Commander ordered the pools to be dug out and cleansed while the cattle were sent to other pools, in order that they might drink as much as possible. It was resolved to send all the cattle, except one team for each wagon and car, to the *Oliphants River*, which was done in the evening. The water which had in the mean time come into the pool was measured out in dishes to the cattle with us, altogether it would not fill a bucket.

Saturday 29. Our sheep were sent with a corporal and 2 men to the *Oliphants River*: at noon we again gave some water to our cattle out of a small wooden dish, and set forward to the *Oliphants River*; at 5 we reached *Hooge Kraal*, where we found some cattle left behind by the sergeant; the Commander gave them all the water he had in wine bottles; after halting about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour, we arrived about 1 in the morning at the *Bakkeleys Plaats* on the *Oliphants River*, where we found the cattle and sheep we had sent before us.

Sunday 30. Remained here; the Commander sent a cart loaded with some casks of water to the cattle left behind, that they might drink, and if possible be brought to us, which was accomplished.

December 31 to January 2, 1686. Remained here, [examination and description of the mouth of *Oliphants River*.]

January 3. After marching along our former track  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *mylen*, halted on account of the fine grass along the river.

Friday 4. Passed a small stream which was running when we were here last, it was not quite dry.

Saturday 5. In the evening arrived at the ford; chose a proper place for crossing next day, where the water was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep.

Sunday 6. Sent a sergeant with 4 cars and part of the cattle to *Dassenberg*, to open and clear out the springs, which we feared might be closed up; in the afternoon the Commander followed with the rest of the train, and arrived at the *Dassenberg* at sunset, where we found the sergeant and encamped; there was grass and water in abundance.

Monday 7. Staid here to refresh our cattle a little upon the fine grass.

Tuesday 8. Set out for the *Brak Valley*; leaving our old track because it took so great a bend; at 9 reached *Brak Valley*, where we found 6 elephants, we scared them away by firing guns and shouting.

Wednesday 9. Sent out to search for water towards the coast, which the Commander determined to examine;—water having been found about 1 *myl* distant, we proceeded thither.

Thursday 10. A party sent to look for water reported having found enough for 40 or 50 cattle, and seen an Island off the coast, on which the commander proceeded with 2 wagons and the boat, and filling our water casks at the pools which had been discovered, we proceeded to the beach.

Friday 11. Launched our boat to sound the bay about the little island; found two to three fathoms between it and the shore, and a sandy beach fit for a landing place; the island is surrounded by rocks to the north between the island and the main; and about a gunshot off, there was six or seven fathoms, with sand and small stones; a gunshot further, and where the river or valley opens, ten fathoms, sand and shells; the island stretches chiefly east and west; betwixt it and the main land there is an opening, but dangerous from hidden and projecting rocks: latitude 31. 45, longitude 38.  $9\frac{1}{2}$ .

12 and 13. Examining coast to north and south.

Monday 14. Returned to our encampment of the 9th.

Tuesday 15. Reached *Olifants Jagt* at 6 P.M.; had several meetings with elephants, but all passed off well.

Wednesday 16. Went along our old track; halted at a valley with water, to rest our cattle.

Thursday 17. To *Doolhofs Hoek*.

Friday 18. To *Kleine Olifants River*, where we encamped, because the kraals of Capt. *Gongema* were close by; towards evening they brought us milk and sheep for barter.

Saturday 19. In the morning the greater part of *Gongema's* Hottentots came to the Commander, and as old *Gongema* was dead, (they still were in mourning, which consisted in cutting off their hair;) they requested that his son might be appointed in his stead, which being done, they heartily thanked the Commander.

Sunday 20. To *Elands Kraal*; 21. to *Berg River*; 22. to *Vleermuis*; 23. to *Riebeeck's Kasteel*; 24. from a high ground saw Table Mountain, S S. W; 25 to *Bommels Hoek*, one of the Company's farms; Saturday 26. The Commander set out with some attendants for the Cape of Good Hope, ordering the train to follow, which arrived at 5 P.M., and thus ends this journey.

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### Resolution of Council.

1686. March 4. The Captain of the *Chenouqua* Hottentots, named *Claas*, appeared before the Council and reported, that having heard that the *Obiqua* tribe had last year murdered some of the Dutch, who were out shooting; he, of his own accord, and from the good will he bore the Company, had marched with his people to attack the *Obiquas*, and revenge the said murder. That having approached their kraals, they sent to him three women requesting him to renew and confirm the old friendship betwixt them; that he sent back a present of tobacco by three of his own Hottentots, and requested the captain of the said *Obiquas* to come to visit him in his kraal, which the said captain did on the following day, accompanied by ten of his people, and was there very kindly received and entertained by him, *Claas*, who killed a sheep for them; that on the next day, while still entertaining the said *Obiquas*, with every appearance of friendship, and making merry in their way, with dancing and beating the drum; he, on perceiving a favorable opportunity, ordered some of his people (speaking to them in Dutch) to seize the *Obiqua's* captain and his people, which being effected, he, *Claas*, asked them whether they were disposed to murder any more of the Dutch, and upon their answering yes, he instantly gave orders to kill the said *Obiquas*, which was instantly done, with exception of three, who saved themselves by flight.

This being taken into consideration, it was resolved to reward the said *Claas* for his faithful services, with two bunches of copper beads, a roll of Virginia tobacco of the weight of 20 lbs., an anker of anniseed arrack, 150 lbs. rice, and a pair of coarse stockings. Thus done, &c.

S. VAN DER STELL, &c. &c.

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### Extract of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1686. April 12.....Respecting the general state of this command and its affairs, we can assure your Honors that all is in a most desirable condition, and this year has been so fruitful in corn, wine, and other produce, that we have abundant ground for thankfulness to Providence, having this year reaped, on the Company's account, about 1,400 muids of wheat, rye, oats, or barley.....<sup>(1)</sup>

1686. May 7. Extracts from Journal continued. Received from Hottentots Holland the following advice :—“ We have just heard from *Overberg* of the wreck of a Portuguese ship between

<sup>(1)</sup> This despatch contains an explanation of the practice of shooting sea cows in the rivers of the interior, which was stated to be no longer attended with profit, from the destruction which had taken place among them; none of them had been seen for years, so that the freemen had to ask leave to go to the distance of 8, 10, or 12 days' journey to *Oliphants River*, before they could find any, and they were so difficult to be killed on the spot, that 10 or 12 were often mortally wounded before one could be procured; they were killed rather for the sport than the profit. Upon receiving intimation of the emigration of a few more families of farmers, a hope is expressed that, in favorable seasons, little or no rice would be required from India.

The Directors in reply (Oct. 25) observe, they have been long fed with this hope, but still bear the burden of an annual cargo of rice for the Cape, and exact from “ the zeal and industry of Commander van der Stell,” the most vigorous measures to secure this important saving;—“ we are very anxious to learn in what light the Lord of *Mydrecht* (Commissioner Van Rhee) views your depriving the freemen of the privilege of making oil and catching fish, and appropriating those sources of profit to the Company; to us they appear rather to belong to the freemen than to the Company.”

Cape False and Cape Aguilas; the captain, clergyman, 2 mates and 78 men, including the surgeon and his assistant, have arrived here (1). . . . .

May 8. Three Hottentots brought intelligence to the Commander, that there was at no great distance a certain King or great Captain, supposed to be him of *Monomotapia*; the Commander therefore thought it advisable to send them back with small presents, to bring further information.

27. Received the following letter from Saldanha Bay. . . . . "We have heard from the Hottentots who lie at our post here, that the Namaqua Hottentots have come into *Goniemans kraal*, and said that the Namaquas and Grigriquas had joined together with the intention of coming hither; I shall send what further information I may receive from *Gonieman's* Hottentots. . . . .

June 10. Some soldiers were sent to barter for some sheep among the nearest Hottentots, as the butcher reported that the Company had nothing remaining to kill for the shipping but young lambs. 22. 550 bastard sheep, were brought into the Castle.

July 13. Heard from Saldanha Bay that the Namaqua and Grigriquas Hottentots had signified that they would shortly come to burn the Company's forts and the houses of the free inhabitants. A freeman's slave who had deserted had got among them, and had narrowly escaped after receiving several wounds with an assagay.

25. The Commander set out over the Eerste River to seek good land to be given out to the freemen, either in freehold or in loan. . . . . a mile to the Eastward of Hottentots Holland he found a fine rich valley, watered by various streams, and intersected by a river. . . . . very necessary as a post to shut up the passage over the mountains, and prevent all smuggling and private trade between the freemen and natives.

Aug. 16. A Portuguese sailor arrived here, who had been hurt by a blow of the tiller when his ship struck, and who, being unable to follow his shipmates, had been found, taken up, fed and cured by the Hottentots, and at last brought safe and sound to Hottentots Holland.

Oct. 23. A certain *Sonkwa* Captain came to the Commander to offer to seek for deserted slaves.

28. In the evening four Hottentots residing near Saldanha Bay, brought in two fugitive slaves, who were almost dead of hunger and fatigue; they had deserted about four months since with four or five others, intending to return to Madagascar, their Fatherland; they had soon fallen in with some Hottentots, who desired them to return, but they refused, and came to blows; when the Captain of the Hottentots was killed by a gun shot, and on the side of the fugitives one slave was killed by an assagay; availing themselves of the night they escaped the vengeance of the Hottentots, and, after long wandering, could no longer endure their hardships; the Hottentots who had kept watch at night, according to their custom, went to sleep and then let the slaves escape; they at length fell into the hands of other Hottentots who now brought them back.

Nov. 2. The following resolution was passed in presence of all the members, except Messrs. De Man, Van Keulen, and Breugel.

Gerrard Cloeten and Hendrik Cornelis, together with Roeloff and Swemmer Pasman, all free burgers of Stellenbosch, having humbly petitioned the Commander in Council, that the cattle,—in all 20 oxen and cows, which they had taken from the *Obiquas* Hottentots in April last, and

(1) The Journal of this year has lost several leaves, and commences in February; it contains voluminous details relative to the well-known wreck of the ship *Nostra Senora de las Milagros*, with ambassadors from Siam: these details do not relate to the natives, except that when, on June 7, one of the ambassadors set out with an escort of ten men to seek his lost companion, the escort was ordered to "purchase cattle among the scattered Hottentot kraals."

In an instruction to the Fiscal Van Keulen, Lieut. Oloff Berg and others, dated 7th July, 1686, principally requiring him to attend to the interest of the Company in searching for, and securing all that might be saved from the wreck, is the following passage:—"You will instantly send away any Hottentots who may live thereabouts, unless you should require the assistance of some of them, in which case you will take care that the Company's interest does not suffer from their thievish disposition." It does not appear whether the Company's interest sustained any injury from the cause apprehended; one of the officers employed was long confined on Robben Island by the authority of Mr. Van der Stel, for secreting some valuables, and the Commander was severely censured by the Directors for retaining a valuable sword, all of which were procured from this wreck.

1686. Aug. 12. This night at 1 A.M. a comet was seen on the horizon, in the fifth house of the heavens, agreeing in longitude with Saturn and Venus, standing in the left shoulder of the Hare, in 18. 4 south latitude, and 80. 8 longitude. The tail extended due east and west, 35 celestial degrees long, in Gemini.

1686. Aug. 17. The practice of slaves carrying their masters' guns and other weapons, was deemed to have a tendency to produce a disregard of fire arms, and so dangerous, that it was provided that for any slave armed, with his master's knowledge, with sword or gun, even when herding the cattle, except in the presence of the master, the master should pay a fine of 100 Rds., or if unable to pay, that the slave and half the cattle should be confiscated, while the slave should be severely flogged. The punishment for a second offence was that the master and slave should be both flogged.

delivered at the Company's fort the *Kuylen*, might be given to them as their booty and well earned prey (*proye*): and whereas the said Hottentots have for a long series of years subsisted solely by robbery and murder, and that not only upon their own countrymen, (*eigene natie en landaard*) but even have not feared or hesitated frequently to shed the blood and take the property of the Company's inhabitants, particularly in the years 1673, 1679, 1684, and now recently, when the free burgers above-named went out with the knowledge and consent of the Commander to shoot sea cows, they ventured, not less hostilely and treacherously to attack them; in consequence of which the said burgers, for the preservation of their lives, were compelled to repel force by force, and shot several of those murderers, among others their captain, dispersed the rest, and thus revenged the innocently shed blood of their friends and neighbours, taking with them the said 30 oxen and cows:—It is therefore unanimously resolved to grant to them two-thirds of that cattle, as well-won booty, to be divided among them in equal portions; the Honorable Company keeping the remaining third as its lawful prerogative. Thus done, &c.

S. VAN DER STELL, J. CRUSE, &c.

Nov. 20. Extracts of Journal continued. In the morning when the castle was opened, the captain of the Sousequase Hottentots, named *Dorha*, and by us Claas, came in, bringing only 16 of the 20 heifers which he has to deliver annually to the Company, by virtue of a certain contract by which the trade of tobacco among his tribe (*natie*) is granted to him. According to his statement the remaining four were killed by the lion at a small distance from this place.

21. The Commander and Council directed the Sousequa Captain Claas, now present, to buy some sheep and cattle from his people, on account of the Company, for tobacco.....he was clothed from head to foot in a handsome suit of dutch clothes, to confirm his attachment to the service of our masters, and to stimulate the other chiefs to imitate his zeal and fidelity.

23. Captain Claas, being supplied with every necessary for the trade, set out with his wife and attendants.

Dec 14. One of the Hottentot captains again brought in two deserted slaves.....on learning the situation of the hiding places of the other slaves, a corporal and two soldiers were sent out, accompanied by the said African captain, and eight or nine of his men, to seek for the slaves, and disarm them, and bring them in.

19. An African captain brought in three deserted slaves.....he was rewarded with tobacco, rice, and arrack, and so much gratified by the kindness shown him, that he promised to do his utmost to find the rest of the deserters.

23. The corporal and men lately sent out with some Hottentots to seek deserted slaves, returned unsuccessful, not having found even a trace of the fugitives.

25.....The burning of the bush and the fields, by the Hottentots, as well as the Company's subjects, though useful to the farmer.....is found very injurious to the health of the inhabitants, generating an unwholesome atmosphere.

20. Four deserted slaves were brought in by the Sonqua Hottentot captain, and lodged in prison.

### Extract of Resolutions of Council.

1686. Dec. 31. Dirk of the Cape, being the son of a Dutch father, and hitherto employed as a slave of H. Gresnig, having lately deserted to the wilderness, and being brought to the prison by one of the Hottentot captains, called by us Kees, it was resolved that, as soon as he had received his punishment for desertion, he shall be made free, and allowed to enjoy the rights derived from his parentage, according to the statutes of this Commandantship, more particularly as his former master has no kind of objection.

### Extracts from the Journal of Commander Simon van der Stell.

1687. Jan. 1. The Cape burgers were paraded in arms, 80 in number.....7th. The Commander was visited at Stellenbosch with every expression of attachment and obedience, by the

Nov. 30. The work of leading the water in wooden pipes, from the spring, was this day completed.....upwards of 1000 bored trees, fastened together with iron rings, were thus used.

Hottentot Captains Kuyper and Thomas; between whom a little tobacco having been divided, they presented the Commander with a young ox in return, and as a mark of due respect.

Feb. 4. The Commander returned from the outposts, bringing with him to the castle, the Captain of the *Trakoukwase* Hottentots, named *Gamnou Kouchama*, Chief of the Banditti, a powerful people, laying above the Sounquas and beyond the Breede River, bordering on *Inqua Komsakou*, who is supposed to be the King of *Monomotapia*, by whom the Chief states himself to have been sent hither to open a communication with the Commander, and with this country; after which he is said to intend sending his brother *Goukha*; the chief also stated, that he delivered into the hands of the said *Goukha* the presents which the Commander had last year sent by the *Khenouquase* Captains, and that *Goukha* was pleased with them.

6. After *Gamnou Kouchama* had returned his thanks to the Commander for the civilities shown him, given assurance of his disposition to serve the Company, promised that henceforth no injury should be done to deserted slaves, and that he would soon return with an ambassador of the King *Komsakou*,—he departed for his country well satisfied, under the guidance of *Khenouqua* captains.

18. In the afternoon came one of the *Grigriqua* Hottentots sent by his Chief (called by us *Portugies*) under the guidance of a party of Hottentots from *Saldanha Bay*, to make peace with the Company, fearing that the faults committed when the Commander was on the journey to the Copper Mountain, in the year 1685, would be punished as they deserved; for he had moved away with his kraal, contrary to his promise and duty, and thus kept some tired oxen that had been given into his charge until the Commander's return, and done all the disservice in his power; notwithstanding which forgiveness and favor were promised to him, through his said ambassador, in consideration of the service he might hereafter do to the Company, and on condition that he should deliver in person at the Company's kraal, in compensation for the injury sustained, 30 cows and 100 wethers, which the said ambassador promised to state to his said Chief. 27....A sergeant and some soldiers were sent out to buy a half thousand fat sheep for tobacco, from the nearest Hottentots.....

March 1. Sent the boat to *Saldanha Bay*.....with the following letter:—Extract,—“On the arrival of the Captain of the *Grigriqua* Hottentots, named by us *Portugies*, you will show him every kindness, and give him a drink of arrack and a little tobacco; and give him every assistance so that he may drive thither without hindrance the cattle and sheep which he has promised to give to the Company; and you will take care that he does not suffer the slightest annoyance from *Sounquas*, or other Hottentots. Farewell.”

In the afternoon appeared here Captain *Willem Knyff* with ten of his crew.....having lost their ship the *Stavenisse*, on the 16th February last year, on the coast of *Terra de Natal*, as appears detailed in the following statement of the said Captain *W. Knyff*.

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Extracts of Declaration of *W. Knyff*, in Castle of Good Hope,  
25th March 1687.

I, the undersigned, *Willem Knyff*, master of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*, was sleeping in the cabin at the seventh glass of the middle watch, on the 16th February 1686, having kept the first watch; and was suddenly awakened by the cabin boy. I asked why he so run in, he replied, that we were on shore; and that he had once asked the mate to get up the cable; upon which, jumping upon deck followed by the purser, I found we were close to the breakers, and that the chief mate and boatswain were busy hauling up the cable, in order to bend it to the anchor; the other two officers standing the while on the half-deck; it was dead calm and darkish weather, and after they had hastily prepared both anchors, they were successively dropped by my orders. The ship swung to the best bower, and lay in the surf, which broke over the bows, and as far as the waist: having lain thus about two or three glasses, a fine little off-shore breeze sprung up, when the chief mate proposed to weigh the small bower, for being nearly up and down it was of no use, and to make sail. The foretopsail was loosed, but the anchor was scarcely up before it again fell calm. After lying thus awhile the best bower at last parted, when we again dropped the small bower, but it would not hold, so that the after part of the ship struck the rocks, and the ship being now stove, and full of water, I took to water and swam to land. The boat was put out when the ship struck; the purser, the surgeon's assistant, and 11 or 12 sailors, endeavored to save themselves, but were at last upset in the surf, so that most of them were drowned.

From the wood and sails which drove on shore, a tent was erected for shelter on the beach [here follow complaints of the sailors, &c., against the officer of the watch.]

Meanwhile I asked the people if they were disposed to remain on the beach, in order as far as possible, to save the Company's property, on which, with one voice, they replied,—that they saw no chance of being able to do so, as the cargo was mostly knocked to pieces on the rocks, or driven to sea, and, finding this to be the case, I determined at their request, to set out with them, over land, for the Cape of Good Hope.

Setting out thus on the 19th, and having gone about three *milen*, I found that from weakness I could not accompany them, so I returned back alone to the beach, where we had left the surgeon sick, and the gunner, Theunis Jansen, together with Jan Jasper, boatswain's mate, both wounded in the tent.

Two days after this, the boatswain, his mate, the sailmaker, and three sailors came back to us, and were soon followed by all the three mates; the chief mate having tried to persuade Jan de Groot, the junior mate, to go overland to the Cape of Good Hope, with the remaining 47, which he undertook to do; but before proceeding far, he also left the Cape party, and following the mates, his companions, reached us on the beach at the same time with them.

We then set about repairing our broken boat, in order to seek our way to the Cape of Good Hope by sea, and having accomplished this in about 14 days, more or less, and having loaded her with our provisions, consisting of a half anker of bread, about 25 lbs. of salt pork, and half a *legger* of fresh water, seven of us pushed off, the others remaining from choice, excepting the junior mate, who in shoving off the boat accidentally missed the opportunity of jumping in, and not being able to get over the surf, the boat being nearly full of water, we pushed back to the shore; there we lost our compass, quadrant, provisions, and baggage.

Being now destitute of every thing, and the boat being broken in pieces, we consulted how we could best support ourselves, and by what means we could secure ourselves from starvation. The natives, indeed, offered us bread and cattle for sale, but we had nothing wherewith to purchase the one or the other. Nothing is esteemed there but beads and copper rings for the neck or arms. For nails, bolts, and other iron work of the wreck, we indeed got some bread and corn; but as the natives set to work themselves, and by chopping and burning fully supplied themselves with iron, we not being at first aware that it was so much regarded, nor daring to prevent them for fear of provoking them, as they had sometimes fully 1,000 armed men,—they had every thing in abundance, while we suffered from want.

When we were thus reduced to the last necessity, there came to us two Englishmen, who had some months previously lost their ship at Rio de Natal, about 20 *milen* further to the North. These men, being acquainted with the country and the language, instructed us how to deal with the natives, and willingly offered us their assistance towards our mutual preservation, together with a share in their merchandise, consisting of copper rings and common beads, and enough to find them and us also in meat and bread for fifty years. We, therefore, at the request of these neighbours determined to set out, to unite our prospects to theirs, and to enter into an inseparable partnership, for better or for worse.

Here we procured an abundance of food for copper, rings, and beads; and the common people by degrees, losing respect for their officers, at length accused me and the mates of neglect of duty, and particularly with theft of the Company's pepper, &c.

Having thus passed about four months in the greatest confusion, with reciprocal murmuring and unwillingness, we at last agreed to build a vessel, and each applied his skill to the work. John Kingston, the Englishman, made a saw out of the ring of a (*luyk?*) we made one trip to the wreck and picked whatever would serve our purpose; we found three anchors among the rocks, or thrown up on the beach, among them our best bower, with the piece of the cable to which the ship had ridden; we broke the shank in two; one part served for an anvil, the rest with the arms and ring were beaten into nails and bolts.

Our vessel being at length made ready by our diligence, and by the labour of the natives; we launched her, and, after storing her with an indifferent supply of bread and corn, water and meat, both salted and fresh, we at length put to sea on the 17th of last February, without chart, compass or quadrant, and keeping the land always in sight, we at length anchored in Table Bay on the 1st of this month, and were surprised to hear no intelligence of the 47 healthy and active men who, about twelve months ago, set out for this place by land, . . . . [the rest of the declaration relates to the conduct of the chief mate, previous to the shipwreck.]

In my presence, (Signed), W. KNYFF.  
 (Signed), GREVENBROEK, Secretary.

March 2. Some Hottentot sheep were brought in as provision for the expected return fleet. The Lord's day was observed as usual, and some sailors and officers of the wrecked *Stavenisse* were heard before Commissioners of the Honorable Council to the following effect:—

Extract of Declaration of ten Officers and Sailors (named) of the ship  
*Stavenisse*, 2d March 1687.

[The first part relates to the particulars of the shipwreck "on Terra de Natal, between the degrees of 30 and 31 South latitude."]

"On the 19th the wreck being in pieces, and expecting no more people, it was determined unanimously, in consequence of want of food and ignorance of the country, and as none of the natives had been as yet perceived, that all hands should set out for the Cape of Good Hope, leaving on the beach all the cargo, &c., the surgeon sick in the tent, the gunner wounded in the leg by the rocks, and the boatswain's mate wounded by an axe, in cutting away the anchor. The Captain, being too weak to follow, turned back to the wreck alone, the first day; the second and third day, they all marched together, but on the fourth morning the boatswain's mate, and his assistant, the sailmaker and three sailors turned back, being in a few hours followed by the three mates, as they saw no chance of executing the journey, from the steepness and ruggedness of the way together with the want of food; each person's share, upon division, being but a hat full of bread, and five or six bits of pork; leaving thus the remaining 47 men, well and active, to pursue their journey to the South, and of whom they have from that time received no tidings whatever; they had with them quadrant, compass, and some fire-arms, with powder and lead.

At last, after much toil and distress, the deponents again came together, being 13 in number, one of whom, the surgeon, died 5 or 6 weeks after, and the boatswain's mate was struck dead and crushed by an elephant; [here follows the attempt to escape in the boat as above detailed.]

The second day after this second ship-wreck, in which they had lost their compass, chart, and clothes, two well armed Englishmen and some natives came to them, offering them all imaginable help for their common preservation, which they accepted, and resolved to set out with one of the English for their place of encampment, about 20 *milen* to the north, where the English had lost their ship 11 months before; the other Englishman remained to attend upon the surgeon, boatswain's mate, and a sailor in the tent; they were not able, by any rewards, to induce the natives to carry the sick (they feared that they would be thereby rendered unclean) notwithstanding that they would not refuse to carry 50, aye, 100 lbs. of iron, or other weight, three or four days' journey over hill and valley, for a copper earring.

The surgeon having died and been buried, the other people who had been left behind joined the rest, when they resolved to set a vessel on the stocks, and to build it, as far as possible, of the wood of the country; meanwhile they made several journeys to the wreck. In the beginning of this year another party of nine Englishmen, came to them, who had, a short time before, lost their ship, and all their property, at latitude 28½.

Their vessel being at last completed, to the length of 50 feet, and about 14 feet broad, and two masts having been rigged, they shipped some provisions of ground meal, and two or three tons of corn, 200 or 300 fowls, about 1,000 lbs. salted and smoked beef, with 20 goats, 150 pumpkins, 17 half *leggers* (of which 11 were made there) of water, and all purchased for the copper and beads of the English, which also sufficed to pay the natives for their labour.

They sailed on the 17th February without chart or compass, after they had resided a year and a day at Natal, and left there four Englishmen and one Frenchman, who thought it better and more advantageous to them to remain there, than to trust themselves to the uncertain waves of the sea and of fortune.

They found the country very fruitful and populous, and the natives friendly, compassionate, obliging, strong, and ingenious, armed with only one assagai, obedient and submissive to their King or Chief; living in communities, in huts made of branches, wrought through with rushes and long grass, and roofed like hay stacks in Holland. In manners, dress, and behaviour, they are much more orderly than the Cape Hottentots. The women attend to cultivation; the men herd and milk the cows. They do not eat poultry because they feed on filth; still less do they eat eggs, and it makes them sick to see Europeans eat them. For a copper arm-ring, or a common neck-ring, of the thickness of a tobacco-pipe, they sell a fat cow or ox of 600 lbs. weight, more or less; for a similar ring they give as much corn as will fill an ordinary meat tub, from which corn they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong.

which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels; they eat besides a certain bean, in size and taste not unlike the European horse-bean; also some roots (*weker?*) and worse flavored than sweet potatoes; they have tobacco and smoke it; by good management its quality might be improved; of fruits they have only a kind of unknown prune, and *coloquintidas*.

There are elephants of an incredible size, and in such numbers, that 50 or 60 are seen together; wild buffaloes, hogs, cats, sea cows, geese, ducks, and other birds.

Further declaring nothing, except that in less than 12 days they, being eleven Dutch and nine English, landed here from Terra de Natal.

(Signed by the Deponents, and sworn to by them on the 24th March.)

March 4. The English who had come in their vessel from Terra de Natal, requested to be taken into the Company's service. . . . 6. Five English sailors, with their Captain *Jan Gilford*, of *Bristol*, after losing their ship, the *Bonaventura* of London, on the coast of Terra de Natal, in latitude  $28\frac{1}{2}$ , on the 25th December, and who had lately arrived here with their small vessel on the 1st March, asked for a passage to Europe, and for some clothes; it was resolved in Council to give them a passage in the *Alkmaar*, provided they did duty as sailors, and to take the other two English who had been left 11 months ago in Rio de Natal by the ship *Good Hope*, at their earnest request, into the Company's service, as more fully appears by the following resolution.<sup>(1)</sup>

7. Hendrik Witkins, of *Bristol*, late mate of the *Bonaventura*, gave the following account of his adventures; and six blankets with six baftas were issued as clothing for Captain Jan Gilford and his men: . . . . .

Henry Witkins, of *Bristol*, mate of the wrecked ship *Bonaventura*, of 20 tons' burden, states to have sailed from the Downs on the 1st May, 1686, O. S. with a crew of nine men and a boy, bound for the east coast of Africa; they touched at the Island of Bona Vista, and there procured beef, pork, salt and water, and other refreshments; passed by the Cape of Good Hope after sighting the land, and anchored at Cape St. Maria, in latitude 26, in the river De la Goa, where they lay four weeks. [Here follows a short description of De la Goa and of the natives there.]

Seeing that cattle were so dear, and perceiving little chance of any profit, they sailed again along the coast to latitude 24, and in sight of Cape Corrientes, without finding a single bay, creek, or river, which they could enter, but only a flat sandy coast; thence they sailed to about latitude  $28\frac{1}{2}$ , and anchored in the Bay Piscada, intending, on occasion serving, again to enter the river; but mistaking the time of tide, they met with the ebb, and the vessel was thrown against the north shore on her side, high and dry upon a bank; the crew all went on shore, and the master and declarant, seeing no chance of inducing them to come back, followed them. With the next flood tide the vessel floated over the bank, and upon the north shore on the inside (of the river), and if the crew had attended to the orders of the Captain, and had a single man staid on board to await the flood tide, they might have saved their vessel, which was now floated off, dry and uninjured; she now lay on the north shore, on her side, and, having as yet made little or no water, was carried fully five German miles up the river, where they followed her, and taking out some pistols, guns, swords, musketoons, powder and lead, copper, and beads, and as much provisions for their journey as they could carry, after staying there three days, and being then nine in number (the second mate having been drowned by the boat upsetting on the river) proceeded to Rio de Natal (intending to go to the Cape of Good Hope), and there fell in with the five sailors of the ship the *Good Hope* which had been wrecked there on the 17th May, 1685. Their Captain, Jan Adams, had, two or three months after the loss of his vessel, gone to sea in the boat, with two mates, two carpenters, the boatswain, gunner, and three sailors, intending to go to Mozambique.

Jan Kingston of *Bristol*, lately a sailor in the English ship the *Good Hope*, and now quartermaster in the service of the East India Company, residing here, says, that on the 24th November, 1684, old style, he sailed from Gravesend in said vessel, manned by 50 hands, and mounted with 6 guns, having engaged to go to Cadiz, that they did not know, before putting to sea, that their destination was to the east coast of Africa; that having touched for supplies of salt, cattle,

(1) 1687. March 6. The resolution referred to authorised the purchase from the English, of the Natal Packet and her cargo, in order that further examination may be made of that country; that the 47 men left by the *Stavenisse* may be sought for, and "that the five Englishmen left there by the Packet may be brought hither, in order, by these means, to deprive European potentates of the possession of those countries." John Kingston, of *Bristol*, and William Christian, of *Belfast*, were to be employed in the Company's service, with the pay of quartermasters; and Capt. John Gilford, of *Bristol*, his mate, and four seamen to receive, as alms, blankets and baftas to cover them.

and fresh water, at the islands of Mayo and St. Jago, and passed within sight of the Cape of Good Hope, they stood direct for Rio de Natal, where they arrived on the 9th May, 1685; and on entering, as they were busy with the kedge anchor, hauling their vessel in over the bar, they were driven on the north shore by a sudden squall from the south, and, seeing no chance of getting her off, they erected a hut on the south shore, stowing therein all their merchandise, consisting of copper rings for the neck and arms, and ammunition; four sailors and a boy soon after died of dysentery, while they employed themselves in putting together a vessel which they had brought from England.

In the end of July the English ship —— Capt. —— Wynnford, of 35 tons, came into the bay, who having gone more than 13 or 14 *milen* inland, with a party of his people, returned with two elephant's teeth of two or three pounds weight; and after having purchased, killed, and salted a good many oxen and cows, sailed again along the coast, intending, as it was reported, to go to Mozambique, Madagascar, or India.

He was the next day followed by their Captain, Jan Adams, of London, who intended to trade along the coast with his vessel, to 100 *milen* beyond Mozambique; thence to proceed to Madagascar, and there take in slaves to sell at Jamaica. Nine men went with him; four went with Wynnford, and five of them, (he, Kingston, was one,) not wishing to sail with their Captain, J. Adams, received from him, for the wages they had earned, each 68 lbs. copper arm, neck, and earrings, and 14 lbs. of beads, seven guns in all, with some powder and lead. They five then consulted how they could best subsist, and began to barter their beads for meat, bread, beer, milk, fruits and roots, and finding that their copper rings were much prized, they sold them for elephants' teeth, and in a short time they had collected, as he guessed, three tons, and at last becoming acquainted with the language, their curiosity led them to examine the country, to the distance of about 50 *milen* inland, where they found a very friendly, and hospitable people, so that the men and women vied in offering them food and drink, and their habitations for lodging; he states that he found no minerals except a ring which a certain Chief wore on his arm, which was much heavier than a neck ring, so that he thought it was gold, and though he offered a neck ring in exchange, he would not part with it.<sup>(1)</sup>

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March 24. Extracts of Journal continued. Arrived the English vessel *Providentia* of 50 tons and 15 men, bound to Madagascar for slaves. . . . . their captain, surgeon, and—men had been lost in the surf in trying to land in Struis Bay. . . . .

April 7. Two freemen accused of homicide, committed upon a Hottentot, were, after inquiry by commissioners, brought from Hout Bay, and lodged in prison. 11. An infectious fever now prevails among the freemen, Company's servants and slaves, causing many deaths. 17. The fever proceeds and daily drags many from their beds to their graves.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1687. April 18. . . . . We have not considered ourselves authorised finally to dispose of the affair of the loss of the richly laden ship *Stavenisse*. The Captain of that vessel, William Knyff, landed here in a very miserable condition on the 1st March, from Terra de Natal, in a small vessel built there by himself, three of his officers, seven of his crew, and nine shipwrecked Englishmen. . . . [for the details, repeated in the despatch, see the foregoing declarations.] They agree in describing the natives [of that country] as very obliging, kind, and hospitable, and state that some Englishmen who could speak the language had been prompted by curiosity to travel about 50 *milen* inland, where they found people who very readily presented them with meat, bread, beer, fruit, vegetables, and lodging; they found metallic ores among those natives, and the art of smelting them; not indeed gold or silver, though the English say that a certain Chief named Ingoose wore a bracelet which was much heavier than the copper neck rings, from which circumstance they conjectured it to be gold.

(1) The statements of Witkins and Kingston are not signed and witnessed like those of the Dutch, but the originals are all in the handwriting of Secretary Grevenbroek.

The country is very fertile and populous, abounding in oxen, cows, and goats, as also elephants, buffaloes, hartebeests, and other tame or wild animals. The inhabitants are very ingenious, docile, and obliging; for a copper bracelet they will not refuse to carry a weight of 50 to 100 lbs. a distance of three or four days' journey, over hill and dale.

Their vessel being at length made ready for sea, by the industry of the Christians, assisted by the labour of the natives at the expense of the copper rings and beads in the possession of the English, they made water casks out of the native timber, laid in a store of smoked, salted, and fresh meat, corn, both ground and unground, goats, fowls, and other live stock, and on the 17th February, after they had resided just a year and a day at Terra de Natal, they took their departure, without compass, chart, or quadrant, and fortunately landed here in less than 12 days, bringing with them about three tons of ivory, which the English state themselves to have purchased in a short time for copper rings and beads.

Having found that the vessel was about 25 tons' burden, well built, and sailed well, we bought her of the English for £400, for, after we have put a few knees, &c. into her, she will last us many years. We bought also the residue of their meat for three stivers per pound, and the corn at six guilders per muid.

The Commander will have the grain sown, or divided among the freemen during the ensuing rainy season, to ascertain whether it will grow, which is to be hoped, as it makes very nutritious bread, and is thought fit for making beer. We have taken two of the English of the crew of the *Good Hope*, into the Company's service at their own request, and have given them the pay of quartermasters, for they are acquainted with the country and the language, and are about to be employed there. We have thought it proper to annex to this despatch the declarations of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, with some circumstances tending to corroborate what we have formerly had the honor to communicate relative to the east coast of Africa.....

On the 24th March, the English ketch *Providentia* arrived here, producing a license signed by His Britannic Majesty on the last day of September 1686; the mate speaks good dutch, being married and domiciliated at Rotterdam, and sailed from the Maese in that vessel, of 50 tons' burden, 15 men and six small guns, intending to buy slaves at Madagasear, (in exchange of arms and other articles) and to sell them at Barbadoes.

We have indeed abundant cause, but want the power, to give adequate expression to our gratitude to the Almighty, who has permitted us to reap the fruits of our labour an hundred fold, in health and peace.....

April 19. Extracts of Journal continued. The Commander received intelligence that one half of the Hottentot kraal had died, and that the other half lay sick.

21. The mate, Joris Dirks de Rhoy, of the English ketch *Providentia*, returned from Struis Bay, they had heard nothing of their Captain or people.....the Hottentots had told them that they had seen a number of Dutch at the river Zonder End, who were coming this way; we believe these may be the crew of the *Stavenisse*, which may God grant. They state also that there is a very severe and deadly sickness among the Hottentots, who do not know what to do for it; and although they decamp and move from place to place, the sickness still pursues them. 22. The burning fever drags many, both old and young, to their graves. 29. The S. E. wind begins to blow, let us hope it may purify the unwholesome air, and that the mortality among the Company's slaves may cease.

June 17.....Four armed men who came from Saldanha Bay, had been in great danger from elephants, lions, and tigers; one of them had his hat taken from his head by an elephant. The greater part of the Company's house at Riet Valley was pulled down; the paths were beset by lions and tigers, some of them so bold that they approached to within ten paces of where our men were lying by their fire.

#### Extract of a Letter from Commander Simon van der Stell to the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch.

June 18. The service of the Company requiring that we maintain a good posture of defence.... you will lose no time in coming hither by noon to-morrow, with 80 or more fully armed men.... the remaining inhabitants of Stellenbosch will meanwhile, under the eye of the Landdrost, keep a

watchful eye upon their concerns, taking care above all that the Hottentots do no injury to any one.<sup>(1)</sup>

June 29. The Hottentot Captain, Schacher, having recently died, his brother's son was chosen in his stead by the Commander; he was apresented with staff of command in the name of the Company, and with some tobacco, arrack, and beads, and named *Massinisse*.

August 2. The Commander returned from the country, having discovered a suitable place for fishing for the Company's slaves, and fine fertile land to be divided among freemen. 6. On the return of the Commander, he found at the castle a party of Grigriqua Hottentots, who, after delivering, in the name of their whole tribe, a present of six young oxen, requested to enter into a treaty of amity with the Company.

Oct. 3. The Landdrost, returned with 227 oxen, cows, and bulls, and 684 sheep, bought from the surrounding Hottentots for tobacco and other wares. 4. The Natal vessel, after having been well cleaned and caulked, was launched, soon to make a trip to the east coast of Africa.<sup>(2)</sup> Many people belonging to the ships are daily annoying the Commander with applications to be set free, that they may subsist by farming here; he scarcely knows how to get rid of their importunities. A certain female, named Maria Jans, of Amsterdam, having recently come out in man's clothes as a sailor, under the name of Mathys Jans, having been lodged in the castle for security, was instantly asked in marriage by several of these inhabitants, but as she was found to have been of loose habits, the Commander rejected the suit of the gallants.

16. The Commander went from Stellenbosh to Berg River, attended by the free burgers, who had applied for land; passing Simon's Valley and Croesenspruyt, he arrived at two o'clock at Berg River, in a large fertile valley; after resting and dining there, he assembled all the said freemen, and pointed out to 23 of them their land along the said river, being in the same line, and side by side, 60 roods broad, and 600 in length; so that from their living close to each other they might be more secure against attacks of the Hottentots, and might have an open run for their cattle, towards Simon's Berg.

His Honor gave this pleasant district the name of *Drakenstein*, and fixed its bounds from the said *Simons Berg* to the Parel Diamant and Drakenberg; the two first on this side, and the third beyond the river; after which the freemen went away, well satisfied and elated. The Commander remained there for the night, to give the necessary orders to the Landdrost and Surveyor, so that the land might be instantly measured and divided. 18 Strayed Company's oxen and bulls, that had run off and wandered far inland, were brought to the castle by the Hottentots, who were rewarded for their fidelity with a dram of arrack and a little tobacco, and then set out homewards.

21. The lion is again at work, having done much mischief to several inhabitants among their cattle.

1687. June 28. A resolution authorises improving the daily food of the Company's slaves with "the head, feet, and other offal of the cattle slaughtered for the Company, and occasionally an old worn out ox, after it has been grazed at Hottentots Holland." And on the 2d July more officers are appointed to the militia upon the usual grounds, *i. e.* "a written petition from the Burgerraaden and militia officers praying that their men may be brought under stricter discipline for the public benefit."

The following is characteristic of the manners and government of the time:—

Oct. 22. Gentle N. W. wind, and delightful weather, with hot sunshine; which induced several women to turn off the rays with a parasol, (*quitasol of sonnescherm*) the use of which articles was civilly forbidden by the Commander, as something too bad, and inconsistent with the interest of this Colony; for they were used by people, who, far from having any pretensions to pomp or luxurious display, need not shrink from heat, cold, or other hardships, but may well keep their hands out of their sleeves. In the evening, after a heavy shower, the thunder and lightning ceased.

(1) The precautions here ordered were in consequence of the presence of a French squadron, under Admiral De Quesne:—"The French commander requested that any of his men who might go out any where should be instantly punished, and that any one who should show himself unwilling should be forthwith shot."

(2) 1687. Oct. 24. The resolution authorising this voyage to Natal, besides directing a search for the missing crew of the *Stavenisse*; the removal of the English there; and the collection of full information of the nature of the country, and the customs of the inhabitants; orders them to select a site for a fort, and "to purchase the same, as well as any place where any mineral is found, in a solemn manner from the natives for beads and rings," and if possible "to induce one or two of the natives to come hither under a promise of being soon sent back."

The same directions are more fully detailed in an Instruction dated Nov. 1. Petrus de Galardi is to keep a minute journal of all proceedings, and to collect full information of the manners and customs of the natives, &c. The rings supposed to be gold, in the possession of the Chief Ingose, 10 or 12 *nylen* inland, are to be bought of him if possible, "using all proper caution not to make those people stubborn or averse to us by showing too great covetousness, for they are otherwise deemed very obliging, kind, and mild. And notwithstanding their pleasing address, hospitality, and liberality, you will maintain a strict watch and good discipline, and be always on your guard against sudden attacks." It is particularly directed that divine service is to be performed morning and evening; that there be no excess in the use of wine, &c.—"the source of all evil, and the cause

Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII, to Commander  
Simon van der Stell and Council.

1687. Nov. 16. We have read the instructions furnished you by the *Heere* of Mydrecht, with which you will be pleased to comply, &c.

We have received your letters of the 18th April and 20th May, from which we observe, with deep concern, the loss of the richly laden ship *Stavenisse*, to the eastward of the Cape, through the shameful negligence of the officers; as also the capture of the *Westenryck*, by English pirates, at Madagascar. Want of time prevents us from any further answering those letters at present . . . . . and we have now to apprise you that we are about to send you, among other freemen, some French and Piedmontaise fugitives, all of the reformed religion, upon the conditions of which some copies are enclosed in French and Dutch. For the exercise of their religion we have allowed them a clergyman, who is about to embark in one of the ships of the Chamber Zeeland. Among those persons you will find wine farmers, and brandy distillers, and may thus supply the wants so much complained of.

You will find these people destitute of every thing, and must, therefore, assist them upon their arrival, and furnish them with what may be necessary for their subsistence, until they are established, and able to earn their own food; for they are industrious people and easily satisfied. You will treat these men as we heretofore instructed you to treat free persons from our own country. When these freemen have somewhat increased in number, it will greatly tend to the reduction of the expence of the garrison, which we have hitherto maintained at so great cost to the Company. If we were to sum up what the Cape—which has solely, or at least principally, served as a place of refreshment for shipping—has cost us up to this time, it would amount to an immense sum, and, therefore, we must now turn our attention to the means of reducing the expence.

From the list you have transmitted, you appear to have 358 in the Company's service, while the account of wages paid makes the number 440, amounting annually to *f* 68,120 besides *f* 40,788 for their provisions. . . . .

Nov. 18. Extracts of Journal continued. The mortality among white and black will not cease . . . . 19. Some Sousequa Hottentots came to the castle, sent by their Chief Dorha, called by us Claas, to tell us that in consequence of his dangerous illness, which had now lasted three months, he was in want of arrack and other necessaries; and that some hostilities had been committed on one of his dependants by the Hottentot Captain Coopman, who had wrongfully taken his cattle; threatening, that he was man enough, now that his health was improving, soon to put the robber to rights.

22. The Commander returned to his dwelling, much elated with the advantages which he had found for the Company. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>

December 1. The burgers of Table Valley assembled under arms to the number of 112. . . . . The burgerraden and officers presented a petition, that these men might be brought under stricter discipline, &c.

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Resolution of Council.

1687. Dec. 5. According to a statement made to the Council, by two Hottentots, the son of a certain freeman named Jan van As, now a criminal prisoner, cruelly murdered a slave about four months ago, buried the body in a hole behind the Steinberg, and cut the throats of 50 sheep, the property of his master, Gasper Willers, leaving them in a bush as food for wild animals. After

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of loss, at once, of time, health, office, and respect." Above all, take care that no one injures any of the natives, on pain of the severest punishment; this is recommended to your especial and unremitting attention."

"For the attainment of the desired result of these negotiations, it is only required, that during your stay at Terra de Natal, you preserve a courteous, honest, just, chaste, and kind, but, at the same time, a dignified, demeanor, not suffering the slightest annoyance to be given to any of the natives by our people, but trying to attach them to us by every kind of civility, and asking them what kinds of merchandize they can supply to the Company, and how much of each kind annually." In this paper the latitude of the Bay of Natal is stated to be between 29 and 30; and that of the place where the 47 men of the *Stavenisse* were last heard of, between 30 and 31.

<sup>(1)</sup> This portion of the journal refers to the examination of Simon's Bay. Mention is made of the abundance of seals, penguins, and gulls upon the rocks, so tame, that they could be taken with the hand; the quantity of Rheebocks and Hartebeests; but particularly the beautiful colored fish of the size and shape of European salmon, but much finer, and which seem to swim very rapidly.

full deliberation, it was resolved to examine into the truth of this statement, and to send as commissioners of this government the Accomptant J. Bleim, the Ensign J. Schryver, the Secretary of the Court of Justice Melchior Kemels, and the Landdrost J. Mulder, (with an escort of a sergeant and ten soldiers,) who shall render a proper report to the Commander.....

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#### Resolution of Council.

1688. January 20. The Commander having set forth in an address to the Council, that in all ages and among all nations, the liberty of the chase has been extended to persons of the most prominent courage, especially to the military, in order to whet their valour, to prevent its evaporating for want of an enemy, or being weakened by luxury and voluptuousness,—It was resolved after full deliberation, to allow the principal officers of cavalry and infantry in the Cape territory or Stellenbosch, to hunt large and small game, with two dogs, twice a week, within the boundaries of this government, so that they might be accustomed patiently to endure every hardship, and become as expert as possible in the management of their weapons, provided that they duly observe the laws relative to the huntsmen.

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#### Resolution of Council.

1688. Feb. 16. Dorha, Captain of the Sousequa Hottentots, called by us Claas, having complained to the meeting, of the annoyance and violence suffered by himself and his subjects, from the murders and robberies committed by Koopman, one of his revolted and rebellious Chiefs; and seeing that the said Remonstrant has been at all times true and faithful to the Company, who derive much assistance and good service from him; it was unanimously resolved to accede to his request, and in order to protect him from further injury, to help him with the strong hand; to cause the said Captain Koopman to be summoned hither by a serjeant and four soldiers, and then to order him, under severe threats, to conduct himself quietly, peaceably, and submissively towards his said supreme Chief, and to restore to him the stolen cattle; and, should he not obey these orders, to empower the applicant to attack him in a hostile manner; to strip him of cattle and everything, and to appoint another Chief in his place. It was finally deemed serviceable to the Company to give the said Dorha some tobacco, arrack, beads, and other merchandise from the Company's stores, that he may purchase some cattle for the Company, from the Hottentots in this vicinity, &c.

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#### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1688. April 26. ....Your Honors may perceive from the above statement, that we can muster in arms, including the free servants of the freemen and their grown up sons, 350 freemen, so that it is likely that we shall soon be able to defy any foreign power which might attempt to fix itself here. As to the Hottentots there is not the slightest danger to be apprehended from them, but on the contrary, every kind of good offices and fidelity is to be expected; the Captains and Chiefs, even those who live at a distance, having either in person or by ambassadors, requested your friendship and protection; well knowing that it is owing to the dread felt for the Company, that they live in peace with each other; their number of men and cattle greatly increasing, and they becoming more and more attached to us; so that in the busiest of the harvest or the ploughing season, they come down among us like the Westphalians in the Netherlands, continuing so averse from the English, Danes, and in particular, the French, that we have often to restrain them by force, so as to keep them from coming to blows with any of those nations whom they meet on shore.

The Commander is in treaty with some of their Captains for the formal purchase of new lands, as, with a view to the extension of our bounds, he has recently occupied a fine and fertile valley,

1688. Feb. 26. A Resolution and Proclamation of this date, against grazing cattle "upon distant and unknown places," was founded upon the "inevitable famine" that would be caused by "the cattle being slaughtered without the consent of government."

named Drakenstein, on Berg river, 4 *mylen* eastward of Stellenbosch, where 23 freemen have been settled close together, on lands equal in extent, each having 60 morgen of 60 roods in breadth, and 600 in length. . . . . they can thus assist each other, and we propose extending a line of houses along the same river all the way to Saldanha Bay. (1) The Commander having assisted those people, . . . . . turned his attention to the neighbouring bays, . . . . . and has at length had the good fortune to discover, in False Bay, a fine and well situated place where 14 or 15 ships may lie as securely as in the safest haven in the world, if necessary, without either anchor or cable, with a good landing place, abundance of fresh water, the sea full of fish, and the land of elands, hartebeests, and other game, as shown in the annexed chart and description. . . . .

We did not long detain in inactivity the little vessel called the *Centaur*, in which the crew of the *Stavenisse* came hither last year, but dispatched her with 19 men on the 10th of November, to seek for the residue of that crew, and to examine more minutely the country of Natal. The winds and currents prevented them from reaching that place, being frequently driven, to their general astonishment, but evidently by the hand of providence, to one and the same spot, between Punta Primera and the Bay De la Goa; where at length upon the 8th February they saw approaching them in the open sea, fully two *mylen* from the land, entirely naked, and seated upon three little beams fastened together, with a sort of paddle in their hands, two sailors of the wrecked *Stavenisse*, who being asked about their shipmates, stated that full twenty of them were scattered about in the neighbouring kraals. It was then resolved, as the weather was more favorable than it had been for the last twelve months, to send some one on the raft, with a few little presents to the Chief of the country, to convey a request that he would allow the people to embark. To this the Chief instantly consented, when nineteen, including a French boy, were collected, and, with great difficulty, embarked. Three of their shipmates were not inclined to accompany them, and three others had, not long before, set out for the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, and were already too far off to convey to them any intimation of the arrival of the *Centaur*, for the vessel could lie no longer upon a lee shore, and indeed they had scarcely embarked the two last men, when a change of the weather made it high time to raise their anchor, and to secure a good offing, and they were afterwards compelled to return to the Cape, where, although the men of the *Stavenisse* were naked, they arrived all well on the 19th February.

They informed us that, with the exception of the six above-mentioned, the rest of the crew had, been either murdered by the natives, devoured by beasts of prey, or had perished of hunger and fatigue, such at least were their conjectures; for although they were acquainted with the country and the language, they had been unable to learn any thing certain of the fate of their companions during all the time of their abode in that country.

Their statements agree in every respect with those of their shipmates last year, as to the loss of the vessel, and the remarks made upon the disposition of the natives, and the fertility of the country; for which we beg respectfully to refer to the annexed copy of the *Centaur's* log book. . . . .

We have exerted every industry for the attainment of your Honors' objects with this colony, and have now advanced so far that we have in our lofts 3,664 muids of grain, a provision which will last us two years, besides what is at the Company's posts and private farms; to store this grain we have not lofts enough, nor cellerage enough for the wine, of which we have a stock of 69 leaguers, in spite of our exportation of 14 to Ceylon and 4 to Mauritius. We trust soon to bring it so far, that the shipping may be supplied from the tithe of the cattle reared; and that this command may be thus relieved from the heavy expense of maintaining so large a garrison; the 10th sheaf, and the 40th, 20th, or 10th penny upon the sale of fixed property, in proportion to the time it has been possessed by the seller, will in time be something considerable; the licences to retail spirits, &c., were this year sold for £19,925.

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### Extracts of Log Book kept in the *Hooker Centaur*.

1688. Feb. 6. Lat. 32. 39.

Saturday 7. This afternoon, calm weather as above; sailing close along the land, saw the same rock, generally called by us, the Coffin (*dood kist*), and showing itself like an island, past which we had already sailed three times. As we required wood and water, and as it was quite

(1) A Resolution of the 26th, on the same subject is omitted, being the same, *verbatim*, with the terms of the despatch.

calm, we dropped our kedge anchor, and sent the boat to try whether there was an opportunity of coming to an anchor; in which event the sergeant was to make the proposal to the Council.

While the boat was rowing towards the land, we saw some signals made on shore, but knew not what to think of them; the boat returned with the quarter-master, who informed us that there was no suitable place to anchor, that the rock was attached to the main land, and that they also had seen some signals made, as they thought, by Hottentots, with their *karosses*, we could not tell what to think of them.

Raised our anchor, and made sail; in the morning fine weather and calm, we were much concerned about what we had seen, as we held it for certain that the Hottentots or Kafirs had not the skill to make such gestures, and we doubted whether it might not possibly be christians from some wrecked ship; course and distance during these 24 hours, — miles, the south latitude by observation, 32 degrees, 50 minutes.

Sunday 8. Calm fine weather, and as we wanted wood and water, we endeavoured to reach the spot on shore where we had seen signals made, which we thought were not made by heathens; and in the afternoon, to our great surprise, we observed something on the water approaching to us; when a little nearer, we distinguished men, we lay to for them, and perceived there were three, paddling quickly on a catamaran. On their coming on board they told us they were Dutchmen and people of the *Stavenisse*; they said there were on shore 19 others, including a French boy, who had embarked at Madeira in an English Company's ship, called the *Boede*, he had been ordered into the boat, with a pilot and other men, to look out for a haven, and having lost the ship, had been driven hither, and that while some of the crew were about to cook their victuals in a tent raised on the beach, the others having gone for firewood and water, they were discovered by a woman, and soon after overpowered by the Caffers, who killed three men, one of whom was the pilot, the four others escaped, but to this day the boy found himself alone.

In order to rescue so many souls, we deemed it most advisable to hoist the Prince's flag at the main, and to anchor there, and at sunset we anchored in 16 fathoms, with sandy ground. We sent the boat and the catamaran to the shore, but as it was near night, and as there was a heavy surf on the beach, they only brought one man.

Truly the miserable condition of these men is not to be described; these christians were clad in ox hides, like the Hottentots, each of us gave them, according to our ability, something to cover their bodies.

Latitude 32. 50.

Monday 9. Fine calm, pleasant weather. This day we exerted ourselves to the utmost, in order to embark all the men of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*, and succeeded so fortunately, that towards evening we had on board 19 men, (including the French Boy) and a fat ox bartered from the Kafirs there, for an arm-ring, value one rix-dollar.

Tuesday 10. Weather as above;—this forenoon three of the people of the *Stavenisse* went with their catamaran, and the boat with one man, who was to lie at anchor outside the surf, while the others should slaughter the two other oxen which the King had promised to sell us for copper; the sergeant was very desirous of himself delivering to the King some presents, as a reward for his kind reception of the people of the *Stavenisse*. The presents consisted in five pounds of red beads, a neck-ring, and two arm-rings; also in payment of the two oxen, 2 arm-rings; but this not being possible, these things were entrusted to the three seamen, the sergeant charging them to deliver the same to His Majesty, in the name of the Honorable East India Company, in gratitude for the good care which he had been pleased to take of the Dutch during their stay in his dominions; but in the afternoon, the wind coming round from the eastward, and increasing hand over hand, we could no longer trust ourselves at anchor there, we therefore fired 2 blunderbusses to re-call the sailors: they soon after returned, informing us that the King was very well satisfied with the presents; they also said, that they had heard nothing about the three remaining sailors, which gave us much concern, as they had been sufficiently apprised of our arrival, and of the time we had staid, and yet had not made their appearance, the oxen had been slaughtered, but the sailors had only time to bring with them the half of one ox.

We weighed our anchor, and made sail for a place which the sailors called Eerst Rivier, where we anchored again, to try whether we could enter it with the boat; but finding this impossible, we weighed our anchor, and the sergeant assembled the Council, and said:—that having through God's mercy, been so fortunate as to save the people of the *Stavenisse*, to the number of 19, we should now determine what, under the circumstances, we intended to do, and whether we should return with these men to the Cape, or prosecute our voyage according to our instructions.

R. Roos, voted, that we should endeavor to find a suitable place, where we could procure fire-wood, water, and some more meat, in order, in God's name, to prosecute the voyage according to the tenor of our instructions.

R. de Galiardi, as above, only adding thereto, that we should ask the people of the *Stavenisse*, whether they desired to go with us to Natal, or to be conveyed to the Cape, and that they are to make a written declaration of their desire.

Laurens Heusing, *ut supra*, only observing that we had not room enough for 37 men, and in the event of any becoming sick, we had not sufficient medicine for their cure.

Erasmus Juriense, and Willem Christian, as above.

On which it was resolved, by the concurrence of a plurality of voices, to ask the people of the *Stavenisse*, if they would go with us to Natal; and in the event of their objecting, that they should make a proper declaration, in presence of two Commissioners of our Ship's Council, for our justification.

Thus concluded and resolved, year and day as above.

(Signatures,)

Before me, Pieter de Galiardi, provisional assistant, and, by the authority of the Commander, performing the office of secretary during the voyage to Natal, on board of the packet the *Centaur*, appeared Jacob Cornelis, of Haarlem, carpenter; (here follow all the names,) all sailors of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*, who in the presence of two commissioned members of our ship's council, declared and attested upon their faithful word, as men, in lieu of oath, that those in command of the said vessel, have asked us individually, as well as in general, in the name of the honorable East India Company,—first, earnestly, whether any thing profitable for the Company was to be procured in that country, on which we for their justification willingly testify, that during the period (22 months) of our travelling from the wreck, through the whole country,—sometimes holding our course along the beach,—to the Magossche territory, under the government of a certain King called *Magamma*, where we were stopped in our journey and detained; we could discover no profit for the Company, still less any haven or river fit for the reception of the Company's smallest packet, but that the beach is generally very foul and full of steep rocks.

Secondly. It being represented to us by the said Commanders, that we had been delivered out of the hands of the heathen, by a wonderful providence of God, and our embarkation favoured with such pleasant and unexpected calm weather; and that they, notwithstanding the want of room, of provisions and medicine, for 38 men, were resolved to return to the southern latitude of — degrees — minutes, where lies a haven, at which they might procure supplies of fire wood and fresh water, and thence prosecute (according to the instructions of the honorable Commander) their voyage to Natal (asking) whether we were inclined to accompany them; to which we unanimously replied by begging that they would cast their eyes upon our melancholy and miserable condition, and seeing we were destitute of every thing, that they would take pity upon us, and as we were incapable of performing the voyage, we unanimously begged to be conveyed to the Cape, in order that we might return to our fatherland with the next homeward bound fleet, which we testify to be the sincere and upright truth, being willing (when desired) to confirm the same by solemn oath.

Thus done and declared on board of the vessel called the *Centaurus*, on the 11th February 1688. (Here follow eight signatures and ten marks, certified by P. D. Galiardi, Member and Secretary.)

Wednesday, Feb. 11. Fine weather, wind as above. This day the men of the *Stavenisse* signed the annexed declaration; course and distance W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., 36 miles, latitude 33. 42.

These men related to us the sufferings, hardships, and dangers, which they had sustained during their journey from the wrecked ship, and which may easily be imagined, for it was not enough that the poor fellows were in daily risk of being drowned in rapid streams, by which two lost their lives, or devoured by ferocious animals, the supposed fate of two more of their number, who being unable to proceed further, sat down, and are believed to have long ago served as food for a lion or bear, or otherwise miserably perished; but, for the aggravation of their misery, they were illtreated by those barbarians and inhuman heathen, robbed of all their property, beaten and exhausted. They passed through five sorts of Hottentots, (among whom they found some so simple that they assisted the sailors to carry their weapons,) named, (beginning from the place of the wreck,) the *Semboes*, the *Mapontemousse*, the *Maponte*, the *Matimbes*, the *Magryghas*, (the most cruel of all, those were they who plundered them of every thing,) and the *Magosse*, where

they were received with every kindness, and have been supplied with the necessaries of life up to this day.

They state that it was their intention, (notwithstanding their reception from those compassionate *Magossche*,) to prosecute their journey overland to the Cape, but that they were always prevented by this tribe, who alleged that they must pass tribes, armed with bows and arrows, who would obstruct their passage, and murder them; thus their intention remained unexecuted.

Twelve of them, however, (bolder than the rest,) would undertake the journey to the Cape, but it was afterwards understood from the Hottentots, that it was reported that these twelve had been put to death by the *Batus*; what [really] became of them we have not learnt.

These tracts of land are called *Magossche*, and are so fertile, that if a grain of wheat is let fall on the top of the mountains, it will produce as much as if sown in the field; there are beans, pumpkins, water melons, and such like, in abundance.

These Kafirs are well formed in body, swift runners, and live under the gentle monarchy of their King *Magamma*, who is a very friendly, good hearted, young, and active fellow.

They use the greasy caps like the Hottentots of Natal, and are clothed like those of the Cape, except that the girls are somewhat more handsomely ornamented. As the Natal Hottentots smelt their iron, so they can smelt the metal for arm-rings, they may also have some knowledge of minerals.

They are generally kind, compassionate, and hospitable, but lazy in their nature, for the women perform all the hard work, as digging, delving, thrashing, and making the huts, besides cooking and dressing victuals; while the men do nothing but milk the cows and make the *kraals*.

They are armed with shield and assagai, with which they oppose their enemies, the Makanaena, who use the bow and arrow, and do them great injury, for they not only steal their cattle, but they do not spare women and children, inhumanly murdering them.

Religion.—During the time that these christians lodged with those heathens, they could discover that circumcision is held in high respect; that no one can serve as a man unless he be circumcised; while this is doing, the circumcised person lives in a hut alone, and when recovered they dress the new man's waist with green leaves; as soon as the relations, mother, and others observe such one at a distance, he is received with every mark of joy, and clapping of hands; they offer up also, for the continuance of their health, some cattle, but to whom, or with what further object, our people could never ascertain.

Mourning.—When their king dies, they must wear no caps for a whole year, and they instantly lay aside the copper rings used as ornaments on the neck and arms, keeping themselves apart also from the women; this would be condemned in other countries, but there the women are patient under this mode of mourning.

Punishments.—When any one dies, and another, either man or woman, is accused of having killed the deceased by poison (for they deem themselves immortal unless the thread of life is thus severed, therefore, on getting sick they become suspicious, and are very distrustful); the suspected culprit is laid on the ground, his hands and feet extended and tied to four stakes, he is then severely beaten with sticks, and to double the pain, they lay on the patient's breast, nostrils, and privates, the nests of red ants, which they forcibly push into those parts of the body; and if a person is only sick or indisposed, and any one is laid hold of on that account, the torture is renewed until either the sick person recovers, or both die.

Ceremonies of the women.—The plurality of wives, if the husband can maintain them, is customary among them, and they must purchase their wives from the parents for cattle, assagais, iron, and copper, which must be paid when the woman is brought to bed; the husband is then to content himself with one of his concubines until the child is weaned; as soon as he has purchased her, oxen are slaughtered, with which the newly married pair and the bridesmaids are entertained; this being consumed they begin to dance, and afterwards the bride and bridegroom having each danced for a while alone, they dance towards each other, with which the marriage feast terminates.

Customs.—When the *Magossche* have a dispute with any of their enemies, and declare war, the booty of cattle taken from the enemy is divided between the King and other great men; but, the iron and copper is worn as a mark of bravery by those who get it.

When one of those flat nosed Caffers dies, all his things are thrown away, but they preserve the copper and iron.

When the son separates from the father and goes to set up for himself, the father will eat no

milk with his son, unless the son in honour of his father, kills a fat ox, and entertains him therewith.

No one must presume to barter any thing to a stranger, without the King's consent.

On going to hunt, and killing any game of value, they bring the same before the King, who keeps it, rewarding the bringers by slaughtering an ox.

Having thus far noticed the laws and customs of these Magossehe Kafirs, I shal! (according to what I have understood from others) treat of the cultivated and indigenious productions of the soil. Nothing is grown in these countries but pumpkins, small calabashes, watermelons, sugar-cane, beans, and wheat, two sorts of wild figs, of a very good taste; also, a certain kind of pruns, with a variety of sweet-smelling and medicinal herbs, unknown to the sailors.

The country swarms with wild animals; there are seen elephants, bears, tigers, wolves, and venomous snakes. There run wild horses, with white manes, white feet, and black tails, grazing together with asses, deer, and other unknown animals.

I have been obliged to pass over much more concerning the habits of those flat-nosed people, in their huntings, sickness, burials, and other matters besides, as [on those points] the sailors did not agree in their accounts.

Three of the crew, had deemed it more advisable to return once more to the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, than any longer to stay there, where they saw no chance for escape: as they had understood that there were some English in that quarter, and also because ships occasionally touched there, by which they might probably be enabled to return to Europe. [The log book has nothing further material, until the 19th February, when the *Centaur* anchored in Table Bay.]

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### Extract of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander Simon van der Stell and Council.

1688. Oct. 6. We have hitherto assented to the high prices paid for grain, in order that the high profit might act as a stimulus upon the growers; but now that they are well settled, it is our wish that those prices should be lowered, not suddenly, but from time to time, so that they may at length be brought to the same standard with those of this country, where, independently of the excessive taxes exacted by government, the lands are burdened with the payment of heavy rents to the proprietor; we wish, at least, that the prices could be reduced to nearly the same scale; we should conceive that it might be well if the wheat could be, in the first instance, provisionally reduced to *f*8 or 8. 10. light money, and other grain in proportion; provided, however, that the price of the wine be lowered in the same ratio, so that the growers may not be drawn from the cultivation of corn to that of wine.....If a quantity of different kinds of wood could be procured at Terra de Natal, as you seem to think, it would be a great help and relief to the Cape..... (1)

(1) 1688. Oct. 15. An instruction of this date to the *Noord*, directs a survey of Rio de la Goa, between latitude 25 and 26. "The natives are understood to be far from equally obliging, kind, and compassionate with those of Terra de Natal; you will, therefore, take care not to trust them, nor the Europeans among them, too far, but to be always on your guard," &c. The orders relative to conduct towards the natives, are in other respects the same as those contained in the instructions of Nov. 1, 1687, (*supra* 421) except that, upon the information received, the means of conciliating the Chief Jan Jaques, are stated to be "a flask of brandy or arrack."

The important change in the relations between Holland and England, which took place about this time, is thus noticed by the Directors:—

1688. Dec. 1. Extracts of despatches from the Chamber XVII, to Commander Simon van der Stell and Council.

The fleet sailed with a fair wind, and His Highness the Prince of Orange anchored with his troops in Torbay, in the Channel, where they landed without any opposition, and great numbers of people flocked to them. It is said that the King intends advancing against His Highness at the head of an army. God alone knows what will be the result.....The King of France continues capturing our ships and imprisoning the crews.....We approve the appointment of D. de Chavonnes as Captain *vice* Captain Cruse deceased.

1689. March 18.....You have been advised from time to time of the course of European events, and particularly of the state of affairs between the Crowns of France and England and this State since our last meeting, and what astonishing revolutions and changes have happened in England, with the election of the Prince of Orange and the Princess, and their having been proclaimed King and Queen of that kingdom without bloodshed.....The late King has retired to Ireland, and nothing but Ireland, or the greater part of it, now remains on the side of the King. We have nothing further to communicate at present, except that their High Mightinesses issued a declaration in reply to the declaration of war recently issued by the King of France against the States.....England intends very soon to declare war against France.

## Resolution of Council.

1688. December 24. The Commander stated to the Council, that he had endeavoured, about 3 years ago, to enter into some communication with the Inqua<sup>(1)</sup> Hottentots, who live about a month's journey distant; and that at length, after great trouble, and sending presents, he had received a messenger from the Chief of that tribe, who had arrived here yesterday; two of his companions having been detained by sickness among the neighbouring Cape Hottentots. That the messenger requested, in the name of his Chief, that he might be admitted into the friendship and confidence of the Company; and that both parties might enter into an exchange of their several articles of merchandize; adding that their country was very populous, almost overstocked with oxen, cows, and sheep, and that no Europeans or white people had ever been there.

It was thereupon resolved unanimously, that it would be for the interest of the Company, and very desirable that a messenger should be sent thither without delay, under the guidance of the said Inqua, and some Cape Hottentots, to endeavour to purchase some cattle, or whatever merchandise or mineral their country might produce, for tobacco, arrack, beads, assagais, and other articles; so that we may thus be enabled properly to supply the freemen now here, and those still expected, with the cattle they require; as also to try whether it may not be possible, hereafter, to open a communication in that direction with Terra de Natal, to procure some intelligence of the missing people of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, to discover all the country in that quarter, as far as Rio de la Goa, and to render the advantages which it apparently offers available to the Company and to this Colony; it was then resolved, that the Ensign Isaac Schryver, although he has some months since resigned his appointment, shall be employed as the leader of this party, he being a person who has been successfully engaged on several journeys, that he shall be accompanied by a sergeant and 18 or 19 soldiers well armed, and two wagons with their trains and proper supplies of provisions and ammunition; and that he shall take good care to notice all minerals, plants, shrubs, and natural productions, keeping a minute account, in writing of all his proceedings, and rendering a proper report upon his return.

1689. Jan. 4. Extracts of Journal continued. In spite of the hard S. E. wind, Ensign Schryver and his party with their wagons, set out on their journey to the Inquase Hottentots, in good spirits. 20. The long continued drought has made the country so dry that neither leaf nor grass is to be found for tame or for wild animals. 23. Capt. Dorha, or Class, Chief of the Sousequa Hottentots, brought in 250 cattle, large and small, and 200 sheep, which he had bought of the nearer Hottentots for tobacco. Had the quality of that drug been better, he could have got more than 500 horned cattle and sheep; he says that he lost fully 300 sheep on the way, partly from drought, and partly by the lion; that one of his Hottentots had been bitten by a snake, and died next day in spite of the botanist Oldenland, and his medicines; that he had met the Ensign Isaac Schryver and his men in good health, and had sent with them eight or ten of his Hottentots, with orders to be faithful to the Hollanders on their journey to the Inquahase Hottentots, and not to abandon them at a pinch (*in de pekel*); but in the event of a hostile attack, to fight bravely, and rather die with them than return without them, in which case they had to expect certain death from him.

Feb. 3. This day the Sousequa Capt. Dorha, *alias* Claas, set out for his country, accompanied by his wives and retinue, well contented.

21. Several diseases prevail among the whites as well as the blacks; 50 slaves are ill in the Company's slave lodge. Table Hill was this day enveloped in clouds to below the Company's garden, in a manner never witnessed before.

March 7. A letter was written to Stellenbosch to put the inhabitants upon their guard, as it was reported from Saldanha Bay, that the Namaqua and Grigriqua Hottentots, 52 kraals in number, had encamped on this side of Oliphants River, that they might reach Berg River in three days, and are not to be trusted. 16. The Commander received a letter from the Heemraden of Stellenbosch, stating that four persons who had been sent out for intelligence, had gone further than Twenty-four Rivers, having with them three of our Hottentots, but saw nothing in the world but Gongemans, who, when asked, knew nothing of any cause of alarm, or any other tribes, but said that all was well.

25. The Commander received a report that the Namaquas and Grigriquas had suddenly attacked

(1) Written Inquahase in the adjective sense, as Gonnemase, Obiquase, &c. This tribe, like the Saldanhars or Cochoquas, do not long retain their original name; but, like the tribe under Gonnema, take the name of their chief, and are thus occasionally mentioned as the *Hecon* Hottentots.

a kraal or village of Cape Hottentots, near Saldanha Bay, killed some of them, including the Captain, and carried away the rest to their own country, with women, children, and cattle.

29. The brother of the deceased Hottentot, Captain Oudassoa, came to the castle with 30 or 40 of his dependants, requested that he might succeed his brother, and might receive a staff of authority from the Company, which was granted; the Commander giving him the name of *Hannibal*, which was engraved on his stick, together with the Company's arms; on this he set out with his attendants well satisfied.

April 6. Ensign Schryver returned from a journey of fully three months, with all his party in good health, bringing with him more than 1,000 cattle bartered from various Hottentots, but chiefly from the Inquas, for tobacco and red beads.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1689. April 15.....The Commander being meanwhile disinclined to keep the galiot the *Noord*, unemployed, sent her on the 19th October, well manned and supplied, with full instructions to proceed direct to Rio de la Goa, between the 25th and 26th parallel of latitude, to sound and survey it.....and to form a minute description of all the advantages offered to the Company by the intervening country, either on the coast or in the interior, the character of the people, their merchandize, their animals, whether tame or wild, fruits, vegetables, minerals, and other riches; and also to recover the men still missing of the crew of the *Stavenisse*.

At Rio de la Goa, they found a very good bay, where a great number of vessels, great or small, may lie in safety, into which bay, that and other rivers discharge themselves.

They found there on the 15th November, an English vessel and a Portuguese loading; the natives were strong and tall, crafty, and cunning, (*arg en listigh*) and well armed; one of their Chiefs was fully seven Rhinland feet in height.

The natives live in huts—square and round—which are wattled and thatched with reeds, and neat, both within and without. The land is exceedingly fertile and chiefly flat. Our men found there many kinds of fruit and vegetables; among others, annanas, pisang, watermelons, pumpkins, calabashes, pattatas, a kind of peas and beans, two kinds of corn, of the same kind that grows at Natal, of which they make bread and beer. There are not so many cows and sheep there as at Natal; but abundance of goats and fowls, as well as of game of every kind, as at Natal; the language at both places is also nearly the same. There is also fish in abundance, a good place for building a fort, and several large rivers, fresh and salt.

The *Noord* having lain at De la Goa until the 29th December, and fully completed their survey and examination, proceeded to examine the coast and the bay of Natal, where they anchored on the 5th January of this year, and found there Adrian Jans, boatswain, and Jan Pieters, a boy, both of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*. Having surveyed that bay, they sailed on the 23rd, and on the 28th anchored abreast of the country of the Magoses, in the latitude 33. 42. where Isak Jans, formerly a sailor in the *Stavenisse* swam on board through the surf at the peril of his life, while his companion, from want of courage, remained on the beach.

These three persons fully confirm the solemn declaration made before the commissioners on the 2d March, 1687, by the mates and seamen of the *Stavenisse*.

They further state, that on the 22d Feb. 1686, they quitted the mates Isbrand Hoogrood, Abraham Ruygman, and Jan de Groot, and, being 47 in number, and all in good health and strength, they set out to the S. W. intending to proceed over land to the Cape of Good Hope; and that during the interval between that date and the 6th of April, having wandered over hill and dale, and passed four great rivers, they left behind them the carpenter and a seaman, who were drowned in one of the rivers; that the trumpeter and quartermaster lay down exhausted, and that at length being only — men in number, they were hostilely assailed by a certain people called Hakrigguas, plundered of every thing and stripped quite naked; on that occasion the cooper was killed, and the sailmaker lost his right eye; they were then obliged for some days to beg their food in the kraals or villages of the Magose Africans, until at length they were distributed in the surrounding villages or neighbourhood, and there very well treated.

During the two years and eleven months which they passed among that people, they were unable to discover amongst them the slightest trace of religion.

They deduce their origin from a certain man and woman who grew up together out of the earth, and who taught them to cultivate the ground, to sow corn, milk cows, and brew beer.

It would be impossible to buy any slaves there, for they would not part with their children, or any of their connexions for any thing in the world, loving one another with a most remarkable strength of affection.

Their riches consist in cattle and assagays, as also copper and iron; their shields, clothes, and other furniture, are burnt on the death of the owner.

The land is in common, each grazing his cattle, or cultivating the ground where he likes; they may also remove from place to place, provided that they remain within the boundaries of the kingdom.

The country is exceedingly fertile, and incredibly populous, and full of cattle; whence it is that lions and other ravenous animals are not very apt to attack men, as they find enough tame cattle to devour.

They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good, and free from weevils, for years.

In their intercourse with each other, they are very civil, polite, and talkative, saluting each other, whether male or female, young or old, whenever they meet; asking whence they come, and whither they are going, what is their news, and whether they have learned any new dances or tunes; they are, however, thievish and lying, though hospitable.

Revenge has little or no sway among them, as they are obliged to submit their disputes to the king, who, after hearing the parties, gives sentence on the spot, to which all parties submit without a murmur; but should the matter in dispute be of great importance, and when he cannot rely upon his own judgment, he refers the parties to an older king in his neighbourhood.

When a father beats his son so as to draw blood, and complaint is made to the king, he must pay the king a cow, as a fine.

The kings are much respected and beloved by their subjects. Their houses are like hay-cocks in Europe, and merely a little larger than the common huts, and they (the chiefs) wear the skins of the deer or tiger, but in other respects they are quite like the common people. Of their courage little can be said, as during the stay of the Netherlanders amongst them they had no wars.

One may travel 200 or 300 *mylen* through the country, without any cause of fear from men, provided you go naked (*blood*), and without any iron or copper, for these things give inducement to the murder of those who have them.

Neither need one be in any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or kraal a house of entertainment for travellers, where these are not only lodged, but fed also; care must only be taken, towards night fall, when one cannot get any further, to put up there, and not to go on before morning.

In an extent of 150 *mylen* travelled by your servants along the coast, to the depth of about 30 *mylen* inland, and through five kingdoms, namely: the *Magoses*, *Makriggas*, the *Matimbes*, *Mapontes*, and *Emboas*, they found no standing waters, but many rivers with plenty of fish and full of sea cows.

There are many dense forests, with short stemmed trees; but at the bay of Natal are two forests, each fully a *myl* square, with tall, straight, and thick trees, fit for house or ship timber, in which is abundance of honey and wax; but no wax is to be had from the natives, as they eat the wax as well as the honey.

In all the time of their stay in that country, or of travelling through it, they found but one European; an old Portuguese, in the country of the *Mapontes*; he had been shipwrecked there about 40 years before, while returning from India. The wreck, built of teak, is still to be seen on the shore, and, as the Africans state, several brass and iron cannon are still to be found there. This Portuguese had been circumcised, and had a wife, children, cattle and land, he spoke only the African language, having forgotten every thing, his God included.

They cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumpkins, watermelons and beans, much resembling the European brown beans; they sow annually a kind of earth nut, and a kind of under-ground bean, both very nourishing, and bearing a small leaf. Tobacco grows there wild, and, if they knew how to manage it, would in all probability resemble in flavour the Virginian. The true European fig grows wild, also a kind of grapes, which are a little sour (*rhyns*) though well tasted, they are best boiled. They have also a kind of tree fruit not unlike the fatherland

medlar, and not unpleasant to eat, wild prunes grow abundantly on the shore, and are well tasted. There are also wild cherries (*strand harsen*) with long stalks, and very sour. Finally, they have a kind of apple, not unpleasant eating, but which are not ripe until they fall from the tree; before they fall, they are nauseous (*walgingh*) and cause flatulency.

The country swarms with cows, calves, oxen, steers, and goats; there are few sheep, but no want of elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, leopards, elands, and harts, as well of the Cape kind, as the Fatherland, with branched (*getrackte*) horns; rheboks of various kinds, wild hogs, dogs, buffaloes, sea cows, crocodiles, and horses. The latter they do not catch or tame, although they approach within 10 or 12 paces; they are finely formed, and quite black, with long manes and tails, incredibly swift, and of great strength; some have the tail black, and others white.

They also say that they saw two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and color like the elephant; having a head like the horse, a short tail, but a long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe [giraffe?].

There are many kinds of snakes, scorpions, large and small, also centipedes, toads, and frogs, ostriches, geese, ducks, pigeons, red and brown partridges, abundance of pheasants and *pauws*, with a shining top knot (*kuyf*) and tail [Balearic crane?]

In the rivers are eels and congers, and, in the bay of Natal, king's fish and sun fish, besides all kinds of fish, known in India or here, as may be further seen from the annexed account taken down from the mouths [of our men].

We trust that this long detail will not be disapproved by your Honors, as it tends to convey information concerning countries which, although lying so near to your Colony, have hitherto remained so little known, in spite of several vain attempts.

The galiot, after being supplied with every necessary, was about to return to the bay De la Goa, in latitude 33 [*i. e.* Algoa Bay] which is the only place that has not been examined, (as when in the mouth of that bay she was forced, by bad weather, to hold off the land, and to return to the Cape) but the Frenchman who has disturbed the peace of Europe, has put us also upon our guard . . . . .

The eastern coast being thus far discovered, the Commander submitted to the Council of Policy, that he had, about three years ago, endeavoured to get into communication with the Inquahase Hottentots, who live about a month's journey distant; that he had at length, after great trouble and sending presents, been visited upon the 23d of December last, by one of that tribe in the capacity of ambassador from the king of the Inquahase Hottentots (two of his companions having staid at the kraal of the nearest Cape Hottentots in consequence of indisposition); requesting in the name of his chief, to enter into amity and alliance with the Company, so as to exchange with each other whatever article either might have to dispose of; stating that his country was very populous, and almost overstocked with oxen, cows, and sheep, and that no European or white man had ever been there.

It was, therefore, after full deliberation, deemed very serviceable to the Company, that a mission should be sent thither forthwith, under the guidance of the said Inqua, and some of the Cape Hottentots, to endeavour to procure from them some oxen, cows, sheep, and other cattle, or whatever produce of grain, merchandize, or minerals their country might offer, in exchange for tobacco, arrack, beads, assagais, and other trifles, so that we might thus be in a condition properly to supply the freemen who are still expected, and also to try whether we could not open a road in this direction to Terra de Natal, procure some intelligence of the missing crew of the *Stavenisse*, and discover the whole country as far as Rio de la Goa, so as to bring into the hands of the Company and of this Colony whatever profits that country may afford.

In conformity with the resolution of the Council, Ensign I. Schryver (who had offered his services although he had recently accepted his discharge) was dispatched thither on the 4th January last, with — well armed soldiers, two wagons, and a proper number of oxen, provisions, ammunition, and merchandize, with orders to pay every attention to all minerals, shrubs, plants, crops, &c. and to render a due report in writing upon his return.

After an absence of three months, he returned on the 5th April, without the loss of a man, bringing with him more than 1000 oxen, cows, and calves, as also 300 sheep, bartered from the said Hottentots. They had been engaged with the Makriggas, after they had surrounded our party on every side, and many of them had prepared to attack our men by day as well as by night. Fully 40 of those robbers were killed on the spot, and the cattle which they had stolen from the surrounding Hottentots were taken from them.

Those Makriggas live by plunder, chiefly residing in the mountains; they are very populous,

and in constant war, attacking all travellers and robbing them of every thing; but that these people lie between, the Hottentots could travel safely from the Cape to the Rio de la Goa, or even to the Tropic of Capricorn, as may be more fully seen by the journal of the expedition, which, want of time prevents us from sending until the next opportunity. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>

We must not omit to remind your Honors of the great labour which must be performed by new Colonists before they can bring their lands into a condition to produce corn, wine, and other crops, as the soil has, in all probability ever since the creation of the world, been entirely uncultivated, and requires therefore to be cleared of many useless rushes, heaths, and bushes, as well as of their roots; until at length, after the lapse of two or three years, it begins to make returns; the farmer meanwhile, being hard put to it to support himself, having, generally speaking, come hither empty handed, and being obliged to take up on credit from the Company, at a price much greater than in Europe, every necessary, whether of farming or of housekeeping, and thus getting into debt to the Company, which must press heavily on them for a long time, before they can get rid of it; and they are thus unable to compete with the old inhabitants who have been long established here. . . . .

*Journal kept by the Ensign Isaq Schryver on his journey to the Inquahase Hottentots,  
beginning 4th January, and ending 10th April, Anno 1689.*

January. 1689. Tuesday 4. At 3 P.M. we left the Castle of Good Hope, by order of the Commander, Simon van der Stell, under the command of Ensign I. Schryver, with a sergeant and 20 well armed men, and also two wagons; at 9 o'clock we arrived at the Company's post the Kuyt.

Wednesday 5. Began our march at half past 5 A.M., and at 4 P.M. arrived at Hottentots Holland.

Thursday 6. In consequence of the heat we staid at Hottentots Holland until 3 P.M., when we proceeded to the Kloof, eight Company's slaves attended us to carry our baggage over the Kloof.

Friday 7. After we had arranged our wagons, and baggage, and sent back the eight slaves, we set out about 9 A.M., and travelling N. E. by E., at 4 P.M. crossed Palmiet River, where we rested for the night; the country over which we passed, is fit for growing corn.

Saturday 8. Left Palmiet River at sunrise, we were obliged to stop at Knoflock's coral, after travelling half an hour, in order to repair one of our wagons; here lay with his coral, the Sousequase Hottentot Captain Dorea, called by us Klaas, from whom we borrowed two pack oxen to carry some of our baggage; we found the country here very suitable for settlement and cultivation, the vallies having several rivulets and brooks, the mountains being supplied with thickets; here one of our Hottentots named *Benkans*, was bitten by a snake, and, notwithstanding all the applications known to us or the Hottentots, died in six hours.

Sunday 9. About 5 A.M. we left Captain Klass, passed the *Hout Hoek* and *Botte River*, course east, passed over low hills and very good land to the *Swarte River*.

Monday 10. Left the Swarte River at sunrise, and pursued our course E. N. E. and E. by N. through very rich fine land, rested at 10, on account of the cattle, which could scarcely draw the heavy loads, and because we found good pasture, which they could not find the day previous, all being eaten down and bare.

Tuesday 11. Left said Swarte River before sunrise, good country as before, saw more than 1000 antelopes, as well *bonte* as *harte*; course east, high mountains to the north; the kloofs every where covered with close and large forests; about 11 A.M. arrived at the river *Zonder End*, rested there at *Calabas* coral.

Wednesday 12. Left the Zonder End River about 7, rainy weather, wind N. W., outspanned about 11; the weather changing, in about two hours we started again, course E. and E. N. E.; at 5 P.M. halted on the same river, about half a mile on this side of *Tyger Hoek*, the high wooded mountains being always in sight.

Thursday 13. At sunrise left the said river, course east, passed through bare hills and country until we got over *Aloe Bergh*; we then went round the *Hessequas Kloof*, then E. N. E. through a little flat, when we again found the same river, which we crossed, and rested about 1 P.M. near the *Ganse coral*, strong wind N. W. by W. and dark weather the whole day.

Friday 14. Left the River Zonder End at sunrise, and marched over a level country to the *Breede River*, and after we had crossed some little hills, we passed a small stream, and then found nothing but stony ground; we then passed the *Klip River*, where we found an extensive country, which we called *Klip Veld*; about 1 P.M. we stopped at the *Bakkeley River* for the night, course chiefly E. N. E., wind S. E. the whole day; the mountains on our left, to the north, well supplied with large wood.

(1) The accounts given by the three men of the *Stavenisse* brought by the *Noord*, have not been found; but the log of that vessel, and the diary of Schryver, are preserved in the Journal for 1689. The latter contains a minute account of the first journey into the interior, by crossing the Swellendam range of mountains, and is therefore given, with the omission of a few unimportant details, in a complete form. The greater portion of the log refers to the survey of De la Goa Bay; those portions which relate to the earlier occupation of Natal, or to the position of the Magosche [Amakosa?] will be found below.

January 15. Left at sunrise, crossed *Bahkeley River*, travelled partly through good, partly through stony country, mountains with forest still in sight; we then passed E. and E. N. E., through a pleasant valley, and reached *Qualbergs Casteel*, where, on account of the good pasture, we halted at 9 A.M. and staid for the night.

Sunday 16. Started at day-break, and pursued our journey over some hills, course E. S. E., leaving to the left the high mountains, the kloofs well provided with trees, and having come to the *Buffel Jagt*, where we rested at 10 A.M. on the bank of a large river, now dry, the banks lined with shrubs; started again at 1, and after passing some little hills, we came to a smooth and pleasant valley, in which we found a waterless and dried up river, the banks covered with large trees, here we rested for the night; the Hottentots call this place *Xgaeveug*? we gave it the name of *Drooge Rivier*, course E. N. E. and E. by N.

Monday 17. Set out at daybreak, and after passing, with an easterly course, some small hills, arrived at 11 A.M. at *Duivenhok*, and stopped on this side of the river; meanwhile having broken the bolt of a wagon pole, we made another from a crowbar; the country passed was very good and suitable for corn; in this river we found eels resembling the Fatherland eels in flavour, on which we made a good repast; towards the evening 13 Hessequas Hottentots came to us, who reported that the Swarte Captain's Koral lay not far from this.

Tuesday 18. Left *Duivenhok* before sunrise, passed through a toilsome road, high hills, deep kloofs, and holes, course E. N. E. and E., sometimes E. by S., until about 1 P.M., when we took up our quarters for the night at *Diepe River*; land very good, bushy here and there.

Wednesday 19. Started early through a flat country, inhabited, probably from its good quality and extent, by many kraals of Hessequas, course N. E. also E. N. E. until we passed a hill with a kind of aloe tree yielding a white juice, here we took a course N. by E., passed the great Palmiet River, and pursued our journey along its banks, till we came to the Koral of the *Ouden Heer*, where we outspanned.

Thursday 20. We are obliged to take our dinner at the said resting place, at the *old Heer's*, as we still required some pack oxen which were not to be had sooner; about 1 P.M., we started, always passing similar country, where we saw on all sides *Hessiqua Korals*: course E. N. E., rested at a river with *brak* water, pasture here also bare, we therefore called it *Armoedes Weyde*.

Friday 21. Left *Armoedes Weyde* at day break, passed hills and valleys and some korals, where there was good land, and came to a large branch of the *Gouris River*, whence we marched over a mountain, flat on the top, which we found to be good land; at 1 P.M. we passed *Gouris River*, our course was N. by E., the banks of the river are every where clothed with bush and with large and thick acacia trees; were this river full, it could not be easily passed; it has several fords, bottom hard, chiefly with stones, and might be navigated by small vessels from Mossel Bay.

Saturday 22. Left *Gouris River* at sunrise, marched through flat and good land, well supplied with thorns, travelled N. N. E., through some toilsome heights, whence we saw, close by the high mountains a fine extensive flat, which we called *Brand Veld*, as the Hessequas Hottentots whom we had forbidden to follow our train, had out of mischief set it on fire.

Sunday 23. The sergeant, with one of our men, and 3 Hottentots, was sent at day break to examine the mountain lying before us, and returned in the evening, reporting that it was impossible to pass that way, as the mountains were high and stony, and covered with thickets, full of deep kloofs and rivers, separating them from each other.

Monday 24. Left the said *Brand Veld* at sunrise; shaped our course back again over a little hill, then turning northwards till about 12, always through open country; when we came upon a river which we called *Kromme River*, and found there good pasture for our cattle, where they fed well, which had not been the case for three or four days.

Tuesday 25. Marched at day break from *Kromme River*, on a course E. by S., and passed good ground, until we came near to a kloof, through which we must pass, and which was shown us by a Gouris Hottentot; then changed our course to N. N. W., to the said kloof, at the commencement of the kloof, and on the march we found that Mossel Bay bore S. S. E.; this kloof is an assemblage of many mountains, (*vergadering veeler bergen*) which it divides, with small kloofs and hills from each other; we found an elephant's path through thick bush, through which we had to force our way for more than an hour; we were forced to halt at a small river, where we rested, in consequence of the difficulty of the way; here the sergeant was again sent out with four men, and two Hottentots, to seek for a further passage.

Wednesday 26. About 8, the sergeant and his party returned, stating, that we might find a passage by clearing away a great quantity of low bush, on which eight men were sent with all our Hottentots, to remove and burn it; they returned in the evening finding us at the same place.

Thursday 27. Marched at day light to the N. N. W., over the high mountain, and some hills attached to them, and having turned again, we ascended the mountain E. S. E., and found it impossible to pass that way unless the bush were burned down; after we had with great difficulty passed the highest kloof, we rested about 2 P.M. at a small river between the hills, and found here good pasture, better than we had found for three days; strong wind N.W.

Friday 28. Left this river at sun rise, and found a very difficult way betwixt the high mountains, the ravines of which were covered with bush, chiefly brushwood; we found on passing this kloof a rare kind of wild asses, of which we shot one of the size of a horse, striped brown and grey; at last, after four days'

journey, we got through said kloof at 10 A.M., we named it *Lange Kloof*; we then found a somewhat more level road and stony country, &c.; rested in a small valley, where we found good pasture; as we here found some change in the hills we called this valley the *Goode Hoep*; our course was chiefly E.N.E.; strong wind from S.W.

January 29. About 8 we marched from said valley over some low hills, our course being E.N.E., the ground is very stony and unfit for any purpose, bearing nothing but *Rhenoster* bushes, but every where well supplied with clear brooks; about one we rested at the *Schrake* river, so called by us from the bareness of the pasture.

Sunday 30. At day-break left the *Schrake Weyde*, travelling about three hours E. by S. over stony and useless ground, when we halted at a pleasant valley with good pasture and pure water, intending to stay there, but on the Hottentots assuring us that there was twice as much good land and water before us, we went on till 1 P.M., but found ourselves much deceived, as we had but indifferent pasture, with a little standing water in three holes; the place is called by the Hottentots *Kankou*, (that is *Steekdoorns*) river; two Hottentots from the *Attiquas* Coral came to us here, and told us they lay at no great distance; but as they pointed S.S.E. over the mountains, we resolved not to follow them.

Monday 31. At sun rise left *Steekdoorns* river, and found always a level road but bad ground; our course was N. E. by N.; about 11, many *Attiqua* Hottentots came to us, and followed us until about 12, to a river called by the Hottentots *Captains River*, where we halted; it is a fine river running through a deep kloof, and well supplied with pasture, the *Attiquas* informed us that *Hykon*, Chief of the *Inquahase* Hottentots, lay but four days' journey from this place.

February 1. After leaving *Captain's River* about sun rise, we passed over level but stony ground, and then over hills and deep ground, and through a running river called by the Hottentots *Kamnasy*, which we were obliged to pass six times; the river is very large in the rainy season, with many turns and high rocky banks, sometimes *pike-staff* deep, the hills we passed are well covered with *Acacia* and other large trees, the valleys between the hills are at present eaten bare, and that through which the river runs is good ground; about 2 P.M., we arrived at a valley called by the Hottentots *Xanga*, having about 80 morgen of fine ground, and divided by the river *Kamnasy*, here we rested, our course having been N.E. by E., wind variable all day, towards night thunder and lightning.

Wednesday 2. At day-break we left this place, and went E.N.E. over very difficult stony mountains, until about 10, when we came again to the same river *Kamnasy*, and found good pasture, we therefore stayed there, the place is called by the Hottentots *Humtata*.

Thursday 3. After a night of thunder and lightening, but little rain, we started from *Humtata*, and after passing useless country and rocky hills and kloofs, with small streams, we came about 5 P.M. to a river called by the Hottentots *Tihati*, (Thuata?) that is, *Oliphants River*; our course was N. by E., and as we had found no other good pasture, we rested at the place called by the Hottentots *Naukoti*, that is, *Roodsand*.

Friday 4. About 9 A.M. left *Naukoti*, travelling E.N.E. and E. by N. over useless ground, till about 2 P.M. when we came to a flat kloof, which we entered in a direction due east, it is called by the Hottentots *Quanti*, that is, *Dagh Kloof*; reaching its end about 3 P.M. we halted at a dried up river, with little pasture; about 4, we sent out one of our men with a Hottentot to examine the nearest mountains, and to seek for the best outlet, (for the Hottentots with us no longer knew way or road,) but they instantly returned, and informed us that they had seen a kraal in a kloof on the left, we immediately sent the sergeant with five men and six Hottentots to fetch some of the people of the kraal that they might show us the road to *Hykon*, but as soon as the kraal people called *Sonquas* perceived the party sent out by us, they placed themselves in a posture of defence, and shot briskly at our people with bows and arrows, on which our people fired two muskets at them in return, when the Hottentots fled, but quickly recovered themselves, our people seeing this, saluted them with another shot, when they fled again, but soon placed themselves in their former posture, but when some shots were fired by our people for the third time, they fled altogether, and hid themselves in the mountains, leaving behind them their flock of ewes and lambs, which our people brought with them; when the *Sonquas* saw this, three of them were at length induced, by the invitation of our Hottentots, to accompany them to our tent, (one's name was *Kuchemans brother*,) we received them kindly, and having presented them with some tobacco and brandy, we asked them how far it was to *Hykon's* land, they said it was still four days' journey, we asked them to show us the way, and if they would accompany us, which they refused; this was the reason of our taking them with us, together with their lamb flock, of which we took good care; they told our Hottentots that three of their people were severely wounded, whom they had dragged away by the hands and feet.

Saturday 5. Set out at sun rise; our new guides showed us a road quite different from that we had expected, but we found it tolerably good; we had to pass through a small kloof, our course was N. by E.; their kraal lay about a mile from our halting place, and consisted of twenty round thick huts made of thorn bushes, the kloof is called by the Hottentots *Naudau*, that is *Witte Kloof*; the ground we passed is entirely useless, rocky and hilly with little or no grass or water; about 2 P.M. we came to a small river entirely salt, the place is called by the Hottentots *Kxakie* or *Salt Water*; finding some pools of rain water we halted, had a hard shower of rain with lightning.

Feb. 6. Left Salt river at sun rise, travelling N.N.E. through an extensive valley shut in by mountains on all sides, but useless ground; when we left this valley we entered a long flat kloof with many turnings, but running generally N. by W.; we then marched north, over a great flat, and about 1 P.M. came to a river called by the Hottentots *Kaly*, here we rested; there was here only a little water left in the holes by rain, pasture very bare; very hot easterly wind.

Monday 7. Left the river *Kaly* at sun rise, passed through a little flat and a kloof; as soon as we were through this we saw a level country as far as the eye could reach; travelling over this till about 9 A.M., we came to a river well supplied with pasture, which was fortunate for our tired cattle; we therefore stopped there; our course was N.E. Towards evening some *Hykon-Sonquas* Hottentots came to us, but could give us no certain information of [the situation of] *Hykon's kraal*; this place was called by the Hottentots *Udiganga*, and the river *Kaluiga*.

Tuesday 8. Left at day-break, marched over a flat though useless (*onbekwaam*) country, having the river *Kaluiga* on our right; both banks of this river are well supplied with bush and pasture; our course was N.E., we passed the kraal of the Sonquas who had been with us yesterday; about noon we halted at the said river *Kaluiga*.

Wednesday 9. At sun rise we went on N.E. over flat but stony and useless ground, on the way we found a female rhinoceros with a calf, which [last] we caught; finding it impossible to rear the calf, we resolved on killing it; at 11 A.M. we pitched our camp at the said river.

Here we sent on in advance three of our Hottentots with some tobacco and pipes to inform *Hykon*, Chief of the Inquahase Hottentots, of our approach; calm and very hot all day; a S.E. breeze in the evening.

Thursday 10. Set off at sunrise, pursued our course N.E., still over level and useless country, until about 12, when we halted on bare pasture, for we had none better to expect, and it was calm and very hot; this day deserted a soldier, named *Sigismund Steller*, for what reason we know not; as soon as he was missed, we sent five Hottentots after him, but they returned, telling us that they had seen nobody except two Sonquas.

Friday 11. After sunrise we proceeded as before, over flat stony ground, we found on the way a piece of fine pasture about an hour's travelling across; but as it had no water, we went on till about 12 at noon, when we came again to the said river, course N.E. by E., a strong S.E. wind; the Hottentots whom we had sent out, returned to us saying they could not find *Hykon's kraal*.

Saturday 12. At break of day we went on N.E. by E. until about 9 A.M., we came to a high mountain, and encamped in the kloof before it, on the said river *Kaluiga*; from this place we sent out the sergeant with two of our men and five Hottentots to the nearest mountain to see if there were kraals on the other side of it, though our guides unanimously told us that this was *Hykon's land*, and that he sometimes lay with his kraal on this river; sent out the master miner with two of his servants to try if he could find any minerals; at sunset the sergeant returned with his party, [with them *Steller*, the deserter]; he had found the hills every where covered with good pasture, but could not discover any kraals; in the evening the miners returned, saying they could find no kind of mineral.

Sunday 13. We rested here the whole day, but at daybreak sent out three Hottentots to seek *Hykon* and his kraals; meanwhile our people were busily employed making a kraal for the cattle.

Monday 14. Remained at the same place, anxiously expecting the Hottentots we had sent out, who did not return this day.

Tuesday 15. Early in the morning six Hottentots came to us from *Hykon's kraal*, saying they had not seen the Hottentots we had sent, but that one of the Sonquas had come to their kraal and apprised them of our approach; they said *Hykon* was very much rejoiced to hear that we were coming, that he was already on the way, and that he requested that we should remain here until he came; we therefore sent two of the said Hottentots to him with some small presents, to hasten his coming over to us.

Wednesday 16. Lying at our old camp, sent two more of the *Hykon* Hottentots back for intelligence of the Hottentots whom we had sent out on the 13th.

Thursday 17. No intelligence this day of *Hykon*, or of our Hottentots.

Friday 18. One of the Hottentots whom we had sent out on the 13th, returned this morning, telling us that *Hykon* with his *koral* had set out to meet us yesterday afternoon; in the evening two of *Hykon's* Hottentots came and told us that he would be with us to-morrow at noon, together with his kraal.

Saturday 19. About 1 P.M. nine of *Hykon's* messengers came, desiring in his name that we should not remove from this place until their Captain arrived; after delivering the message, they received a piece of tobacco, and a piece for their Captain, and returned to him; in about an hour he at length came, with fully 150 men, under the guidance of the two Hottentots whom we had sent out on the 13th; this Captain is taller and larger than any of our servants (*volk*), they are in general larger in body than the Cape Hottentots, well proportioned, active, and strong, though in countenance and beard they resemble the Cape Hottentots; this Captain has great respect shown him by his people, whatever he orders is done by them, running and leaping; his people are much bolder than our Hottentots; at first they were much afraid of us, and shy, even the Captain shook and trembled, but it soon passed off when they perceived the copper crown which we put on his head, with which he was much delighted; he was very temperate in drinking arrack, and of smoking

tobacco he had little or no knowledge; and after giving us good information in reply to our questions, he left before sunset with his people, and returned to his kraal.

His neighbours informed us as follows:—The *Kubuquas* lie at the distance of five days' journey on the coast, they live in houses made of clay, possess much cattle, and perhaps a barter might be carried on with them; they live sometimes in great enmity, and do each other great injury and damage.

The part of country where the *Kabuquas* lie, was pointed out to the E.S.E.; upon these border the *Damaquas*, also residing in clay houses, populous and rich in cattle, they lie on the sea coast, are provided with beads, copper, and iron, which [last] they fetch from shipwrecked vessels. There are also, according to the statements made to us by Hykon's people, three other tribes in the sea coast, well provided with cattle, called the *Ganumqua*, *Namunqa*, and *Gonagwa*, from whom the Inquahase Hottentots barter *Dakka*, which is used by them as the Indians use opium; towards the north lie three other tribes, called *Gly*, *Bry*, and *Bly*, from whom the Inquahase procure the flat and thin plates of copper, which they again dispose of to the *Kubuquas* and *Namaquas*; lastly there is another race of people known to them, called *Briqua*, who are cannibals.

Feb. 20. Hykon, Chief of the Inquahase Hottentots, came to us early, with more of his people than yesterday; this day we began to barter, under a favor of a fine day.

Monday 21. Captain Hykon came again with his people, and staid until late in the afternoon, they were very anxious for strong drink, of which they had taken a good deal yesterday; this day we also passed in bartering.

Tuesday 21. Captain Hykon held a council in his kraal, therefore he was not with us once during the day, (which we passed in bartering notwithstanding). In the evening we inquired into the cause of his absence, which was this,—one of our people had shot a bird after the Chief's departure, he therefore appeared much offended, because there is a custom among them, that when any one of his people kills any game, be it tiger, lion, hartebeest, or the like, they may not eat of it before their Captain, Hykon, has received from them a fat sheep; this seemed strange to us, it seems he wished to keep up that custom with us, we therefore, sent him the same evening, a present of beads, and this made him quite contented.

Wednesday 23. The Hottentots of Hykon came very early to barter; he visited us about 9.

Thursday 24. Hykon and his people came again, employed bartering.

Friday 25. After Hykon and his people had stayed with us till noon, and the barter had gone on tolerably well, he took his departure from us about 1, saying, that he was obliged to depart, lest the *Sonqua* Hottentots in the neighbourhood should attack his kraal during his absence, but recommended himself to the favor of the Company and the great Captain, desiring that we might soon return and bring him assagays; he seemed well pleased and contented with the traffic which had passed between us.

Saturday 26. About 7, as we were preparing to depart, Hykon came to us once more for the last time, and went some way with us, repeated his requests of yesterday, and then left us; here we bartered more than 500 cattle and some sheep. The place where we had lain, we called the *Vervallen Casteel* (Fallen Castle,) for beyond the river *Kaluiga*, to the S.S.E., there was a high mountain, which resembled a fallen castle on the summit. To the N.E. by E., we had before us a high mountain, divided by a long and crooked kloof; in this kloof, Captain Hykon lay with his kraal and people, about a cannon shot from our kraal; our return course was S.W. by W.; at 2 P.M. we halted at a suitable spot on the said river *Kaluiga*; this day we estimated our distance travelled five *mylen*.

Sunday 27. Went back along our old road, and passing our resting place of the 10th, we reached by 1 o'clock our encampment of the 9th, having made about five *mylen*.

Monday 28. Halted about 12, one hour beyond our resting place of the 8th, on the *Kaluiga*, good pasture, about 5 hours' journey.

March, Tuesday 1. About 11, reached our resting place of the 7th February, travelled 3½ hours; seven *Sonqua* Hottentots came to us, and told us, that their kraal, with two others, were going on two days' journey before us; we could not learn why, meanwhile we kept well on our guard.

Wednesday 2. Staid until 5 P.M., for the *Hessouquas* informed us that there was no water in the river *Kaly*, so we went through the little kloof at sunset, passed the flat and our encampment of the 6th, and at 9 came to the *Kromme Kloof*, found neither grass nor water, made three *mylen*.

Thursday 3. Passed through the crooked and tedious kloof at sunrise, came about 11 A.M. to the river *Kxakie*, where we lay on 5th Feb., it had rained here, so there was good grazing; made about four hours.

Friday 4. About midday reached our camp of the 4th Feb.; we halted near the *Sonquas* kraal, whither went the three *Sonqua* guides whom we had taken with us; here a party of Hottentots called *Hougliquas*, and *Sonquas* or *Thonuny*, came to us, and told us they had been fighting with the *Attiquas*, and had killed two men, having also lost two, and that they had taken part of the *Attiquas*' cattle; after they had sufficiently examined our bartered cattle, and had got a few beads [as a present] for their Captain, they left us about 2 P.M., but they were hardly gone when four women of the *Thonuny*, that is of the kraal of our guides, came and told us that the three *Hougliqua* Captains had asked the *Thonuny* to assist them in attacking the Dutchmen, taking their cattle, and offering to divide the booty; those *Hougliquas* are thieves and greedy, for they kept for themselves the cattle they had taken from the *Attiquas*, they even took some, cattle from their friends who had helped

them in the fight; hearing this, we took every precaution, placing good sentinels round the cattle that we might not be [suddenly] attacked; made about three *mylen*.

March 5. This night the Houghliqua Hottentots twice tried [hostilely to attack us]; first about 10, eight of them came, [pretending that] they would barter a beast to us; but seeing that we kept a sharp eye upon them and were on our guard, they went away unsuccessful; but about 1 in the night, two Hottentots crept on their hands and feet, meaning to surprise one of our sentries, but were at once discovered and seized, on this they all fled; we kept a good watch all night; it was raining until 10 A.M., when we went on to near our encampment of 3d Feb.; there we found the Sonquas divided into four kraals, of which the Houghliquis made three, and the Thonuny only one; we rested about a gunshot from them, on a flat, that we might be better on our guard; here three captains of the Houghliquis came to us [at our earnest request,] with a good number of their people, which obliged us to be no little upon our guard; they bartered two cattle to us, and after having presented them with a *soopie* of arrack and some pipes and tobacco, they at length went away; in the evening, as soon as the Houghliquis had put their cattle into the kraal, they made many fires around it, one of which was not far from our guard, and with much screaming, shouting, [and other noises,] drove towards us, perhaps, one or two cattle, [in order, by this stratagem, to throw our cattle and people into disorder,] but they were immediately driven back by our Hottentots; we were, therefore, obliged to keep a good watch with all our people; our journey, by calculation, two and a half *mylen*.

Sunday 6. Having all kept good watch during the last night, the Houghliquis were very early busy in driving out their cattle, which gave us great suspicion, and as we were warned by our guides, the *Thonuny* Hottentots, that that tribe subsisted by murdering, stealing, and robbing, and that during last night they had consulted [how to destroy us,] we sent the sergeant and eight men to hinder them from driving out the cattle; having done this they returned with the [three] Captains, who professed a desire to sell us some cattle; after we had purchased from them a few [of little value,] a party of Hottentots came, whom as well as those who came with the Captains, we could hardly keep from among our herd of cattle, they constantly kept going backwards and forwards now to our tent, then through the cattle, and then to their kraal; as we could no longer see this without suspicion, and being warned by the Thonuny Hottentots that they had an evil design against us, we all resolved to give them a general volley, which being instantly executed, we knocked down 30 of them, the rest, together with those in the kraal, took to flight, and were pursued by the Thonuny Hottentots, who had a great fight with them; meanwhile we took possession of their cattle, and moved off about noon, and as we no longer required our guides, we gave them back their sheep which, until now, we had kept with us, and gave them besides, for the faithful service which they had done us, some tobacco and beads, with which they were highly gratified, and offered to conduct us still further; but as we knew the road, we separated from them; (the principal among them is called Damon,) and as we could not reach our encampment of 2d Feb., we stopped at evening at a small stony river, where we found but little grass; the river is called by the Hottentots *Ikumsay* or *Steen River*, travelled about three hours' distance.

Monday 7. Left *Steen River* about 7; after a march of one and a half hour, we came to a small river called by the Hottentots *Kaerte*, where finding good pasture we staid, the cattle enjoyed it, which was not to be wondered at, as for five days they had found nothing so good; here four Attiqua Hottentots came to us, whose kraal, as they said, was not far off; they said they had come hither in consequence of the *Houghliquis*; we told them we had been in fight with the Houghliquis, on which they expressed great joy; after getting a piece of tobacco for their Captain, they ran back as hard as they could, but returned with some more, about eight, with a beast which they offered for barter, but as it was dark we sent them back.

Tuesday 8. At daylight we set out along our old path, and halted about half an hour beyond our encampment of Feb. 2, good water and grass; we called the place *Vygen Kraal*, it lies on the river *Kamnasy*, meanwhile the four Attiquas came and told us that their kraal had the night before moved over the nearest hills, which caused us some uneasiness, and made us attend closely to all their proceedings and conversation, we, therefore, kept good watch; travelled this day about two *mylen*.

Wednesday 9. Left *Vygen Kraal* at sunrise, and went on by the difficult road of 2d Feb., until about 11, when we reached our camp of Feb. 1, called *Dubletje Kraal*, two *mylen* from *Vygen Kraal*.

Thursday 10. About 1 P.M. reached Captain's River; four captains of the Attiquas with a great number of people came to us expressing great joy for the defeat of the Houghliquis, their enemies, who had often made hostile attacks upon them; they sold us three cattle and one wether, and would have sold us more, but that the Houghliquis had stolen their cattle; they complained [bitterly] of the annoyance suffered from that tribe; before sunset they returned to their kraal.

Friday 11. Left Captain's River at sunrise, it had rained a good deal; finding little grass at our resting place of 30th Jan., we went on, and came on to a pleasant open valley well supplied with grass and water; this river runs through the valley, and it is called by the Hottentots *Bikamma* or *Milk River*; having much cold from a strong S.E. wind, we called this place *Norway*, travelled about five *mylen*.

Saturday 12. Passed the *Schrale Wiekle*, about 12 reached the river *Hore* or *Tweelings River*, tolerable grass, therefore rested there, made about four *mylen*.

Sunday 13. About 10 reached the Good Hope Valley, and found that during our absence it had rained a good deal, so found good pasture and staid there, made about one and a half hour.

March 14. About 12 reached the Lange Kloof, our camp of the 27th January, travelled about 4 hours.

Tuesday 15. Passed our old toilsome road through Lange Kloof, about noon reached about 1 hour on this side of our resting place of January 26, where we halted on the high marshy mountain, about 2 hours travelling.

Wednesday 16. Set out at daybreak; about 11 got through Lange Kloof, and in two hours more reached our resting place of January 24; found here three kraals of the Hessequas, some of them came and bartered to us [a few] cattle, made about three hours.

Thursday 17. At 7 left Kromme River, along our old road, leaving Brandveld S.S.W. on our right, here we came on a great flat, halted about noon at the river *Nungoa* (or pleasant,) about five *mylen*.

Friday 18. Set out about 7 W. by S. at 9 passed the lower ford of the Gauris, without losing the smallest lamb, for the river was low, and did not seem to run; we then went west and marched over a high flat mountain, about 1 P.M. we reached the river called by the Hottentots *Arna*, found poor pasture, travelled about five hours.

Saturday 19. After the rain we set out at 7, going W. by N, over good pasture, but eaten down, about 10 reached the river called by the Hottentots *Abna*, very fair pasture, this day  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *mylen*.

Sunday 20. Left *Abna* and got into our old road over Palmiet River; about 1 P.M. halted at a river called by the Hottentots *Gauku*, in a wide flat; here we learnt from the kraals lying about us, that the *Ouden Heer* with the greater part of the Hessequas' kraals lay not far off, on which the ensign, with five men, went on about 4 P.M., desiring the sergeant to take good care of the people and cattle, distance about four hours to day.

Monday 21. By the ensign's orders, we started at 3 P.M. but missed six of our cattle and ten sheep, on which we sent out some of our Hottentots to seek them, they soon after brought back the ten sheep, saying that they could find nothing of the cattle, on which the sergeant had two Hottentots, who were suspected, bound, and took them with us; at sunset reached our resting place of January 18th, where we found the ensign and his people among the Hessequa kraals; when he saw the bound Hottentots and [heard] the report of the sergeant, he immediately, through the interpretation of our Hottentots, made the complaint to the *Ouden Heer*, who, as soon as he understood it, sent off his son with three captains and some Hottentots, some of whom the same evening brought back the stolen cattle, which had been abandoned by the thieves, distance this day  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hour.

Tuesday 22. At sunrise left *Diep River*, and when we had advanced about half a *myl*, the Hottentots who had been sent out by the *Ouden Heer*, came to us, bringing one of the thieves who had stolen our cattle and sheep, whom they had found feasting with three others, who had escaped; the prisoner was rather old, and they brought him with us in form, to the river called by the Hottentots *Ankau*; where we had hardly turned out our cattle and pitched our tent, before the *Ouden Heer* had the culprit put on his trial according to the custom of their country, he was instantly sentenced to be beaten to death with sticks, which sentence was forthwith carried into execution in our presence; travelled about two and a half hours, the place was called by us *Regt Plaats*.

Wednesday 23. Left *Regt Plaats*, with daylight, took our course west, good ground; about 1 P.M. found good pasture on the river called by the Hottentots *Gamkana*, we called the place *Wolvs Jagt*, travelled about five hours.

Thursday 24. Leaving *Wolvs Jagt* at sunrise, we passed *Qaalbergs Kastiel* about 8 A.M.; at 2 P.M. reached *Bakkeley Plaats*, on *Bakkeley River*, where we encamped, estimated distance five hours.

Friday 25. Halted to-day to rest our tired cattle; the Swarte Captain, now [lying] with his kraals at *Qaalbergs Kastiel*, came and bartered some cattle to us.

Saturday 26. Setting out at sunrise we followed our old path, crossed *Klip River*, and reached a small stream, called by the Hottentots *Kartoe*, where we encamped, distance to-day about four hours.

Sunday 27. Crossed *Brede River* about 9 A.M., reached *River Sonder End*, and being assured that there was not the least pasture before us in the Hessequa kloof, staid here at *Ganse Kraal*, distance two and a half hours.

Monday 28. Leaving *Ganse Kraal* at daylight, followed our old track into Hessequas Kloof, which we passed through about 10 A.M., and finding good pasture encamped, distance two and a half hours.

Tuesday 29. Travelled over level ground; about 12 halted about an hour beyond *Tyger Hoek*, on the *Sonder End*, having made about four hours.

Wednesday 30. Left *River Sonder End* about 7, at 12 reached *Kalabas Kraal*, estimated distance three and a half hours.

Thursday 31. Leaving *Kalabas Kraal* at daybreak, and passing the *River Sonder End*, we took a N.W. course betwixt the high mountains of that river; the ground we passed is good, and everywhere watered by small streams; about 1 P.M. came to a small river called by the Hottentots *Tirri*, and finding extraordinary good pasture encamped, estimated distance five hours.

Friday, April 1. Left *Tirri* at sunrise, travelled west over good land between the river *Sonder End* and the high mountains; about 9 we were obliged again to cross that river, along which we travelled, until at noon we halted, as we guessed about a cannon shot beyond the *Eisels Jagt*, distance about four hours.

Saturday 2. At daybreak left the *Sonder End River*, travelled S.S.W. over little hills and good ground, and about 11 A.M. reached *Botte River*, but finding no pasture were obliged to go on to *Knoflock's Kraal*, which we reached about half past 2 P.M., distance about six hours.

April 3. Leaving at sunset we reached Palmiet River at 9 A.M., there we rested, distance 2 hours.

Monday 4. Starting at daylight, we passed the kloof of Hottentots Holland, and encamped on a little river about 9 A.M., distance about three hours; the *Ensign* went on with one wagon to inform the Commander of our return.

5, 6, 7. Lying still to rest our wearied cattle.

Friday 8. Towards evening a Hottentot came with orders from the Commander that the sergeant and six men should stay with the cattle, and the remainder of the people [should come] to the Cape with the 2d wagon.

Saturday 9. At Company's post, Riet Kuil.

Sunday 10. Setting out from Riet Kuil at 12 at night we reached the Cape at 6 A.M., thanking God for his mercy that we had all returned through so many dangers in good health and spirits.<sup>(1)</sup>

Extract of Journal, Feb. 1, 1689. The French refugees who arrived in the *Alkmaar*, were duly provided with victuals, and their sick with proper attendance, those in good health were sent off to the interior to farming.

The *Alkmaar* arrived on the 27th January, had left the *Texel* on the 27th July, 37 died, 104 sick. The following are the conditions on which the French refugees were sent to the Colony:—

REGLEMENT, de l'assemblée des Dix-sept, qui representent la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Pais-Bas, suivant lequel les Chambres de la dite Compagnie auront pouvoir de transporter au Cap de Bonne Esperance des Personnes de tout sexe de la Religion reformée, entre autres les réfugiés de France, & des Vallées de Piedmont.

Celuy qui voudra seul, ou avec sa Famille aller au Cap de Bonne Esperance, y sera transporté sur un de Vaisseaux de la Compagnie, sans qu'il luy en couste rien, & ne sera obligé pour cela qu'à prester le ferment de fidelité à la Compagnie.

Il ne sera permis à personne de porter avec soy que les hardes, qui luy seront necessaires pour le traject, ce qui sera réglé par les Directeurs de la Chambre de l'embarquement, à la reserve de l'argent, qu'on pourra emporter en telle quantité que l'on trouvera bon.

Chacun sera obligé de s'establir au Cap de Bonne Esperance & de s'y fixer pour y gagner sa vie, & s'y entretenir soit par le labourage, soit par quelque art ou metier que ce soit.

On donnera à celuy qui s'appliquera au labourage autant de terre qu'il en pourra faire cultiver, & en cas de besoing on luy fournira tout l'attirail necessaire pour cela, & mesme la semence, à condition qu'il remboursra la Compagnie des avances qui luy auront esté faites en bled, vin, ou autre choses.

Celuy qui passera au Cap seul ou avec sa Famille sera obligé d'y demeurer cinq années entieres, mais s'il ne peut s'accommoder d'un si long sejour dans le pais, il pourra eu presentant requeste à l'assemblée, obtenir quelque relache du terme, selon que sa remontrance paroitra juste.

Si quelqu'un apres les cinq ans expirés, disiroit repasser dans ce pais, il payera pour son passage & pour sa nourriture sur le Vaisseau, sçavoir pour le passage, Hommes & Femmes au dessus de douse ans, cent cinquante Florins, les enfans de douse ans & au dessous, Septante cinq Florins, & pour la nourriture, les Hommes qui voudront estre dans le Cahut payeront trente sols par jour, dans la Hutte dix huit & parmy le commun neuf sols; Et les Femmes au dessus de douse ans, dans le Cahut vingt sols, dans la Hutte douse, & parmy le commun, neuf sols, le payement se fera pour quatre mois, dont on donnera un receu avec cette condition, que s'il arriroit, que quelque passager vint à mourir dans le voyage, la Chambre, à la quelle le Vaisseau sera adressé, tieudra compte aux Heritiers, ou autres ayant charge, du surplus qui aura esté payé à proportion du tems du depart, jusques à celuy de la mort. Et il ne sera permis à personne d'emporter avec soy aucune Marchandise, ny autre chose que ce qui luy sera necessaire pour le traject. Que si contre ce Reglement il arrive à quelqu'un de charger sur les Vaisseaux de la Marchandise, elle sera retenue & appliqué au profit de la Compagnie. Et tous ceux qui auront gagné quelque chose dans le pais, seront obligés, pour se prevaloir de leurs effets icy, de les vendre, & de prendre pour le provenu des Lettres de change de la Compagnie, qu'on leur rendra icy argent pour argent avec l'advance ordinaire de quatre pour cent. SERMENT, que doivent prester les Personnes libres & estant hors le service de la Compagnie, qui vont au Cap de Bonne Esperance avant que de partir de ce pais.

Je promets & jure d'estre soumis & fidelle à leurs hautes puissances les Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies, nos Souverains Maistres & Seigneurs, à Son Altesse, Monseigneur le Prince d'Orange, comme Gouverneur, Capitaine & Amiral General, & au Directeurs de la Compagnie Generale des Indes Orientales de ce pais, Pareillement au Gouverneur General des Indes, aiusi qu'à tous les Gouverneurs, Commandants, & autres, qui durant le Voyage par Mer & ensuite par terre auront commandement sur vous.

Et que j'observeray & executeray fidellement, & de point en point, toutes les loix & ordonnances, faites ou à faire tant par Messieurs les Directeurs, par le Gouverneur General & par les Conseillers, que par le Gouverneur ou Commandant du lieu de ma residence, & de me gouverner & comporter en toutes choses comme un bon & fidelle sujet,—Ainsi Dieu M'aide.

Fait & arresté dans l'assemblée des Dix-sept le 20 Octobre, 1687.

(1) The passages of Schryver's journal, which are here printed between brackets, are the more important of several corrections and interlineations, chiefly grammatical emendations, which appear—in a different hand, apparently that of Secretary Grevenbroek,—in a rough copy, and which are implicitly followed in the copy entered in the journal of the year. The M.S. in both copies is in a difficult character, and two passages are very obscure. The passage "twice tried hostilely to attack us," runs in the original, "*tot 2 maal toe voor ons een versoek gedaan*;" and is altered to "*op ons een versoek gedaan om ons ryandlyk t'overvallen*."

Another:—"came to us at our earnest request" is in the original, "*op groote versoek van ons*," and is altered to "*t'anstendigen (?) versoeke by ons*." From which it is probable that the word *versoek*, "request," may be, in one, or in both instances, employed in one or other of its obsolete meanings of "an attempt," "a temptation," or "a visit," and the writer of the journal may have as little intended to convey the idea that he was obliged to be "no little on his guard" in consequence of his own "earnest request," as that "they twice requested to attack" him. The passage "consulted how to destroy us" is substituted for the words "*al over ons geastereerde hadden*," which are, and perhaps were, unintelligible.

1689, February 15. It is stated in a resolution of this date, that as the *Noord* had been prevented by bad weather from examining "Mossel Bay and that of De La Goa," [i. e. Algoa Bay, the present De La Goa Bay, having been formerly distinguished as *Rio de la Goa*] that vessel should be forthwith sent back to complete the survey of those Bays.

*Extract from the Log-book kept in the Galiot "Noord," during a voyage to  
De la Goa Bay, in South latitude 26.*

[The *Noord* sailed from Table Bay on the 19th October, 1688, anchored in "Rio De la Goa Bay" on the 15th November, whence she sailed for the Cape on the 30th December.]

1689. Jan. 4. In the forenoon watch the quartermaster, W. Christian, told the captain that the land opposite to us, seemed to be that where he had lost his ship. . . . our latitude, by reckoning, was 29. 28., but the meridian altitude gave us 30. 1., so that we were a little to the south of our reckoning; we were now near where the said quartermaster had lost his ship, and sailed N.N.W. two *mylen* to the land, and anchored in ten fathoms, right before the entrance (*gat*), opposite to a high bluff point ( $\angle$ ); this  $\angle$  bore S.S.W., one-sixth *myl*; from this  $\angle$  there extends a reef of rock N. by S., over which the sea breaks; around the point lie rocks which shew themselves in the water like a fence or breastwork; while we lay at anchor, we saw people on shore running, waving, and making fire; we, therefore, put out the boat, and, at God's mercy, rowed into the entrance; we found two fathoms in the shallowest place at low water; this was about 3 P.M. and two days before full moon; when we got in with the boat, we saw two Dutchmen and one black; they were the boatswain and mate's boy of the *Stavenisse*; they were entirely naked, except linen trousers; they sprung into the water, and coming to us, kissed the captain and me, thanking God that they were again among christians.

5. At 4 P.M. being high water, we warped into the bay [Natal], the natives towed us along by a lead line, until about one-third *myl* within the entrance, where we anchored in  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms; in the evening, I and our quartermaster, Willem, accompanied the boatswain and boy of the *Stavenisse* to their lodging, where we found six very fine cattle; after fastening one for slaughter next day, I went with the others to a kraal (*negerye*), and ate some milk and bread of the new corn; we found these people very civil and kind, but without the least fear of God. 6. In the afternoon the captain had all our sick (four in number) brought to this post; one of them, named Claas, died in half an hour, we interred him in the evening on this hill, which is called the *Englesche Logie*. In the evening I went on board, after procuring water, which stood in large holes, the native women carried it on board, or to the boat, in large pots.

7. This morning the natives came to the opposite bank of the bay with milk, bread, and pumpkins, to barter; we got about a quart of milk for six or seven beads, so that our ship had milk standing about every where, and we had abundance of food; we got two fowls for six or seven beads, and for eight or nine, six or seven pumpkins, so that these natives prefer beads to food; for we bought about half a pound of bread for five or six beads. . . . 16. This morning I went with Theunes, the mate, and the boy of the *Stavenisse*, to the north side of the bay, and about two *mylen* along the beach, we found it very steep, but all clear sand, without rocks; about two *mylen* from the point where the vessel lay, we found a small river, which discharges itself into the sea, but is not navigable, as the channel is very narrow; going about a *myl* up this river, we found fresh water, and good people, who at once gave us milk for some beads; hence we struck directly across the country for the vessel, guided by three or four natives, singing as they went; we arrived about an hour before sunset; our party, who had been eight days out, returned to-day, the mineralogist brought some stones, with some red glittering sand stone; they had been about 24 or 25 *mylen* to the north of the galiot, to the flat hills which we could see from the vessel; these hills are level on the top with fine grass, but uninhabited.

20. I went to the opposite shore to barter, there were about 100 natives, with milk, beans, and poultry, so that I bought about a sack of beans, a half-aum of milk, 10 or 12 fowls, and 16 pumpkins. 21. Our mate and the boatswain of the *Stavenisse* were sent on shore to try to buy a calf for the sick, and at the same time, to leave three letters, in the hands of a trusty friend, one of the natives, where the boatswain and W. Christian had resided for fully a year; as they were quite satisfied that the black would take good care of them; they returned in the evening with a young heifer. 23. At daylight weighed and made sail; in sailing out of the opening you must steer for the north point of land, keeping close along the east bank, though not nearer than 12 feet, for with 10 feet the galiot touched, though slightly; if the house is kept in a line with the outward point of land, that which is seen from a distance, the furthest land bearing N.N.E., you are then in the right channel with two fathoms; and when the open sea is seen between the south shore and the great rocks, you are then outside in three fathoms. 24. About noon we were abreast of the place where the *Stavenisse* was lost, we could not get a meridian altitude, estimated latitude 30. 28., longitude 53. 42.

25. Fine weather, light easterly wind, saw the land to the west six or seven *mylen* distant, steered west, but at sunrise it fell calm; here the coast showed itself in lofty mountains, divided by a great kloof, here we lay becalmed, we estimated our latitude 33. 3., longitude 52. 30., but getting a meridian altitude, our latitude was 32. 14., and our estimated longitude 52. 30. The coast here runs N.E. and S.W., it is high land, with round topped mountains (*stompe bergen*) bearing west about 12 or 13 *mylen* distant; we steered in for the coast. In the evening there came a little breeze; we ran down along the coast; we here found a strong southerly current, running fully 24 miles in the 24 hours. 26. Saw the land, and steered along shore, with a light breeze which scarcely filled the sails, estimated our latitude 33. 2., longitude 50. 46.; this was near a river, we then saw about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *myl* west of us, the large rock A, whence, the year before, the men had been embarked; we had now a storm from the north. . . . 27. Found ourselves fully eight miles to the westward of the rock. 28. We passed the said rock about the third glass of the morning watch, and anchored about

1½ mile to the east of it before a great river, where the surf broke heavily, so that we saw no chance of entering, we instantly put the boat out to fetch the people, they pulled towards the shore with six men, on approaching the surf dropped the dredge, and Ariën Keint, the boatswain (whom we had brought from *Aden Dire? de Natal*) swam through the surf with a letter to be given to the Dutch, this was instantly undertaken by the natives on the request of the boatswain, who swam back to the boat, and returned on board to make his report to the captain, saying, that the people would soon come, as they lived about three hours' distant; and upon their arrival, about 2 P.M., the boat was again sent to the shore, but before reaching the surf, one of the men swam out through the surf and met them, he was an old man named *Pay Isaaq*, but the other stood on the shore, not daring to encounter the surf, and desired that we should come and take him from the great rock, where he could better get through the surf; on this the boat returned on board with the old man, who, as soon as he got on board, thanked God, and reported that two of the men who had been with them, had on the 1st January, set out for the lodge whence we had brought the boatswain and boy; meanwhile it began to blow, and we were obliged to weigh and make sail. . . . . 29th. Could not get to windward of the rock. . . . . 30th. The wind at sunrise from the eastward, stood in for the shore; about the third glass of the morning watch, we saw the rock, and steered for it, came there about the sixth glass of the morning watch, instantly hove to and put out the boat; on reaching the breakers they dropped their anchor, and the said boatswain swam to meet him with a lead line, he, seeing this, also took the water, and swam until they were within two boats' lengths of each other, and in the worst part of the surf, which at that moment breaking very heavily, the shipwrecked man turned for the shore, not daring to venture further; the boatswain on seeing this, called to him to come a little nearer, but he swam for the rock, and on reaching it waived to them to go away; on this the boatswain swam back to the boat and returned on board, where, with tears in his eyes, he gave us these particulars; and as we could not stay here any longer, in consequence of the strong east wind and the current, we filled our sails, and put the vessel before the wind, we saw no means of getting him off, as all along the coast was a rocky reef over which the sea broke with violence; at noon we were in latitude 33. 23., longitude 50. 0., being then about one *myl* from the land, the rock bearing E.N.E. 10½ *mylen*, so that this rock lies in latitude 33. 0. longitude 50. 45., we sailed from the rock along the coast, and saw, in passing along, four rivers, none of them fit to enter; towards the evening we saw another such large rock, which we passed; at sunset the wind began to increase hand over hand, and after sunset we saw a small island that lies at the eastern point (∠) of the bay De la Goa; this place we were forced to pass by a half storm, the current pushed us on very rapidly;" [next day latitude 34. 37. longitude 46. 54; on the 3d February, "the reef of Soetendal therefore lies in latitude 34. 46., longitude 41. 32." On the 4th, the east point of Cape False bearing N.W. about six *mylen*, latitude observed 34. 43] (1)

April 18. Extracts of Journal continued. The Commander informed the Council that in consideration of the excellent cattle trade with the Inquase Hottentots, he intended to give out of the bartered sheep, one to each of the Council, two to the clerks, and ten to the garrison; he informed the Council, at the same time, that the king of the Inquase Hottentots had sent to him a present of ten cows.

21. The Hottentot prisoner was this day sentenced to death by the court of justice for the homicide upon the Frenchman.

22. The Hottentot should have been executed to-day, but the secretary of the court was unable, from drunkenness, properly to write out the sentence; on which the following resolution was passed(2). 23. The Hottentot was executed according to his sentence.

April 26. Extract of Resolution of Council. The Commander stated to the Council that the Namaqua and Grigriqua Hottentots, upwards of 50 kraals strong, had approached to Oliphant river, intending and threatening to make war upon the Cape Hottentots who lay near Salhanha Bay, upon which it was unanimously resolved to send three or four more men to strengthen the post of sergeant Hans Jurgens Kling, with orders that he is to keep a watchful eye on the said

(1) These longitudes were probably calculated from the meridian of Teneriffe. Humboldt's observations fixed the difference between the meridian of Teneriffe and that of Greenwich at 16° 12' 45", but this correction will rarely, if ever, satisfactorily account for the geographical positions formerly assigned by the Dutch to known points in or near the Colony. In a memorandum to the French ambassador to Holland in 1750, the Academy of Sciences represent that fixing the longitude of the Cape was an object worthy of the support of the Company, as the difference upon that point among European navigators, "is no less than 100 leagues." The latitudes also were frequently erroneous. A surveyor appointed to take astronomical observations during the journey of Beutler, in 1752, places the mouth of *Swartkops River* in latitude 34. 57, longitude 44. 17. The following entry furnishes another test of the accuracy of the Log-book of the *Noord*, which, together with that of the *Centaur*, (*supra* p. 425,) seems to fix the position of the Kafirs at the period:—"Sunday, 24th Oct. 1688,—This morning we saw an eclipse of the sun, about 5h. 38m. 48s. the middle, as seen by us, was at 6h. 22m. 48s., latitude at noon by account 35. 58. by observation 36. 0. longitude 32. 52."

(2) The secretary, Melchior Kemels, being intoxicated, the sentence which he should have prepared for signature, was found to be "mutilated in all its members and unfit to be signed." The secretary had insolently said, "don't beat me," when the Commander "gave him some blows with his stick," and the Commander "at length threw a chair cushion at his head."

Namaquas and their allies, and to tell them to leave the Hottentots, who are under the Company's protection, in peace and undisturbed, or that otherwise we shall be compelled to attack them and repel force by force.

May 8. The last of the young women sent from Rotterdam was this day married to the son of a Stellenbosch burger.

Aug. 4. One of the Hessequa Captains came to complain to the Commander, and to request help against the violence of the Ubiqua Hottentots who had recently driven him from his kraal, and taken away his cattle. 18. About 30 of the Company's oxen, which had strayed in the wilderness, were found by the surrounding Hottentots, and brought back.

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### Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII to Commander Simon van der Stell and Council.

1689. Sept. 30, . . . . . As you state that the freemen residing either at the fort or in the country including their sons and servants, amount to about 350 men fit to carry arms, a number which truly affords no small re-enforcement, and which has since been materially increased by the arrival of the French refugees; and whereas the apprehensions entertained by us last autumn, and the well grounded fears which we then felt, induced us to authorise you to disembark 150 men from the passing ships to strengthen your garrison, but which fears have subsequently abated; you will, therefore, in consideration of the more peaceable prospects now held out to us by the divine mercy, get rid of those additional troops, sending them on, by the first opportunity, to Batavia or Ceylon, where they are much wanted.

It was also most gratifying to us to read of the perfect reliance reposed by you in the Hottentots, and the security in which you feel yourselves placed in as far as they are concerned. It would seem from your letter, that you have recently purchased from that people, and, thereupon, taken possession of a fine rich valley at Berg River, four *mylen* east of Stellenbosch, which you have called Drakenstein, and divided it among 23 freemen, in portions of sixty morgen to each; with this arrangement we are well satisfied, and shall be anxious to hear how you have arranged with the French refugees, where you have placed them, and whether in a body or divided.

What you state of having found a place in False Bay, where 14 or 15 ships can lie in perfect security, even without anchors or cables. . . . . is of very considerable importance, as in war time that bay may serve for a place of retreat or even of refreshment; it will, therefore, be proper that you inform yourself with all the necessary exactitude of all the localities of that place, especially of the soundings, so as to proceed in every thing upon sure grounds. . . . .

We were also happy to find that about 20 of the crew of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse* had been saved and brought to the Cape by the *Centaur*, and thus restored to their country; we hope that the remaining three will be brought back with the next vessel sent there. From what is testified of the fertility of the country, it will be desirable that we should fully inform ourselves upon all points connected with it, and in particular whether there are any good bays or harbours where ships may lie in safety. . . . . These States still continue at war with France; it is unnecessary to tell you anything of the victorious progress of the arms of the high allies, as that is known to the whole world. . . .

October 22. Extract of Resolution of Council. . . . . It was unanimously resolved to send the

Aug. 24. This day an elephant was shot at Hout Bay, and another that was wounded, retreated to Table mountain-29. Received intelligence of six French ships of war having been seen at St. Jago, the two following letters were sent to Stellenbosch.

Extracts. "As we are threatened with a hostile attack, which it is our duty to guard against in due time, you will, on the receipt of this letter, and without loss of time, proceed hither with all your men, cavalry and infantry, fully equipped, led by the Landdrost, leaving only 10 or 12 men to protect wives, children, cattle, and other property against Hottentots or other harm.

P.S. Three ships are in sight, and three signal guns have also been fired from Robben Island; the Landdrost will, therefore, call in the men from the Company's posts, leaving only one man at each to take care of the cattle, until further orders.

The second letter was merely to countermand the former orders, as the ships seen were Company's ships.

A despatch in the end of the year (Dec. 13) refers almost exclusively to the improvement of the Colony, in the growth of wine, indigo, olives, patattas, &c. "The letters from Persia tell us that the Kirman wool may be produced by a cross between the woolly and the hairy sheep, and as most of your sheep at the Cape are of this description, a trial may be made, and a sample sent us."

galiot *Noord* to the Bay of Natal, to fetch the remaining people of the *Stavenisse*, and to endeavour to purchase on the Company's account, under a formal and duly executed written contract with the Chief of that country, the said bay, and some of the land around it, for merchandize, such as beads, copper, ironwork, and such other articles as are liked by them. . . . . and that the galiot shall then return hither along the coast, and with all possible care sound and survey the Bay of De la Goa, [Algoa] to see whether it may not be suitable for the Company's homeward bound fleets. . . . . and to use the same precautions, in saving the crew of the *Stavenisse*, and in purchasing that bay and the adjoining land (*aancleven*) from its chief or inhabitants, which have been ordered with regard to Natal.

1689. October 25, (Journal). The Commander this day delivered the following instructions to the officers of the galiot *Noord*.

Instructions for the guidance of Pieter Jans Timmerman, and the other officers of the Company's galiot *Noord*, proceeding from this place to the bays of Natal and De la Goa (Algoa Bay).

1. Upon receipt of these instructions, and when wind and weather serve, you will weigh anchor and make sail for False Bay, where you will careen the galiot in the usual place, and having cleaned her, prosecute your voyage without delay to the bay Natal.

2. Having arrived there you will exert your skill and assiduity in finding, saving, and endeavoring to secure, the residue of the crew of the *Stavenisse*.

3. Should it happen that the inhabitants of Terra de Natal purposely and maliciously conceal from the men of the *Stavenisse* the intelligence of your arrival, you will at proper times, fire a gun now and then, with a view to give them that intimation, but will take care to fire these signal guns under one or other pretext, so as not to alarm the natives, or to render them unfriendly to you.

4. Watching a fitting opportunity (*wel tij gekweld hebbende*) you will enter into a negociation with the Chief or so called Ingose, (1) solemnly to purchase from him, for the Honorable Company, for beads, copper, ironmongery, and such other articles as they have a liking for, the bay Natal and the adjoining land, and you will have a deed of conveyance *in communi et solemnii forma*, written by *Laurens van Swaanswyck*, passed before commissioned members of the ships council, and signed by the said Ingose and some of his nearest relatives, taking good care that the articles of merchandize for which the bay and adjoining land is purchased, are not noticed in the deed, except in general terms, and that the amount of the same be estimated at nineteen or twenty thousand guilders (2) (*tot op negentien of twintigh duysend guldens*.)

5. Having effected this, you will run down the coast, and endeavour to make the Bay De la Goa lying in from 33 to 34 south latitude, and to ascertain whether, as stated by the Portuguese, and laid down in their charts, there is a round sand bank in the entrance; you will carefully sound that bay, and have a chart of it drawn by the quartermaster Cornelis Heremans.

6. With regard to securing the missing men of the *Stavenisse*, and to the purchase of this bay, you will use the same precautions which are above dictated in the 4th article; and you will above all attend carefully to your duty and the interests of the Company, taking good note of every thing which may be in any way profitable, or is worthy of remark, and having such things carefully entered in your log book by *Laurens van Swaanswyck*(3).

November 8. Sergeant Koningshoven returned, having purchased from the nearest Hottentots about 200 horned cattle.

21. The sickness which has for some time prevailed in the garrison, has now found its way into the Company's slave house; two or three have died daily for some time back, only 12 could this day work in the castle ditch.

(1) *Opperhoofd of soo genaamde* Ingose. This word resembles the Kafir term for the word Chief, and probably signifies the office, and not the name.

(2) In the Parliamentary Papers Part II, p. 95, is the following account of this article of these instructions:—"The Commander of the expedition, in the 4th article of his instructions, was directed to buy from Ingose the Chief the Bay of Natal, and the adjacent country, for beads, copper, and cutlery, or what might please the natives, *to the value of 29,000 guilders*." That part of this erroneous notice which relates to the amount, seems to have arisen from an inaccurate copy of the instructions inserted in the journal for 1689, and probably in the copy also which accompanied the despatch of 24th May 1690; among other errors of less importance, the copy in the journal runs ("*negen en twintig duysend guldens*") twenty-nine thousand guilders."

(3) The four remaining articles of these instructions refer to the navigation of the vessel, the priority of rank in council, i.e. 1st, the captain with a casting vote when required; 2, the journalist *Swaanswyck*; 3 and 4, the mate and quarter-master; and 5, "Jan van Aken, who accompanies you as draughtsman of animals, plants, or what else may deserve notice," and as usual conclude by directing that morning and evening prayers may be regularly performed "according to ship's custom."

Nov. 24. A star with a tail in the.....25. The tailed star was again seen about 4 o'clock, just before day.

Dec. 9. This morning, at 3 o'clock, the tailed star was again seen very distinctly, the tail was more than four degrees in length. 13. Whites and blacks, slaves and freemen, are daily dying of a certain complaint in the chest, after two or three days' illness. The tailed star was no longer seen.

27. One of the banished Maccassar Princes, was this day buried.....and soon after the Sousuqua and Hinouqua Hottentot Captain, Dorha, called by us Claas, who in consequence of a severe sickness in his country .....annoyed.....bitterly complains,.....attacked by the Ubiquas, who had recently driven off the cattle of three of the kraals subject to him.

28. Resolution of Council. In presence of all the members, excepting Mr. Cornelis Linnes, *Assumptis*, *Scipio*, *Schagger*, *Cuyper*, *Couchouma*, *Hannibal*, *Begou*, &c., all Hottentot Captains, *Ghabokakama*, a Hottentot Captain, having complained to the meeting, that a certain female Hottentot, named *Keas*, born in the kraal of *Kouchason*, had, after the death of her first husband, who was a subject of Captain *Khomaske*, become subject to him, and married one of his subjects; and that, after the death of this, her second husband, she had gone to the *Sounqua* Hottentots, to the kraal of Captain *Kees*, whence she had, about a month ago, returned to him, *Ghabokakama*, and that she was pursued by Captain *Kees* and some of his men for the purpose of obliging her to return; that she, not being disposed to do so, and *Ynque*, his (*Ghabokakama*'s) son, wishing to defend her, and protect her against annoyance, was shot through the body with an arrow discharged by one of Captain *Kees*' people, so that he instantly died of the wound.

Whereupon the said Captain *Kees* having been heard, and having voluntarily admitted the truth of this statement, it was unanimously resolved, after ripe deliberation, and consideration of all the circumstances, in order betimes to prevent all the disputes and bloodshed which might result from their mutual misunderstandings and festering disputes, to reconcile the parties, and to remove all discontent by allaying their feelings of anger and revenge, provided that the said *Kees* and the Hottentots subject to him, pay to *Ghabokakama*, as an atonement and fine (*soen en afkoop*) for the blood of his son, ten head of horned cattle, and 100 sheep, as soon as they shall have returned to their hut or kraal; both parties declaring themselves thus fully satisfied.

And should it happen that he, *Kees*, does not comply with what is here specified, but be bold enough to proceed in his former course of conduct, and to resort to his late irregularities, it is resolved and agreed that the Hottentot Captains *Scipio*, *Schagger*, *Cuyper*, *Couchouma*, *Hannibal*, *Begou*, &c., assisted by the Company, shall attack him in conjunction, and rigorously punish him as an example to others. Thus resolved in the Castle the Good Hope, day and year as above, S. van der Stell, Ands. de Man, S. L. Paell, Jacob Roosten, L. van der Stell, J. G. Bleim. The mark of Captain *Scipio*, x; this is the writing of Captain *Massinissa* x; this is the mark of Captain *Cuyper* x; the handwriting of Captain *Couchason* x; this is the mark of Captain *Hannibal* x; this is the handwriting of Captain *Begou* x. In my presence, S. de Grevenbroek, Secretary.

### Extracts of Despatches from Commander Simon van der Stell and Council to the Chamber XVII.

1690, May 24. The galiot de *Noord* sailed from Table Bay on the 28th of last October, intending according to verbal, as well as written instructions—a copy of the latter being herewith transmitted—to proceed first to False Bay to be hove down and cleaned, and thence to sail for the Bay of Natal. But meeting with severe S.E. winds, they put into Saldanha Bay on the 30th, and, after having been there cleaned, sailed on the 12th of November, and on the 4th December arrived before the Bay of Natal, which she safely entered on the following day, and

1689. Dec. 29. The instruction issued to the first district magistracy, now established at Stellenbosch, authorised their board to settle *de plano*, and without formal process, petty disputes and questions of debt to the amount of 50 Rds. The object of the Landdrost being made President of the Court was, that he might watch over the interests of the Company. The board were to assess and tax the inhabitants for repair of roads and bridges. To keep a book of titles to land, which were not to be sold without the previous knowledge of Landdrost and Heemraden, or transferred except before the Secretary of the Council and Commissioners, with consent of the Commander. The 4th article declared it to be the duty of the board to see that "freemen, who from their dissolute habits, did not fulfil the objects of their being settled in the Colony, should not be suffered to remain there, but be sent to Fatherland by order of the Governor and Council." The object of directing an exact list of the freemen to be kept, was to prevent all smuggling, evil practices, and evasions, by which criminals or spies might escape detection. The board were to take care that every farmer planted annually, at least, 100 oaks round his corn land, &c.

after embarking the residue of the crew of the *Stavenisse*,<sup>(1)</sup> and solemnly purchasing that bay, with some surrounding land, from the king and chiefs of those parts, for some merchandize, consisting of copper, arm and neck rings, and other articles, upon behalf of the honorable Company, whose marks were set up in various places <sup>(2)</sup> (*der selver wapen in verscheide plaatsen opgerecht*.) and proper attention having been paid to every thing, they sailed on the 11th Jan. following, and four days after, put into the so-called Bay De la Goa (Algoa), without anchoring, however, but keeping under sail; it was no bay, but only a bight, quite open to the sea, having three or four visible rocks in the middle, and fully as many in its entrance.

Having on the day following, the 16th, towards the afternoon, left the bight De la Goa, with a stiff topsail breeze from the eastward, steering W. by S., and in the evening, in order to keep clear of all danger, W.S.W.; after running, according to their reckoning, 14 *milen* from the west point of De la Goa, in the 3d glass of the first watch, or between 9 and 10 o'clock at night, the wind as before. . . . they run almost high and dry, on a rocky reef extending about  $\frac{1}{4}$  *myl* from the main land, although the mate, C. Hermans, who had charge of the watch, knew the coast, and was the person who had made a chart of it.

The galiot being instantly bilged by the high surf, and the hold being full of water, they managed, an hour after, when the tide was out, to save themselves by getting, dry-footed, along the rocks to the shore. The next day they returned to the wreck, out of which they took some arms, ammunition, and provisions, and three days after, blew her up.

They staid together, on the beach, until the 23d of January, searching about in vain in every direction for inhabitants and for food; and then determined, before the food was quite exhausted, to set out for the Cape.

They were in all 18 men, and after travelling in company for some days, without meeting a single man, they divided into two, and finally into three parties; and at length, on the 27th of March, four of them arrived here in a miserable condition, having been stripped and ill-treated by the *Cauwers* Hottentots, who live by plunder.

Every exertion has already been made for the rescue of the remaining persons of the crew, and no pains shall be spared to procure some information about them, and to bring them hither. It is very surprising that nothing whatever can be heard of them in a country so close to the Cape, through which we have frequently travelled; to avoid prolixity, however, we beg to refer to the annexed narrative <sup>(3)</sup>

1690. June 12. The French refugees landed here with your concurrence, who, including women and children, somewhat exceed 150 in number, are partly settled in the Cape District, and partly at Stellenbosch, but chiefly at Drakenstein, where they are earning their subsistence by agriculture, and as they best can. It has been our object to mix them with our own countrymen, so that each may acquire from the other some useful agricultural knowledge; with the same view we have thought it right to have divine service performed for them, as well as for the Dutch at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, on alternate Sundays.<sup>(4)</sup> We have, according to your orders, assisted them as far as our poor means will go, and there seems to be a prospect of the greater part of them being

(1) In the Parl. Papers (Part II, p. 95,) "Here the remainder of the crew of the wrecked vessel *Star* was landed." Parl.

(2) "Troops were stationed at different places." (*Ib.*)

(3) Among a variety of other curious narratives likely to afford a correct knowledge of the early state of the more easterly tribes of Hottentots, the paper here alluded to is not to be found in the colonial office.

On the 17th June, 1691, the Directors advert to the loss of the *Noord*, without taking any notice of the purchase of Natal. "The galiot appears to have been shamefully thrown away; had the lead been used, and other precautions been adopted, the loss would, no doubt, have been avoided. The Fiscal would have had his action on the subject, had not the master and the mate and the men saved, had such a miserable journey, and had not so many of them so unfortunately lost their lives." In the same letter the Directors find fault with the high rates charged against the French and other Colonists for farming implements; and it was directed, that all necessary materials should be sold at prime cost to French and Dutch without distinction, without any profit to the Company; "your charging them 15 guilders for a fathom of old rope, wanted to train their vines, is a thing unheard of."

(4) This policy was approved (Dec. 17), and schoolmasters capable of teaching both languages were promised, "above all to teach the children of French parentage to read and understand Dutch, and thus to incorporate them with our nation."

☞ [Among the Journals included in the inventories of the Records in the Colonial Office, taken on the capitulation of the Colony in 1795, and its cession to Holland in 1803, those of the years 1688, 90, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, are wanting, and have been in vain advertised for in the "Government Gazette" of the 29th March, 1839. As they must contain very material information upon several important points, it is not intended to proceed any further with the publication of this portion of the Records until an endeavour has been made to supply these and some other deficiencies by application to the proper authorities in Holland and Batavia.]

# THE RECORD;

OR,

A SERIES OF OFFICIAL PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE CONDITION AND TREATMENT  
OF THE  
NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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PART III. 1769—1795.]

[No. 1. 1769—1774.

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1769. Nov. 14. Extract of Resolution of Council, 14th November 1769.

. . . . And considering that, for several years back, many inhabitants, as well of the Swellendam District as of Stellenbosch, in order to procure a better subsistence for their families, <sup>(1)</sup> have settled themselves upon farms situated beyond the limits, which by the Resolution of 31st August 1745 were specified for the Jurisdiction of the respective Landdrosts, whereby disputes have frequently arisen betwixt said officers as to their Jurisdiction; It is, therefore, thought best, upon the proposition of the Governor, in order to obviate such disputes, to cause a more exact line of division to be made by the said Landdrosts, assisted by two Heemraden and the Secretary of each District.

While, at the same time, they shall be required particularly to take into consideration, if among the said newly established cattle farms, there may also be some, the occupation of which, in consequence of their too remote position, might be deemed to be inexpedient.

Regarding both which subjects, they shall render a proper report in writing, in order that the Council may, thereupon, come to such Resolution as may be deemed most advantageous for the said Colonies.

In the Castle the Good Hope, day and year aforesaid.

R. TULBAGH,  
P. HACKER, &c.

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1770. Feb. 7. Report of Landdrosts and Commissioned Heemraden of Stellenbosch and Swellendam.

HONORABLE SIR,—

The Undersigned, Landdrosts of the Districts of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, as also of Swellendam, assisted by Heemraden commissioned out of their respective Courts, and by their Secretaries, in pursuance of your Excellency's respected order for fixing the Boundaries, which, in consequence of the increased extent and population of both Districts, were still undetermined, proceeded in company from Hex River on the 4th of December 1769, travelling inland along the range of mountains called Swarte Berg,—behind which, on the Southern portion of this mountain, the Colonists reside who belong to the Swellendam district,—and first visited and inquired of them concerning a road, by which it was maintained, by the second undersigned, that the Inhabitants of the Leeuwen River, the Swarte Berg, and that vicinity, could easily come to Swellendam, and might accordingly be incorporated with that District; having first proceeded to inquire as to a certain road said to pass through the Swarte Berg, where the Buffel and Leeuwen Rivers unite, and are said to discharge themselves into the Gauritz—the first undersigned, with his Heemraden, offered to the second undersigned to examine the same on horseback—but the fifth undersigned stating that no road could be made by which an inhabitant, with a loaded wagon, could travel, but merely a track frequented only by hawkers, as he had learnt from the farmer H. Swanepoel, who had passed that way to the Roggeveld, with tobacco and brandy,—the undersigned directed their course towards the Oliphants River, and on the 16th arrived at a certain great valley, lying along the Swarte Berg, betwixt the sources of the Oliphants and Gamtous Rivers,—when the first undersigned repeated his offer to the second undersigned to proceed on horseback to inspect the Oliphants River, which passes through the mountains, about a day's journey from that place; but the conversation previously <sup>(2)</sup> . . . . used, or, in consequence of the badness of the

(1) See Despatches to Holland, 1st March 1779, and 19th April 1786.

(2) There is here a hiatus in the MS. from decay, for the detached words of which see Dutch Edition.

road, had encountered the danger of being overturned, and therefore the inhabitants residing there rather than use such a road—that their wagons and cattle might be kept in order—would rather take a circuit of about four days' journey than see them exposed to casualties by such a troublesome and dangerous road; furthermore, it was the same thing under whose jurisdiction they resided, as they were subject to the same supreme government.

Having seriously deliberated upon these points, the following agreement was concluded under the favorable approbation of your Excellency, to wit:—

That the Swarte Berg, as far as the said valley, which commences at the Touws Mountains, and therefore must be considered part of the so-called *Straat*, stretching E.N.E., as far as the eye could reach, from the said valley, should form a permanent boundary between the two districts. Thus the inhabitants of Leeuwen River, together with those residing on this or the Northern side of the mountain, including also the farms lying within the mountains, of Daniel Malan, Johannes Jurgen de Beer, A. Oberholzer, B. Liebenberg, G. R. Opperman, P. Erasmus, David Malan, C. Liebenberg, D. Rossouw, D.'s son, and W. Meyburg, shall belong to Stellenbosch; and on the other hand, the farms lying South of the said mountain, to Swellendam,—having ridden to this place from the Hex River, along a level road, keeping generally an E.S.E. course, in 78 hours.

After the boundary was thus fixed, the undersigned changed their course, and travelled N.E., to the western angle of the Camdeboo mountains, in 28 hours, which mountains they reached on the morning of the 19th; and on the 21st, having set out in an easterly direction, they arrived on the same evening, after ten hours' travelling, at the furthest place inhabited there, being that of the burgher Rudolph Godliep Opperman, named the Uytkomst; having left this place on the 22d; our course being S.E., after travelling 33 hours, we reached the first sprout of the Fish River. On the 24th, in the evening, two Hottentots came to the undersigned, who, on being asked if they were going to the Kafirs to barter cattle, and on their answering yes, they promised also to go with [us] and show the way, as they intended the next . . . (*here occurs another blank*) by the undersigned

recently no  
Kafirs cattle to r were

upon which came rden of yes, and they two years ago, adding, further, that there were three Europeans with the wagons, who had also encamped upon the spot where the undersigned lay, and had also bartered from the Kafirs about as many cattle as the undersigned had with them; the undersigned further asked them whether any of the Camdeboo people, who accompanied us as guides, had been then present, and if they also knew one of them; but after answering no—upon getting sight of the farmer Jacob Joubert, they said, that they knew that master (baas), who had been with the said cattle barterers: on which it was replied, by the second undersigned, “we know that, for that man (denoting said Joubert) had permission.”

On the 29th, the conversation turning upon the proximity of the Kafirs, (1) and it having been said by Joubert that they lay a day's journey thence, it was resolved, in order to inquire into that point, to send said Joubert with three other men in that direction, who having travelled seven hours on horseback and one hour on foot, besides, the said Joubert pointed out some dung of horses as well as of cattle, saying that they were those of the Kafirs—which, however, may have been traces of hawkers who had been there in former times; that after firing a shot, and making a fire, without any of that people making their appearance, they returned, the fifth undersigned having, upon their return, said, “I thought so, for the Kafirs, although they have spread out of their own country, lie still fully two days' journey from this.”

After which, upon the first day of January of this year, a Hottentot named Samson, with some more of his tribe, having come to us, the undersigned interrogated him, through some of the Hottentots of our party, who could speak the language, where the so-called Captain Ruyter (2) lay, and whether he had removed from his place, on which we received for answer, no; that he still lay upon his old place; and, further, upon the question whether the Kafirs lay near this place, they replied, that when the undersigned should get into the beaten wagon road they would still be two days travelling with the wagon distant from Ruyter, who lay close to the Kafirs, which people, according to their pointing out, lay to the S.E. of us, so that the statement of Joubert that the Kafirs had moved northwards, and thus were nearer to this place, appears to be false.

Having further prosecuted our journey, along a difficult road, the undersigned, on the 2d

(1) See Sept. 30, 1689. July 10, 1737. July 31, 1752. Dec. 21, 1755. Dec. 18, 1779. Aug. 5, 1789, and Nov. 27, 1793.

(2) See April 1764. Sparrman, 1775. Collins' Report, 1809.

reached a road which had been formerly used, coming from the District of Swellendam, and leading to the so-called Hermanus kraal, and consequently eastward to the abodes of the Kafirs, which Kafirs lay about two short days' journey from this place; the undersigned having travelled from the first branch of the Fish River hither, in thirty hours, holding a course S. by W., at which place several Hottentots, of whom two spoke good Dutch, came to us, who on being asked by us whence they came, the undersigned received for answer, that they came from Capt. Ruyter, and that they had bartered from him 9 cattle to be used as pack-oxen, on which the undersigned further asking, what they had paid for those cattle, they stated that they had bartered for them, some iron, copper, and beads, adding, upon being asked where their cattle were, that they were close by, but that their proper place of abode was on the upper part of Oliphants River, in which direction they proceeded, the undersigned not having seen, however, the cattle in question.

After which again decamping, we took up our quarters, on the night of the 4th, at the Coucha, after passing the Sondags River, which falls into the sea about six hours to the E. S. E., reckoning from the ford.

At the Coucha we found a great quantity of cattle dung, also the remains of a straw hut which had stood there, this we were subsequently informed—by three men named D. J. van der Merwe, Hendrik Freyne, and Jochim Koekemoer, whom we sent on to the burgher Jacob Kok, for fresh oxen—had been occupied by the burgher Andries Dreyer, who had lain there for some time, with a herd of cattle, as they had been told by the Hottentots who had charge at Loerie River, of the cattle of the former burgher Senator S. Jacob van Reenen.

Having passed the Zwartkops and Van Stadens Rivers, our course from the Bosjesmans River to this having been West, we rode N. W. to the Gamtous River,—but out-spanning at the so-called Galgenbosch, over the Van Stadens River, we found there also, a great quantity of dung, some of which had long lain there, and some had been deposited by a herd of cattle about four days previously, which herd, as it further appeared from some straw huts still partially standing, had lain there for a considerable time together, upon the first undersigned asking his Heemraden, who might have lain here, the second undersigned stated that the cattle were Kok's, who was found with his cattle about an hour's distance off.

Having also passed the Loerie River, the undersigned fell in with a herd of cattle grazing, belonging to said Van Reenen, and reported to be about four hundred in number, after which having outspanned near the ford of Gamtous River, close to the kraal of the Hottentot Capt. Kees, and of a certain Hottentot named Joris, with his people and cattle, the said Kees came with some other Hottentots to pay their respects to the undersigned, which Joris, who, as is before said, lay in the same kraal with Kees, the second undersigned ordered to decamp with his cattle, and return to his old place, as he had too many cattle, and thus injured the pasture of the inhabitants.

The undersigned again discovered much cattle dung near their encampment, which they learnt was that of the cattle of the farmer Jacobus Schepers, who had lain there some years before.

Having pursued our journey S. W. to the residence of the said J. Kok, upon the Great Seekoe River, the undersigned arrived there the same evening, having travelled from the above mentioned road leading to the Kafirs, to Gamtous River W., and then to the Gamtous River N. W., while, for the further elucidation of our observations, it must be stated, that the Koucha lies twenty-one hours, the Galgenbosch 7 hours, and the Loerie River four hours, from the Gamtous River.

The undersigned now, in respectfully submitting to your Excellency their considerations with respect to the so-named Camdeboo Mountains, take the liberty to state that if, as is before said, the boundary is formed by the Swarte Berg, and that those residing to the North appertain to Stellenbosch, therefore the undersigned are of opinion, under approbation of your Excellency, that if the inhabitants of Swarte Berg, in consequence of the difficulty of the passes leading to Swellendam, must belong to the Stellenbosch District, so much the more must the inhabitants of that more distant range be therein comprised, and thus should be incorporated with Stellenbosch.

While with regard to the question concerning the farms so situated, whether the same may be continued in loan, with safety and to the advantage of the Honorable Company, and also whether more farms may be given out in loan there, the undersigned must submit, with all respect, that as there is there no road leading to Kafirland, by means of which any illicit traffic by bartering cattle can be carried on, and on the other hand, as in those countries, there are no other inhabitants than wild Bushmen and Hottentots <sup>(1)</sup>, who possess no cattle, and who must subsist solely by the game

(1) See April 28, 1655—Examinations of Hottentot Chiefs, 1701, and early papers *passim* for the distinct habits of the tribes called successively Sonquas, Ubiquas, Makrykas, Bosiemans, Bosjesmans, and Bushmen.

in the fields, and therefore on that side also no evil is to be apprehended,—the undersigned are therefore of opinion, that the farms already there, should not only remain on loan, but even, should such be your Excellency's pleasure, still more farms might be given out along the Bosjesmans Mountains to the eastward, as far as a certain Height, lying between the Bley River, being the last or most easterly branch of the Sondags River, and the first branch of the Fish River—named by us De Bruyns Hoogte—for it is true, that if the farms now lying in Camdeboo could remain as they now are, it would be, indeed, better; but as the country thereabouts is a more profitable tract, and rich in grass, it is to be apprehended that the occupiers of those farms would avail themselves of the opportunity, and take their *trek* farms there,—from which the Honorable Company would not derive any the least income; but, if as has been said, farms were given out as far as the so named Hoogte, the Honorable Company would then receive the stipulated loan rent, and thus, at the same time, a fixed boundary could be agreed upon, on this side.

The first, third, and fourth undersigned maintaining that the extension to the so-called De Bruyns Hoogte, would correspond in distance with the Gamtous River, and accordingly, the farms which may be given out there must not be considered as more distant than the loan farms at present granted upon the Gamtous River.

Trusting that we have thus complied with the respected intention of your Excellency, we submit this as our humble Report.

Stellenbosch, 7th February 1770.

L. S. FABER,  
J. F. MENTZ,  
M. MELCK,  
J. B. HOFFMAN,  
N. DE BRUYN.

### To the Honorable RYK TULBAGH, &c., Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

HONORABLE SIR,—

The undersigned, together with Landdrost and Heemraden of the District of Stellenbosch, in compliance with your respected order, departed from the farm of Daniel Hugo, lying on the further side of the Hex River, holding generally an E.S.E. course—along a range of mountains called the Swarte Berg, and which range is intersected at two different points, namely, the kloof where the Buffalo River, which takes its source in the Roggeveld, and that of the Oliphants River, which kloofs may be used as a wagon road, also that both rivers chiefly form the Gouritz River—came to a valley called the Groote Valley, being a branch of the Gamtous River, in seventy-nine hours.

Having, then, minutely inspected the situation of the range of mountains, and considered all that would tend to the advantage and profit of the inhabitants, the undersigned are of opinion, under the wise approval of your Excellency, that the Swartenberg, as far as to the Groote Valley, may serve as a fixed boundary between the Colonies on both sides; namely, all that lies to the North and beyond the Mountains may belong to the District of Stellenbosch, and all to the South, to Swellendam.

The undersigned cannot omit to inform your Excellency of their further journey. That they travelled thence, through a desert and uninhabitable country, to the Camdeboo, and along the Camdeboo Mountains to the last farm of the Heemraad Mr. Hendrick Kloete, lying on the Swarte River; (which was the farm of the burgher Wagenaar, who recently perished by accident)—in forty-two and a half hours; the Swarte River being a branch of the Sondags River, and thence to the Fish River—along the Camdeboo Mountains, which extend, although under another name, of Bosjesmans Mountains, to the Fish River—in twenty-eight hours, with a course S.E. and S.E. by S., thence transversely (*dwars*) across the desert country in twenty-five hours,—the course as above, S.E. and S. by W., when we came into a wagon-road, which was unbeaten, and had, indeed, been used by travellers in former times, having then Kafirland to the East behind us, and thence to the Gamtous River,—in forty-two hours, the courses W.N.W. and W., having seen the coast in the distance: and thence to Swellendam in ninety-one hours;—courses as before, W. and W.N.W.

Thinking thus to have fulfilled our duty, we submit this as our humble report. <sup>(1)</sup>

NIC. DE BRUYN,  
HERMANUS STEYN.

<sup>(1)</sup> This paper bears original signatures, and as it was found at Swellendam, and is not dated, it would appear that it was not forwarded to Cape Town. No copy of either report is to be found in the Colonial Office.

## 1770. FEB. 13. Extract of Resolution of Council.

The Landdrost of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, Lucas Sigismundus Faber, together with the Landdrost of Swellendam, Joachim Frederick Mentz, having, with the assistance of two Heemraden, and the Secretary of each district, executed the duty which was required of them, by the Resolution of the 14th November, of last year, with regard to arranging a more exact boundary between the two Districts, as also with regard to the inquiry, about the most remote farms, and those officers having delivered to the Governor a detailed Report of their journey referring to those points, and what further they had discovered, which was now produced to the Council, it was therefore, after reading of the said Report, thought proper and resolved.

That according to the arrangement made by the said Commission, subject to the approbation of this Council, the Swarteberg, which rises out of the Touws Mountains, and therefore must be considered to be a part of the so-called *Straat* extending to the East North East, as far as can be seen with the eye, from the Great Valley situated between the sources of the Oliphants and Gamtous Rivers, shall be a fixed line of boundary, so that the farms lying on the Leeuwen Rivier, as well as on this, or the northernmost part of the mountains, including the farms, situated among the mountains, of the farmers D. Malan, J. J. de Beer, A. Oberholzer, B. Liebenberg, G. R. Opperman, P. Erasmus, D. Malan, C. Liebenberg, D. Rossouw, Dz., W. Myberg, shall appertain to Stellenbosch; and on the other hand, those to the South of the said mountains, to Swellendam.

That, on account of the considerations contained in said report, the inhabitants residing in the said Camdeboo shall also be under the jurisdiction of the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, and further, that as many farms shall be given out in the said Camdeboo country, and particularly along the Bushman mountains, lying to the East as far as De Bruin's Hoogte, as can be there conveniently depastured, upon which point the Governor was pleased to intimate, that as His Excellency did not deem it proper that the said farms should be granted to any but respectable persons of good name and repute, in order, as far as possible, to prevent all irregularities upon the said remote farms, His Excellency would give the directions necessary to the attainment of that object.

And as it has further appeared, by said report, to the especial displeasure of the Council, that the aforesaid Commission, on their way from the Fish to the Gamtous River, met several persons grazing considerable herds of cattle, according to their own pleasure, and without possessing there, or thereabouts, farms in loan from the Company; while others did not scruple to wander about with their cattle, hither and thither, several days' journey from their loan farms;—it was accordingly taken into consideration that the same not only tends to the evident injury of the Honorable Company, with reference to the income derived from the rents of cattle farms, but that it must be concluded, beyond doubt, that such covetous conduct is chiefly practised in order to enable them more conveniently to carry on an illicit traffic in the bartering of cattle, whether with the Hottentots residing thereabouts, or with the so-called Kafirs, as—among other appearances noticed by the said Commission—sufficiently appears from their having found a beaten wagon road leading out of the Swellendam District to the residence of the Kafirs; and this all, notwithstanding that the said cattle barter has been from time to time prohibited, on pain of bodily and capital punishment, especially by the proclamation, still in force, of the 8th December 1739.

It is, therefore, in order, as far as possible, to provide against this evil, and if possible at once to eradicate the same, deemed most advisable, and consequently resolved—

That henceforth no more cattle farms shall be granted on loan beyond Gamtous River, wherefore the Landdrost of Swellendam, on finding that any one may have there settled himself, shall cause such person to be forthwith removed thence: And further, that the Landdrosts of both Districts, in particular of Swellendam, in which District the said irregularities have, as above stated, been found to be more especially prevalent, shall watch with the utmost vigilance, that no one whomsoever shall depasture his cattle elsewhere than on his own loan farm or farms, much less wander with them hither and thither; or on any other pretext, proceed from his place of residence far into the interior; and upon detection of any person so acting, all the cattle kept in the said prohibited manner shall be forthwith confiscated for behoof of the Company.

On pain, likewise, that in case they, the Landdrosts, shall have shown any the slightest connivance, in one way or other, or that, having learnt that any barter of cattle, how trifling soever, has been by any one carried on with the Hottentots or Kafirs, they do not prosecute the offenders according to law, in the most rigorous manner, they shall, *de facto*, cease to hold such their office, and as faithless servants, forgetful of their honor and their oaths, be declared incapable of ever

again serving the Company ; and it is lastly resolved, that—amplified by the orders now framed—the proclamation of 8th December 1739 shall be again renewed.

In the Castle the Good Hope, day and year aforesaid.

R. TULBAGH,  
J. v. PLETTENBERG,  
(And eight others.)

1770. APRIL 26. Proclamation—RYK TULBAGH, Councillor Ordinary of Netherlands India, and Governor of Cape the Good Hope, with its Dependencies, makes known,

That it has appeared to us, from the Report rendered by the respective Landdrosts and Heemraden, who were recently commissioned to regulate the boundaries betwixt both the Districts of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and that of Swellendam, among other matters, to our especial offence, that divers persons were met by said Commission, during their journey from the Fish to the Gamtous River, who were there grazing considerable herds of cattle, according to their own pleasure, and without possessing thereabouts a farm or farms, on loan from the hon. Company ; as also that others did not scruple to wander about with their cattle, hither and thither, whole days' journies from their loan farms, which avarieious proceeding not only tends to the palpable prejudice of the revenue of the Company, in the rents derived from loan farms,—but over and above, as it may be almost indubitably concluded, is chiefly practised in order thus to afford the better opportunity of carrying on an illicit traffic in the barter of cattle, whether it be with the Hottentots residing thereabouts or even with the so-named Kafirs, as—besides other appearances presented to the Commission—a sufficiently beaten wagon road was found, leading out of the District of Swellendam to the residence of the Kafirs, and all this notwithstanding that the said cattle barter has been from time to time prohibited, on pain of corporal and capital punishment, and especially by the Proclamation of 8th December 1739.

We therefore, in order as far as possible to provide against this evil, and if possible at once to strike at its root, have deemed it necessary, and accordingly resolved, by these presents, to order and direct,

That henceforward no one shall be at liberty to settle beyond the Gamtous River ; wherefore the Landdrost of Swellendam shall forthwith cause to be dislodged such persons as may have attempted the same, contrary to this our order.

That furthermore the Landdrosts of both districts, to wit as well of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, as of Swellendam, shall watch with the utmost vigilance, that no one whomsoever shall depasture his cattle elsewhere than upon the loan farm or farms in his possession, still less wander about with the same : or, on any pretext whatsoever, quit his place of residence, to proceed far into the interior, upon pain, upon discovery, of the immediate forfeiture, for the behoof of the Honorable Company, of all cattle kept in the unauthorised manner aforesaid, on pain further, of our highest displeasure, in case they, the Landdrosts, show any, the least, connivance in this respect.

Furthermore all and every of these inhabitants whomsoever are—by renovation of the said Proclamation of date 8th Dec. 1739 by us enacted—expressly forbidden and interdicted, by these presents, that no one shall henceforth presume any longer to prosecute any the least cattle barter with the Hottentots or Kafirs, however trifling in amount the same may be, nor to proceed in person for that purpose, with wagons and merchandise into the interior, neither to employ any other person, on pain, if detected after this date, even although they may have bartered the cattle in friendship, and without violence, but so much the more when trouble may have been caused to the said Hottentots or Kafirs, besides the confiscation of their own property taken with them, as also of the cattle bartered, wagons and merchandise, shall, as disturbers of the public peace, and violators of Law and Liberty, without any connivance, be arbitrarily punished upon the body, aye, even with Death ; for which purpose, and in order that the contraveners in these respects may thus be the better detected, we expressly qualify and direct all overseers of the Company's Outposts, that whenever they shall learn that any one has incurred guilt herein, they shall, as far as lies in their power, inquire into the same, and bring to our knowledge the result of said inquiries ; and, further, that they shall detain all such persons as may come near their Posts, and of whom

they can apprehend that they may be of intention, either in person, or with wagons and goods to go out to barter cattle, and to deliver them into the hands of justice, in order, as aforesaid, that they may, according to circumstances, be punished on the body, eye—even with Death. Directing further the independent Fiscal, and the respective Landdrosts of this Government, to inform themselves of the transgressors against these regulations, and to proceed against the same without connivance or dissimulation, according to law.

And that no one may be enabled to pretend ignorance of this, we order and desire that this shall not only be published at the usual place, here in the Castle, but also in the Districts of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and Swellendam, and every where affixed, as we have found the same to be for the service of the Company, and the welfare of this Government.

(L.S.) By order of the Honorable the Governor and Council.

Thus done, appointed, and renewed, in the Castle the Good Hope, 13th February 1770, and published the 26th April following.

R. TULBAGH.

1770. MAY 22. Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor TULBAGH, &c.

HONORABLE SIR,—

The burgher Petrus du Buisson, of the District of Stellenbosch, who stands indebted for four years' arrears of rent, upon a farm taken by him from the Company, in loan, and named Sand Fonteyn, situate beyond the Bushmans Rivier, having been recently devoured by wild animals, in the Nieuweveld, the said place remains in his name, &c. &c. And said Buisson, as far as is known, has left no property sufficient to pay the arrears.

(Signed)

F. MENTZ.

1770. JUNE 5. Extract of a letter from Governor TULBAGH to the Landdrost of Swellendam.

GOOD FRIEND,—

With respect to the grazing farm at Sand Fontein, beyond the Bosjesman River, (which the late farmer Petrus du Buisson, Js., held in loan from the Company) referred to in your letter of the 22d of May last, there was produced to me, a considerable time back, a written declaration, emitted by his mother, the widow Jan du Buisson, according to which, P. du Buisson had merely depastured the place for a few months; I have, therefore, upon the application of the farmer J. P. du Preez, again granted the same, in loan <sup>(1)</sup>, to him, you will accordingly inquire whether the written statement of the widow du Buisson is agreeable to the truth, giving me due intimation of the result . . . .

In the Castle the Good Hope, 5th June 1770.

1770. JULY 4. Copy of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Governor TULBAGH.

HONORABLE SIR,—

Having received information from Adriaan van Jarsveld, the field corporal beyond Salt River, behind the Coup, by letter of the 17th April <sup>(2)</sup> *hujus anni*, that, as the Hottentots, residing thereabouts, had robbed the farmer Casper Schols of thirty-four cattle, he, Van Jarsveld, thereupon went out with a commando, when, those Hottentots being overtaken, they had come to a fight with

(1) For one of the modes of procuring sanction to the occupation of lands eastward of Gamtous River, notwithstanding the recent Proclamation, see Sparrman's Account, in 1775, of the farm of G. Schepers—the present site of Uitenhage—and Landdrost Bresler's Report on the same farm, January 19, 1798.

(2) The original report has not as yet been found at Stellenbosch.

them, in which rencontre they shot six of that tribe, and recaptured—though slaughtered—all the plundered cattle—the remaining Hottentots being found lying near the cattle of another farmer, David van Heerden, they were there taken prisoners, excepting two, who, as they would not surrender, were then shot. I have thus the honor to report this event <sup>(1)</sup> to your Excellency; as also, that on the 2d instant, there was brought to the prison here, a certain Hottentot named Jantje, belonging to the wagon of the farmer Schoester, who, when drunk, beat his brother to death, near the height of Simon's valley; and having then himself made report of the circumstance, and as, upon search, the *corpus delicti* was there found, he is now sent in custody to the Cape, and I respectfully request that he may therefore be confined by the public gaoler.

Stellenbosc, 4th July 1770.

L. S. FABER.

1770. Nov. 6. Copy of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Governor  
TULBAGH.

HONORABLE SIR,—

As the burgher Frans Willem Timmerman, stationed as servant of the Heemraad Jan Bernard Hoffman, upon his farm beyond the mountains, when travelling with two wagons, from the resting-place below Hottentots' Holland, to the residence of said Hoffman, struck a slave of said Hoffman, named Fortuyn of Timor, accidentally (as he pretends) upon the head, with the butt-end of a whip stick, in such manner that the slave soon after died; I have, therefore, the honor, as in duty bound, thus to report the same to your Excellency; as also, that according to communications <sup>(2)</sup> received from the field corporals stationed beyond Salt River, behind the Coup, in the Bokkeveld, beyond the Doorn River, in the Nieuweveld, behind the Roggevelds Berg, and behind the Roggeveld beyond the Salt River,—the Bosjesmans Hottentots have again carried off some herds of cattle, aye—even killed with arrows, in said Nieuweveld, a slave of the farmer Barend Lubbe, who was attending the sheep, as also murdered another shepherd, a Hottentot, of the farmer Cornelis van Wyk, when attending the flock; while, at the same time, behind the Roggeveld, beyond Salt River, a hundred sheep of the farmer Willem van Zyl, being carried off by that tribe, and the herd also killed; the field corporals went on commando against those Hottentots—shot some of them, and recovered a portion of the stock.

L. S. FABER.

1771. Feb. 15. Copy of a Letter from Cape Government to the Landdrost of  
Swellendam.

GOOD FRIEND,—

As the following complaints have been this day preferred to me—

1. By the Hottentot Bastiaan, that ten cattle and a number of sheep had been taken away from him by one Joseph Vrey.
2. By the Hottentot Daniel, that he also had been deprived of some sheep, by Willem Nel, jr.
3. By the Hottentot Titus, that the farmer Pieter Nel withholds from him the wages due to him for ten years;—

I have, therefore, to direct you, with respect to said complaints, not only to make minute inquiry, but also, in particular, should they be found to be true, to take care that the cattle, taken from the two first-named, be forthwith restored, and that the wages due to the last-named, be *de facto* paid.

There have also been with me, for some time back, divers persons, residing in your District, requesting permission to fetch Salt, for their own consumption, out of the countries where it has been thought proper no longer to allow any one to settle; and as it has escaped me, whether, when you were here, I spoke with you upon the subject, you will be pleased speedily to inform me

<sup>(1)</sup> The Reports of July 4 and November 6 are entered at full in the journal kept in the Colonial Office for the year 1770, which volume contains no other notices relative to the subject. No rescript to those Reports has been found in the volume of "Letters Despatched."

<sup>(2)</sup> None of the Communications referred to have been found.

whether there are not to be found elsewhere, on this side, any other places whence the inhabitants can conveniently procure their necessary supplies of salt; and whether the same must, as a matter of necessity, be fetched from the said distant Districts,—and how this matter stands in other respects.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
15th Feb. 1771.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH,  
Member of Council and Secretary.

1771. MARCH 25. Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to  
Governor TULBAGH.

Your Excellency's highly respected letter, of the 15th February last, having been delivered to me on the 19th instant, by the Hottentot Cornelis, I have respectfully to state, in reply, that the inhabitants of this District, who reside on this side of the chain of mountains, and also in part those residing behind the Platte Kloof, and further inland in that direction, are almost always supplied with Salt from two Salt Valleys or Pans situated, one on the further side of Palmiet River, and the second, at Soetendaal's Valley, excepting during long-continued dry seasons, when the salt must be elsewhere purchased and conveyed hither; but as, since this District has become populous and extended, some of those who have their places of abode in Lange Kloof, upon the Oliphants River and Gamtous River, have gone to fetch salt from Swartkops River; but when the report became current, that under the pretence of fetching salt—such journies being also called *togets*—some trade was carried on with the natives, your Excellency was pleased, in order to remove every thing that could afford a pretext for that trade, to forbid any one from being permitted to fetch salt from the place above-mentioned.

Meanwhile your Excellency was graciously pleased to instruct me,—in the event of the same becoming matter of complaint before the Board of Heemraden here,—that the said Board might take the liberty of humbly submitting such complaint, by way of petition;—but no such complaint having been preferred, I beg leave, in all submission, to remark on the subject,—that it certainly falls hard upon the said more distant farmers to be obliged to carry home with them, from this quarter or elsewhere, the salt which is so necessary to their subsistence, particularly upon those who possess but one wagon, in which they must find room for it, independently of their butter, casks, and wife and children, who usually accompany them to the Cape; thus they may easily be induced to fetch their salt privately from said place, for which those who reside the furthest off have the best opportunity, and, as there is no general thoroughfare in that direction, are not easily to be detected; or, being detected, would immediately plead as an excuse, that they had been compelled to it by want, poverty, and the like;—this continuing, or supposing that the practice remains concealed, it is much to be apprehended, that the habit of travelling thither secretly would become confirmed, until, at length, they might resort to further transgressions: on the other hand, in my humble opinion, that evil would not be so much to be feared if the fetching salt from Swartkops River were permitted, as in that case, the road thither will be rarely unfrequented, and thus the one being afraid of the other, no illicit trade could well be carried on by any one, unless all were alike, and equally disposed to prosecute that unauthorised traffic—which, however, (viewing the matter on the most favorable side) is not to be expected; should it, however, happen, it could not remain concealed; the question may now be disposed of as your Excellency shall be pleased to direct.

With regard to the complaints made by the Hottentots against some farmers, the same have not as yet been inquired into, in consequence of the distance of the abode of said farmers. I shall, therefore, respectfully take the liberty of hereafter informing your Excellency how it is as to these complaints. (1)

Swellendam, 25th March 1771.

J. F. MENTZ.

1771. MAY 3. Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Governor  
TULBAGH.

. . . . And as the field corporal Adriaan van Jarsveld, beyond Soute River, behind the Coup, has made known by letter (2) that the Hottentots residing thereabouts had become so bold, that they had, on several farms, surrounded the dwellings by night, and tried to break into them,

(1) The result of the promised inquiry has not been ascertained.

(2) Not found.

without, however, having succeeded; accordingly, after they had murdered three of the people of Jacob Joubert, shot the outside of his (Joubert's) house full of arrows, and stolen from him 900 sheep, he, Van Jarsveld,—as the inhabitants, to preserve their lives and their stock, had been forced to fly thence,—traced up these Hottentots with a commando of thirty men, and then gave battle, when ninety-two of that tribe were killed; which I have accordingly the honor to report, &c. (1)

Stellenbosch, 5th May 1771.

L. S. FABER.

1771. OCT. 18. Extract of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to Government and Council, Cape of Good Hope.

. . . . We are, however, always disposed to give proofs of the satisfaction which we continually derive from the management of the affairs of your government; above all, in the direction of the Governor Ryk Tulbagh; and it is from this consideration, and on account of the peculiar reasons which militate in favor of the junior merchants Westarhoff and Henning, that we have granted to both those persons the title and rank of merchant . . . .

We have further considered what we might receive in return by that ship and packet; and as the Cape wheat, rye, barley, and also the wool, wine, brandy, hides, and tallow have first presented themselves to notice, we should not deem it inexpedient to send us a small quantity of the seven last articles, as a trial, and to make up the residue of the cargoes of that ship and packet with wheat; under the express condition, however, that the wheat be procured at reasonable prices, (2) and that you have a sufficient quantity on hand to enable you to comply with our requisition, after deducting what must be reserved for the consumption of India, and for the necessary provision for your own government. We have authorised the Chamber of Amsterdam to demand of you such quantity of the said articles of produce, as that Chamber shall deem proper, with limitation of the price, which at the utmost must be expended for said grain and other produce, holding ourselves assured that you will co-operate, to the best of your power, in purchasing those goods of the best quality and at the lowest prices, in order that we may thus be encouraged, for the benefit of the Cape Colony, to continue and extend a branch of commerce, of which we, indeed, in former years, more than once made trial, but which we were obliged to discontinue, partly because the quality of some of the articles did not answer our expectation, and partly because others were invoiced at such high prices, as to afford no profit upon being brought to sale here.

1772. JAN. 7. Extract of Records of Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam.

It was further thought proper to give the field corporals instructions, in writing, to keep a good watch upon those Hottentots wandering about in their respective wards, who are neither hired by any of the inhabitants, nor belong to one of the Hottentot kraals, in order, as much as possible, to prevent any injury being suffered by any of these inhabitants, through such wanderers.

J. F. MENTZ.

1772. JAN. 31. Copy of a letter from the Acting Governor PLETTENBERG, to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

GOOD FRIEND,

Two farms, named the *Ezels Fonteyn* and the *Lely Fonteyn*, both situate on the *Camies Berg*, were granted by me in loan, on the 5th October last year, to the farmer Hermanus Engelbrecht; I

(1) This is the only report on the subject which appears to have been transcribed into the Journal for the year 1771. No orders appear to have been issued by Government upon receipt of this report.

(2) For the policy of the Company in this respect, and its alleged effect upon the extension of the Colony, see Instructions of R. van Goens, 1657, Conditions with Emigrants, 1685, Correspondence, 1720 and 1730, Memorial of Colonists, 17th July 1784, and Report of Cape Government thereon, 1786.

have been subsequently informed that the use of one of those places was allowed, by the late Governor Tulbagh, to the farmer Dirk Coetzee, and that the Hottentot Captain Wildschut has lain with his kraal upon the other.

I have, therefore, thought fit to revoke the grant of those two loan farms, of which you thus receive the necessary intimation, with directions not only to take care that they are forthwith vacated by Engelbrecht, but also that the said Coetzee, as well as the Hottentot Captain Wildschut, with his kraal, continue respectively to enjoy the undisturbed use of those farms.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
31st January 1772.

By order, &c

O. M. BERCH.

1772. APRIL 10. Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to the Acting Governor VAN PLETTENBERG.

I have further to report that, according to information received from Jacob de Klerk <sup>(1)</sup>, field corporal in the Nieuweveld, behind the Roggevelds Berg, the Bosjesmans have carried off from the inhabitants of that quarter the undermentioned cattle, namely:—From said De Klerk, 14 cattle; Jan van Aswegen, 17; Jacobus Louw, 8; Arie van Wyk, 5; Pieter Jourdan, 4; Pieter Harmse, 22; Christoffel Smit, 10; Myndert Classen, 10; Johannes van Aarden, 9, and 119 sheep: also from Hendrik van Aswegen, 3 cattle and 400 sheep;—upon which he (De Klerk) overtook the body of the robbers, and shot fifty-one of them, without, however, having recovered any of the stolen cattle. <sup>(2)</sup>

Stellenbosch, 10th April 1772.

L. S. FABER.

1772. MAY 23. Copy of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Acting Governor VAN PLETTENBERG.

HONORABLE SIR,

According to information received from Willem van Wyk, field corporal in the further Roggeveld, I have respectfully to report, that the Hottentots in hire upon the farm of Adriaan Louw, to the number of nine, have deserted with four guns, and have shot the burgher Johan Hendrick Teutman, together with his wife and daughter, and have also taken with them, from that farm, two guns, with powder and lead,—the fugitives, whose number daily increases, and who are now provided with six guns, having also carried off and dragged with them 515 sheep, and their herds—a slave boy and a Hottentot; and as the field corporal further requests some hand grenades, with a person who knows how to manage them—to light, as also to throw them—as he has, with a commando, enclosed those Hottentots in a cavern in the rocks, and perceives no means of getting the better of them in any other manner, as they have blockaded the way by which they must be approached, with a stone fence, and thus safely fire with their guns upon the men; and (from private reports) have also the plundered cattle there with them. The undersigned has therefore the honor to submit that application to your Excellency; and as the undersigned has understood that the farmer Willem Hattingh, residing in the Roggeveld, leaves this place with his wagon to-morrow, for Cape Town, the undersigned thinks that a good opportunity—should your Excellency be pleased to accede to the request—to send the required assistance by Hattingh: it were to be wished that it may be of good effect, in order thus to smother in its birth, this murderous and rapacious band, and to stop them from the commission of further excesses, for otherwise the greatest mischiefs are to be apprehended, should the said Hottentots, united with the Bosjesmans, fall upon the inhabitants of that quarter, of whom three have already abandoned their farms.

Stellenbosch, 23d May 1772.

L. S. FABER.

(1) No original Report of De Klerk yet found.

(2) No mention of this Report, or—excepting the case of Teutman—of any other Report on the subject of the Natives, appears in the Colonial Office Journal for 1772.

1772. MAY 25. Copy of a letter from the Cape Government to Corporal WILLEM VAN WYK.

GOOD FRIEND,

Whereas report has been made to me by the Landdrost of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, Mr. Lucas Sigismundus Faber, that the Hottentots who resided upon the grazing farm of Adriaan Louw, and who have been guilty of murder and robbery, having been overtaken by you with a commando, are now kept enclosed, but cannot be driven out of their hiding-place, except by means of hand grenades, I have therefore thought fit to send to you, by the wagon of the farmer Andries Hattingh, the corporal Hendrick Buse, with five other grenadiers, from the garrison here, duly provided with hand grenades, in order to assist you in attacking and getting the better of the said murderous gang; and, as it appears to me, from the report of the Landdrost above-named, that the place where the said robbers are now lodged is somewhat inaccessible, I therefore direct you positively, that whenever the said Hottentots must be attacked with hand grenades, you shall assist the said Corporal Buse, with word and deed, in the most circumspect manner, so that the attack upon the robbers may take place with the prospect of a fortunate result, and without exposing the said soldiers in situations where they, without being able to injure their enemy, may themselves be in danger.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
25th May 1772.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH.

1772. JUNE 20. Extract of a Despatch from the Governor and Council to the Chamber XVII.

But as, from the indifferent issue of the last harvest, the price of grain has gradually risen in proportion, so that previous to the receipt of your respected despatch, (1) the inhabitants themselves paid for the load of ten muids of wheat Rds. 33; 4 guilders per muid for barley, and rye in proportion; and that the wine, partly from the reduced demand during the former year, and partly from the great consumption of that article by foreign vessels, has so risen in price, that the ordinary white wine now stands at 60 Rds. per *legger*,—we have, therefore, been obliged, for this time, to contract for those articles at the following rates:—

Dutch money, according to the discount of 66 st. per ducaton.

For the Wheat per muid	f 6	8	—	5	17	$\frac{1}{3}$
„ Rye „	5	12	—	5	2	$\frac{2}{3}$
„ Barley „	3	4	—	2	18	$\frac{2}{3}$
„ Wine, white stein,	96	0	—	88		
„ „ red,	192	0	—	176		
„ Tallow	12	0	—	11		

But as the present dearness of these articles is caused by the unusual circumstances mentioned, we are pretty well assured that in future, upon more favorable harvests, the wheat, as well as the rye and barley, and also the wine, may be bought in, not only for the price specified in the demand, but even at a lower rate.

As now the welfare of this Colony principally depends upon the inhabitants being able to find an opportunity, on the occasion of a good crop and vintage, of disposing of their produce by exportation, and as your Honors have been kindly pleased to afford to them, in the arrangements which have been adopted, the most solid proofs of your continued kindness to a Colony which you have planted with so much care, and which you still encourage, we deem it our duty, in the name of the inhabitants in general, who are impressed with the deepest feelings of gratitude for this act of unmerited kindness, to offer our most respectful thanks, together with a humble assurance that we shall never be backward in contributing every thing in our power whereby this favorable disposition may not merely be continued, but that your Honors may be encouraged to extend still further a branch of commerce upon which the prosperity of this Colony mainly depends; trusting, at the

(1) See Oct. 18th, 1771, page 10.

same time, that as, from the causes above stated, we could not, on this occasion, succeed to our wish, that you will be pleased to approve of our proceedings.

And as the purchase of Slaves at Madagascar, on account of this Government, may, indeed, as before stated, be postponed until next year, but must necessarily then take its course, in order to carry on properly the work that must be performed by those men,—we therefore take the liberty to request that the bearer of this, the hoeker de Zon, with the present Captain Andries Hanssen, and his present officers, may be speedily sent back to us for that purpose.

Having apprised your Honors, by our letters of 19th December 1770, and 1st March 1771, that the hoeker Snelhied had returned to this roadstead, after having encountered many misfortunes, and without having been able to put into Rio de la Goa, the place of her destination, we have now to state, that it was not the least of those misfortunes that that vessel was obliged to return, leaving behind two officers, a quarter-master, and eleven sailors, who had been sent to examine the coast near said Bay of Rio de la Goa,—both officers, together with two of the sailors, have, however, been recovered: after much suffering and danger they reached, first, Inhabany, and successively Mozambique, Diu Souratta, and, at length, Ceylon: from which last place they have been brought hither, by the return ship Borsellen, as your Honors will see more fully detailed in their narrative, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, and to which we respectfully refer . . . .

In the Castle the Good Hope, 20th June 1772.

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1772. JUNE 26. Copy of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to the Cape Government.

HONORABLE SIR,

Pieter Jacobs, field corporal, beyond the Hex River, having taken with him to the Roggeveld the Hottentot Captains Kees and Boekebaas <sup>(1)</sup> who were lying there, together with the people of their kraals, in order to assist in the apprehension of the gang of Hottentots who had murdered the burgher Johan Hendrik Teutman,—the said Kees and Boekebaas, after six had been shot by them and one had escaped, succeeded in securing them, together with their wives and children, and the stolen cattle;—the undersigned has accordingly the honor to send the said gang, to the number of fifty-eight, great and small, to the Cape, under charge of a commando,—one of these murderers, and two others, women, having died on the road. With respect, now, to the said Hottentots, the undersigned must further report, that only one of them, named Kleynbooy, was present at the murder of Teutman, and himself shot that man; while two others, named Jantje and Dirk, about fifteen days after the commission of the said murder, in company with the Hottentots Fix, Claas, Piet, and another, also called Jantje, early upon a certain morning, seized and held the shepherd of the widow Adriaan Louw, while Fix and Jantje stabbed him with an assagay, and then cut his throat; having (according to their statement) committed that act because a bastard, named Thys (also residing with Louw, and who is also sent to the Cape) had stated, that he (having brought a letter from the Cape) was ordered to murder all the Roggeveld Hottentots, and the other Hottentots had fled to that cave out of alarm,—which rumour, as to the supposed order from the Cape, the prisoner Jantje Links states that he also heard in the presence of Cornelis van Wyk, from a servant of Ary de Lange, a Roggeveld farmer, named Faber.

And whereas, according to information received, another gang of Hottentots, in the Hantam, came by night upon the farm of Christian Bock, with the intention of shooting him, while in bed, and had already set fire to the house, without, however, having succeeded, as he ran and seized his gun, on which they took to flight:—the undersigned begs also to report this occurrence.

Should that gang, who are also pursued by a commando, be also taken, I shall not fail to make the due report; and as the undersigned still requires some further evidence as to the propagation of the rumour before adverted to, and as upon the other hand I am engaged here with the Cession of the Board for the receipt of sheep and cattle money, it may be fourteen days before I can proceed to make further inquiry into the matter. <sup>(2)</sup>

L. S. FABER.

<sup>(1)</sup> For further particulars see Mr. W. Harding's Series of Criminal Convictions.

<sup>(2)</sup> This Report, and the substance of the letters of 28th and 29th June, is detailed in the same terms in the Colonial Office Journal, May 27 and June 29.

1772. JUNE 28. Copy of a letter from the Cape Government to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

GOOD FRIEND,

The apprehended Hottentots, mentioned in your letter of the day before yesterday, having, together with their wives and children, been brought hither, those who were put in irons were forthwith sent to gaol, and the women and children disposed of elsewhere, as well as possible, but as we are in no small degree embarrassed with these last, you will instantly inform me, in reply to this, which, and how many, of said Hottentots, whether male or female, must be imprisoned as guilty, or detained at this place as witnesses, in order that the rest, who otherwise would cause too great expense to the Company, may be, the sooner the better, got rid of, by dividing them, that is to say, the women and children, among such of the inhabitants as will take any of them into service, for their food.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
28th June 1772.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH.

1772. JUNE 29. Copy of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to the Cape Government.

In compliance with the respected order conveyed by your Excellency's letter of yesterday, I have to state that the ironed Hottentots should all be detained in prison, as I have been unable to procure any minute information in how far the residue, who may not indeed be guilty of the murder, are guilty of aiding or abetting; as to the women, no charge has hitherto been made against them. I therefore conceive that they merely followed their husbands, without having implicated themselves in the guilt of the murder: had I, therefore, been aware that it would not have pleased your Excellency to employ them, *ad opus publicum*, I should have, in the first instance, *propria auctoritate*, placed them, for their food, with one or other of the inhabitants. Now, however, that I am fully informed of your Excellency's pleasure, two police riders and one Caffer are sent herewith, in order, with your Excellency's approval, to convey them back hither, as I have divided them among the inhabitants, as well in the village as in the vicinity; and as the Hottentots cannot perform the march to this place in one day, I beg that your Excellency may be pleased to allow them to be victualled for two days.

Stellenbosch, 29th June 1772.

L. S. FABER.

1772. AUG. 28. Copy of a letter from the Cape Government to Landdrost of Swellendam.

GOOD FRIEND,

The Doctor of Medicine and Botanist, Carel Pieter Thunberg, who has arrived here from Europe, has been this day sent by me into the interior to seek and collect herbs, plants, insects, &c., accompanied by the gardener Johan Andries Auge, and a person named Christiaan Hector Leonhardy; you are, therefore, directed, in the event of their requiring any assistance towards the execution and fulfilment of this commission, to assist them to the utmost of your means; you will, in particular, furnish them, on account of the Company, with the necessary draught oxen, and one or two Hottentots.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
28th August 1772.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH.

1772. OCT. 9. Extract of a letter from the Cape Government to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

GOOD FRIEND,

The farmer Willem Prinslo, upon the 10th June last year, obtained permission, from the late Governor Tulbagh, to select, in the Nieuweveld, two grazing farms, in order thereupon to take them upon loan tenure;—now, I have been informed that said Prinslo has settled beyond De

Bruyns Hoogte, and whereas such is repugnant to our resolution of 13th February 1770—providing that the farms still to be granted in said Nieuweveld should be restricted to within Bruyns Hoogte, —You will therefore inform yourself exactly as to the position of the said farm or farms of Willem Prinslo; and upon ascertaining that they are established beyond Bruyns Hoogte, you will, in that case, direct him to decamp, and to return with his cattle to within Bruyns Hoogte; you will also strictly inquire whether any other persons have settled beyond the said limited district, who, in such case, must also forthwith abandon such farms.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
9th October 1772.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH.

1772. OCT. 10. Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to the Cape Government.

. . . . In due reply to your Excellency's highly respected letter of the 9th instant, the undersigned will forthwith make minute inquiry as to the two farms which Willem Prinslo is said to have taken beyond de Bruyns Hoogte, and transmit to your Excellency the usual report (1) . . . .

1772. OCT. 14. Extract of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII. to the Cape Government.

In answer to your letters of last year, we have, in the first place, 'generally to express our satisfaction with your proceedings, and the arrangement and dispatch of the Company's ships, as well outward as homeward bound, that have touched at the Cape during the year 1771. . . . .

The disposition, however, which you have made for the temporary performance of the duties of Fiscal, we cannot approve, as it is altogether improper that any one who is appointed provisionally President of the Court of Justice should continue, notwithstanding, invested with the office of Fiscal, thus being obliged, upon the occurrence of cases affecting the Fiscal's office, to vacate the chair of President in order to officiate as Fiscal before the same Court; We have, therefore, thought proper, once for all, to provide, that whenever upon a vacancy occurring in the office of second in command, that post must be provisionally filled by the Fiscal; the office of Fiscal shall, meanwhile, be entrusted to such other person as the Governor and Council shall deem to possess the requisite qualifications. . . . .

By the safe arrival of the hoeker de Zon we have received the grain and other Cape produce, with which that vessel was laden, and which have been found to be of very good quality; the grain has been already sold, and has realised a very good profit, as you will perceive by the accompanying price current. . . . .

Our intention accordingly is, that these ships be sent back hither direct, laden with such produce as may be demanded in return by the Chambers of Amsterdam and Zealand, upon the footing and under the limitations specified in our letters of the 18th October 1771 and 23d April of this year. . . . .

In Amsterdam, 14th October 1772.

1772. OCT. 19. Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to Acting Governor VAN PLETTEMBERG.

. . . . I shall, moreover, deem it a high honor dutifully to obey your respected order of the 28th of August, which has been this moment delivered to me by Doctor Thunberg. (2)

(1) The promised Report has not been found,—see, however, Nov. 10, 1774; Jan. 30, 1775; March 13, and Sept. 17, 1780.

(2) See Thunberg's Travels from this date.

General Summary of Population, Stock, Produce, Revenue, and Expenditure for the years from 1769 to 1773 inclusive ;—extracted from the Annual Reports of the Cape Government ; as also of the number of Criminal Convictions and Executions in each class of the inhabitants during the same years.

	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773	Total Convictions in the 5 years.	Executions, capital.
Company's Servants,—Civil, Military, and Commercial. . . . .	1356	1401	1361	1325	1490 <sup>(1)</sup>	7	0
Sick in Hospital. . . . .	399	303	439	638	675 <sup>(2)</sup>		
Company's Live Stock, {							
Cattle, . . . . .	3231	3129	3133	2719	2958		
Horses, . . . . .	307	342	354	369	336		
Men, . . . . .	2147	2136	2218	2283	2300	1	0
Women, . . . . .	1486	1517	1538	1576	1578		
Boys, . . . . .	2184	2256	2333	2263	2318		
Girls, . . . . .	2132	2179	2212	2251	2269		
Male European Servants . . . . .	78	89	77	87	89		
Slaves, adult male . . . . .	5650	5660	5631	5971	7102	13	10
"    "    female . . . . .	1537	1569	1634	1676	1707		
"    "    boys . . . . .	548	510	533	550	564		
"    "    girls . . . . .	369	418	537	518	529		
Horses . . . . .	7427	7883	8188	8514	9061		
Cattle . . . . .	38012	38357	37977	38665	39019		
Sheep . . . . .	244558	258250	264943	271002	285094		
Wine (leggers) . . . . .	4624½	3976	3784	1934½	5332		
Wheat (muids) . . . . .	12953	14276	14244	17480	24775		
Revenue . . . . .	f166673	151399	157556	163648	171637		
Expenditure . . . . .	450524	464775	452010	475228	510902 <sup>(3)</sup>		

N.B. No census taken of Native Population, of whom and of other free colored persons twenty-two were convicted and eight capitally punished during the same period. The condensed details of the Convictions and Sentences will appear in the course of these papers, in periods of ten years, from Mr. Walter Harding's "Descriptive Abstract of Convictions, 1652 to 1837."

(1) The details of the distribution and employment of the Company's Servants have no reference to the Native Tribes during this period.

(2) The sick consisted chiefly of scorbutic recruits or seamen : the number of deaths from scurvy, between Holland and the Cape, much exceeded, during this period, that of the sick left there ; in 1771, twelve ships lost, on the passage, 1034 men, or nearly half their crews.

(3) The following is the detail of the expenditure of 1773 :—Expenses of shipping, f184,488 ; ordinary rations, f78,878 ; ordinary expenses, f30,902 ; extraordinary expenses, f3,866 ; buildings and repairs, f17,783 ; fortifications, f1,155 ; expense of Company's slaves, f18,969 ; condemnation and confiscation, f4,575 ; expenses of boats, f9,615 ; pay of shipping, f14,169 ; salaries on shore, f146,497.

The explanations attached to each branch of expenditure make no reference to any expense incurred for operations, offensive or defensive, against the Natives. In subsequent years such expenses appear under the head of Extraordinaries,—the Extraordinaries for the above five years are successively—3355—3427—3373—4799 and 3866 guilders. The expense of the Journey of the Landdrosts in 1770 is noticed under this head.

The same observation applies as to the particulars of the Colonial Revenues ;—in 1773, of a total income of 171637 guilders, 77775 were derived from the licensed retail of wine, brandy, and beer, of which sum only a small portion was drawn from the interior of the Colony. The following are the details of this source of Revenue. At Cape Town :—Sale of wine, f29,600 ; brandy, f32,000 ; beer, f5,400 ; impost on spirits sold to foreigners, f9,300 : sale of Cape wine at Rondebosch and False Bay, f3,300 ; of wine and brandy at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, f800.

Where Financial Explanations, or those regarding the Distribution of the Garrison, are found to relate to the Natives, they will be given at full.

1772. OCT. 20. Copy of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to the Cape Government.

HONORABLE SIR,

The undersigned having got into custody the Hottentot Claas, who formerly lived with Christiaan Bock, upon his farm situated in the Hantam, and who belonged to the gang of Hottentots who attempted to destroy that farm,—aye, who even shot arrows at the said Bock, of which circumstance I had the honor to make report on the 26th June last; he is sent to the Cape under the charge of the bearer, with request that he may be imprisoned by the public gaoler; and whereas, according to information received from Gerrit van Wyk, field corporal of the further Roggeveld, the Bosjesmen have stolen from him, Van Wyk, eighty-eight cattle, of which he retook thirty-nine, and on that occasion, with a commando which went out thereupon, shot thirty-one Bosjesmans. I have therefore the honor to report the same to your Excellency.

Stellenbosch, 20th Oct.

L. S. FABER.

1772. OCT. 28. Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to the Cape Government.

. . . Several farmers having recently come to make known, that farms are granted in loan at Swartkops River, and that Stephanus Jos. Bekker has already received the loan-title to three farms there, as said Bekker acknowledges by a letter,—without, however, having produced his title,—as the said persons had already, in former days, petitioned to be permitted to occupy farms there, but without success, they have requested that it may please your Excellency that they may enjoy the same right, and the preference. . . .

Swellendam, 28th Oct. 1772.

F. J. MENTZ.

1772. DEC. 31. Extract of the Journal, Colonial Office.

Meanwhile the Court of Justice was assembled, in which the Hottentots Kleyne Booy, Kleyne Jantje (alias Kleyne Jantje Links) Kleyne Dirk, Cupido, Spanger, Springveld, Jantje van Tuytman (alias Jantje Roebok) old Jantje Links, and the Bastard Hottentot Thys;—the two first-named, Kleyne Booy and Kleyne Jantje, for murder committed as well upon the burgher Jan Hendrick Tuytman, as upon the shepherd of the late burgher Adriaan Louw, and the six following (named above) as well for a previously formed resolution to fly to a cave in the mountains, as for a knowledge of the said committed murder,—and the last-named Bastard Thys, for a certain rumour by him propagated, and thereby giving inducement to the said gross excesses of the said Hottentots—(see what is noted above on this subject, under date of 25th May and 27th June);—were condemned to be brought to the place where criminal sentences are usually carried into execution here, and being there delivered over to the executioner, the first Kleyne Booy bound to a cross, and broken thereon alive, from under upwards, with the *coup de grace* (<sup>1</sup>), as also the second Kleyne Jantje Links, to be punished on the gallows, with the rope, until death ensues, and thereupon their dead bodies dragged to the *Buytengeregt*, and there that of the first laid upon a wheel (*rad*), and that of the second being again hung upon the gallows, thus to remain a prey to the air and to the birds of the heavens; and, further, the remaining seven (names as above), one after the other, bound to a post and severely flogged with rods upon the bare back; then the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th to have the sinew of the heel cut asunder, and be banished for life to the public works, at the Honorable Company's slave lodge; but the Bastard Thys to work for ten consecutive years at the Honorable Company's public works at Robben Island, without wages, with payment of the costs and dues (*miscn*) of justice; the two Hottentots, Dikkop and Frederick, were discharged from their confinement without expense or injury.

1773. MARCH 25. Extract of the Journal, Colonial Office.

Meanwhile the Court of Justice assembled, when the Hottentot Claas,—in that he, in the night time, shot a poisoned arrow at the farmer Christian Bock, then in his house, and with whom he for

(<sup>1</sup>) See Report of Court of Justice to Sir J. Craig, 1796, on Capital Punishments; see also May 23, p. 11.

some time resided, and attempted to take his life, and also because he was presumed to have set fire to the house,—was condemned to be bound to a post and severely flogged by the public executioner, with rods upon the bare back, and thereupon branded and rivetted in chains, in order therein to labor for life at the Company's public works on Robben Island, without wages. (1)

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1773. APRIL 30. [An original letter of this date from A. van Jarsveld, field corporal at Sneuwberg,—see second Supplement of the printed list of papers relative to Bushmen,—has been found at Stellenbosch, and will, when a copy is obtained, be given in a foot note.]

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1773. MAY 24. Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to Government.

I have herewith the honor to transmit the account of the Company's live stock, and also dutifully to state, that 118 bull calves have been bartered from the Hottentots residing hereabouts. (2)

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1773. JUNE 16. Extracts of Records of Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam.

The President then submitted that hitherto no field corporal had been appointed at the Cromme River, and that such was not only useful to the inhabitants residing thereabouts, but also necessary. It was therefore resolved to appoint to that office the farmer Andries Hendrick Krugel, there resident, and that the Acting Secretary shall make out the Commission, and transmit to him, Krugel, at the same time, a list of the privates (*manschappen*) who are to belong to that command (*commando*). . . . The remainder of the month of June and the whole of July passed without any event worthy of notice, until 6th October. . . . It appeared, upon examination of the muster-rolls for the exercise, that many of the burghers doing duty, had this year absented themselves from the customary military exercise, without assigning full and sufficient cause; it was therefore resolved to summon before the next meeting, the following persons, to answer for their neglect of duty in this respect: Pieter Nortier, Cornelis Bezuidenhout, Wynand Fred. Bezuidenhout, Johs. Herm. Kiel, Soloman Peinaar, jr., Hermanus Pieterz, Willem Nel, Ps., Pieter Smittenberg, Willem Bezuidenhout, Fred. Botha, Fs., Jurgen Schoeman, Pieter Cornelis van Nieuwerkerken, Hermanus Lucas Crouse, Jos. Jacobus Mostert, Js., Jacobus van Beelen, Philip Cortier, and Petrus Johannes Marx. The President was pleased, however, to excuse the three last-named, and also, upon payment of the light penalty, P. Smittenberg, J. Schoeman, and Michel Heyns. It was further resolved,—as it appears that the number of privates who attend at exercise diminishes from year to year, in order to stay and prevent this abuse, to adopt in future such measures as shall be deemed most suitable to that purpose.

(1) The Journal for 1773 contains no other notice relevant to the Natives.

(2) Extract of a letter from Landdrost MENTZ to Governor TULBACH, 22d Feb. 1769.

Among others who have failed to pay the rent due by them to the Company, upon loan farms, is the Heemraad of Stellenbosch, Jan Bernard Hoffman, as having married the widow of the late J. H. Malan, and he has represented that his predecessor Malan had, for a long time back, discontinued the occupation of his loan farm, called Bakkeleys Drift, at Breede River, and that the Hottentots had subsequently used it; he therefore requests that for the period during which the farm has not been occupied—being, as nearly as can be ascertained, about eight years—he may be discharged from payment of the arrears; which request I have the honor to submit, in order that I may be favored with your Excellency's Instructions, whether said Hoffman shall be discharged on those grounds, or again directed to pay the whole. I have also the honor to state that up to this date fifty-three Hottentots have gone from this district to Stellenbosch: and I shall, in obedience to your respected order,\* send thither also, without delay, the wandering Hottentots who are still to be found.

Your Excellency will be enabled to perceive, from the returns of the Company's cattle herewith transmitted, that 258 bull calves have been bartered from the Hottentots: but as Corporal Veldman informs me that many of the burghers will not suffer the Hottentots living with them to barter their cattle to the Company, I feel it my duty humbly to submit to the consideration of your Excellency, that if the inhabitants may prevent the Hottentots living with them from bartering their cattle to the Company, the barter, in the course of time, will not yield much profit,—for as much as few or no Hottentots any longer reside in the kraals, but for the greater part with the inhabitants. . . .

Swellendam, 22d Feb. 1769.

F. J. MENTZ.

1773. OCT. 20. Extracts of a Despatch from the Chamber XVII <sup>(1)</sup> to Governor VAN PLETTENBERG and Council.

As we intend to take another opportunity of explaining the arrangements which will be necessary in future for the management of the affairs of the Cape Government, upon the unexpected event of a vacancy occurring, at once, in the office of Governor, and in that of *Secunde*, we shall only state here that we approve, provisionally, of the resolution you adopted in that respect, upon the decease of the Governor Tulbagh; and we cannot but avail ourselves of this occasion of testifying, in justice to the memory of that gentleman, that he directed the concerns of that government with all possible skill, attention, zeal, and fidelity, and always to our highest satisfaction . . . . .

The grain and other produce received this year from your government by the ships Bartha, Petronella, and Ormderkerk, have paid very well . . . . .

To supply the vacancy, in the office of Governor, which has been caused by the decease of Pieter van Rheede van Oudshorn, his Serene Highness has been pleased to elect, out of the nomination presented by us, Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg, senior merchant and second in command. . . . .

Amsterdam, 20th Oct. 1773.

1773. DEC. 20. Copy of a letter from the Cape Government to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

GOOD FRIEND,

It has been represented to me by the burgher Captain Albert van der Poel, that in the month of June last, two of his slaves, named Carel and Spadille, both natives of the Indian Archipelago, (Oosterlingen), had deserted; that he had obtained certain information that they are now among the Kafirs, and that the burgher Willem Prinslo, perceiving a chance of getting hold of them, had undertaken so to do, in consideration of a certain remuneration agreed upon between them; the said Van der Poel having very urgently requested that this might be permitted, I am disposed to accede to his request, under this condition however, which I have personally impressed upon the said Prinslo, that he shall take good care that he does not avail himself of that opportunity to barter any cattle from the said Kafirs.

These circumstances are accordingly not merely notified to you by this letter, but you are also strictly ordered to cause it to be particularly observed, whether said Prinslo acts in any manner contrary to my intention, and to the restriction under which the permission in question has been granted, in order that, in such case, he may be prosecuted.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
20th December 1773.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH.

†1773. DEC. 28. Extract of Records of a Meeting of the combined Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden, and Landdrost and Militia Officers of Stellenbosch.

The Landdrost was further pleased to intimate that, as representations had been made by letters from the inhabitants of the Hantam, the Groote, Middel, and Kleyne Roggevels, as well to the Honorable the Acting Governor as to him the Landdrost, that they were not only constantly plundered of their live stock by the congregated gangs of Bosjesmans Hottentots, who maintained themselves in the mountains, but that those villains (*booswichten*) had proceeded to such extreme violence, that they murdered their cattle herds in the fields, without their being enabled, in consequence of the great distance between their respective habitations, to assist each other in opposing the said robbers,—accompanied by earnest and humble requests, not only for the assistance of more men, but also that they might have the advice of the higher authority of an officer of Stellenbosch.

That he, the Landdrost, had expressly and principally convoked this meeting in order, in con-

(1) The formal Address of the Supreme Body of Directors is thus abbreviated, and distinguished from the subordinate local Chambers of Amsterdam, Zealand, &c.

† Papers which have not been previously published in the Dutch Edition are thus distinguished.

formity with the directions of the Acting Governor, to concert, with the assistance of the assembled members, the measures whereby the said robberies of the Bosjesmans Hottentots might be resisted, those villains attacked upon all sides in their dens, and, if possible, reduced to a permanent peace; and the inhabitants of those remote districts protected, in the best manner possible, from similar evils, of which, otherwise, more are to be anticipated: which matters were then taken into deliberation, and upon its being considered, in the first place, that, in consequence of the great extent of the mountains in the said countries, it is impossible to attack the said Hottentots at one and the same time, by the small number of men under the orders of the respective field corporals, without entirely denuding the country of its means of defence, and exposing it to the depredations, in other quarters, of another gang of Bosjesmans Hottentots; and, secondly, that it is not practicable—aye, quite impossible, for our inhabitants to attack the said robbers in the mountains without the assistance of other Hottentots, who are able to trace them and to clamber up to their dens in the mountains.

Added to this, that possessing at present only very imperfect information regarding the localities and state of the country, and mountain ranges in those quarters, and thus being insufficiently informed of the manner and the season of the year most proper for the formation and employment of the requisite commando, as well with respect to the difficulties which present themselves as to procuring a sufficiency of water for men and cattle.

And, furthermore, as information regarding the choice of a person upon whom the office of Field Commandant could be conferred with perfect security, may be best procured from the field corporals in that quarter, who are best acquainted with the circumstances of that country, and as, without the assistance before noticed, of good and faithful Hottentots, no good result is to be expected,—It was, therefore, upon the proposal of the Landdrost, unanimously thought proper, and resolved, that previously to proceeding to the appointment of a commanding officer, or coming to any final decision as to assisting the said inhabitants with a burgher commando, the field corporals of that distant country should first be heard, and their advice taken as to the manner in which the inhabitants concerned could be best assisted, particularly in respect to the best and most suitable season of the year; and that accordingly, all the said field corporals should be written to and directed to appear before this Board, without fail, on Monday the 28th of March next, at eight o'clock A.M. precisely.

Meanwhile the several members will render to the Landdrost written returns of the names of such Hottentots, distinguishing also the names of the inhabitants with whom they live,—as are expert in the use of the firelock, and can therefore be employed with a prospect of a successful issue: whereupon such final resolution may be formed, according to circumstances, as shall be deemed to be necessary and most expedient for the public welfare. (1)

M. A. BERGH. (2)

#### 1774. MARCH 17. Extracts of Records of Landdrost and Militia Court, Swellendam.

After resumption of the resolutions of last meeting, appeared successively, the burghers Hermanus Pietersz and Pieter Cornelis van Neuwkerken, summoned for non-attendance at the last Exercise and Review (*wapen schouwing*) and were each condemned in a penalty of 8 Rds.; after which a second default, with its profits, was decreed against the burghers P. Nortier, W. F. Bezuidenhout, W. Nel, Ps., F. Botha, Fs., and Hermanus Lucas Crouse; as also a third summons for the next meeting, they also having been summoned, *codem casu*, but not having appeared . . . . The burgher Hermanus Lucas Crouse was then spoken of, who having been once and again summoned before the burgher military court, for neglect of the ordinary annual military duty, had not as yet appeared, but had, on the contrary, replied to the intimation of those citations in a contemptuous manner, and besides, as is said, has, to the great injury of the good inhabitants, been engaged in smuggling and cattle barter with the Kafirs: all which matters having been deliberated upon, it was thought proper to report the said Crouse to the Government, as an evil-disposed and disobedient man; and most humbly to solicit the decision of the Governor and Council thereupon. (3)

Thus done, &c.

F. J. MENTZ.

(1) See March 28, April 19, May 17, 1774.

(2) Appointed Landdrost of Stellenbosch 5th October 1773, *vice* L. S. Faber, deceased, Aug. 10.

(3) See March 19 and 26, April 5, May 30, June 10, July 26, and August 24, 1774.

1774. MARCH 16. Copy of a letter from Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam to Acting Governor VAN PLETTENBERG and Council.

HONORABLE SIR, AND GENTLEMEN,

Whereas the burgher Hermanus Lucas Crouse, who has been frequently summoned before the military court of this district for neglect of the ordinary yearly exercise, has not hitherto appeared, but, on the contrary, when it was brought to his knowledge, upon his removing to the Cape, that he was again summoned, he replied with the contemptuous exclamation, "O, that is nothing after all;" it appears, besides, that the said Crouse is, as it is said, engaged in illicit trade and smuggling, to the injury of the good inhabitants, and for that purpose, instead of travelling by this road in his journies inland, avails himself of the passes of the Coggemans Kloof and Hex River, which lie far out of his way; and recently, as it is also said, sold publicly, at the Salt River, 300 cattle, while he made return <sup>(1)</sup>, at the late *opgaaf*, of no more than 16 cattle and 100 sheep. We therefore feel it our duty to state, that it appears to us, under correction of the wiser and better judgment of your Excellency and Council, that such evil disposed and disobedient persons ought to be corrected in an exemplary manner.

We therefore bring the circumstances to your notice, with the humble request that we may be honored with such directions on the subject as to your Excellency and Council may seem fitting.

J. F. Mentz, Hermanus Steyn, Laurens de Jager, E. Meyer, J. de Steyn,  
J. J. Botha, Lowies Forie.

1774. MARCH 26. Copy of a letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor VAN PLETTENBERG.

HONORABLE SIR,

Whereas the burgher Lucas Hermanus Crouse appeared here three days after the meeting of Heemraden and Militia Officers, and, together with the soldier Sevensterren, made a declaration, which I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency, and with all respect to subscribe myself <sup>(2)</sup>.

Swellendam, 26th March 1774.

J. F. MENTZ.

(Enclosure of March 26.)

This 19th March 1774, appeared before me, Menso Blankstein, Secretary of the District of Swellendam, in the presence of the undermentioned witnesses, the burgher Hermanus Lucas Crouse, of competent age, who, at the requisition of the Junior Merchant and the Landdrost here, Mr. Joachim Fredrick Mentz, declared it to be true,—That about a year ago, though he cannot state the precise date, the appearer, together with the burgher Arnoldus Herring, who then traded with him in partnership, proceeded, with two wagons with articles of merchandise, bought, or rather taken upon credit, from the Assistant Messenger of the Council, Carel Kirchman, from the Cape, by the Hex River, to the appearer's place of abode, at Oliphants River, where the appearer and said Herring having removed into one of the wagons the goods most suited to their purpose, proceeded together further inland, to the Camdeboo, and thence to Kafirland, there to dispose of said goods, and to barter cattle for the same.

That the appearer and Herring before named, having arrived in Kafirland, there bartered cattle from the Kafirs, for beads, iron, and copper. As the goods, however, were procured by Herring, appearer does not know from whom they were purchased or taken on credit, he also states himself to be ignorant of the precise number of cattle bartered.

That the said Herring, having proceeded in advance with the said cattle, had disposed of them successively on the road, as well at the River Sonder Eynde as at other places,—the appearer not knowing the names of the purchasers.

The appearer further states that he saw F. Sevensterren, a soldier whose service was purchased from the Company, for the first time on his return from Kafirland, at the house of Fredrik Potgieter, at the Kromme River, and that, requiring a schoolmaster, he employed him in his service.

<sup>(1)</sup> i. e. for taxation.

<sup>(2)</sup> See Reply of Government and Proclamation, April 5, p. 24.

Lastly, the appearer says, that when at Cape Town, he lodged at the house of the burgher Fredrik Herbst, and has sometimes been in the house of the burgher H. H. Bos, declaring nothing further, the appearer gives, as the grounds of his knowledge, as in the text, with offer to corroborate the same by solemn oath. Thus passed in the office of the Secretary at Swellendam, in the presence of the *Substituut* Johan Christopher Heymers, and the District Messenger Christoph Fredrik Wotke, as witness, who, together with the appearer and me the Secretary, duly signed the minutes of this, which I testify. M. BLANKSTEIN.

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(Enclosure of March 26.)

This 19th March 1774, appeared before me, M. Blankstein, Secretary of the District of Swellendam, Frederick Sevenstern, of Groningen, a soldier, &c. &c., who declares it to be true,—That his discharge being purchased by the burgher Fredrik Potgieter, he has served him as schoolmaster, at his place on the Kromme River, for four consecutive years.

That the burgher H. L. Crouse, upon a certain day, as he thinks in April or March last year, came to the same place on horseback, to inquire whether Potgieter wanted any merchandise, when Crouse asked him, the appearer, in substance, whether he would accompany him to Cape Town, and thence back again, upon a journey to the interior, with merchandise, in which case he should receive one-third of the profits.

That having undertaken so to do, Crouse returned to his wagon, which he had left at the place of T. Potgieter or C. Vermaak; that having staid a few weeks longer with F. Potgieter, he departed for the residence of said Crouse, where he arrived on the 15th May.

That in the month of November last he proceeded towards the Cape with Crouse, who took with him some cattle, which he had bartered from his neighbours, or along the road, which cattle he sold by public vendue, at the Salt River.

That after the sale he returned with Crouse from Cape Town, bringing with him some merchandise, consisting of cloths, linens, baftas, knives, &c., in order to take the same to the Gamtous River and Camdeboo, which goods are now in the custody of the burgher Daniel Nortier, and that the appearer rode to this place with Crouse for the sake of company, as he was obliged to appear here upon a summons.

He lastly states, that at Cape Town he lodged with H. H. Bos.

Thus passed, and which I testify.

M. BLANKSTEIN.

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†1774. MARCH 28. Record of a Meeting of the combined Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden, and Landdrost and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch.

This Meeting having been expressly convoked, in conformity with the Resolution of the 28th December, and in pursuance of the respected order of the Acting Governor, to adopt, with the advice of the Field Corporals, summoned for the purpose, such measures as might best contribute to the public welfare, with regard to the assistance to be given to the inhabitants of the districts of Camdeboo, Nieuweveld, Hantam, Groot, Kleyne, and Middel Roggeveld and Bokkeveld, against the Bosjesmans Hottentots, who still daily continue to murder and to rob, and also with respect to the appointment of a general chief, or commandant of the intended expedition.

The Landdrost was therefore pleased first to submit for consideration whether it might not be necessary, before proceeding to any final determination, that a return were made by the said field corporals, now present, of the number of such able Burgliers and Bastard Hottentots under their orders as could be employed by them on this expedition, without too much exposing the country; which proposal having been adopted,—the return being made, and it being thus found that, including the men under the field corporals D. J. van der Merwe and A. van Jarsveld, now absent, and the number of Bastards and Hottentots residing with sundry persons, according to a return made by the members of this meeting,—that there might be thus employed about 100 Europeans, or Christians, and 150 Bastards and other Hottentots, and thus in all 250. It was further intimated by the said Landdrost that, as this force was too great to be sent out with any hope of success, unless under the guidance and orders of a Commandant, and the matter being furthermore too important to be left to the discretion and usual direction of the field corporals, it was highly neces-

sary that such an officer should be appointed, conformably to the intention of the government, in order to re-establish our said inhabitants, and also, in future, to maintain them, if necessary, by the strong hand, in the possession of their places of abode which they had abandoned in consequence of the said robberies.

The appointment, however, from among the officers of the burgher militia here, from their imperfect knowledge of those distant countries, as well as giving the assistance of burghers from this side, thereby stripping these districts of men and exposing them to the danger of murder and robbery by the slaves, being deemed to be absolutely impracticable, the Landdrost was pleased to suggest, whether it would not be best, first to ascertain the feelings of the Field Corporals on the subject, not only as to the mode, but as to the season of the year at which the said expedition best could and should take place, in order by this means to discover whether there might not be one among them possessed of the requisite qualifications; which proposal having been unanimously agreed to, and thereupon, with the advice of those field corporals,—the months of August, September, October, and November being deemed the best time, in consequence of want of pasture and water in the summer season, and the constant cold and swelling of impassable rivers in the winter,—and as all the said field corporals conceived that the necessary discretion, and the greatest share of fitness (*bequaamhied*) and vigilance were to be found in the person of Rudolph Godlieb Opperman, it was unanimously deemed proper and resolved, under the honored approval of Governor and Council, to appoint the said Opperman as commandant over the following field corporals, commanding in the undermentioned districts—(*see names April 19th*)—by whom, together with the men under their command, with the addition of the Bastards and other Hottentots, in whose fidelity and capability full reliance may be placed, a general expedition, in three commandos, shall take the field at the same time, of which one party shall march from the Swartenberg, the Camdeboo, the Sneeuwberg, and also the Nieuweveld and Coup, under the field commandant; another from the Middel and Klyne Roggeveld, and the Bokkeveld beyond the Witsenberg, under the field corporals Nicolaas van der Merwe and Pieter Jacobs; and the third from the Lower Bokkeveld, the Hantam, the Grootte Roggeveld, and Oliphants River, under the field corporals Gerrit van Wyk, Gs. and Willem Steenkamp,—and thus attack the said robbers, from all sides, in their dens and lurking places in the mountains, and either by treaty (*in der minne*) or by force of arms, endeavour to bring them to a durable peace.—(*Here follow, verbatim, as in the letter from the Board, April 19, p. 25, details as to the rank conferred upon the commandant, &c.*)—There shall also be framed and submitted for the approval of Government the necessary written instructions, to which the commandant shall, during this expedition and thereafter, have to conform.—(*Here follow, as in April 19, arrangements for Periodical Reports.*)—It was lastly judged most advisable, and therefore resolved, to determine at the next meeting, with the advice of the said newly appointed commandant, at what time and in what districts the attack should be made, and also what ammunition and other articles shall be requested on the Company's account, from the Acting Governor and Council, or furnished by the Drostdy for the same purpose.

M. A. BERGH.

1774. APRIL 5. Copy of a letter from the Governor and Council to the Landdrost of Swellendam.

GOOD FRIEND,

The letter addressed to us by yourself and Heemraden, of date the 16th of March last, together with your letter of the 26th, addressed to the Governor individually, having been this day read to the Council, we have therein noticed, to our high displeasure, the culpable proceedings of the persons (*persoonen*) Hermanus Lucas Crouse and Frederick Sevensterren; and seeing that the neglect of the Burgher Exercises, all acts of disobedience towards those who are appointed to execute the orders given by us, and also fraudulent returns of the property of the Colonists, are provided against by good laws and regulations, and that in particular bartering cattle from the Kafirs and Hottentots, has been again most rigidly prohibited by the Proclamation issued on the 26th April 1770; we will not suffer ourselves to doubt that you know what you have to do in the present case. At the same time, it may serve for your information, that the burgher Arnold Herring is already apprehended and lodged in prison by our order. <sup>(1)</sup>

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
5th April 1774.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH.

<sup>(1)</sup> See Herring's declaration, May 30, and papers referred to in Note 3, p. 20;—the date of the Extract, March 17, is a misprint for March 16.

1774. APRIL 5. Resolution of Governor and Council (as published in the following Proclamation on the 16th June 1774.)

JOACHIM VAN PLETENBERG, Governor, for the united chartered Netherland East India Company, of the Cape the Good Hope, and its Dependencies, and the Council, make known :

THAT WHEREAS, WE, to our highest indignation, have learnt that, notwithstanding that the barter of cattle with the Hottentots and the so-called Kafirs has been prohibited by the renovation and amplification of the successive orders to the contrary, and again in the most rigorous manner by the Proclamation which we caused to be published on the 26th April 1770,—some covetous persons have nevertheless contrived to discover means to render our said orders illusory, and to prosecute the said forbidden barter with the said Kafirs, by disposing of the cattle purchased from them—which are very easily to be distinguished from other cattle—as if they had been procured by traffic from the inhabitants of the interior: the better to cloak their culpable conduct by this fraudulent pretence. And whereas, by means of the said smuggling, various inhabitants have already become possessed of the breed of the so-called Kafir cattle.

It is therefore provided, in order to deprive all covetous pursuers of the prohibited cattle trade aforesaid, of the means and opportunity of which they can in any manner avail themselves, in order to render of none effect our orders to the contrary; and desiring at once to extirpate the said evil, root and branch, we have therefore thought fit to order and direct, as we order and direct by these presents :

That all persons who possess any of the so-called Kafir cattle, whether procured directly from that people, or bred by themselves, or other inhabitants, shall be required instantly, and without delay, to appear before the respective Landdrosts, under whose jurisdiction they reside, or possess farms, and to render to them a return of all such Kafir cattle or their progeny, whether bulls, oxen, cows, or calves, as are in their possession; of which cattle the bulls shall be forthwith cut and rendered unfit for propagation.

And, furthermore, every one shall, within the period of one year from the date of the publication of this Proclamation, rid himself of the same, and of all other kinds of Kafir cattle or their progeny, so that after the lapse of this appointed period, no remains of the said breed of cattle shall be found in the possession of any of the inhabitants of this country, on pain, not only of the instant confiscation of all such cattle, but furthermore of a penalty of 100 Rds. for the officer who shall happen to prosecute.

It having been further taken into consideration that various inhabitants may probably have come into possession of the progeny of the said Kafir cattle without having rendered themselves guilty of bartering the same, or of participating therein, it is therefore provided, in order to assist such persons in getting rid of such cattle, that they shall be received on the Company's account, in liquidation of the rent of loan farms, in preference to other cattle; provided, however, that they be good oxen of four years old, which will be received by the respective overseers of the Company's cattle farms, and instantly branded with the Company's mark. At the same time the said overseers shall not only be bound to specify in their receipts the date on which such cattle may have been delivered, but also shall, every three months, make an exact report to the Landdrost, who shall duly examine the same, and take proper care that in this respect no malversations shall take place between the said overseers and the inhabitants.

Ordering further, by renovation of our said Proclamation of 26th April 1770, That henceforth no one shall settle beyond the so-called Bruyns Hoogte<sup>(1)</sup> nor Gamtous River; the respective Landdrosts shall accordingly forthwith cause to be removed such persons as may have attempted the same, contrary to our orders.—(Here follow the several sections of the Proclamation of 1770, in the same words, for which see p.p. 6 and 7, English edition, and compare p.p. 11 and 36, Dutch edition.)

And seeing that it has also been discovered that for some time back some persons have made it their business to wander about every where in the interior, from one District to another, with goods and merchandise, conveyed on wagons, cars, horses, or pack oxen, thus also causing many irregularities in the said districts,—we have, therefore, for the prevention thereof, deemed it necessary in like manner to prohibit this practice, and have, accordingly, resolved to provide, that henceforth no one shall proceed with any goods or merchandise, conveyed on wagons, cars, horses, or pack oxen, into the interior, or ride about with the same for sale to the inhabitants, whether for cattle or any other article, either in the Cape District or in those of Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, or Swellendam;—on pain, that any one who shall be herein detected, shall not only pay a fine of Rds. 25 to

(1) See Proclamation of 1770, in which Bruyns Hoogte is not mentioned. See, also, Note p. 7.

the prosecuting officer, over and above the forfeiture of the goods in his possession, but shall also, according to the exigencies of the case, be transported hence, as wilful transgressors against this order, and all such as shall receive any merchandise from such vagabonds, either by purchase or by barter of cattle or other property, shall also forfeit the same penalty of Rds. 25, for the behoof as aforesaid: And that no one may be enabled to pretend ignorance of all this, we order and desire that this shall not only be published at the usual place, here in the Castle, but also in the Districts of Stellenbosch, and Drakenstein, and Swellendam, and every where affixed, as we have found the same to be for the service of the Company and the welfare of this Government.

Thus done and appointed, renewed and amplified, in the Castle the Good Hope, 5th April 1774, and published on the 16th June following.

(L S.)

J. VAN PLETTENBERG.

By order of the Hon. the Governor and Council,

O. M. BERGH.

1774. APRIL 8. Copy of a letter from the Cape Government to the Landdrost of Swellendam.

GOOD FRIEND,

Complaint having been made to me by the Hottentots Platje and Draey of injustice and vexations done to them by the farmer Mathys Sondag, you are hereby, in the most earnest manner, directed to see that the said Hottentots receive prompt and full justice.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
8th April 1774.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH.

1774. APRIL 19. Copy of a letter from the combined Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden, and Landdrost and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch, to GOVERNOR VAN PLETTENBERG and Council.

HONORABLE SIR, AND GENTLEMEN,

The undersigned Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Officers having, in compliance with your respected order <sup>(1)</sup>, and in conformity with your intention, proceeded—in our meetings of the 28th December of last year, and the 28th of March and 19th of April of the present year, which were convened for this express purpose, in order to concert measures whereby the inhabitants of the Districts of Camdeboo, Nieuweveld, Hantam, Groote, Middel, and Kleyne Roggevelds and Bokkevelds—might be at length (*dog eenmaal*) effectually secured and protected from the murderous rapacity of the Bosjesmans Hottentots, who constantly congregate together and maintain themselves in the mountains in those quarters, and who, according to repeated, and moreover to recently received information and complaints of the said remote inhabitants, have proceeded to such violence, that they not only murder in the fields the cattle herds of the inhabitants and then carry off the cattle to their dens, but also that their stubbornness had so far increased that they overpowered the homesteads and set fire to the dwellings. In order, then, that the said inhabitants should be re-established by the strong hand, and thereafter also maintained in the peaceful possession of their places of abode and cattle farms, which, from these causes, they had abandoned; we therefore, in our said meeting of the 28th December, took into preliminary consideration, as well, the necessity that the said robbers should, for the attainment of that object, be attacked at one and the same time in their places of concealment, and, in this manner, reduced either to a permanent peace and tranquillity, or otherwise entirely subdued and destroyed; as also, the impossibility which we feel of rendering to the said inhabitants any assistance from this quarter: and having furthermore considered that it is totally impracticable for our inhabitants to effect any thing towards the attainment of the object before stated, without the assistance of faithful Bastard and other Hottentots, who are accustomed to the use of fire-arms, and who can clamber into the mountains and there trace the robbers to their haunts.

For the several reasons, above stated, we were then obliged to resolve, previously to coming to any final decision upon the subject, to require the attendance of the Field Corporals commanding in the

<sup>(1)</sup> This order, also referred to in the proceedings at Stellenbosch, Dec. 28, 1773, and March 28, 1774, pp. 19 and 22, may have been verbally given to Landdrost Bergh, who had been recently book-keeper and sworn clerk in the Colonial Office.

said districts, and first to take their advice, not only as to the mode and manner in which we could, in this respect, best help the said inhabitants, but especially as to the season of the year which would be best and most convenient, as well with regard to procuring the water and pasture necessary to men and cattle, as with regard to the cold and other obstacles to be encountered; which field corporals having appeared in our meeting before-mentioned, of the 28th of March, we first required them to make return of the number of all such Burghers and Bastard Hottentots living under their command, as they could, without too much exposing the country, employ for this purpose; to the returns thus obtained we added the number of Bastards and Hottentots in the service of the inhabitants hereabouts, according to a return made by the several members of this meeting, and upon whose fidelity, and dexterity in the use of fire-arms, full reliance might be placed; upon which it was found that there could be thus employed,

100 Europeans, and

150 Bastard Hottentots,—thus, in all, 250.

We then considering, not only that such a corps is too numerous to be sent out with the hope of any good result, except under the orders of a supreme commandant, but that this office, moreover, demands too much care to be entrusted to the discretion and ordinary management of the respective corporals; it was, therefore, deemed highly necessary, in conformity with your respected intentions, that such an officer should be appointed; but as such a commander must necessarily possess a due knowledge of the constitution of the country, the condition of the inhabitants, and the character of the Hottentots, and as from want of knowledge in these respects, it was deemed out of the question to confer the appointment upon any of the officers of the Land Militia here, and as, according to the opinions received from all the field corporals here present, the requisite qualifications of conduct, capacity, and vigilance, were found in the person of Godlieb Rudolph Opperman, we have therefore unanimously resolved, as the course most advantageous to the public service, to submit his name to the approval of your Excellency and Council, for the appointment of field commandant over the following field corporals, commanding in the undermentioned districts:—

David Schalk van der Merwe, in the Camdeboo country; Adriaan van Jarsveld, As., upon the Sneeuwbergen; Charl Marais, along the foot of the Sneeuwbergen; Jacob de Clercq, in the Nieuweveld beyond the Coup; Nicholas van der Merwe, in the Bokkeveld beyond the Witsenberg; Pieter Jacobsz, beyond the Hex River, Gerrit Putter, in the Klyne Roggeveld; Hendric Olivier, in the Middel Roggeveld; Gerrit van Wyk, Gs., in the Bokkeveld, over the Doorn River and the Hantam; Willem Steenkamp, in the Groote Roggeveld; Lucas Steenkamp, on the lower part of the Oliphants River; Johannes Arnoldus Botma, beyond the Picquet Bergen; and Willem Burgert, Ws., upon the Oliphants River beyond the Picquimiers Kloof;—by whom and the men under their orders, together with the Bastards and Hottentots, we have, with their advice and that of the commandant, deemed it best that a general expedition, under his supreme command, but in three divisions, should take the field at the same time, against the plundering Bosjesmans Hottentots, of which force one division shall consist of the field commandant and the field corporals D. S. van der Merwe, A. van Jarsveld, J. de Clercq, and C. Marais,—of the Zwaartenberg, the Camdeboo, the Sneeuwberg, the Nieuweveld, and Coup.

Another, under the *Commando* of N. van der Merwe, with the field corporals P. Jacobs, G. Putter, and H. Olivier, of the Middel and Klyne Roggeveld: as also of the Bokkeveld beyond the Witsenberg; and the third party under the guidance of Gerrit van Wyk, with the field corporals W. Steenkamp, L. Steenkamp, J. A. Botma, and W. Burgert, of the Lower Bokkeveld, the Hantam, the Groote Roggeveld, and the Oliphants River; in order thus to attack the said robbers upon all sides, in their caves and hiding places in the mountains, and either to compel them to a peace, or otherwise entirely to subdue them. It is deemed most advisable that this expedition should take the field either in the latter end of the ensuing August, or at the farthest in the beginning of September, as being the most fitting season of the year.

But as it has appeared to us, with the advice aforesaid, that independently of the Christians to be employed, who in all are but 100, and thus constitute too weak a force to act with any hope of success against the numerous robbers, a much greater number of Bastards and Hottentots must, according to the returns received, be thus employed, who are unprovided with the fire-arms which are indispensable, and without which no advantage can be expected. We therefore take the liberty to request, as well for this purpose as for the general equipment of the expedition, that we may be supplied, on the Company's account, with the following necessary articles of ammunition, viz.—90 good fire-locks, 3 chests, covered with painted canvas, and provided with locks, in order to keep the same locked up and secured at night from the accompanying Hottentots and also from

the rain ; 900 lbs. of gunpowder, 1,800 lbs. of lead, 3,000 flints, 24 shackles for the legs, 48 handcuffs, to secure the male prisoners until either peace is concluded with them or they are entirely subdued.

And as the Field Commandant has represented that the said divisions will often, during heavy rains and bad weather, be obliged to encamp in the open country for days and nights together, when detained by the swelling of rivers, in a great measure surrounded by the robbers, and must therefore remain under arms, and upon their guard against sudden surprises, and must also, for the same reasons, have their ammunition always at hand, protected from the rain, dry, and fit for use, which cannot be done in the wagons, loaded as they will be with the provisions and other articles ; we therefore further take the liberty of requesting that three tents may also be issued, viz.—one for each division ; the wagons, draught oxen, and horses, required for this expedition, will be furnished by the field corporals and burghers employed thereon, as being those most interested, in proportions, to be fixed according to the circumstances and means of each, by the commandant and the leaders of the other divisions.

There will also be furnished, either at the cost of the Drostdy, or at that of the inhabitants hereabouts, who have grazing farms in the said remote parts, and have therefore, as well as the Drostdy, an interest in this matter ;—3 aums of brandy, and 300 lbs. of tobacco, as well for daily issue to the Bastards and Hottentots as to present, together with other bagatelles and trinkets, to the said robbers in the event of attaining to the desired object of concluding a peace.

With a similar view we also request that there may be issued on the Company's account, an assortment of beads and copper rings, and some staves with copper heads, bearing the Company's mark, in order to present to the so-called kraal captains or chiefs of the Bosjesmans Hottentots, as tokens that they are, in the event of our succeeding as desired, in concluding a permanent peace, taken under the protection of the Government.

And as it has frequently happened, not merely formerly, but, indeed, principally on the present occasion, that many of the said field corporals have, under all kinds of pretexts, requested their discharge from that office, without their being able to advance valid and lawful pleas of exemption—which, however, after inquiry, is found chiefly to be owing to their liability to serve on all dangerous expeditions, and to call out their subordinates for that purpose,—not enjoying, on that account, the smallest privilege, and being bound and compelled besides, upon a change of residence, to serve under others, or even under one of their own men who may have been appointed in their stead, and also to perform, as before, the ordinary duty of exercise.

We have therefore resolved, under the approval of your Excellency and Council,—as it is compatible with the circumstances of the times, with equity and necessity, that some provision should herein be made,—to add to the present title of those officers the rank of Sergeant (*Wagtmeester*) as well to stimulate them to the faithful discharge of their duties in general, as to encourage them on the present occasion ; and in order, as far as possible, to procure experienced persons to fill this office in future, we have resolved henceforth not to discharge them from all those duties of burgher exercise, excepting for very weighty and admissible reasons, and even then not before they shall have proposed another fit person to us or to the field commandant, nor until such proposed successor shall have appeared in person ; we have also deemed it useful and necessary, and most agreeable to the constitution of the country, that the field corporals shall, twice a-year, to wit.—once in six months, render a return to the field commandant of the number of men under their command, as also of all alterations which may occur among them, whether from change of residence or otherwise ; what young men have attained to the stature and age necessary to their being inscribed in the lists of the yeomanry, and in general a report of whatever happens in their districts of any kind of public interest ; of all which the commandant is personally to deliver a written report once in four months.

And seeing that the newly-appointed Commandant does not enjoy any prerogative whatever in consideration of the charge now imposed upon him, excepting his new title ; and as, besides the said thirteen field corporals, he has to command a large body of burghers, we have therefore deemed it most equitable, and have therefore unanimously resolved, to bestow upon him, for the better maintenance of his authority, the appropriate rank of cornet.

We have, accordingly, humbly to request that your Excellency and Council will be pleased to honor this arrangement, as well as that respecting the field corporals, upon the grounds which have been advanced, with your approval and confirmation.

We further take the liberty to submit for approval, the Instructions which we have framed for the guidance of the commandant during this expedition, and also for that of the field corporals under

his orders ; and trusting that we have herein acted in all respects conformably to the views of your Excellency and Council, and according to the exigencies of the case and the constitution of the country,

We have the honor, &c. &c.

M. A. Bergh, J. B. Hoffman, J. Bignaut, P. G. Wium, A. Brink, jr., J. R. van As, P. W. de Vos, P. A. Meyburg, J. A. Theron, H. A. Malan, J. de Villiers, J.Ps., H. O. Laubscher, A. J. Meyburg, J. A. Theron, jr., M. van As, D. J. Bleumer, Secretary (¹).

1774. APRIL 19. Instructions,—according to which the newly-appointed Field Commandant GODLIEB RUDOLPH OPPERMAN shall have to regulate his conduct upon the Expedition about to attack the Bosjesmans Hottentots, who still continue to commit murder and robbery.

As we, in conformity with the highly respected views and orders of the Honorable Governor *in loco*, Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg, have deemed it necessary to the welfare of the colony and inhabitants, and have therefore resolved, to send out a general expedition, under your supreme command, in three divisions, against the Bosjesmans Hottentots, who are daily proceeding in murder and robbery, in order to attack those robbers in their dens and hiding places, and to reduce them either to a permanent state of peace and quiet, or otherwise, in case of necessity, entirely to destroy them, in order, by this means, again to re-establish and thereafter to maintain in the peaceful possession of their abandoned farms, our inhabitants who have already been expelled from their dwellings and possessions by the said robbers :—we have, therefore, placed under your orders, as we do by these presents, the following thirteen field corporals, commanding in the districts herein specified,—(*Here follow the names and districts as in the preceding paper,*)—who, together with the men (*manschappen*) under their orders, constitute, according to the returns received, a force of about 150 men. As, however, it is quite impossible to afford you any more assistance of burghers out of these neighbouring districts, and as, at the same time, a much greater force is required for this expedition, as well as for the defence and security of the districts before mentioned ; we have, therefore, caused the field corporals, who are placed under your orders, to make a return, which is now handed to you, of such Bastards and other Hottentots as are resident with, or in the service of, the farmers, and upon whose fidelity, and dexterity in the use of fire arms, full reliance can be placed, and which return amounts in all to 150.

You shall, therefore, in the first place, make such a division with respect to the burghers under the orders of the said field corporals that one-third of the number may be left at home for the protection and safety of the country ; over which men so remaining at home you shall appoint, as provisional field corporals, the most fitting persons, to act in the place of the said field corporals until the expedition shall have been performed ; and with the remaining two-thirds, with the addition of the Bastards and Hottentots, you will commence the expedition and take the field in the latter end of the month of August next ensuing, or, at furthest, in the beginning of the month of September.

The wagons, draught oxen, and provisions required for the expedition, as well as three aums of brandy, to be issued to the Hottentots, must be furnished by the inhabitants interested herein, and those possessing farms in the said districts.

Towards the equipment of this expedition there have been issued by the Honorable Company, according to the accompanying separate list, the necessary fire-arms, ammunition, and other articles, together with some beads and staves with copper heads, bearing an engraving of the Company's mark, the Drostdy has added to the same end 300 lbs. of tobacco besides.

As, however, this expedition cannot be performed in one united corps, and on the contrary, as it is absolutely necessary that the robbers, who are scattered far and wide in the mountains, be attacked at various points at the same time, you shall therefore divide your men into three separate commandos, as nearly equal as possible, and appoint to each the necessary and fitting commanders, nominating also such as in the event of unexpected deaths or other casualty shall succeed to

(¹) It will appear, by the proceedings at Stellenbosch, that this letter and the accompanying Instructions, though dated April 19, were signed and despatched on the 9th May.

the command. You will, in the same manner, make equal division, among the three parties, of the said ammunition, provisions, and other articles.

And, although it is, indeed, impossible here to specify and prescribe to you how the march is to proceed, and in which direction the attack shall take place, still your arrangements must be so made that the said three commandos shall set out upon their journey on one and the same day, in the manner following, to wit:

The first under your own command with the field corporals, D. S. van der Merwe, &c.—(*Distribution and names as in the preceding paper*)—to assemble behind the Sneuwberg, and to make the attack in those districts.

The second, under the *Commando* of Nicolaas van der Merwe, to assemble at the Sax River, and make the attack in the surrounding districts.

The third, under the direction of Gerrit van Wyk, to meet in the Lower Bokkeveld, and to make an attack in the so-called Bosjesmansland.

So soon as this attack shall, in the manner stated, have been commenced, and when the robbers shall have been driven out of their dens and lurking places, beyond, or to the further side of the most remote dwellings of the inhabitants of the said districts, the commanders of the said parties shall not pursue them in an inconsiderate manner, and expose their men to needless danger, but, on the contrary, shall employ every possible means of entering into an amicable negotiation with them, and thus endeavor to bring them to a cessation of hostilities and to a peace; to which end, on finding them so disposed, you will enter into a treaty with them, presenting to them, as a proof of our disposition to take them under our protection, a moderate portion of the said tobacco and other bagatelles and trinkets, together with a promise of giving to them, in the event of their conducting themselves peaceably towards our inhabitants, and leaving them unmolested, some farms to reside upon.

The object being attained in this respect, and peace having been concluded with the said people, you shall evacuate for them, and give to them for their occupation, as many farms, or tracts of country (*velden*) as, without too great injury to our own inhabitants, they may require for themselves or for pasture for their cattle. You shall also take the utmost care that our said inhabitants do not place themselves further than, or beyond the said Hottentots, nor molest them in any way or manner whatsoever, and thus again give them reason or inducement to revenge and murder. You shall, on the contrary, in such case, exert all your diligence and authority, and adopt whatever means may be deemed useful and necessary to avert or prevent the like. You may and shall also, should the object of making peace be accomplished, place over the said Bosjesmans Hottentots the so-called kraal captains or chiefs, and deliver to them, as proof and token that they are taken under the protection of the government, the said staves with copper heads, bearing the Company's mark.

In the event, however, of your being unable to dispose them in any way whatsoever to the proposals above detailed; and should necessity thus demand that they should be entirely subdued and destroyed, in such case it is left to your good management and that of the commanders of the other parties, to act therein according to the exigencies and circumstances of the case, and to attack and slay them, in such a cautious manner, however, that our own inhabitants may be as little as possible exposed to danger, and not rashly led to slaughter; and also that no blood shall be spilled without absolute necessity, and that as much as shall be by any means possible, the women and the defenceless males shall be spared.

And as it is evident that you will, in the attack, get possession of many of the wives and children of the said Bosjesmans Hottentots, and that they will become troublesome to you, it is therefore left to you again to release the women, but you will keep the adult and the young (*weerbaar en aankomende*) males in safe custody, until this expedition is ended and all is restored to quiet, when you will let them go, or divide them in proportions among the poorest of the inhabitants there, in order to continue to serve them for a fixed and equitable term of years, in consideration of their receiving proper maintenance, for which purpose some of them must be brought hither.

You shall, however, take good care and prevent their being—any more than the other free Hottentots who have entered the service of our inhabitants for hire—maltreated by them in an unlawful manner (as has more than once happened with many) and thus excited to wicked (*heilloose*) revenge. You will also take care that the cattle plundered from the inhabitants, which may be retaken during this expedition and afterwards, be restored to the former possessors, in proportion to the wants of each person.

As it cannot be foreseen how long this expedition will last, or when it can be brought to a conclusion, it is left to you to act therein according to circumstances.

When, however, the main point is attained, and the said robbers are either brought to a substantial peace, or altogether subdued, the commanders of the several parties shall, as soon as possible, and in the most suitable and convenient manner, transmit, by one of their men, either to you or direct to the Landdrost, a written detail of the result of their expedition and attack.

You will also restore to the inhabitants who, in consequence of the said robberies, have been forced to abandon the loan farms held by them from the Company, and to betake themselves to the abodes of other inhabitants residing nearer to this place,—their formerly occupied and indispensable farms, as well those on which they reside, as their cattle farms; of which your proceedings, as well as of the general result of this expedition, you shall then, as soon as possible, and without loss of time, deliver in person a detailed account in writing.

You and the commanders of the other parties will take care that the ammunition and other articles which have been mentioned, and which have been delivered to you, be frugally used and not wasted, nor unnecessarily expended; and after the termination of this expedition you will render, here, a proper account of the same, restoring whatever residue there may be.

And as we have, on this occasion, also deemed it necessary, and have, therefore, resolved for the welfare of the colony to make the following regulations and alterations in the duties of the field corporals, you will therefore take care that they do, twice in each year—that is to say, once during each six months—give in, either to you or to the Landdrost, as most convenient, reports in writing of all the men who reside in their districts, and also of all changes of residence; also of the number of burghers and other men who are fit or unfit for duty,—as also what youths, within those districts, have attained to the proper age and bodily stature, and have thus to be inscribed among the yeomanry (*burgherye*).

You will also take care that the said districts placed under your charge are, and continue to be, henceforth provided with the needful and qualified field corporals, in the room of those retiring, who will not be discharged excepting upon weighty and admissible grounds, while the said field corporals shall be bound and obliged, on requesting their discharge, not merely to propose another fitting person, but to send such proposed successor in person to you, or in the manner most convenient to the Landdrost, of which discharges and new appointments you will receive the necessary written intimation.

And as it is now quite impossible to prescribe any thing further for your guidance, as we cannot foresee what may be demanded by the emergencies of future events, and the circumstances of the time, it is therefore left to your own sound discretion and prudence, with the advice of the field corporals under your orders, according to the position of affairs, and the nature of the difficulties which may present themselves, to make such regulations and alterations—as well respecting this expedition as otherwise—as shall be found to be useful and necessary, of which, as well as of all changes and remarkable events in their districts, written reports shall, as above directed, be made through you by the field corporals, three times in each year, that is, once during every four months, and you shall, besides, in each half year, personally deliver, at this place, a general statement of the whole.

Trusting, now, that all will be managed by you discreetly, according to the duty of an upright and honorable man,—the authority of the government maintained, and the best interests of the colony and of the inhabitants duly consulted, we will recommend you the protection of the Almighty, and remain,

Your good friends,

*Actum* in the meeting of Heemraden and Military Officers,  
at Stellenbosch, 19th April 1774.

M. A. BERGH, &c. &c.

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†1774. MAY 9. Extract of Records of a Meeting of Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch.

A due report, to the Governor and Council, of the measures adopted, the arrangements made, and the appointments conferred by us, with respect to the intended expedition against the Bosjesmans Hottentots, accompanied by a humble request for approval of the same, also that the necessary ammunition and other articles specified might be issued from the Company's stores, together with the Instructions for the field commandant,—having been prepared,—in pursuance of our resolutions of 28th December last year, and the 28th March and 19th April of the present year, and the same being now resumed by this meeting, and signed by the members present, were despatched to the Honorable the Governor and Council. After which the burghers B. J. Vorster and J. Blignaut, Js.

were, upon their request, in consequence of bodily infirmity, discharged from the duty of burgher exercise, under the usual conditions ; but a similar request from the burgher J. G. Trigard <sup>(1)</sup> was refused, as he could produce no admissible and satisfactory proof of his pretended ailments. From the 10th May to the 12th June nothing occurred. M. A. BERGH.

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1774. MAY 17. Extract of Journal, Colonial Office.

In the Council of Policy which was this day assembled, a letter was read, addressed to the said Council by the Landdrost Marthinus Adrianus Bergh and the Heemraden and Militia Officers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, dated the 19th of the month of April last past, stating that—(*Here follows verbatim the paragraph which is inserted between brackets in the letter of the same date, p. 32 ;*)—as also regarding those who should command, in three divisions, the said detachments, what rank should be bestowed upon them and the field corporals,—what ammunition and other articles should be issued at the Company's expense, towards the said expedition, as may be seen, more fully detailed, in the Resolution taken thereupon. Held by me, F. C. BONNENKAMP, Sworn Clerk.

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1774. MAY 17. Extract of Resolutions of Council.

Forenoon—all present. This day was read, a letter addressed to this Council by the Landdrost Marthinus Adrianus Bergh, together with the Heemraden and Militia Officers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, under date the 19th of the month of April last past, containing as follows :—(*Here follows an exact copy of the letter referred to—see page 25 :*)—and whereas it has appeared, from the contents thereof, that—(*Here follows verbatim the passage omitted in last paper, and inserted between brackets in the following letter*) :—In the same manner it is also approved of that the Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Officers aforesaid, (that the said strong detachment may be conducted with due regularity), had—after having obtained full assurance that the charge might be safely entrusted to Rudolph Godlieb Opperman—appointed him Field Commandant, with the rank of Cornet.

It is in like manner approved—in consideration of the reasonable grounds advanced—that the field corporals of the districts, named in said letter, should have the additional rank of Wagtmeeester, as also all the other arrangements which have been made relative to their office, among which is particularly noticed, as very useful and advantageous, that the said field corporals shall punctually report, twice a year, to the field commandant, and he again, every four months, to the Landdrost, upon every thing of any importance which may occur in the said extensive districts.

It was further thought proper, upon the request and proposal submitted in said letter, in order to assist the inhabitants in the performance of the expedition about to take place, to issue to them, on the Company's account, 90 firelocks, 900lbs. of gunpowder, 1,800lbs. of lead, 3,000 flints, 24 handcuffs, and 12 leg-irons.

To which shall also be added, to serve as presents to the said Bosjesmans, on making a peace with them, 30lbs of beads of various kinds, 9 staves with copper heads, bearing an engraving of the Company's mark, 4lbs copper for bracelets, and three tents besides, for preserving the ammunition in general, and in particular, for taking care of the arms, three arm chests, provided with good oil-cloth coverings and with sufficient locks.

There was also read the Instructions drawn up for the field commandant, and transmitted with said letter, and as it was found that the same are in all respects so framed, that if strictly attended to, there is reason to expect a good result to this expedition, the said Instructions were therefore in like manner fully approved.

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
day and year as above.

J. v. PLETTENBERG.  
OTTO L. HEMNEY, &c. &c.

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1774. MAY 17. Copy of a letter from Governor PLETTENBERG and Council to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

GOOD FRIEND,

After your letter of the 19th of April last had been this day read before our meeting, and it had appeared to us, from the contents of the same, that [you, after your deliberations (*besoign*) upon

(1) See 16th June 1794, 5th June, and 8th August 1797.

the subject, had found that, in order to protect the inhabitants of the Camdeboo, Nieuweveld, Hantam, Groote, Middel, and Kleyne Rogge and Bokkevelde districts, against the violence and pillage (*stroperyen*) committed for some time back by the Bosjesmans Hottentots, and again to re-establish them in the occupation of their abandoned possessions,—could not well afford them any assistance from the nearer districts, and had therefore been obliged to make the necessary arrangements for the employment—independently of a strong commando of one hundred persons, inhabitants of the aforesaid distant districts—of a force of one hundred and fifty, as well Bastards as aboriginal (*oorspronkelyke*) Hottentots besides, who are faithful to us, and fit to handle fire-arms : We, therefore, approve of all the aforesaid arrangements, as well in respect to the persons and the numbers of which the said commando shall consist, as of the mode of surrounding the said banditti, and in the first place endeavoring to induce them to consent to a permanent peace ; but, should there be no means of effecting this, in such case to bring them to reason by force.]

We approve, in like manner, of your having—in order that the said strong detachment may be regularly conducted, and after the good assurance which you have obtained, that the charge may confidently be reposed in the person of Godlieb Christian Opperman,—appointed him Field Commandant with the rank of cornet.

In the same manner we also approve of your having—upon the reasonable grounds stated—bestowed upon the field corporals of the several districts mentioned in your said letter, the rank of sergeant ; as also of the other regulations relative to their functions, among which we particularly notice, as highly advantageous and serviceable, that the said field corporals shall report, twice a year precisely, to the field commandant, and he again to the Landdrost every four months, upon every occurrence of any importance in the said widely extended districts.

We have further, upon the request and proposition conveyed to us, in the letter before mentioned, thought fit, in order to assist the inhabitants in the performance of the expedition in hand, to issue towards the same, on the Company's account, 90 firelocks, 900 lbs. gunpowder, 1,800 lbs. lead, 3,000 flints, 24 handcuffs, 12 leg-irons ; to which are also added, to be used as presents to the said Bosjesmans, on making a peace with them, 30 lbs. of beads of various sorts, 9 staves with copper heads, bearing an engraving of the Company's mark, 4 lbs. of copper for rings ; there are also granted, besides, 3 tents for the preservation of the ammunition in general, and 3 arm chests, provided with good coverings, and sufficient padlocks for the security of the arms in particular.

We have also read the Instructions which have been drawn up for the commandant and enclosed in your said letter, and having found that the same are so framed (*ingerigt*), in every respect, that if strictly observed, we have reason to anticipate a fortunate issue to the expedition. We therefore, in like manner, fully approve of the said Instructions. (1)

In the Castle the Good Hope,  
May 17, 1774.

By order, &c.

O. M. BERGH.

1774. MAY 23. Copy of a letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Governor PLETTENBERG.

HONORABLE SIR,

The unfavorable state of the weather having prevented me from sending the wagons last Monday to convey the ammunition for the expedition against the plundering Bosjesmans Hottentots, according to your respected order, I have so arranged that the four wagons required, as well as the party for their protection, consisting of a sergeant, three corporals, and nine dragoons, shall attend at the guard-house on Wednesday the 25th instant, exactly at nine o'clock, to receive the said ammunition ; I therefore take the liberty humbly to request that your Excellency may be pleased to give directions that the same may be speedily issued, and sent hither, as the winter season is at hand, and as otherwise the several chief officers of the commando, who are to take the ammunition with them, will be obliged to remain with it for several days, should the rivers be swelled by heavy rains, and thus cause considerable delay to the general expedition, &c. &c.

Stellenbosch, 23d May 1774.

M. A. BERGH.

(1) " In 1774 an order was issued for the extirpation of the whole of the Bushmen, and three commandos, or military expeditions were sent out to execute it."—Report of Select Committee on Aborigines, p. 27.—For all the orders issued from 1769 to 1775, which have been as yet found, see Dutch Edition.

## Extract Records, Stellenbosch.

1774. June 14. There was produced to the meeting, and read accordingly, the highly respected letters of the Honorable the Governor and Council, running thus (*here is inserted a copy of the letter of May 17 ; (supra page 31).*<sup>(1)</sup> After which, the burger, F. Venter, who had, for a considerable time back, been unable properly to perform his burger exercise duties, from continued sickness, as was confirmed by his captain now present, was, upon his petition, discharged from those duties, continuing bound, however, to keep his arms always in good order and fit for use ; a similar request presented by Isack van der Merwe was declined for the present, in consequence of the invalidity of the evidence produced.

M. A. BERGH.

## Letter from Governor Plettenberg, to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1774. June 14. Good Friend,—As we are now beginning to be in want of draught oxen for the Company, and as I am informed that there may, perhaps, be some to be had in your district, especially from the Hottentots living at Piquet Berg and Oliphants River, you will, therefore, cause inquiry to be made whether there, or elsewhere in your district, a lot of such cattle are to be purchased from the said Hottentots, for the service of the Company.

## Letter from Governor Plettenberg to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1774. June 17. Good Friend,—I send you enclosed seven transcripts of the renewed and amplified Proclamation, relative to the prohibited barter of cattle with the Hottentots, and so-named Kafirs, lately promulgated here ; of which you will immediately cause six copies to be affixed at the usual places in your district ; and you will publish the seventh in the month of October, at the burgher review which is then to take place ; another copy is sent for the information of the overseer at the Company's farm Clapmuts, which you will cause to be delivered to him ; and you are further directed to watch with the utmost vigilance, that the orders contained in the said Proclamation, are in every respect promptly executed.<sup>(2)</sup>

By Order,

In the Castle &amp;c., 17th June 1774.

O. M. BERG.

Extract of a letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to  
Governor Plettenberg.

1774. August 24. Whereas there have been absolutely none of the Hottentots residing at a distance, at this place with their cattle, in order to barter them to the Company, and it may therefore be reasonably presumed, that those who, as in the case of Hermanus Crouse, ride round the country in all directions, and thus not only get possession of what little remains to the Hottentots, to the prejudice of the Company, and notwithstanding the salutary proclamations successively issued to the contrary, but, furthermore, alienate those tribes from their lawful sovereign.

I therefore cannot omit to inform your Excellency of the same, and also to submit for your wiser consideration, whether it would not be proper, in order to stop all smuggling, to remind the

(1) The following are the contents, as stated in the return obtained from the Clerk of the Peace, at Stellenbosch, of two documents of this period, there deposited, of which copies have not as yet been obtained :—“1773, April 30. Field-Cornet Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, to Landdrost and Military Court, Stellenbosch, reporting thefts of cattle, that the incursions of the Bushmen were never so daring or so frequent as during the last six months, that they are not to be overtaken, as they make no fires in warm weather. Inhabitants of his ward ask to be allowed to attack them at a favorable period, and destroy the first kraal they fall in with.”

“1774. June 2. Adriaan van Jaarsvelt to Commandant Opperman stating that from the repeated marauding incursions of the Bushmen in the Sneeuwberg, he and the inhabitants of that part of the country contemplate abandoning it immediately. Reporting new depredations, and applying for a commando, with which to strike a decisive blow.”

(2) 1774. June 16. Extract of Journal. There were despatched to the respective Landdrosts the necessary copies of the renewed and amplified Proclamation, which was this day published in the front of this castle, relative to the prohibition of the cattle barter with the Hottentots or so-called Kafirs, &c.

Hottentots to whom they must barter their cattle, and also in order to supply the Company's farms with cattle, which appear to be so much required, that the Corporal Theunis should be sent towards, October or November to the Gamtoos River, and thereabouts, to barter cattle for the Company.

Should your Execlleney be pleased to approve hereof I have humbly to request that I may be allowed on that account, 40 lbs. of small red beads, a small tent, and an iron pot.<sup>(1)</sup>

F. MENTZ.

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Extract of a letter from the Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam,  
to Governor Plettenberg.

1774. Oct. 25. It having been perceived from some time baek, that some deserted slaves represent themselves to be Bastard Hottentots, and under this pretext, instead of being detained and brought to the appointed places in complianee with the Proelamation on that subject, thus procure a free passage, and obtain employment among the farmers, to the great injury of their owners, who are thus not only deprived of their property and the work of the slaves, but are put to great expence and trouble in vainly endeavouring to find out the said evil-disposed slaves; this practise might also lead to many irregularities of this sort.

We, therefore, having discussed the matter at our board, have taken the liberty, with great respect, to bring this abuse to your knowledge, according to our duty, and humbly to submit, whether it might not possibly operate with effect against this abuse, if the inhabitants who have one or more of the said Bastard Hottentots in their service, should not be allowed to send any of them out any where, without providing them with a proper pass, and upon the said Bastards having completed their period of serviee, that they should receive a testimonial which they could show and deliver to any one to whom they wish again to hire themselves; thus at the same time, the said Bastards would be obliged properly to complete their period of service, and they would be prevented from annoying the inhabitants by frequent desertion, and hindering the progress of the work; thus also many thefts and robberies committed by this sort of people, as well through a vicious disposition as through poverty, could be more easily checked and prevented.

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Relation delivered at the requisition of the Landdrost of Swellendam, J. F. Mentz,  
by the Burgher Arnoldus Heyring, of competent age, as follows:—

1774. May 30. That the relator, as he thinks, about the beginning of this year, without being positive as to the exact date, left Cape Town for the interior, in company with Hermanus Lucas Crouse, with whom he was then in partnership, with an ox wagon laden with merchandise, of which they intended to dispose, and having proceeded on their journey beyond Bruntjes Hoogte, they, thereupon, went to Kafirland; that said Crouse then went with his wagon (and some beads and iron-mongery, which the relator had previously delivered to him,) to the bushes and lurking places of the Kafirs, he, the relator, in the mean time, remaining elsewhere in the eountry, out of fear.

That when the said H. L. Crouse, after an absence of two or three days, rejoined the relator, he brought with him about 70 or 80 Kafir cattle, of which the relator, on his return, sold to various inhabitants, seven or eight head, which he had received from Crouse for merehandise, without being able positively to state who those persons were; and that the residue of the cattle were left at the farm of the said Crouse; stating nothing farther, the relator gives, as the grounds of his knowledge, as in the text, being ready further to confirm the same.

Thus related at the Cape of Good Hope, 30th May, 1774, in presenee of H. J. Storm, and N. Cruywagen, as witnesses, &c.

(Which I testify)

L. KLOGE, Sworn Clerk.

(1) 1774. Sept. 20. Extract of a letter from the Cape Government to the Landdrost of Swellendam. I have to state, in reply to your letter of the 24th ultimo, that it being resolved, to despatch Maartin Theunisz the overseer of the Company's post the Buffel Jaechs River, to barter cattle from the Hottentots, on account of the Company, he is therefore furnished with written instructions for his guidance in the said cattle barter, and also with an open order, copies of which are enclosed for your information.

## Extract of Resolution.

1774. June 7. Upon re-perusal of a letter addressed to this Council, on the 16th March last, by the Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam, together with the declarations thereto attached, it was understood, that the persons accused by that board—namely, Arnold Heering and Hermanus Lucas Crouse, of whom the first is in civil arrest in the castle, and the second has been ordered, by letter to the Landdrost of Swellendam, to be sent hither in custody, be again taken into the service of the Company in their former quality of seamen; and, as useless, and, for this Colony, very hurtful subjects, sent to India.

In the Castle, &c.

J. VAN PLETTENBERG, &c.

Extract of Despatch from Governor Plettenberg and Council, to Governor General P. A. van der Parra and Council, Batavia.

1774. June 10. Two inhabitants, who resided in the District of Swellendam, named Arnold Heering and Hermanus Lucas Crausen, having some time ago wandered about, far in the interior, and even beyond the habitations of our Colonists, and there committed various irregularities, we have been compelled, in order to rid the Colony of such useless and mischievous subjects, to take them both into the service of the Company as sailors, and to remove them hence; of whom the first named, A. Heering, is sent by the bearer of this letter, and the other shall, upon his being brought up, be dealt with in the same manner, &c.<sup>(1)</sup>

J. VAN PLETTENBERG,  
OTTO L. HEMMING, &c.

## Extract Resolution.

1774. Nov. 4. The said Governor having then stated, that in consequence of the tongue and foot sickness among the Company's cattle, as well as of unusually heavy and long continued rains, and uncommon cold, a great quantity of the Company's stock, particularly draught oxen, had perished, so that the work for which such cattle were required could not be properly carried on, that he had, therefore, sent out Maarten Theunis, overseer at Buffel Jacht River, to barter from the Hottentots thereabouts, as many cattle as might be conveniently procured from them, and had furnished him to this end, with the instructions and open order now produced; when, after reading the said instructions and open order, the measures which had been pursued by His Excellency, were deemed in all respects useful, and necessary for the Company's service, and it was understood that the same should be noted accordingly.

In the Castle, &c. date as above.

J. VAN PLETTENBERG.

Report of the Field-Commandant Nicolaas van der Merwe, of the Expedition performed against the Bushman Hottentots, with the following Corporals and men, as they took the field on the 16th August, 1774.

1774. Nov. 7. . . . . [Here follows a list of four Field-Corporals who took the field with 27 Dutch (named) and 38 Hottentots—64 Dutch, also named, are stated to have "staid at home."] On the 16th and 17th Aug. advanced with the ammunition wagons to the *Drooge Land Cloof*;—

(1) The following correspondence contains the sequel of the proceedings against the persons whose illicit trading with the Kafir led to the promulgation of the Proclamation of 16th June, 1774. (*Supra* p. 24.)

1774, July 26. Landdrost Mentz to Governor Plettenberg.—Honorable Sir,—This serves to inform your Excellency that the burger Jan Martin Elst, whom I humbly recommend to your Excellency's notice, is about to convey to Cape Town the burger Hermanus Lucas Crouse.

F. MENTZ.

1774, October 21. Extract of Despatches from the Governor General at Batavia, to the Cape Governor. . . . . We approve of your having taken into the service as sailors, and sent hither, the vagabondizing burgers Heering and Crausen. . . . .

1775, October 13. The burgers taken into service and sent hither, on account of their bad conduct with the natives, are confined on the Island Edam, and the necessary orders have been given, that the gunner, the soldier, and also the sailor, do not return to you again, which is now notified for your information; as also, that at our meeting of the 3d instant, there have been relegated to your promontory, the Captain Lauwt of Ternate, Prins Achmad, the deposed Sultan of Xullabessi, Mochadica and his three sons, and the Tidorse Abdul, of whom the five first are to remain until further orders, and the last for 50 years.

Batavia October 13, 1775.

A. VAN DER PARRA.

18, to the place of Hendrik Korf, in the Dry land (Carroo?);—19 and 20, halted and cast bullets;—21, to the place of Gerrit Visser;—22, halted;—23, under *Roggeveld Berg*;—24, at Gerrit Putter's;—25, to *Caree Bosch*;—26, to behind *Spits Kop*;—27, to *Riet Fontein*;—28, to *Coupsberg*;—29, at *Palmiet-fonteyn* below Coupsberg; halted and sent out spies, saw no Bushmen;—30, lay still;—31, to *Doorn-River*. Sept. 1, at the *Dweka*;—2, lay still;—3, sent out spies;—4, discovered a Bushman kraal, in which were 16 Bushman Hottentots, who voluntarily surrendered;—5, sent out spies, who returned on the 8th, having discovered no Bushmen;—6, Jan Robertse, the provisional Field-Corporal, joined us at the *Dweka*, with 10 Europeans, and 13 Hottentots;—7, lay still;—8, to *Stinkfonteyn*;—9, the Commandant Van der Merwe and Field-Corporal Pieter Jacobs went out to reconnoitre with 18 men;—10, discovered a kraal about 9 at night;—11, a skirmish began with the Bushmen, 16 were shot in their kraal, and 6 taken prisoners. On the 9th the covered wagons had gone on to the *Willigbooms River*. The corporals, Robertse and Putter, reconnoitred. 12, found a kraal, in which 9 were killed;—13, the same party found a kraal, in which 30 were killed. On the 12th, the wagons advanced to the *Karmenade Kraal*, and on the 13th to *Doolhoffs River*;—13, Okkert Schalkwyk was wounded by the Bushmen in an attack, being struck in the side of the left leg above the knee, with an arrow, of which a portion of the poisoned barb remained in the wound; and as the arrow had penetrated very deep, there was no chance of extracting the barb without surgical instruments; he suffered with the wound 9 days, and died on the 21st, at the place of Koekemoer, where he was buried. 14, advanced with the ammunition wagons to the place of Koekemoer, sent out two parties of spies, Hendrik Olivier, with 24 men, and Nicolaas Jans van Rensburg, with 11 men;—16, Van Rensburg found a kraal, in which 8 were killed and 1 taken;—18, H. Olivier returned to the ammunition wagons, having found no kraals;—19, Nicolaas van der Merwe and Pieter Jacobs spied with 10 Europeans and 16 Hottentots;—22, took 3 Hottentots prisoners; Jan Robertse spied with 15 men and 16 Hottentots, found a kraal, from which the Bushmen had fled; the wagons advanced to the *Remhoogte*; and on the 23d, to the abandoned farm of Jan Duran; spied with 12 Europeans and 12 Hottentots;—24, they returned, having seen no Bushmen; the wagons proceeded to below the *Nieuweveldsberg*, and on the 25th, to *Bloemfonteyn*;—26, lay still, and sent out 16 Hottentots in 2 parties;—27, lay still;—28, the wagons advanced to *Verdriet Heuvel*;—29, Robertse and Olivier spied with 35 men, 18 Europeans, and 17 Hottentots, but saw no Bushmen; Carel Rasmus spied with 12 men, 4 Europeans, and 8 Hottentots;—30, he found a small kraal, in which 4 Bushmen were shot, 2 were taken, and 2 escaped; Rasmus came unexpectedly close upon the kraal, which lay in a very concealed position in the rocky hillocks, and he was thus compelled to attack it. October 1, Van der Merwe and Pieter Jacobs spied with 9 Europeans and 9 Hottentots, saw no Bushmen;—2, with the wagons to the *Sax River*.

On the 1st and 2d, Robertse and Olivier found a small kraal, in which 13 were shot and 1 taken; and then another small kraal, in which 9 were shot and 7 taken;—4, the Commandant Van der Merwe and Pieter Jacobs rejoined the wagons at Sax River; they had seen no Bushmen;—5, lay still; to *Hattang's Fonteyn*, with the Wagons; Van der Merwe and Jacobs spied with 11 Europeans and 15 Hottentots;—8, found a kraal, in which 5 were killed and 6 taken; with the wagons to *Brak River*; spied again with 10 Europeans and 18 Hottentots;—10 found a small kraal, in which 10 were killed and 11 taken; 12, with wagons to *Draay River*. 6, G. Putter spied with 18 Europeans and 14 Hottentots;—9, found a kraal, in which 8 were killed and 6 taken;—13, found a kraal where 7 were killed and 2 taken;—14, found a small kraal, where 6 were killed and 4 taken; returned to the wagons at *Draay River*;—16, to *Verdriet Fonteyn*, with the wagons;—17, Hendrik Korf, in seeking for water, made prisoner of a Bushman who confessed that there were three kraals in the vicinity, on which J. Robertse and H. Olivier, as also Van der Merwe and P. Jacobs, with altogether 27 Europeans and 33 Hottentots, went out to spy;—19, fell in with two small kraals at the same time, where 11 were shot and 14 taken;—21, found a kraal, in which 6 were killed, and some escaped by flight among the rocks;—20, with the wagons to *Renoceros River*;—21, to the place of Korf, with the wagons;—22, to the second farm of H. Korf with the wagons;—23, halted there;—24, to the third farm of H. Korf with the wagons. These three farms were burnt down by the Bushmen, so that nothing remains but the walls;—25 rejoined the wagons, having on the 24th taken 9 Bushmen prisoners;—26, remained on the place of Korf;—27, to *Riet Poort*;—28, to *Kleine Sax River*;—29, to the abandoned place of Leendert Van der Linden;—30, to *Kleine Riet River*;—31, to *Groote Riet River*. Nov. 1, to the *Groote Brandvagt*;—2, to the place of Jan Myberg, on the *Roggeveld*;—3, to *Tanquas River*;—4, to the grazing farm of Jan Smits; 5, to *Ongeluks River*;—6, to *Paardeberg*;—7, arrived home in the *Bokkeveld*.

Thus passed and occurred on the expedition performed against the cattle-stealing Bushman Hottentots according to the tenor of the foregoing report.

(Signed) NICOLAAS VAN DER MERWE.

(*In Margine.*)—On the 26th of last October, made a verbal treaty of peace with an appointed captain named Joris, who was also taken prisoner at the place of Korf, on the Sax River; to which Hottentot the staff was given, with a present of some beads; and he promised to take care that in future no more cattle-thefts or other aggressions shall be committed <sup>(1)</sup>

### Journal of the Commando under the Orders of Gerrit van Wyk.

1774. Sept. 2. († †) Assembled at the house of Hendrik van Seyl, on the *Vis River*;—3, inspected the Company's fire arms;—4, marched to near *Rhenosser River*, east, five hours;—5, ascended Rhenosser river to the *Klip Drift*, E., one hour;—6, to the *Riet Fonteyn*, N.E., seven hours;—7, to *Danssers Fonteyn* on the *Sak River*, N.E., one hour;—8, the train halted; Willem Steenkamp rode into the mountains with a Commando, discovered nothing, E. two hours;—9, his spies found nothing, N.E., two hours;—10, lay still reconnoitring, discovered nothing;—11, the spies discovered nothing, N. three hours;—12, back to the train;—13, descended Sak river to Klip Drift with the whole train, N.W., three hours;—14, rain; lay still; sent out 6 men to seek for water;—15, the commando rode away from the wagons to *Cyffer Fonteyn*; sent out spies in three parties, discovered nothing, N.E., five hours;—16, sent out spies to the *Rietpoorts Berg*, who reported that the Bushmen had shot arrows at them, and rolled stones from the mountains;—17, having reached the foot of the mountain at daybreak, the commando rode round it in two parties; that to the left under the Commandant; that to the right under Steenkamp, who fell in with Bushmen, in a rocky hillock, half an hour south of the mountain, they shot briskly with arrows, and would not come out when called; shot five, and took a child. The other party joined there; went on that evening to the *Carree Kloof*, where there was no water for the horses; the spies perceived nothing, N. five hours;—18, sent out spies in three parties, they saw nothing but footmarks; went that evening to the *Klippe Cloof*, good water, N. two hours;—19, sent for the train; spies discovered nothing;—20, the train arrived from Klip Drift;—21, in the morning the spies discovered fire at a distance; marched in the night to *Honingbergs Vlakte*; there divided the commando, one party under the Commandant, the other under Steenkamp; 22, at daybreak Steenkamp's spies perceived fire, they galloped to it; the Bushmen having ensconced themselves behind the fence of the kraal, shot Gerrit Bastert Minie through the hat, therefore shot 8; they would accept no peace; found cattle hides; the commandant marched up to the first fire that was perceived, and had them called out to make peace, but instead of answering they shot their arrows, therefore shot 10; found in the kraal the hides and tails of cattle. That evening the two parties joined at Rhenosser Fonteyn from the wagons, E., six hours;—23, sent for the train to Rhenosser Fonteyn; *klaauw* and *tong siekte* among the oxen;—24, Willem Steenkamp went with a commando, 54 in number, into the *Roode Klip* mountains, spies discovered nothing, S.E., three and half hours;—25, to *Dasjes Craale*, S.E., one hour;—26, the spies found footmarks, traced them to *Klip Fonteyn*, found nothing; E., one and half hour;—27, to the *Klip Cloof*, found nothing; N.E., two hours;—28, to the place where Andries Jacobs was murdered by the Bushmen; in the evening the spies discovered fire, N.E., four hours;—29, in the morning marched towards the fire, but the Bushmen had perceived something, and secured themselves in the *Roode Klippen*, where it was almost impassable with horses; they were called to, to come out, but replied with arrows and stones; shot 7, and took 3 children; the fight continued from daybreak to 4 P.M.; according to the statement of the Hottentots, a certain Samson and Cardougch, who had aided at the murder of Jacobs, were among the killed; sent three men to fetch the train;—30, the train arrived; Oct. 1, a day of rest; cleaned the guns;—2, left the train

(1) This and the 28 other papers distinguished by the mark († †) had been for many years mislaid, after having been consulted by the author of "Researches in South Africa," and were, after a prolonged correspondence, fortunately recovered on the 12th August 1841.

The recovered papers from which this, and the following report are given, are copies, and are not authenticated. But from the tenor and handwriting, they have every appearance of being contemporaneous with the originals, and the details agree in every respect with those entered in the Journal (*vide infra*, 30th Nov. 1774, and 13th Jan. 1775.) The originals are still missing from the Colonial Office, and no copy of the report of the division under Opperman has been found.

in two divisions; that under W. Steenkamp to *Potader Kraal*, N., four hours;—3, to *Biesen Kraal*, the spies saw fire in two directions, N.W. two hours;—4, halted to reconnoitre more closely;—5, before daybreak in the mountain, E., two hours; at daylight rode up to the kraal, but the Bushmen had perceived the wagons, and dispersed in all directions among the rocks; two of them came out when called to, 7 were shot, 8 of the children taken, the rest escaped. That night rode to the other fire in the *Soute Valley*, W., four hours;—6, in the morning attacked the kraal, shot 17, took 2 children; returned that day to *Potader Kraal*;—7, to the train at the *Leeuwen Kloof*, N.E., three hours; the party under the commandant [had gone] on the 2d N.E. three hours to the *Leeuwen Kloof*; on the 3d sent to fetch the wagons thither; on the 4th the wagons came, when they rode on and found there deserted kraals, N.E., six hours; on the 5th to *Drooge Cloofs River*, where they took a fugitive, who had escaped from the other party, otherwise they found nothing, W., three hours; on the 6th found nothing; rejoined the train in *Leeuwen Kloof*, S., seven hours;—8, with the whole train to the *Verdriet Fonteyn*, N., eight hours;—9, sent out scouts;—10, the scouts came back, they had seen kraals that had removed, a party under the Commandant, went after them to *Haasen Fonteyn*; gave orders for the wagons to go next day to *Soute Vley*, W., four hours;—11, marched towards evening, and halted in the flat during the night, W., three and half hours;—12, at daylight to *Serjeants Graaff Water*, fell in with a kraal there, and after an obstinate resistance 28 of the Bushmen were killed and 5 taken, 2 of whom had been wounded in the fight, which continued till 4 P.M.; one of the prisoners said that some Bushmen had gone to the *Hantam* to fetch cattle, and that 2 were killed, one of whom was said to be the instigator, Ruyter; they said also that the Bushmen were endeavouring to collect together in order to attack the train; went that evening and halted in the flat, S.W., three hours;—13, in the morning to the long *Leeuwen Kuyl*, sent 6 men to protect the wagons: [travelled] that night S.W. five hours;—14, in the morning attacked a kraal at *Kliprug*, killed 14 there and took 3, who told the same story as to the Bushmen intending to attack the wagons, and to fetch cattle from the *Hantam*; two of the prisoners escaped; went to *Sak River*, S.E., 2 hours;—15, found a deserted kraal, rode to the *Gare Kap*;—16, the wagons arrived from *Soute Vley* at *Gare Kap*;—17, lay still, cleaned guns;—18, the commando followed traces to the long *Leeuwen Kuyl*, N. 7 hours;—19, to the flat on the lower part of *Sak River*, N.W. 7½ hours;—20, in the morning, down the *Sak River*, sent 6 men to fetch the wagons, N. 1 hour; in the evening spies returned, they had discovered a kraal;—21, in the morning rode to the kraal, but they had fled, N. 1 hour; returned to *Sak River*, the wagons arrived;—22, lay still; sent two of the Bushmen women to call the other Bushmen to come and make peace, with directions to return in 5 days, gave them beads and tobacco, and showed them the staves and rings;—23, 24, 25, awaited [their return];—26, No Bushmen yet came;—27, the two women came back in the evening, saying that they could not follow or find the fugitive Bushmen, in consequence of want of water which prevented them following the traces any further, and that the nearest kraal had alarmed the others; it was therefore unanimously resolved not to ride any further, because also, no one knew of any water in that country.

28. Proceeded up *Vis River* with the train S.E. 4 hours, and there released two Bushmen prisoners, with four women, and their two children, who were still young, and let them go to their people, to seek for them, and to say that they must come to the *Hantam* to make peace, and that no one there should hurt them; gave them beads and tobacco to take with them, as a mark of our inclination for peace. In the afternoon travelled up to *Vis River*, S.E. 6 hours;—29, from *Vis River* to the *Hantam*, W. 10 hours.

We, the undersigned, hereby certify, that it is the simple truth that the commando was executed as above stated. (Signed) G. van Wyk, W. Steenkamp, [and 29 others]. Held by me, (Signed) Joh. Hendr. Eymen.(1)

(1) ++ An unsigned paper, apparently a copy of returns of the distribution of prisoners taken upon the general commando of 1774, consists of three lists. The first is entitled, "Prisoners divided among the party of Zarel Marais," the total number 69, the ages not stated, but the names of 37 persons are given, among whom 46, apparently children, were divided for various periods, from 10 to 20 years, only three for the latter period, of whom two are stated to have been "sucklings." With the exception of these three, the maximum period is 16 years. With regard to the disposal of the remaining 23, it is added, "liberated 12 women, with 6 sucklings, and 5 girls besides, whom some of our Hottentots took to wife."

The second list is headed 1st October, 1774. "I divided of the prisoners among those in want of them, to remain with them for their subsistence, as follows:—The total is 39, of whom 24 were divided among the same number of persons, in the same manner as above stated. The persons named being all inhabitants of *Snecuwberg* and *Camdeboo*, it is probable that the list refers to a division by Opperman.

It is added,—"I gave over to *Adriaan van Jaarsveld*, a Hottentot prisoner, with his wife and child. I would have appointed

Petition of Inhabitants residing beyond De Bruyns Hoogte.

1774. Nov. 10. To the Governor and Council, &c. :—We come in all submission and respect imploring your Honors to accept this our humble petition, and to extend to us mercy and indulgence :

Great Sirs,—Whereas we have understood, with great sorrow, that numerous complaints have been made by our fellow burghers, to your Honors, against us, and which have much excited the wrath of your Honors against us, to our greatest concern and sorrow.

To the effect—that we are obstinate and rebellious against your Honor's Proclamation, and also against the prohibition of barter with the Kafirs.

But which we are not, and do not, but through our great poverty, for as we possess little, should we go to live upon the Sneeuwberg, and should the Bosjesmans Hottentots take from us a single beast or sheep, we should suffer more [in proportion] than an inhabitant of Sneeuwberg, by the loss of ten cattle or sheep.

For many of these inhabitants beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, are not in possession of 100 sheep and 5 cattle.

Therefore, as there is here peace and quiet with the Hottentots, as it is fruitful for stock and for cultivation, and as there is also much game for our needful supply of food, we have come to reside here.

We request, implore, and pray for the forgiveness of your Honors, if we have done amiss by *trekking* over.

Great powerful Sirs :—We entreat, in all submission, respect, and obedience, that you will take pity on us, and permit us to remain here, and to pay rent to the Company for this country,

Then we shall, as obedient burgers and faithful subjects, each as far as he is concerned, take good care that such troublesome complaints be not conveyed to your Honors to awaken your anger.

Also requesting respectfully that, in that event, you may select a fitting person residing beyond Bruyns Hoogte, as Field Commandant, and impose on him an oath that he may arrange petty disputes, such as differences between neighbours, and that he may report to the high council of policy such as might trade or barter with the Kafirs, so that the transgressor might be punished as an example to the others.

We hope the Lord may bestow his grace upon your Honors, towards the desired result.

Meanwhile we shall not cease to pray God Almighty to preserve the dear persons of your Honors still many years in his holy keeping, and remain with all imaginable respect, your Honors most obedient humble servants, *A. Krugel, W. Prinsloo, Johannes Klopper, Johannes Nortje, Jz., Jacobus Potgieter, Frans Labus Canye, Louis Nel, Dirk Schalkwyk, Pieter Willemz Nel, Willem Prinsloo, Jr., Hendrik Kloppers, Hendrik Prinsloo, Claas Prinsloo.*

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Copy of a Letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to  
Governor Plettenberg.

1774. Nov. 20. Hon. Sir,—I take the liberty of transmitting herewith the account of the Company's live stock now upon the stations at River Sonder End, Rietvalley, and Buffeljachts River, also humbly requesting that there may be issued, for the trade for the Hottentots, 200,000 Amsterdam copper beads, 504 lbs. tobacco, and 388 cans of arrack.

Swellendam, 20th Nov. 1774.

J. F. MENTZ.

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Extract of Journal Colonial Office.

1774. Nov. 30. Of the three detachments of burger dragoons which were sent out against the plundering Bushman Hottentots, that under the *commando* of Nicolaas van der Merwe, which had performed the expedition in the Middel and Kleine Roggeveld; and then in the Bokkeveld, behind the Witsenberg, having returned, a written report was made thereupon, by the said Van der Merwe, that during this expedition, he had in several *rencontres* with the said Hottentots, killed

him one of the kraal captains, but he replied that he dared not undertake it, as his tribe would kill him. Released 6 women with 2 children at the breast, 2 of the prisoners died from cold, and 2 of disease."

The third list refers to the distribution by Josua Joubert, of 11 prisoners, among 10 persons named, for periods of from 14 to 19 years. With the exception of the names, this note contains the whole information contained in these lists.

142, and taken 89 of them, and that only one of his party, the farmer Ocker Schalkwyk, had lost his life, in consequence of a wound by a poisoned arrow; and further, that he had made a treaty of peace with a certain Bushman Hottentot, named Joris, who had been taken prisoner at Sak River, and had, thereupon, on receiving his promise to take care that no thefts of cattle, or other acts of violence should henceforth be committed, appointed him captain, as a token of which he gave him a staff bearing the Company's mark, and also presented him with some beads.....

Held by me,

F. C. RONNENKAMP, Sworn Clerk.

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### Extract of a letter from Governor Plettenberg to the Landdrost of Swellendam.

1774. Dec. 12. As I last September gave to Martin Theunis, overseer of the Company's Post, Buffel Jagts River, detailed instructions for his guidance on a journey to barter cattle from the Hottentots, and issued to him the requisite merchandise, of which you were duly apprised by letter, I am much surprised that the barter has not yet been commenced; as I find, by your report of the Company's cattle, that only 40 bull calves are purchased; and had I not been informed by Theunis that these were cattle which had been brought to Swellendam by the Hottentots, and sold there, I should have remained in entire ignorance of that fact; for, without mentioning any thing of how the former merchandise had been disposed of, you now ask for more. It would have been more regular in you to account for the former issues, before asking for more. Still, in order that the said journey may not be delayed, I have issued to Theunis 4 half-aums arrack, 240 lbs. tobacco, 100,000 copper beads, and 4 gross of pipes, directing him to take these goods straight to his post, and thence to set out on his journey, giving to you, upon his return, an exact account of the stock procured, and returning what remains of the goods, for both which you will remain responsible.....

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### Extract from Journal Colonial Office.

1775. Jan. 13. The return and the proceedings of the commando sent out under the Field-Corporal Nicolaas van der Merwe, against the plundering Bushman Hottentots, having been duly entered, under date 30th Nov. last year, due regularity requires that it should be here further notified, that the other two commandoes, which went out for the same purpose, under the Commandant C. R. Opperman, and the Field-Corporal Gerrit van Wyk, have also successively returned, and that the said Opperman has reported thereupon. That he, in compliance with the orders prescribed for his guidance on the subject, had taken the course of the Swarteberg, the Camdeboo, the Sneeuwberg, the Nieuwveld, and Coup, and that the Hottentots, with whom he fell in with in those quarters, opposed themselves to him, and the force under him, with such fury, that he had found himself compelled to resort to force; there being, in sundry attacks, 265 of the said robbers shot dead, and 129 men, women, or children taken prisoners; while on the other hand, some of his men, and he, Opperman himself, had been wounded, or struck by poisoned arrows, though no lives were lost in consequence; and further, that at the so-called captain's kraal and at Buffels River, he had appointed two Hottentots, who evinced a peaceful disposition, Captains over their kraals, giving each of them a copper-headed staff, and presenting them with some beads, copper rings, and some pounds of tobacco.

The said G. van Wyk has also reported the occurrences of the expedition under him to the Lower Bokkeveld, the Hantam, Great Roggeveld, and Oliphants River, namely, that he had killed 96 of the said murderous and predatory gang, (*gespuys*) and taken 21 of both sexes, great or small, but that in the obstinate attacks and resistance of the Hottentots, none of his men were wounded, and only one shot through the hat; as all this and the further proceedings of the said commandoes may be seen more minutely and amply detailed in the journals and report held and delivered by the said Field-Commandant Godlieb Rudolf Opperman, and the Field-Corporals Nicolaas van der Merwe and Gerrit van Wyk, and which are deposited in the office of the Political Secretary, together with the lists of such of the captured Hottentots as have been placed with various poor persons, for a certain term of years, to serve them for the needful maintenance. It meanwhile appears, from the said reports, that the number of Bushman Hottentots killed, amounted in all to 503, and that of the prisoners to 241.

Extracts from the Records of the Board of Landdrost and Militia Officers  
Stellenbosch.

1775. May 9. The Field-Commandant Monsieur, G. Opperman, having reported in writing to the Landdrost, that several inhabitants of the Swellendam District, whose names he had stated, had settled as well in Camdeboo as on and about the Sneeuwberg; and who had requested the necessary (*attestatie*) passports for change of residence, from the Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam, in order to be inscribed as Burgers in this, the district in which their farms are situate, without obtaining the same; and further, that some of these persons who had been out upon commando, and had thus been unable to attend at Swellendam for drill and review, had been summoned for the penalty thus incurred:—It was unanimously resolved, after reading the said letter, to address the following letters on the subject to the Landdrost and Heemraden, and also to the militia board at Swellendam . . . . .

1775. June 13. The Landdrost having laid before the Board the report which he had received from the Field-Commandant, Monsieur G. R. Opperman, of his expedition against the Bosjesman Hottentots, together with the lists of the men who had served on the expedition, or been ordered to remain at home for the defence of the country, in order thus to determine what persons should be prosecuted for the penalties incurred by absenting themselves from the last review:—It was, upon his proposition, resolved, in order to prevent incurring too heavy costs, to postpone the matter until next review, and then to summon at the same time the absentees from both . . . . . After this the Landdrost stated, that the burger A. G. Schombie, who had served on the said expedition under the command of the Field Corporal Nicolaas van der Merwe, had come to him and charged the said Field Corporal with having acted contrary to his instructions, and caused innocent blood to be spilt; and seeing that such a statement must necessarily be inquired into, in order that the guilty might be punished according to desert; he, the Landdrost, had thought proper, as the expedition was sent from this place, and as the said Field Corporal acted under instructions issued by this board, to summon him before it, together with his accuser, in order that the case might be inquired into, and such decision come to as might be deemed necessary, according to the circumstances.

Whereupon, the said Van der Merwe and Schombie being admitted, the last named was desired to state what he had to say against that Field Corporal. On which he said, that Van der Merwe had not acted according to his instructions, for, after the attack upon the first kraal, he had refused to give over to him, Schombie, a Hottentot girl who had been wounded, and whom he, Schombie, had requested to have, in order that she might be cured; but that the said Van der Merwe had delivered over that girl to a Hottentot, as he had also done with a little Hottentot infant at the breast, who was severely wounded, to be shot.

On which Van der Merwe replied, that this charge was unjust; for, in the attacks and in the firing, some females and children had certainly been killed, although he, after the attack, had endeavoured, as much as was in any way possible, to provide that the females and defenceless children should be spared; while a few who were mortally wounded, and who thus must necessarily have suffered a painful death on the field, had on that occasion been dispatched, in order that their death might not be still crueller; testifying further, that he was not conscious of having acted during this expedition, otherwise than in strict compliance with his instructions in every particular; and that in this instance, he had been falsely accused, referring to the evidence of one Engberg Dykslag, now here, who had been constantly with him in the field. The witness being called in, and heard concerning the said charge, declared it to be false; adding, that he and all who had served under the said Field Corporal could say nothing else than that he had done his duty very well, and according to his orders.

The said Van der Merwe also produced a declaration signed by the burgers J. Jacobs, P. Erasmus, J. van Heerden, J. J. Joosten, and W. S. van Heerden, to the effect, that in all that was done on the commando under Van der Merwe, against the Bushman Hottentots, from the 16th August to the 26th Oct. 1774, nothing had occurred that was at variance with the orders given him by the Landdrost.

Upon this subject it was further stated by the Cornet Monsieur Bleumer, that during his recent journey in Roggeveld, he had heard Van der Merwe praised by almost all the inhabitants; who added, that they would like always to serve under him on commando.

The said Schombie was asked after all this, for what cause he had thus accused Field Corporal

Van der Merwe, as the contrary had been fully proved, and whether he also had any proof to adduce? He replied that it was because Van der Merwe had refused to give him up that girl, whom he would have taken out of compassion; and because he had afterwards turned him out of his house with some abusive expressions; adding, that he could not procure any declarations in support of his charge.

On which Van der Merwe did not deny that he had caused Schombie to quit his house in anger, but said, the cause was that Schombie thus falsely accused him, which had then reached his ears.

Upon which it was resolved, as it had appeared to the satisfaction of the Board, that the said Field Corporal Van der Merwe had done his duty,—to acquit and absolve him from this charge, as unfair and originating in self-interest.

While in order to check the disposition of such ill-advised accusers to bring forward such revengeful, self-interested, and unsupported charges, in this groundless manner, and to prevent the zeal and public spirit of the Field Corporals from being damped, the said A. G. Schombie was sharply reprimanded by the Landdrost for his said inexcusable and culpable proceeding, recommending him to take care how he made such unfounded charges in future. It was further unanimously resolved, to condemn him on that account to pay a fine of ten Rix-dollars for behoof of the treasury of the board. . . . .

### Report of Commandant Godlieb Roedolf Opperman.<sup>(1)</sup>

1775. Aug. 15. (+ †) On the 12th June a report was made to me by the Field Corporals D. S. van der Merwe and Zarel Marais of the commando which they had conducted on the 1st June against the plundering Bushmen, when they shot 48, and took 12 defenceless children; many of these robbers escaped in consequence of the weakness of the commando, for fever has been recently very prevalent in the country, thus they could not pursue these robbers any further. I therefore thought fit again to order a commando behind the Sneeuwberg for the 1st August, as the Bushmen are constantly busy with robbing and murdering, as the Field Corporal Adriaan van Jarsveldt reported to me on the 28th June, to wit: that the Bushmen had again carried off by night 72 head of cattle from the kraal of Jakowis Joosten, of which he recovered 30, the Bushmen kept the rest; they also shot with arrows 2 of Joosten's horses, of which one died, and murdered the herdsman.

It has been also reported to me by the Field Corporal Zarel Marais that the Bushmen were very active in his district, they had away all Marais' cattle, though fortunately retaken, with exception of 2 which they had stabbed to death, and the robbers fled. From Schalk Vorsters they stole 6 cattle, and shot dead with arrows 12 sheep of Jan Viljoen. They had away the whole sheep flock of Davit de Villiers, though fortunately retaken, excepting some which they had killed; they got hold of none of the robbers who all escaped. . . . .

On the 2d July, a Hottentot of Frans Joubert's complained to me that Joubert had taken away his wife, and requested that she might be restored to him; on which I ordered Joubert to give that Hottentot up his wife, and also to let her leave his service, paying her the cattle or wages she had earned. . . . .

1775. Feb. 13. The Stellenbosch Journal of this date has an entry of a resolution of the government dated 17th Sept. 1754, which was produced and read. The resolution will appear again in its proper place, together with any thing that may throw further light upon its subject when issued.

"Extract Resolution passed in the Castle the Good Hope, Tuesday, 17th Sept. 1754. It was further represented to the Governor by the said two Landdrosts, that their substitutes had frequently complained to them, that when Hottentots were imprisoned for criminal offences, they did not receive the smallest payment for the food supplied to such prisoners. It was thereupon understood, that in future when Hottentots are confined for any criminal offence in any of the country districts, the substitutes shall receive the same allowance for their food and other supplies (*andersints*) as for an imprisoned slave; the amount of which shall from time to time be defrayed out of revenues of the respective districts."

1775. Feb. 24. Extracts of letters from the Landdrost of Swelleudam to Governor Plettenberg. "In transmitting the return of the Company's live stock, I have the honor to report that Corporal Theunis, who set out on the 11th January last to purchase horned cattle for the Company, has not as yet returned, and that ten bull calves have been bartered here from the Hottentots.

1775. May 24. "It will be seen, from the accompanying return of the Company's live stock, that Corporal Thennis has purchased, for the merchandise received by him, 220 bull calves, and that none of the said merchandise remains on hand."

(1) This paper is unsigned; but is evidently, from the tenor, as well as the writing, one of Commandant G. R. Opperman's periodical reports, according to the instructions of April 19, 1774, (*supra* p. 39.)

The parts of these general reports not extracted, relate to the settlement of civil questions of debt, pleas offered for not attending drill, and two notices to put down the names of applicants for particular loan farms for 6 months.

On the same day (4th July) Putter complained of a Hottentot who had deserted during his absence from home, and gone to J. de Beer, who was unwilling to give him up, on the plea that the Hottentot complained to him that Willem Basom, the servant of Putter, wanted to shoot him. I summoned Basom in order to question him, in the presence of De Beer and Putter, when Basom said that the Hottentot had lied, and that he had never thought of such a thing; on which De Beer said to Basom, "you told me that you would shoot that Hottentot." Basom denied having ever said so, and alleged that De Beer belied him, and that unless he proved the charge he had advanced, he, Basom, would consider De Beer *aschelm*. On which I let this case lie over until further orders. On the same day I examined the dispute between D. Koekemoer and J. de Beer, about the bastaard F. Toornheem, and decided that the bastaard should return to Koekemoer, as he said that his old master treated him well, and that he was tipsy when he hired himself to De Beer, and at the request of the bastaard, I ordered De Beer to let him go. . . . . On the 15th Sept. the Field Cornet Zarel Marais reported to me all that occurred in his district, to wit, on the 14th July, the Bushmen took away 31 cattle of Davit de Villiers, when they made a commando, and fell in with some of the robbers, of whom they shot one, and took a child, but recovered none of the cattle. On the 18th July, the robbers again took away 9 cattle of H. van der Merwe, of which three were retaken, the rest the robbers retained. On the 19th August, the Bushmen stole 3 horses from Pieter Hugo, on which Hugo's servants pursued, but without success, so that the robbers have kept these horses. From Carl Persoon, 12 cattle stolen, also not recovered. A great number of Roeloff Korsten's sheep shot with arrows, they caught one of the robbers, but the rest escaped. So that the Bushmen are dreadfully active with stealing and robbing, and, therefore, the Field-Corporals are compelled to keep their men from drill, and at home, for they are no day certain that some theft may not happen. Z. Marais, therefore went over the names of his men, and requested that they might be excused from their burger duties, [*i. e.* proceeding to Stellenbosch for the annual drill and review,] as follows :- (here 20 names.) The Field-Corporal Josua Joubert, also has reported to me that the Bushmen murdered one of the herdsmen of Andries Pick, and while he, Joubert, was on commando with Jaarsveldt, the robbers had carried off a large lot (*heele gedeelte*) of his sheep, and also 2 cattle, so that the Bushmen are again at work in his district with robbing and murdering, he therefore requested that his men may be excused from their burger duties this year, more especially because their horses are tired with constant commandos,—the names are as follows (21 names.) Joubert's men who refused to go on commando are (4 names.)

### Report of Field Corporal Adriaan van Jaarsveld, Sneeuwberg.

To Mr. Commandant Godlieb Roedolf Opperman.

1775. Sept. 4. ( + + ) According to my duty, I have the honor hereby to communicate to you my regular report of all that has happened in my district since the month of April, 1775, with respect to the robbing and stealing of the Bosman Hottentots, and also of the commando consequent thereupon, from the date before stated, to the end of the month of August.

*First.* From the burger Andreas van der Walt, two hundred and thirty sheep carried off by the robbers.

*Secondly.* From Stephanus Christiaan Smidt, eighteen working oxen stolen by the thieves.

*Thirdly.* Stolen by the Bosmans, from Isaak van der Merwe, Jun., sixteen milch cows, whose calves were left behind, and died on his place from want of milk,

*Fourthly.* From Adriaan van Jaarsveld twenty-one working oxen, taken away by the thieves; but by great good luck recaptured by a Hottentot who was herding sheep.

*Fifthly.* From Carel van der Merwe, Hendrik's son, seven head of cattle stolen by the evil-doers.

*Sixthly.* From Jacobus Joosten, Jun., a great portion of cattle stolen, as I informed you in my last letter; and two horses wounded with arrows, one of which died on the spot, and the other recovered; but the person who herded the horses was soon after found dead. Fourteen days after another horse of the before mentioned Joosten was killed by the thieves with an arrow, otherwise nothing remarkable has been committed by the thieves, except that the robbers are still daily traced and seen in all the recesses (*hoeken*) of the Sneeuwberg, which led every one to wish that the time were come for the great commando of the 1st August to take the field, which being acceded to, by you, at my urgent request, and which order being punctually complied with by

me, all the men assembled at my house on the 1st August to proceed on the commando, as stated in the subjoined list of the names of the men under their several Field Corporals as follows:—

(Here follow the names of 4 Field Corporals and 55 farmers, of whom 13 are stated to have been absent. The number is, however, stated at the foot of the list to have been 46 Christians and 31 Hottentots.)

Aug. 1. The commando arrived at my house.

2. Went with the commando to the house of Isaac van der Merwe, where, during the ensuing night, the Bushmen stole the herd of cattle from the homestead of Van der Merwe's other grazing place; they were, however, retaken the same night, with imminent danger of their lives, by the servants belonging to the farm; one of the cattle was severely wounded with arrows, and two of the dogs that came to assist, were killed by the arrows of the robbers.

3. Went with the commando north east-wards, but found nothing worth notice as far as Tafelberg.

4. From the said mountain we went on still to the north-east, until we came upon the higher part of Seacow River, where, while on the way, we came unexpectedly upon one of the cattle stealers, and also saw at a distance a great number of thieves on their way; and in order to create no suspicion in this captured thief, we were obliged to exhibit towards him a peaceable demeanour, so as thus the more easily to get the other thieves in our power. It was, therefore, unanimously agreed to persuade this Bosman that we came as friends, and were merely travelling to the said river to shoot sea cows; we gave him a pipe and tobacco, and sent him to his companions, to tell them of our peaceful intentions, and also to come to us to show us the way to the said river; but we saw no more of the thief.

5. North-west down along Seacow River to *Eylands Drift*, where, while on the way we noticed fire extending from place to place, which was known to us to be a concerted signal of the robbers to give each other notice of the commando; and it was always set on fire along the way by which Stephanus Christ. Smit's oxen had been driven, and thus no Bosmans came to us as yet, as they had been formerly in the habit of doing, when any of the men came to shoot sea cows.

6th. Took twelve men and two wagons and went to *Ronde Kop*, lying on the same river, where while on the way, we again came unexpectedly upon five robbers, and used the same words towards these prisoners, as to the first robber; and as a mark of friendship we shot a sea cow for them, at the said Kop.

7. Sixteen Bosmans came out of the mountains to the south, to us at *Ronde Kop*, where we shot some more sea cows, to entice the robbers by the meat; as I knew no other means that could be employed to pay the thieves for the constant murdering and cattle stealing. The carcasses were accordingly allowed to remain, and I moved off with my before-mentioned party to the *Blauw Bank*, down the Seacow River.

8. Shot twelve sea cows, and sent a message through the Bosmans, whom we had with us, to desire the men I had left behind to come to me from the *Eylands Drift*; they came to me about sunset.

9. Stayed by the sea cows we had shot, where another party of Bosmans came to us; asked them, through our interpreter, where their captain lived; they replied that he was in the *Roode Bergen*. Told them a second time that they must go to call their captain, to show us the road further on to the *Groote River*; on this they said it would be trouble to no purpose, as they knew to a certainty that he would not come. I then immediately perceived, as all the plunder is mostly driven in that direction, that it [his reluctance?] must be on that account. Soon after we all heard [sounds] as of the discharge of firearms, and therefore presumed that a party of thieves had passed through in our rear, and again stolen cattle, and that the men left at home had assembled, and overtaken them with the booty; and, as I thought, the same idea was entertained by the Bosmans whom we had with us, and my presumption was also next morning confirmed, as they all left us secretly during the night, and went to their dens.

10. Moved with the whole commando about two hours down the river, to a place which we soon after called the *Keerom* (Turn Back), whence the same evening I sent a party of spies back to the *Blauw Bank*, to see whether the fugitives were not at the sea cows; as I knew from experience of the habits of that tribe, that if they knew where carrion is to be found, they assemble there in the night. About midnight the party returned, with intelligence that they had seen there a great number of Bosmans, on which I proceeded in that direction with the commando, waiting for daylight, which soon appearing, I divided the commando into two parties, and thus—

11. Overthrew the robbers there; where on searching, we found one hundred and twenty-two

dead, and five escaped, who saved their lives by swimming through the seacow pool. We also took of the defenceless, twenty-one prisoners, of whom three escaped the same day; and on our side Stephanus Vorie was wounded with an arrow, though not mortally; and four other of our men were hit with arrows through their clothes. After counting the dead, we examined their things, to see whether we might not find something from which their robberies could be perceived, thus there were found among their things, ox hides and horns, which they had brought with them for their use. After the examination, I sent eight men on horseback to the north-east, to see if they could find any thing of the traces or carcasses of cattle, so that we might take our measures accordingly, whether to be satisfied or not.

The eight men having returned to me, reported that they had seen the traces of the oxen leading still farther to the north-east than the Keerom; there was also seen by them the head of an ox, which had been slaughtered by the Bosmans, but the flesh of which [had been] consumed; on which statement we resolved to go on still further to the termination of the *ossen spoer*; but upon examining our provisions, we found it insufficient to enable us to go further; and were thus obliged to turn back to the south-east.

12. Sent out five spies, to the south-east from the Keerom to the Roode Bergen before mentioned; and in the night proceeded some distance in the same direction with the commando, to the *Schuyt Hoek*.

13. The five spies returned, stating that they had seen nothing but fire lit by the Bosmans; upon this intelligence, I sent out 9 other spies, and in the evening 6 mounted men, who returned towards daybreak, having seen nothing but fire lit by the thieves.

15. Went with the commando by night from the Schuyt Hoek south-east to *Carolus Poort*.

16. Sent out 18 spies in two parties, each of six; we also made prisoners of two Bosman scouts, who came to spy our camp; asked them through an interpreter, where their Capt. with his people might be; on which they told us that they were on the said Roode Bergen, and that there was in the kraal a Bosman who lay wounded by a ball through the shoulder, which wound he had received upon the occasion before mentioned, when the cattle of Isaak van der Merwe were taken; still they were not frightened by this, but much more unanimous in repeating the former robbery. They further promised to show us the thieves; upon which promise, I that evening sent a party of my men with them, ordering them to return the same night. Soon after their departure, some of the spies returned, stating that they had found a kraal on one side of the Roode Bergen, about an hour and a half northward, on which I marched with my men that night towards the kraal pointed out by the said spies.

17. At daybreak surrounded the kraal, and when the day favoured us with more light, fired upon it, when not one of the thieves escaped, but fifteen fell on the spot, and eight little ones were taken. On examining this slain kraal, we found the hides of cattle, and fresh mutton and suet. One of my men was also hit by an arrow through his clothes.

18. Turned back with my men to the said Carolus Poort, where those men awaited me whom I had sent out on the 16th Aug. They stated that they had been woefully misled by the two Bosman spies. At last the second party of spies returned, having found the kraal, which the two deceivers should have shown, but the thieves had fled from it, in consequence of the two false guides having led the men with them hither and thither about the kraal, in order to apprise their companions of the commando, by the traces. On this information, I sent out seven other spies with the said two cheats, but strongly impressed upon them, through the interpreter, that if they misled us a second time, they should certainly be put to death; but that if they pointed out the hiding place of the fugitives, they should thereby save their lives; on which they promised to point out the hiding place of the fugitives without fail. I then let them depart, but they had only gone about an hour, when the two deceivers fell on the ground; our spies desired them to rise, but they lay as if dead, without making answer; they then tried to make them rise by means of some blows, but they still made as if they were dead; and seeing no means of getting these deceivers to leave the spot, and that they might not be any further betrayed by them, they were therefore killed on the spot by our spies, and quitting the dead bodies, and having come upon the traces of the fugitives, our spies kept the traces until they found them in a cavern in the Roode Bergen; when they came back to tell us, and I proceeded that evening with the commando to their caves.

19. In the morning we fired upon them in their caverns, so that not a single one escaped. On counting the dead we found 44, and took 7 little ones, who told us that among the dead was a captain, but not the chief captain who governed over the whole Seacow River. Here again we had a man wounded in the neck with an arrow, but not mortally, named Hendrik van der Merwe.

After all was over we inspected the caverns, where we found more hides and sheep-skins than we had ever been accustomed to find in any field of battle (*verslagen plekken*). From this place we came back some distance to the *Windhoek*, where I again sent out 14 spies, in two parties. Towards evening those two men joined the commando whom I had left at home sick, as before stated, namely, Isaak van der Merwe and Barend Burger, who told us of the mischief committed by the thieves since I had taken the field with the commando. They had taken the whole sheep flock of the said Van der Merwe, from the homestead in the night; and the sheep had been recovered, with great danger, out of the hands of the robbers, who, in spite of every endeavour to prevent them, drove off 40 sheep, and some goats, and killed 20 besides. Sent these two men back, with letters to the Vice Field Corporal, H. van der Waldt, directing him to take the field as speedily as possible after me with a commando, to try whether he might not perhaps fall in with some of the wandering robbers.

21. In the night went with the commando to the *Riet River*, where I had appointed the spies to meet us, but they did not arrive.

22. One party of spies came to apprise me that they had seen nothing except one Bosman at a distance, who was going on before us, lighting fire as he went from hill to hill to give warning [of our coming.]

23. At night we moved back to the south-west from the place above-mentioned to *Renosterberg*, where the second party of spies joined, stating that they had seen a great number of Bosmans, who were in flight over the *Rooie Bergen*, returning towards the north. This deprived us of any hope of again falling in with these fugitives, as we were in great want of food and lead. On this account divided the commando, and sent the Field Corporal, Josua Joubert, with his own men, and those of H. Myntjes van der Berg, behind the *Renosterberg*, and so to their dwellings. I marched with the other division south-west in front of *Renoster Berg* to the *Groote Valy*.

24. Dismissed the men, each to his home; but first and previously to their separation, I divided the young prisoners among the men, for I found it impossible to convey the prisoners to the Landdrost, according to your orders, for they were too little, and also sickly; besides, we had no wagons to carry them. 25. I came home. 26. The commando I had ordered took the field; but as H. van der Waldt was sick, the commando was under the charge of Barend Burger, [here follow 8 names]; but after wandering about for a long time, they found nothing, and came home on the 2d Sept. without effecting anything. But on the 3d a great number of thieves were seen within here. I, therefore, request in conclusion, that you will excuse my men to the Landdrost, for not attending at drill; not those only who were on the commando, but also those whom I was obliged to leave at home, namely, [here follow 12 names] for it is impossible that I can spare one of my men in consequence of the stir made by the Bosmans, for I must keep my men always ready to prevent, as far as possible, the present irruption (*inbreuk*) of the Hottentots.

Further, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

Snceuwberg, 4th Sept. 1775.

ADRIAAN VAN JARVELT.

P.S. I have deemed it necessary to apprise you that there is a want not only of lead, but also of powder; so that each has barely enough to protect his own life, in the event of necessity, or of attack by the robbers.

### Extract from Resolution of Council.

1775 July 11. . . . . After which it was intimated by the Governor, that although it was settled by the Resolution of 13th Feb. 1770, that none of the inhabitants of the interior should place

The following are notices of reports at Stellenbosch for this year:—

1775. May 1. "Commandant Opperman to Landdrost. Report of cattle stolen in Swarteberg—commando under Andries van der Walt—pursuit—prisoners captured, having with them, hides, horns, &c.—prisoners attempt to recover bows and arrows—some succeed and escape, others shot—from not having means of securing prisoners, requests leave to destroy them in future—sheep and oxen stolen or killed—commando go out 1st June—attempt made upon sheep in a kraal—Bushmen killed."

Sept. 1. "Field-Corporal Van der Berg to Commandant Opperman,—stating that he cannot send his people to the annual drill in consequence of the commandos necessary against the Bushmen—reporting a fresh depredation, and that he had shot a Bushman, who had stolen his sheep and struck him with a *kierie*."

Oct. 1. "Field-Corporal Steinkamp to Landdrost—that the Bushmen, in his division, had been peaceable since the commando of the preceding year."

Oct. 1. "Nicolaas van der Merwe, Bokkeveld. List of Bushmen women and children taken prisoners and placed with inhabitants."

themselves beyond or over the so-called Bruyns Hoogte, some of the people in that quarter had, notwithstanding, from want of water or of grass for their cattle, found themselves obliged to *trek* over the said Hoogte, but, on being ordered by their respective Landdrosts to return within the said appointed limits, they had submitted the following petition [here is inserted a copy of the petition. *supra* p. 39.]

That he, the Governor, having sent this petition to the Landdrosts and Heemraden of the districts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, in order to have the advantage of the opinions of these officers, together with those of their Heemraden and other intelligent persons, they had deliberated thereupon, and he had received from them the following reports:—

*Report from the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch to Governor Plettenberg and Council.*

1775. Jan. 30. Honorable Sir and Gentleman,—His Excellency the Governor having been pleased to deliver, to the first undersigned, a certain written petition from some inhabitants who had placed themselves beyond the Bruyns Hoogte, and thus over the permitted and appointed limits, in which they earnestly request, not only permission to remain there, in consideration of their poverty, and the advantageous circumstances of the country there with regard to pasture and water for their cattle, and otherwise; but also to continue to possess the places, now inhabited by them, on loan, under the Company,—

The undersigned having also received, together with the said petition, an accompanying order to examine and report upon, not only whether the same could be acceded to without prejudice to the line of division between this district and that of Swellendam, but also in what manner the daily increasing population could be best accommodated by affording to them good farms and pasture, which are no longer to be found in the country near at hand;

And further, to arrange the consequent alterations in the said boundary, in such a manner as might be deemed most advantageous to the petitioners, and the other inhabitants in general, and for the greatest benefit and advantage to the two districts.

We have, therefore, in our meeting of the 23d instant, convoked for the purpose, with the advice of the late Heemraden Martin Melk and Jan Bernard Hofman, who were commissioned to assist in fixing the boundaries between the two districts in 1770, and also of the Field Commandant Godlieb Rudolph Opperman, who is best acquainted with the localities of the country there, taken into consideration that in the division of 1770, the Zwarteberg was adopted as the line of demarcation, and all the flats situate to the north of that line, together with the farms there situate, and also along the Bushman Mountains to the eastward, as far as the Bruintjes Hoogte, belong to Stellenbosch and Drakenstein; while on the other hand, those lying to the south of the said Zwarteberg, as far as the Gamtoos River, are incorporated with Swellendam.

It would, therefore, be the best for our inhabitants, in regard to the favorable circumstances of that country as to pasture and water, that the further boundary, extending in the same manner, should proceed from the easternmost, or further end of the said Zwarteberg eastward along the adjoining Cauchasberg, and so on along the north side of the mountains stretching to the eastward.

Whereby, consequently, all the farms and flats lying to the east and north of the Caucha mountains should appertain to Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and on the other hand, those on the south to Swellendam. We, therefore, take the liberty to propose to your Excellency and Council the before mentioned fixed boundary and extension, not only on account of the reasons before-mentioned, but in particular because we, with the aforesaid advice, deem the same the best division between this district and that of Swellendam; more particularly, should it please your Excellency and Council, in the corresponding extension of the said district of Swellendam, to limit the same by the Zwart Kops River, or at furthest, by the Bushmans River.

Submitting these proposals to favorable notice, in hopes that we have herein fulfilled our duty.

M. BERG, &c.

*Report from the Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam to Governor Plettenberg, and Council.*

1775. March 17. The undersigned Landdrost and Heemraden of the District of Swellendam, have the honor most humbly to represent to your Excellency and Council the complaints which the inhabitants of this colony have preferred for some years back.

That as, from the confined extent of this district, which extends only to the Gamtoos River, they were not enabled properly to spread (*uitebreyden*) themselves, with their daily increasing families, being enclosed by the colonists of Stellenbosch, who have not only the Camdeboo and Bosjesman country to the Bruintjes Hoogte, some days' journey further than Gamtoos River for a grazing country, but also further towards the interior, where no limitation was imposed; they, therefore, request the same freedom to move inland from that side.

The undersigned, therefore, together with the retired Heemraden and Militia Officers, among whom some, from having been frequently in that quarter, are acquainted with the nature of the country, having consulted in our meeting, beg humbly to represent,

That unless this district spreads further to the east and northerly, the inhabitants will not be able to procure for themselves or children any more farms, and thus, will not only always remain in their present impoverished condition, but will have reason to apprehend being still more reduced; because, unless they can procure more pasture than is to be found in their present confined limits, their prosperity will suffer a severe shock, (*kraak*) and the revenues of this colony, at present of little or no importance, instead of increasing will be still further diminished, so that they will be unable to keep the necessary buildings in proper repair, still less to liquidate the heavy debts with which they are now burdened.

And whereas it pleased the government of the land to establish this magistracy at a time when the country from Breede River to Mossel Bay was only inhabited by a small number of farmers, in order that every thing in the remote countries should proceed with the needful order and regularity, and that a watchful eye should be kept over the conduct of the inhabitants; and it also pleased the government to provide that the farther settlements (*verdere districten*) should be subject to the jurisdiction of the Landdrost and Heemraden of "the distant districts," therefore the undersigned most humbly trust and pray that as the future prosperity and welfare of this colony cannot fail to be and continue to be agreeable to your Excellency, and also because since the *comandos* were employed in the direction of the *Camdeboo*, and which were executed with little trouble, (*omslag*) and trifling bloodshed, [*i. e.* to us ?] the inhabitants have always lived in peace with the natives, (*inlander*) therefore, the undersigned respectfully request that your Excellency may be graciously pleased to grant a small extension to this Colony; on which subject the undersigned take the liberty, with all submission, to represent,—

That as the *Camdeboo*, with the extensive tracts occupied that have been added to it, which, were it permitted, we would say ought, by right, to have appertained to this colony, are now inhabited, and as (the country) along the sea, even to *Bosmans River*, would be of little or no advantage, as, however extensive, from the drought and numerous useless tracts of wooded country, it is for the greater part useless, and would, at the utmost, not form more than twenty farms.

The undersigned would, therefore, once more, submit to your Excellency, whether it might not tend at once to the advantage of the Company and to the rest and prosperity of this colony, if the country behind the *Bruintjes Hoogte*, along the mountains to the *Fish River*, as being nearly all good useful pasture land, were added to this colony, [*i. e.* district] so as to have at once, and for the present, a fixed boundary (*om met eenen voor eerst een vaste limiet scheiding te hebben.*)

J. F. MENTZ, &c.

*Report on Boundaries by P. A Myburg.*

To M. A. Bergh, Jun. Merchant, in the service of the East India Company, Landdrost of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and President of the Heemraden there.

The undersigned Heemraad, when about to set out to the *Camdeboo*, and the cattle farms, about the *Bruyns Hoogte*, having been directed by your Honor to take that opportunity of inquiring as far as possible, in how far the order of government in respect to their not settling beyond the *Bruyns Hoogte* were respected and obeyed by our inhabitants of the districts of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and also to render a written report of the result.

In compliance with the said order, he has now to inform you that he has personally ascertained that *Louis Nel*, *Jacobus Potgieter*, *Frans Labuscagne*, *Willem Prinsloo, sen.* *Hendrik Krieger*, *Claas Prinsloo, jun.* *Hannes Kloppers*, *Hendrik Kloppers*, and *Jan Nortie, sen.* who belong to the district of Swellendam, have actually settled themselves, with their families and their cattle, over or behind the *De Bruyns Hoogte*, which they state they have from time to time been absolutely compelled to do in consequence of the difficulty of procuring good farms, on which they could procure a subsistence in respect to pasture as well as water for their cattle.

He has further ascertained that the following persons, from about or upon the *Sneuwberg* and belonging to this, our district, have also from time to time settled there: *Peter Nel*, *Jan Coetzer, sen.* *Philip Botha, Cz.* *Christoffel Botha*, *Hilligert Muller*, *Theunis Botha, Cz.*, *Cornelis Besuidenhout*, *Wz. Jan Oosthuysen, sen.* and *Jan Oosthuysen, jun.*

Also at the *Sunday River*, *Willem Bota*, *Fz. Fredrik Bota, sen.* and *Jan du Plessie*, also under the *Bruyns Hoogte*, on this side, one *Coert Grobbelar*, all belonging to Swellendam.

The undersigned having ascertained this, and having asked the before-named persons why they had not had themselves duly inscribed in the district of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, as being within the last line of demarcation between Stellenbosch and Swellendam. they all, with a few exceptions, stated that they would have done so a long time ago, and had already asked for their attestations from Swellendam, in order that they might be inscribed here, but that this had been refused them by the Swellendam magistracy, to whom they consequently continued to be subject.

*Coert Grobbelar* and *Cornelis Bezuidenhout* added, that they had twice successively asked this, but that it had been positively refused, although they prefer being under the Stellenbosch magistracy, according to the last division of government, to that of Swellendam, because it is more convenient for them to come here to exercise and review, than to Swellendam.

*Hendrik Krieger*, *Hannes Kloppers*, and *Hendrik Kloppers*, state, however, that they would prefer the

Swellendam magistracy, without having assigned any admissible reasons, the undersigned has, however, discovered that it is because they have for several successive years escaped attending the ordinary exercise and review.

The undersigned has also inquired, according to your desire, whether from the increase of the families of one district as well as the other, more farms might be required, and consequently whether an extension of the bounds of both districts would require to be made on that account; and he has not only found this to be necessary, because each of the before-mentioned men have barely one good place, indeed several of them must make shift to reside together, in poverty, upon one place, among whom he found W. Prinsloo, sen. C. Prinsloo, jun. and H. Krieger, on one, and J. and H. Kloppers, and Jan Nortie, also on one, whence they derive but a poor subsistence.

For the rest, the undersigned must say with regard to the last proposed extension and alteration of the limits of the two districts, into which he has personally and minutely inquired according to the best of his ability and judgment, as well by interrogating others as by his own observation, that the division and extension is in all respects equally advantageous for both districts.

A great mistake has, however, been perceived with regard to the name of the line of mountains proposed as a boundary, which is not called the Cauchas, but the Riet Berg, which Riet Berg extends as, in the said report, the Cauchas are said to extend; and it also presents itself as a boundary for the two districts, and no one would be able to place himself beyond it, as it ends or runs to nothing at the Fish River, the proposed limit of our magistracy.

The Cauchas Berg, on the other hand, lies indeed in the same quarter, but much nearer to this, and is so situated, that were it adopted as the boundary, the people of Swellendam would be enabled, as now with the Bruins Hoogte, to come round from behind into our district, which they, however, could not possibly do with the said Riet Berg, (as a boundary) as it terminates at the Fish River, unless any one were to pass over that river, when he would unquestionably be in the district of Swellendam.

Hoping that I have thus fulfilled your Honor's directions, the undersigned submits this as his respectful report.

P. A. MYBURG.

Stellenbosch, May 1, 1775.

After attentive consideration of the contents of these documents, it was resolved to extend the country appropriated to Stellenbosch and Drakenstein to *Visch* River and that of Swellendam to the Bosjesmans River; but as it is not well possible to specify the limits by which the country appropriated to these colonies respectively should be defined, it is deemed absolutely necessary that this should be a matter of mutual arrangement between the respective boards of Landdrosts and Heemraden, in order thus to obviate and prevent all disorders and inconveniences in the jurisdiction of these boards; and it was, therefore, thought proper to appoint an express combined meeting, on a day to be fixed by mutual agreement, to be held at Stellenbosch, and which shall consist of the Landdrosts, the officiating Heemraden, and the Secretaries, together with such persons, whether retired Heemraden or Militia Officers, as are locally acquainted with the country to be occupied, who shall be taken as *assumed* members from both colonies.

That the said combined meeting shall so regulate the boundaries, that the inhabitants of each colony be duly included in the country allotted to it, and not be hereafter at liberty, upon any new pretext, again to place themselves beyond the same. An exact report of their proceedings herein shall be submitted to this Council, by the said Landdrosts and Heemraden, for further consideration and decision. Due notice of this resolution shall be given by letter, with an earnest recommendation that, as the chief object of this combined meeting is that the regulation of the boundaries, and every thing dependant thereon, may be arranged in the manner most consistent with the public good, every thing shall proceed upon full consideration and with reciprocal harmony, without giving way on either side to perverse passions.

And as we have no other maps of the remote tracts inhabited by our grazing farmers than those which were constructed during the journies to the north and to the east in the years 1752 and 1761, and as the countries comprised therein, are not only already occupied, but as the present extension will go still further, where the country has not been yet inspected (*opgenomen*) and is known only to a few persons; and as it is still more necessary now than before that a due knowledge of these countries also should be obtained, it was accordingly resolved, on the proposition of the Governor, that these still unsurveyed countries shall be also surveyed as exactly as possible, and that proper maps of them shall be constructed.<sup>(1)</sup> . . . . .

(1) The residue of the resolution relates to the appointment for this duty, of the ship's steward, (*bottelier*) Christoffel Hieronimus Leiste, who had been left behind sick by the ship *Huys te Spylc*, at a salary of 20 guilders monthly,—“he being duly qualified for that employment.” A despatch of the same date and tenor as the resolution has been omitted, as also another of the 26th, forwarding the former to Swellendam by a messenger from Stellenbosch.

1775. Aug. 31. A letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam, with the usual periodical reports of Company cattle, wood

## Extract Resolution of Council.

1775. Dec. 27.....After which the following report from the Landdrosts and Heemraden of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and of Swellendam, was read relative to fixing the boundaries of both districts.

*To Governor Van Plettenberg and Council.*

1775. Nov. 3. Honorable Sir and Gentlemen,—The undersigned Landdrosts and Heemraden of the district of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and also of Swellendam, having this day assembled at this place, in pursuance of your directions of 11th July, to regulate by a mutual arrangement, the division of the further extension granted to both districts, in order to obviate all disorders and inconveniences as to the respective jurisdictions; have now the honour to report, that, after ample deliberation, we have unanimously thought proper to appoint the following limits as the determinate division of the two said districts.

From the place of the burgher Pieter van der Merwe, where the road passes through the Swarteberg range, in a direct line eastward, over the Brintjes Hoogte, along the mountains called Riet Berg, lying about two hours distant from the Brintjes Hoogte, to the Fish River, so that the country lying to the north of that line may be incorporated with Stellenbosch, that to the south with Swellendam, while the inhabitants of the first-named district, may not place themselves beyond the Fish River to the eastward, and those of the last-named district, not over the source of the Bosjesmans River, in the same direction.

To which end the undersigned would deem it most advisable, that a land mark, bearing the Company's cypher, should be placed upon the Brintjes Hoogte in that line, in order to avoid all differences as to the limits of both districts, &c.

(Signed) M. A. Bergh, J. F. Mentz, P. van As, P. W. D. Bos, P. A. Meyburg, A. B. Brakel, J. de Villiers, Paul Roux, W. C. Coetzer, J. Heyns, J. A. Holthausen, F. U. Potgieter.

On which it was resolved to approve of the boundary thus described as a line of separation between the two colonies, and to fix it accordingly, from the farm now occupied on loan by the burger Pieter van der Merwe, where the road passes through the Swarteberg in a straight line eastward over the Bruyns Hoogte, along the Rietberg, which lies about two hours thence, to the Fish River. Accordingly, the country lying the north of that line shall be under Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and that to the south under Swellendam. The inhabitants of the first named colony shall not be at liberty to settle eastwards over the Fish River; nor those of the last named colony, in the same direction, beyond where the Bosjesmans River has its source.

It was also resolved, in order the better to prevent all disputes between the said colonies respecting the boundaries thus fixed, to place one or more *Bakens*, bearing the Company's mark, on Bruyns Hoogte, and in any other part of the said line that may be deemed necessary.....<sup>(1)</sup>

## Report from Commandant Opperman to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

## Reports of the Field-Corporals.

(++) 1776. Feb. 15....On the 11th Dec. Jan Horran had a little Bush girl named Sina registered for 25 years, and a little Hottentot named Roman, also for 25 years, both saved from the battle.....The report of the Field Corporal J. Joubert is as follows:—On the 1st Jan. 1776, took a commando to the farm of W. Louw, in the Swarte Ruggens, for the Bushmen had stolen 70 sheep

cutting, and inspection of the alarm cannon, has no other allusion to the natives than a return of the merchandise on hand suited to the cattle barter.

Oct. 10. A long despatch from the Directors, like most of the despatches of this period, has no notice relative to the natives. Censure for permitting Company's ships to anchor in Table Bay during the dangerous period (15th May to 15th August);—satisfaction at the reduced price of meat, (a contract for 5 years' beef and mutton three *swaare duyten* per lb., and 4 skills 4 stivers for a live sheep,) “more particularly as this almost unexampled cheapness is ascribed to the recent great increase in the live stock from absence of disease,”—and a remark, that the resort of foreign shipping to the Cape had contributed to lower the price of food by increasing the consumption, and had increased the revenues derived from the sale of spirituous liquors, are the only points of general interest. This despatch conveys, with expressions of approbation, the confirmation of Mr. Van Plettenberg as Governor.

<sup>(1)</sup>These papers are given in order to convey an accurate knowledge of a subject little understood, viz. the Boundaries of the Colony, which still were, in as far as regarded the relative rights of the natives, unlimited. From 1685 to 1745, the only seat of magistracy for the interior, was Stellenbosch. On the establishment of Swellendam, in 1745, the separate jurisdictions were defined by a boundary line; but no limitation was imposed upon either district to the eastward, until in 1770 it became necessary to extend the line in consequence of the inhabitants having passed, not the colonial boundaries, but the extremity of the line of demarcation of the two country jurisdictions. The prohibitions to pass Gamtoos River and De Bruyns Hoogte, in 1770 and 1774, had, as may be seen, (*supra*, p. p. 6 and 24) reference, not to territorial rights, but to the prevention of cattle barter with the Kafirs.

from the said W. Louw. The kraal perceived us and fled, so that we only took 3 prisoners, whom I had punished at my discretion (*goetdunke*). . . . . On the 4th Feb. as to the report of H. M. van der Bergh, what has happened in my district, is, that on the last of December, 13 cattle were carried off from Jacob Naude; we pursued with a commando, and retook the cattle, none were missing, but 3, which they had stabbed; we shot one Hottentot. On the 8th Dec. the Bushmen stole 8 cattle from Jacob Naude, I pursued with the commando, and on the 8th found the Bushman kraal; we there killed 25, and took 26 children. On the 10th of this month the Bushmen stole 9 cattle, 6 oxen and 3 cows, from A. J. Joubert. On the 12th attacked the kraal, shot then 15 Hottentots, took 10, and recovered from them alive 3 cattle. As to the report of Schaarl Marais. The two *schelms* whom I would have taken alive when on my circuit, they resisted, and I was compelled to shoot them; this happened on the 6th Jan. 1776. On the 9th the Bushmen were among P. Hugo's cattle, but the herd saved them, excepting one which the Bushmen kept. On the same day the Bushmen took away 2 cattle from P. Hugo's other farm, and at the same time came intelligence that the Bushmen had taken away 27 sheep from Viljeon, and murdered the shepherd. On this sent a commando, of which I have as yet no report. They went out on on the 20th. I must also inform you of the occurrence of the two little Hottentots of P. Swanepoel and C. Scolts. According to the accounts I have received, they were playing with a gun, when one of them was shot. I have received no reports nor intelligence from the Field Corporals A. van Jarsvelt, D. van der Merwe, and Jacob de Klerk. . . . .

G. R. OPPERMAN.

### Report from Field Commandant Opperman to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

(† †) 1776. March 1. . . . . This serves to report to you that the *Bossiesmans* still increase from day to day, and assemble together in great numbers, to attack the Dutch in force; for the Field Corporal Jacob de Klerk has recently sent me a letter, and has therein informed me of the whole circumstances of the robbers, that they have collected in great numbers, to lay waste the farms of the Dutch by night, and to set fire to the houses; so that the Field Corporal De Klerk has requested me to send a commando thither to defeat those robbers; but here, in the country, it is a matter of impossibility to collect a large commando, in order to offer resistance to the robbers, for almost every Field Corporal has enough to do with the robbers in his own district. It is, therefore, my request, Mr. Berg, that you will only send me a great commando from the upper country, were it but a couple of hundred men, if it can be done, for it is necessary here; if not, we shall all be obliged to fly, as some have already done, and on abandoning their farms, the robbers have burnt their dwellings. We are not only in want of men here, but also of powder and lead, as the people have to oppose the robbers by day and by night. I therefore also request 1000 pounds of powder and 2000 pounds of lead; and I also request that orders may be given to me to give the robbers no quarter, (*voor de voet te verslaan*) that is to say the robbers of the Zak River, in the Nieuwveld, to behind the Sneeuwberg.

I have also heard indirectly that the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg have abandoned their places, not being able to hold out any longer against the robbers; and that they have removed into the Camdeboo. Should this prove true, Sir, then I fear we shall have a sad disaster, (*droevig geval*) for the robbers will then become bolder and more daring, in pursuing the Dutch, for they are already in the Swartenberg to rob and murder, where they have never been until now. I have been also verbally informed by Hendrik van Asswegen, that the Bushmen, that is to say the greatest part of them, have placed themselves at Zak River, and there securely fenced themselves; and these robbers are also said to have a gun and two horns of powder, so that we could effect

1776. Jan. 20. In reply to a letter of the 29th Dec. Government informed the Landdrost of Stellenbosch that 53 firelocks of those issued for the commando of 1774, requiring repairs, should be repaired at the Company's cost, and those that were irreparable replaced, in order to be kept in readiness at Stellenbosch for future emergencies.

1776. Feb. 6. A letter of this date from Governor Plettenberg to the Board at Swellendam, announces the appointment as Landdrost, *vice* Mentz resigned, of the military officer Pieter Diederick Boonacker.

1776. March 25. A notice in the records of the Swellendam Board, states that Landdrost Mentz, before retiring from office, asked the members,—“Whether during the period of his magistracy, he had done any thing to the injury of the district? (*colonie*.) Monsieur Jacobus Steyn answered in substance.—The president always said he acted to the advantage of the district, and that they were always obliged to do whatever he desired, Monsieur Hermanus Steyn then said, that he knew nothing to the contrary as yet, being new in office, but should he hereafter discover that any thing had been done to the injury of the district, he should then speak. The President then asked,—Had he not always lived on good terms with the members? to which they unanimously answered in the affirmative.” At this meeting a Field Corporal (P. Nel) was appointed for Agter de Bruyns Hoogte.

little there with guns, as the robbers have fortified themselves in the mountains. It would, therefore, in my opinion, Sir, be a good thing, that some hand grenades were sent at the same time, and a couple of men who know how to manage them. I have still another request, Sir, that a couple of chief officers may come with the commando; for if we attack the robbers, we must act in three parties, of which, if the Lord grants me life and health, I hope to head one.

I am, &c. your friend and servant,

G. R. OPPERMAN.

(† †) 1776. March 3. . . . . Sir,—I find myself obliged to report to you what has occurred in the district of Field-Cornet Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, since the year 75 to 76, beginning from the 13th Nov. 75. On the 13th, stolen by the Bushmen, from Jan Albert Venter, 40 head of cattle, of which none were recovered. On the same day they were among J. Joosten's sheep, and took away 16. On the 18th, the robbers took away a lot of sheep from Andries van der Walt, which were retaken, with exception of some that they had stabbed. On the 24th of the same month, one ox from Pieter Venter. On the 29th, Andries van der Walt was robbed of 9 cattle; they pursued with a commando, but recovered nothing.

1776. On the 6th Jan. the robbers again plundered Andries van der Walt of 200 sheep, on which they pursued with a commando, and recovered 80, but found none of the Bushmen. On the 8th, Barend Burger's Hottentots fell in with a party of the robbers, of whom they shot 5 and made prisoners of 6, but the prisoners subsequently escaped. On the 10th, the robbers were in the kraal of Martinus Pretoris, in the night, in order to steal sheep, when one of them was shot. On the same day the robbers were among J. Joosten's sheep in the day time, and stabbed several dead. On the 15th, the Bushmen were by night on the place of Stephanus Smit, to steal his cattle, but failed; several of Smit's dogs were wounded with arrows. On the 20th, the robbers stole 23 cattle from Isaac van der Merwel, and *murdered two of the herdsmen*, on this a commando pursued, of which on intelligence has been received.

From this you may easily imagine, Mr. Berg, how the people on Sneeuwberg are disposed, for they are not certain day or night that they may not lose their little all, (*armoet*) they are not even certain of preserving their own lives. The Field Corporal Van Jaarsvelt has also asked me for a large commando, but as this is not advisable at present, the distemper being prevalent among the horses, I have written to the Field Corporal that he must just resist the robbers as much as possible till a fitting time. I request, therefore, Mr. Berg, that you will be pleased to take the matter into consideration, for the rage and fury of the robbers daily increase, and that not only on Sneeuwberg, but I must say, in almost every quarter, so that each Field Corporal has enough to do to oppose the robbers in his own district; but should you think fit, Mr. Berg, to furnish me with twenty or thirty Bastards, accustomed to handle fire arms, I should think it a very good thing. I also request 200 pounds gunpowder and 400 pounds lead; and should this be granted, it might be sent me from Field Corporal to Field Corporal; and if possible, and you approve of it, Sir, I should wish that the ammunition were sent the sooner the better, for as the people on Sneeuwberg cannot possibly hold out longer, should they be obliged to abandon their farms, it might happen, though I have better hopes, that those of Camdeboo might be forced to do the same; I therefore hope, Sir, you will take the matter into consideration, and, according to your good judgment, dispose of it for the best.

I am, Sir, &c.

G. R. OPPERMAN.

### Extract of Records of Landdrost and Militia Officers Stellenbosch.

1776. March 5. The Landdrost having laid before the board the reports received from the Field Commandant, and the Field Corporals on the Bruyns Hoogte, and behind Sneeuwberg; from which it appeared, that, although the Bushman Hottentots still daily continue their murderous and rapacious conduct, yet they had not carried off any number of cattle worth mentioning, or that merited the sending of a commando against them. It was, therefore, proposed by the Landdrost that—as, according to the said reports, the whole plunder consisted of 97 sheep and 75 cattle, while on the other hand, the commando of the Field Corporal Hendrick Myntjes van der Berg had killed 45 and taken 36 prisoners—whether it would not be expedient that letters were written to the Field Commandant, as well as to the said Field Cornet H. M. van der Berg, to desire that in such cases they should henceforth act with somewhat greater moderation, be less

vindictive, and as much as possible avoid the shedding of so much human blood. Which proposal being unanimously approved, it was then resolved to write the Field Commandant, in the most earnest terms, in the name of the board, to oppose with the utmost vigilance such, almost needless, commandos, and to give the necessary orders that henceforth there may not be so much unnecessary bloodshed, whereby the righteous vengeance of Heaven is drawn down on the country and its inhabitants; and further, that henceforth no such commandos shall be sent out, except upon his express authority.<sup>(1)</sup>

It was also resolved, upon the proposal of the Landdrost, that he should request his Excellency the Governor for one of the usual captain's sticks, in order that, in compliance with the desire of Field Corporal Jacob de Klerk, (who had made peace with the Bushmen in his district, the Coup,) it might be sent to him, to be given to a captain whom he had appointed. After which the following warrant was issued upon the cashier of the district. To B. Lubbe, sen., for an *aum* of brandy supplied to Field Cornet W. Burger towards the expedition against the Bushmen in the year 1774, 24 guilders. Nothing occurred from the 6th to the 31st March.

### Letter from nine Inhabitants of Sneeuwberg to Commandant Opperman.

1776. (††) March 18. . . . Sir,—The object of this my present letter to you is, that the best means may be employed to secure our temporal peace, that we may be thus preserved and restored. We have reason to desire this; for though peace is the best of all human enjoyments, the fury of the Bushmen still continues to our injury. Be pleased but once to think upon the great assemblages of these heathenish evildoers, and we doubt not but your reflections will devise some means to assist us. So many thousands of Bushmen have united their inward anger and rapacity, and now oppress and injure us as they have never done before, as you may see by the enclosed report. Therefore, as in all human probability no peace is to be looked for through the strength and means of the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg, as neither the trouble nor the expence we have incurred has produced any favorable change, but rather leads us to fear for our own lives, though we have been before consumed by the land-ruining Bushmen, by the stealing of our cattle, which daily increases, so that we are too weak to make commandos, and still more to fulfil our just obligations to the Company. We, therefore, in this desperate condition have recourse to our superiors. Oh! that the Almighty and our government might be induced by our sighs and prayers to assist us with such a force, that through their wise counsel we may preserve our farms; for some of us are already flying to save our lives and what little we have left. But with all this we still have confidence, particularly in you, that we may be a little encouraged and restored in the month of August by a powerful commando under your orders, and that, with the few cattle we still have left, we may yet prosper, so that one day or other we may be enabled to pay our just debts to the Company and to our neighbours. But alas! how does it stand with us? Some of us are almost entirely ruined, so that there is scarce any hope of recovery.

We, the undersigned, all continue in good hope that our humble request will be acceded to by you, and remain, &c. A. van Jaarsvelt, D. H. van der Merwe, Andries van der Walt, Hendrick van der Walt, Jan Albert Venter, Carel van der Merwe, Pieter Venter, Charel du Plessis, Frans Jooste.

(True Copy) A. FAURE, Sec.

### Report of A. van Jaarsvelt.

1776. March 18. Report of the mischief committed by the land destroying (*lant verdervende*) Bushmen, since my last report to you. First, they have twice carried off the sheep of Jacobus Joosten by force, though retaken, with difficulty and danger of their lives, by August Klyneveld and Joosten's servants. They incurred so much danger in retaking the sheep, that they did not expect to save their lives, being so surrounded by the Bushmen that they were forced to break through by constant firing, and as, upon the killing of one Bushman, the next gave way a little, they got out, though 200 sheep remained in the hands of the Bushmen, besides those they had stabbed.

Secondly. A flock of sheep of Abram de Klerk carried off, but fortunately retaken the same day, from the robbers, all but 60, which, in all probability, were all killed.

(1) It will be seen that this resolution was passed prior to the receipt of the reports of March 1 and 3, and that it was adhered to after the receipt of these, and of other similar reports.

Thirdly. Five cattle of A. van der Walt carried off. Fourthly. Six cattle of J. van der Merwe taken by force, so that four Hottentots armed with guns could not prevent it. Fifthly. The whole of Jurie Myer's cattle forcibly taken from the homestead in the night, but retaken the next day, except 30, which are still absent. Sixthly. Eight saddle horses of Isaac van der Merwe and Stephanus Smit unloosed by night from a manger within the kraal, and carried off by the destructive race.

Seventh. A shepherd of Jan Horren murdered and 30 sheep taken.

Eighth. Seventy-eight sheep of mine carried off by my captain, who was in charge during my absence. He gave the sheep to his accomplices in the field, and deserted that night. I have now to apprehend treachery from him, as he is well acquainted with all the localities of my farm; or at least, that it will be with my horses as with those of Isaac van der Merwe. I am, &c.

A. VAN JAARVELT.

N.B. The following persons have fled from their farms:—Frans Joost, Johannes van der Walt, Piet Venter, Jurie Myer, Jan Coetsee, that is forced away by the Bushmen; and were it not that they are detained by the remonstrances of those who still remain, they would have entirely quitted this part of the country, which would lead to further mischief.

P.S. With all this we have only shot 23 Bushmen, with three successive commandos; thus the commandos, according to the times, (*na den tyt*) are now in vain.

### Letter from G. R. Opperman to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1776. March 27. Mr. Berg, I again feel myself obliged to report to you the manner in which the *Bossiemans* still continue robbing and murdering, which increases from day to day. Here follows what they have recently committed in the district of Field Corporal Jacob de Klerk:—From the widow Vorie 11 cattle, 7 from Myndert Klasen, 2 from Gysbert Roos, 14 from Christian van Aardt, 3 from Jacob de Klerk, and 80 head of cattle from Frans Kruyger, 300 sheep from Stevanis Vorie, 100 from Gysbert Roos, a lot of Jacob Erasmus' sheep stabbed, 8 sheep taken from Cornelis van Wyk, and a shepherd murdered. Jacob de Klerk then led a commando against the robbers, but having got into the vicinity of their caverns, he perceived that his force was insufficient to act against the great numbers of the Bushmen, he, therefore, returned and demanded the assistance of the men of Field Corporal Zarel Marais, and again pursued the robbers, whom they fortunately found; but the moment the robbers perceived the Dutch, they charged; the Dutch, however, defended themselves bravely, and shot one hundred and eleven of the robbers.

De Klerk has now applied to me for ammunition, but I am unable to assist him, as I cannot strip myself; but it is again my request, Mr. Berg, that you may please to send me some powder and lead from one Field Corporal to another until it reaches me, for the people have shot away almost all their ammunition, for they are daily engaged with the robbers, and I dare not send a wagon and party to fetch it, for the robbers are busy robbing and murdering in all directions. I trust, therefore, Mr. Berg, that you will take the matter into consideration, for the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg and Nieuwevelt are almost all agreed to abandon their farms; in Nieuwevelt some have already fled. I should also request a great commando, Mr. Berg, but from the prevalence of the horse distemper, I cannot venture to demand it, though it would, otherwise, be very necessary. But if you, Mr. Berg, can only send me the ammunition in the first instance, I shall see to make as much resistance as possible; and if the robbers will listen to no peace, in that case I request a commando from the upper districts, as also a chief officer. But, if you please, Mr. Berg, if it be possible, please to send me some Bastaards, who can handle fire arms.

I remain, with compliments, &c.

G. R. OPPERMAN.

### Extract Records of Militia Court Stellenbosch.

1776. April 2. The Landdrost having communicated to the board the last letter he had received from Commandant G. R. Opperman, dated March 3, in which, among continued complaints of the increasing murders and robberies by the Bushmen, assistance in men, as well as in ammunition, was requested. Upon the proposal of the Landdrost, it was unanimously deemed best, to adhere, for the present, to our former resolution of the 5th March, and to postpone consideration of the last report as well as of the former, until receipt of further intelligence as to the state of matters

with respect to the depredations of the Bushmen, when the whole may be considered at the same time, and the necessary decision formed.

The Field Commandant shall be apprised of this resolution, by means of a P.S. to the letter this day dispatched, in pursuance of our former resolution.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Letter from Commandant Opperman to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1776. April 13. Sir, Mr. Berg, I again find myself bound to make you acquainted by this letter, with the melancholy state of affairs with respect to the Bushmen, namely, that the stealing and murdering by these robbers increases from day to day.

In the first place, the robbers, in the district of Swarteberg, on the 29th March, carried off 100 head of cattle from Jan Robbertse and Abraham van Wyk; and from Klass Roets 16, and a whole [flock of?] sheep, and severely wounded three of his Hottentots with arrows. In the night of the 31st March the robbers came to the place of Willem Jansen, and would have the stock by force out of the kraals, but failed, as the servants on the farm, by constant firing from the evening till morning, drove them back, so that they could not get the cattle out of the kraals, but they stabbed 17 sheep to death, and severely wounded 5 dogs, and a Hottentot. On the 11th April the robbers were among the sheep of Stevanus van der Burg, and stabbed some of them, and wounded the slave who attended the sheep, with four arrows, so that there is slight hope of his recovery. Thus you may conceive, Mr. Berg, in what a sad position I now am, for the distemper is so severe among the horses, that we can have no mounted commandos, and as for ammunition, there is a great scarcity here in the country. I have almost stripped myself, for the people have none; therefore, I hereby once more repeat my request, Mr. Berg, that you will only be pleased to send me as speedily as possible the powder and lead for which I applied to you in my former report; for it is a matter of impossibility for me to send to fetch it, and the turmoil and fury of the Bushmen will not admit of it; and you may believe me freely, Mr. Berg, that here in the country we are in such a melancholy condition with the Bushmen, as I never could have believed, for several farms in the Sneeuwberg, as well as in the Nieuwveld and Swarteberg, are abandoned, for the people could hold out no longer. For this you must know, Mr. Berg, that each Field Corporal has so much to do in his own district, that they can give hardly any help to each other.

I have, therefore, thought fit, Mr. Berg, to make requisition for a commando, namely, from the Bokkeveld, Verkeerde Valley, Roodesand, and Twenty-four Rivers; as there are many people in those districts who have cattle in this country; and should the distemper prevail in those countries also, then I request, Sir, that all who derive any advantage from this country, may collect among them oxen and wagons, and then we shall keep back the enemy on foot.

I remain, &c.

G. R. OPPERMAN.

### Extract Records of the Board of Landdrost and Militia Officers Stellenbosch.

1776. May 7. The Landdrost intimated that he had, since the last resolution of the 2d April, not only successively received two letters from Commandant Opperman, dated 27th March and 13th April last, but a verbal complaint from Sergeant Willem Steenkamp besides, concerning

(1) The letter conveying the resolution of March 5, with the P.S. is not inserted, the tenor being the same.

It was provided on the same day to give notice that all the youths reported of age for duty (16) should, under the legal penalties, appear at Stellenbosch for enregisterment, within three months; that the present Field Corporals shall be confirmed in the rank of Sergeant (*Waghtmeester*), and, in consequence of complaints that the inhabitants would not obey the provisional officers appointed by the Field Corporals to act during their absence, that corporals should be appointed where most required. The prosecution of those who had refused to assist on commando, and the consideration of claims to exemption from burger duties, occupy the chief space in these district records.

1776. May 6. The Stellenbosch *Civil* Records of this date detail the circumstances under which the power of recommending political removal, vested in the board of Landdrost and Heemraden by the instruction of Dec 29, 1689, (*supra*, Part I, p. 445,) was called into exercise in the case of the burger Carel Hendrick Buytendag, whose deportation to Batavia was subsequently complained of at Cape Town as a stretch of arbitrary power on the part of Governor Plettenberg. The principal charge, of frequent and gross ill-treatment of his Hottentot servants, was preferred by Nicolaas van der Merwe, Field Sergeant in Bokkeveld, and was aggravated by his repeated refusals to satisfy the injured Hottentots, when recommended so to do by his Field Sergeant, and by disregarding citations to answer their complaints. The details of the ill-treatment are not stated; but before the board made the request customary in such cases to remove the party complained of to India or Europe, "as a mischievous subject," &c. the Landdrost produced five notarial declarations, nine letters from Van der Merwe and two other burgers, extracts from the complaints of the Hottentots, &c.

the continual robberies and murders by the Bushmen Hottentots, in the districts of Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, Swartenberg, and Bokkeveld. With respect to the requests therein contained for the assistance of men and ammunition, he could not omit to bring them before the board, or to produce the said letters, in order conjointly to form such a decision thereupon as might be deemed most consistent with the public good, and as the case should be found to demand.

Which letters and statements, as well as the former suspended resolution of the 5th March, having been attentively read, and it having thus appeared, that, besides a considerable number of sheep, the said robbers had not only plundered our inhabitants in those countries, from Nov. last year to this April, of fully 300 head of horned cattle; but had besides murdered 8 of their herdsmen; while our inhabitants themselves were no longer safe against their attacks.

We have, therefore, in deliberating upon these reports, and taking into consideration:—First, that these predatory Bushmen, are only regarded as robbers, and destroyed, by the other good Hottentots, who have been gradually expelled from the country beyond the settlements of the Europeans by their depredations:—And again, that these robbers being unable to plunder anything more from other Hottentots in the vicinity of their own caverns and places of concealment, and as they live by robbery alone, are induced by their appetites to plunder our inhabitants of their means of subsistence, at first, without opposition, but on encountering resistance, by means of force and violence.<sup>(1)</sup> Thirdly. That in consequence of the progressive deterioration of the farms and pastures in the nearer districts, our inhabitants are compelled, by necessity, from time to time, to seek better farms at a distance, and with the approbation of our government, to settle in those grassy countries, whence the good aborigines or Hottentots, who always lived on good terms with us, have been gradually ejected by the depredations of the Bushmen, although these do not, like the others, turn the country to any useful purpose.

And thus lastly, it is to be feared that if this be not opposed betimes, and in the best manner practicable, and force repelled by force, these depredations may in a short time extend to the nearer districts, in the welfare of which, on account of their denser population, and more important produce, the Colony, as well as the Company, is deeply interested, more particularly should these attacks, instead of being repelled by opposition, be encouraged more and more, by the abandonment of the said tracts and countries, as has been already experienced.

And that, upon all the grounds and motives above stated, it would be best that there should be again a general commando against the said robbers, in order either to compel them to make peace; or to expel them from the vicinity of the present settlements of our inhabitants.

But as it appears, particularly from the said reports, that the said Field Commandant has, among other things, demanded not only to be assisted with ammunition, namely, with powder and lead; but also with men, wagons, and draught oxen, as well out of these neighbouring districts, as from those here who possess farms in those remote countries, and thus are also greatly interested in the matter.

We have, therefore, on taking into consideration that the intention of his, Opperman's, appointment—as Commandant over the thirteen Field Sergeants commanding in the said remote countries—was conferred, with the approval of government, chiefly with the special object, that he should constantly issue orders, according to the exigency of the circumstances, for such unavoidable commandos, as should be deemed absolutely necessary, without our always finding ourselves obliged to furnish from this quarter that assistance in men which is too burdensome for the burgers not interested therein; and also, that there are under the said thirteen Field Sergeants a number of men amply sufficient; but that on the other hand, it is but consistent with equity that all such inhabitants of these districts as possess farms and cattle in the said distant countries, should also contribute in proportion; and further, that in consequence of the constant commandos continued to this day, little worth mentioning of the ammunition issued by government in the year 1774, remains on hand, as appears by the accounts kept of its expenditure; and as without this nothing is to be done, but on the contrary much mischief is to be feared; this requisition of the said Commandant should be complied with.

It was, therefore, for the reasons stated, unanimously deemed best, and resolved accordingly

(1) Thuunberg travelled in the Colony 1772—3—4—5. Sparmann in 1775—6. Both draw the same distinction between the pastoral Hottentots and the Bushmen. Thuunberg observes, that previous to 1774, the Bushmen had, by their thefts, ruined the major part of the Hottentots, many of whom have gone into the service of the Colonists; that all the tribes were graziers, except the Bushmen. Sparmann states that, “the maxims of the Bushmen are to live on hunting and plundering, and never to keep any animal alive for the space of one night. By this means they render themselves odious to the rest of mankind, and are pursued and exterminated like wild beasts, whose manners they have assumed; others of them are kept alive and made slaves of.”

under the approbation of the Governor and Council, to inform the said Commandant Opperman, in reply to his said letters, that, for the reasons aforesaid, no assistance in men can be given from this quarter ; while upon the other hand it was agreed that :—

He shall, with every kind of prudent management, send out either one general commando, or so many small ones under separate leaders, to be formed out of the men under the said thirteen Field Corporals, as the state of matters may require, and at such seasons as he, with the advice of his said sergeants may deem most suitable.

That he shall accordingly cause to be furnished by every one interested in the countries of the said thirteen Sergeants, in a fair proportion to the property of each person, the necessary wagons, oxen, horses, and provisions, particularly from those who cannot attend on commando.

That the necessary ammunition be requested from government, and if granted, forwarded to him from hence in the best and most convenient manner.

It was further unanimously thought best and accordingly resolved, earnestly to request His Excellency the Governor and the Hon. Council of Policy, after due communication of the premises, that they may be graciously pleased again to grant us, for the said expedition, from three to four hundred pounds of gunpowder, and from six to eight hundred pounds of musket balls.

And it was deemed best, should this ammunition be obtained from the government, that it be sent to the Commandant, with a proper guard, and an open order from one Field Sergeant to another.

It was lastly deemed a matter of the most absolute necessity, and therefore unanimously resolved, again to remind the Field Commandant in the said letter, to adhere to the instructions he has received, and accordingly to prevent and oppose the too needless shedding of blood, and the sending out commandos upon too light grounds ; and to try every mode and device towards concluding a peace upon a permanent footing with the said savage tribes ; and above all, to look well to the establishment of such orders as will prevent our inhabitants from causing on our side the first rupture of such peace by any provocation whatsoever ; still less any molestation or unnecessary violence.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Letter from Commandant Opperman to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1776. May 17. Sir,—Your letter of the 5th March did not reach me till the 10th May. I perceive from it your decision and that of the Militia Court, namely, that henceforth the Field Corporals are not to have any authority to make commandos against the robbers without directions from me, or at least without my previous authority, in consequence of so much human blood having been shed, which is true. A great deal has been shed, though as far as I know, Sir, I am not aware that any commando has gone out except when the robbers had given the first cause for it ; and as to the orders I have got from you and the Military Court, Sir, namely, that the Field Corporals shall have no fight with the Bushmen without orders from me, it is a matter of impossibility, and the reason why is, that the robbers are busy almost every day robbing and murdering. Secondly, should any of the Field Corporals be obliged to wait some three weeks before they have orders back from me, as they live so far from me, Mr. Berg, if I must attend to these orders which you have sent me, the robbers will have it just to their fancy ; for now the plundered cattle is frequently retaken from them when the Field Corporals are quickly at hand in order to pursue them before they reach their dens with the booty ; but if, according to your directions, I must issue these orders to the Field Corporals, the people of Sneeuwberg and the Nieuwvelt will be rid of their cattle in a few days ; for they must resist daily, or they will be all forced to abandon their farms ; and then, we, inhabitants of Swarteberg and Camdeboo, will be also unable to hold out ; for the robbers have collected together by thousands ; and also the Field Corporal Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, with some of his men, has already fled from Sneeuwberg to Camdeboo.<sup>(2)</sup> Van

<sup>(1)</sup> The letter to Opperman of the same date is omitted, being identical with the latter portion of the resolution, without the preamble contained in the first paragraphs of the latter.

<sup>(2)</sup> Similar restrictions upon the employment of commandos have frequently drawn forth similar remonstrances. *Vide* Capt. Stockenström's Observations on General Burke's *confidential* order against crossing the boundary in pursuit of plunder, 9th August, 1826, (Parl. papers, Part I. p. 119,) 20th Feb. and 7th April, 1827.

In the same manner the sentiment of Opperman relative to the effect of yielding to violence by flight, will be found, in other language, in Sir J. Cradock's despatches, explanatory of the expulsion of the Kafirs in 1811, March 7, June 10—23, Nov. 18, 1812.

These, and many other official authorities will be found to refer, in general terms to the events of this period, upon which their information was evidently derived from sources which were not the best : and it will frequently appear that the value of the *evidence* should be measured by some other standard than the rank or the general intelligence of the witness.

Jaarsvelt has also sent me a letter, and has asked me for a great eommando in the month of August, which letter I send you, together with the report; from these papers you may see, Mr. Berg, how it is with the robbers. It is also my request, Mr. Berg, that you will be pleased to write me what I must now do about the orders you have given, and about the request which I made to you about a great commando, whether it is to take place or not, for the Field Corporals Jaarsvelt and De Klerk plague me for a great eommando, and here I can give them no help, for the robbers are busy plundering in every quarter.

I also send you a Hottentot, Mr. Berg, who has done much mischief, as I have to inform you, Sir, when you will be fully convinced. I reported to you that the slave of Theunis van der Berg had been killed with arrows by the robbers. On this I went myself with a eommando to try to find them; but when two days out, the horse of one of my men fell sick, and I dared not ride any further; so I thought it good to collect a few faithful Hottentots and Bastards who could handle fire arms, and to let them patrol about the Swarteberg, to see if they could light on the robbers; so I sent to the people in my district to tell them that those who had faithful Hottentots or Bastards that could use a gun, should send them to me, which they did, and this fellow was sent by J. de Wegen with a gun to come to me; but instead of coming to me, he went to the robbers, and told them a eommando was out against them, on which they fled. 14 days after he returned to his master with the gun, so that I firmly believe he knew of the murder, as he knew where the robbers were. I therefore request, Mr. Berg, that you will be pleased to take care that such rogues do not return to the country, as such fellows induce the robbers to plunder, and when they expect to be discovered, they join them, and are then the principal robbers and murderers.

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#### Extract Records of Landdrost and Militia Court Stellenbosch.

1776. June 4. The letter addressed to the Governor and Council according to the resolution of May 7, being laid on the table and signed; it was stated by the Landdrost, that since preparing that letter, he had, on the 1st and 2d instant, successively received three letters from the Field Commandant Opperman, dated 1st March and 1st and 17th May, together with an annexed report from A. van Jaarsvelt, dated 18th March, which report and letters being produced and read, it appeared that it was still strongly insisted on that a general commando was required to oppose and repel the increasing depredations of the Bushman Hottentots. It was, therefore, resolved to send the originals of these letters, as well as of those referred to in our said letter to the government, (keeping here authentic copies,) with an express letter of this date as a supplement to the other, and to forward the letters in answer to Commandant Opperman, with an open order to the several Field Sergeants for its speedier transmission. . . . .<sup>(1)</sup>

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#### Extract Resolution of Council.

1776. June 11. Whereas it appears, as well from the tenor of two letters addressed to this Council by the Landdrost and Militia Court of Stellenbosch on the 7th May and 8th June last, as from the accompanying correspondence between the said Court and Field Commandant Opperman, and between said Opperman and some of his subordinate Sergeants, that the Bushman Hottentots have again proceeded to commit murder and robbery, to such an extent that several of our inhabitants have already abandoned their farms, and that the said Landdrost and Militia Court have thus been reduced to the inevitable necessity of directing the said Commandant to oppose the said depredations and insolence of the Bushmen by sending out one or more commandos, we have thus been obliged to approve of these orders, as being issued for the best, and

<sup>(1)</sup> The proceedings of this day refer to the refusal of A. H. Krugel,—subsequently a prominent character in the disorders of Graaff-Reinet,—to allow the people beyond De Bruins Hoogte to serve on commando, 48 persons had joined him on a request to continue under the Swellendam magistracy; but an order from government (11th June) directed him to submit to Stellenbosch. The appointment of Field Corporals and the refusal of the board to accept resignations of Field Sergeants, or to excuse from burgers' duties, for the want of sufficient evidence of sickness, &c. occupying the residue of the journal of the day.

The letters of the board to government dated May 7 and June 4, contain nothing additional, and are therefore omitted. The following is an inventory of the papers sent in original to Cape Town, and which formed the grounds of the Resolution of Council of June 11, 1776. Opperman's letters of 1st, 3d, and 27th March, 13th April, 1st and 17th May; Van Jaarsveld's of March 18. Letters from Landdrost, &c. to Opperman of 5th March, 2d April and 7th May.

to grant the 400 pounds of gunpowder and 800 pounds lead which has been requested. The said board shall, however, be enjoined by letter, notwithstanding the slight chance which appears to exist, of being able to keep the Bushmen quiet by any less stringent means, that a watchful eye be kept, that in attacking the said tribe, the inhabitants do not go further than is absolutely necessary to check their insolence.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Extract Records of Landdrost and Militia Officers Stellenbosch.

1776. Sept. 3. The extract of the Government Resolution, relative to the line of division between these districts and that of Swellendam, which was yesterday produced in the meeting of Heemraden being read to the effect. [Here is recited the Resolution of July 11, *at supra* p 46.) It was resolved on the proposal of the Landdrost, to send a copy of the same with a letter, for the information of Commandant Opperman, with directions to exhibit it in a friendly manner, to such of the people of the Swellendam district, as possess farms, which, in consequence of the change of boundaries, are comprised within these districts; and to inquire why they disclaim the authority of this magistracy; and are thus unwilling to serve with others upon the necessary commandos against the Bushmen there. The Commandant shall also be informed of the recent appointment of Field Corporals.

With regard to the said Opperman, the Landdrost stated, that he had indirectly learnt, that some of the said Swellendam people had spread certain reports to Opperman's prejudice, but which were not sufficiently specific for official inquiry; and he asked whether any of the members knew any thing against him with respect to the discharge of his duties as Commandant, and if so to state the same without reserve. The members unanimously stated, that they were not aware of any thing of the kind, but that, on the contrary, as far as they knew, he performed his duty properly, and enjoyed an unblemished reputation, and that these reports chiefly arose from such ill disposed inhabitants, as finding themselves, by the change of boundaries, included in the general case (*saak*) with the Bushmen, would gladly be protected from their robberies and murders, without taking any share in the support of their fellow men.<sup>(2)</sup>

The Landdrost stated that the retired Lieutenant of the Cape District, N. Laubscher, had represented that the Bushmen in Hantam, and the neighbourhood of Groote Bokkeveld, were become very bold and violent in murdering and robbing, so that the inhabitants were attacked in their dwellings, and were not sure of their lives; and that the robbers, while the inhabitants were assembling, as well as from the tardiness of pursuit after they had assembled, could not be followed fast enough, but betook themselves to their caverns; he, Laubscher, had, therefore, with the advice of several inhabitants, deemed it best that a mounted guard of 30 unmarried men should be stationed there for three or four consecutive months, for reasonable pay, the inhabitants there finding them in provisions, so as thus the more easily to watch the paths, or by separate patrols, to overtake and seize, or even to shoot the robbers, but in particular their spies and leaders. That Laubscher having already spoken with some inhabitants of the Cape district on the subject, those of Tygerberg and Koeberg said that they would very willingly bear their share of the expences. That he had requested that this subject might be taken into consideration, and, if possible, put in force. That he, the Landdrost, had pointed out to the said Laubscher the difficulties in the way, and answered that it could not well be entered into, until it be ascertained how much would be contributed, and whether the contributions would suffice to meet the expences, and that Laubscher should first get a subscription list, stating how much each of the said inhabitants would undertake to pay, and which Laubscher had undertaken to do. . . . .

(1) A similar entry in the Colonial Office Journal of the day, is the only notice on the subject to be found in the volume for 1776. A letter to the same purport was addressed on the same day to Stellenbosch, on receipt of which it was resolved to forward the ammunition to Opperman in the manner suggested by him.

(2) The Swellendam district had been for many years free from any thing beyond slight and occasional depredations; and until the arrival of the Kafirs, such was also the case beyond De Bruyns Hoogte. The records of the Swellendam Militia Court, with some remarkable exceptions, generally refer exclusively to the measures necessary to enforce the annual drill and review. At the meeting in Oct. 1776, fifty-nine farmers were summoned as absenteees from drill, nine excused upon payment of the lighter penalty, and ten on account of ill health, on the usual condition of "keeping their arms in order, and in case of general necessity, (*lands nood*) on recovery resuming their duties as before." Many of those persons resided 400 miles from the place of drill.

## Extracts Records Landdrost and Militia Court Stellenbosch.

1776. Nov. 5. The recently appointed Field Corporal in the Groote Roggeveld, J. A. Louw having, in the name of the Field Sergeant W. Steinkamp, requested that he might be assisted by the Field Sergeant of Oliphant River, J. P. Smit, and his men, in a commando against the plundering Bushmen, it was resolved that the necessary directions on the subject shall be given by the Field Commandant Opperman, now present. While the second request of the said Field Corporal Louw, that he may be relieved of the duties of that office, was positively refused, in consequence of the insufficiency of the reasons advanced by him.

With regard to future commandos by the Field Sergeants and Corporals, it was understood, that whenever the Field Corporal shall have ridden round to call out the men, he shall remain at home during that commando, in order that, in the absence of the Field Sergeant, who in that case must himself go on the commando, he may give the necessary directions for the defence of the district; and, in like manner, with regard to the Field Sergeants, when they may have ridden round to order out the men.....

The Burger J. H. Robbertse, who had for some time been appointed provisional Field Corporal in the Coup, was, on the proposal of Monsieur Opperman, excused from that office, and from burger services, in consequence of inability; and as the said country of the Coup is abandoned on account of want of water and good pasture, it was resolved to appoint no Field Corporal there.<sup>(1)</sup>

The said Field Commandant Opperman having requested some compensation for the loss sustained in the performance of his troublesome duties, which frequently obliged him to neglect his own affairs, and that a sum of money, to be fixed at the discretion of the board, might be granted to him, adding that the *douceur* of 50 Rix-dollars allowed him last year had not yet been paid; it was, after deliberation, unanimously resolved, again to grant him an extraordinary *douceur* of 50 Rix-dollars.

After which, the Landdrost read the reports laid before him by the Commandant, from the Field Sergeants under his orders; and it appearing, among other matters, from that of H. M. van der Berg,<sup>(2)</sup> that he complained that, among other things laid to his charge and that of the men under him by H. Krugel, it had been stated, that they inhumanly illtreated the Bushmen; with an accompanying request that the charge might be investigated in the most rigid manner, and the guilty punished according to desert; or, on the contrary appearing, that such scandalous and defamatory reports may be satisfactorily counteracted. When it was resolved, on account of the inferiority of this board, to postpone this affair until the next meeting.....

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Letter from Twenty-five Inhabitants of Sneeuwberg, &c.

1776. Nov. 17. (+ +) To Mr. Commandant G. R. Opperman.—We your humble and obedient [servants] make known, with submission and respect, the melancholy condition in which we now live in Kandebo and Sneeuwberg, for the commando under the Sergeant Adriaan van Jaarsvelt has been of no effect, and the second under Charl Marais had done very little; they fell in, indeed, with a great multitude of robbers, but could not defeat them in consequence of their numbers, and their own weakness; on which Van Jaarsvelt removed to beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, which renders the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg very desperate, not knowing what to do, whether to remain or to remove; though many are of a mind to remove beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, for the inhabitants there, as yet, live in a desirable state of peace, while we, on the contrary, must daily live in the greatest danger of our lives. But there still remains for us one hope, that your superior power and authority may assist in procuring peace for us, according to the request we have made to our government, on which all depend for some alleviation; for otherwise there

(1) When the description of the districts for which the several country officers were appointed, and of the loan farms granted, are considered, the meaning of the text will appear to be "no Corporal *for that country*." Jaarsvelt was Corporal *beyond Salt River*, (in Coup,) in 1770, (*supra*, p. 7.) when he was probably several hundred miles beyond it, and the situations of the loan farms were generally still more loosely defined; indeed, they had extended many hundred miles to the eastward before the clause was omitted which provided that they were not to be *too near* the Company's farm, at Groene Kloof.

(2) This officer was subsequently, as Heemraad of Graaff-Reinet, as remarkable for the support he gave to Mr. Maynier, as Van Jaarsvelt became as the leader of the popular party. Krugel, like Jaarsvelt was a "representative of the public voice" during the singular republicanism movements which followed the Kafir war of 1793.

is no staying nor escaping, for deeds of violence are getting the upper hand more and more every day. Houses burned, Hugo's slave murdered and cut in pieces. Oh! must not the heavens tremble, and the earth shudder at the troubles with which your servants are oppressed, and we are daily becoming more fearful that we shall lose our own lives; for all that we have as yet done has been lost labour; and without the help of your authority we must at last lose every thing.

We, therefore, through necessity, take the liberty of addressing ourselves to you, and requesting a speedy answer to our petition to our government, according to which each will be enabled to regulate himself. And on account of the same truths, and seeing the approach of the same consequences of their ruin in Camdebo, the inhabitants of the latter have also signed; the same troubles will reach them, for the Sneeuwberg is becoming weaker and weaker from the migration of its inhabitants.

We remain in hope and trust that you will not be dilatory with regard to our request, and have the honor, with all respect, to subscribe ourselves, and trust that we are, your willing servants, D. S. van der Merwe, J. Smit, J. J. H. van der Merwe, B. J. Burger, Schalk W. Burger, W. Burger, J. van der Merwe, jun., J. Joosten, jun., H. van der Walt, P. Venter, Hs., J. van der Walt, Carel van der Merwe, A. P. Burger, R. van Heeren, H. C. Herholdz, J. F. du Pree, J. van der Merwe, D. van der Berg, G. J. Koekemoer, A. Oberholzer, A. A. Smit, J. Oberholzer, A. P. van der Berg, Albertus van Jaarsveld, W. Basson.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Extract Records Landdrost and Militia Court Stellenbosch.

1776 Dec. 10. The Landdrost stated that he had received a petition from the inhabitants about Oliphants River, dated 25th Nov. last, principally requesting that they may be excused from attending upon the commando, which, according to the resolution of the 5th ult. was ordered to the assistance of Field Sergeant W. Steinkamp, of the Groote Roggeveld; after reading which, it was unanimously resolved, that the Secretary should write the Field Sergeant of the said Oliphants River, J. P. Smit, in the name of this board, and state in reply, that as it appeared that, with three exceptions, all the subscribers of the said petition had been absentees from the last drill and review, so that their horses were still unfatigued, we for these and other reasons us thereunto moving, have thought fit to adhere to the resolution of the 5th Nov. and to order that the said Smit and his men shall give all possible assistance to the said Steinkamp, in order that the commando may proceed as speedily as possible. But as to Steinkamp's request for 150 pounds of powder, and 400 pounds of lead, it was unanimously resolved, that this cannot at present be granted with propriety, as in July last a quantity of 400 pounds of powder, and 800 pounds lead, had been forwarded to the Field Commandant; which ammunition, in all probability, has not been all distributed. . . . .

It was lastly resolved, on the proposal of the Landdrost, that in consequence of the incompleteness of this meeting, the request of the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg, and the matter concerning H. Krugel, mentioned in former resolutions, should be again postponed to the next, or rather to the first complete meeting.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) This was one of several papers not received by the magistracy at Stellenbosch until the 19th April, 1777.

Commissioner Collins (Record, Part II. p. 7.) offers some natural conjectures regarding the origin of the hostilities with the Bushmen in Camdebo; among them "the description of the then inhabitants;" "the persons who were obliged to seek a residence in such a country;" and much has been said by others, in official papers as well as in popular works, upon the subsequent influence of religion and regular government in producing a favorable change in this respect. The names of the signers of this petition will appear frequently in the course of these papers, subscribed to their own sentiments, which may be compared with those of their descendants. It will appear below, from the list of leases of loan farms, that these were the "respectable persons of good name and repute" to whom alone Governor Tulbagh (*supra* p. 5.) undertook to restrict settlement in that quarter. They will appear to be the same persons whose conduct, during the subsequent disorders, was on all hands favorably contrasted with that of the "turbulent" who had been ejected from their dwellings by the Kafir invasions of 1793—99. Another mode of accounting for the conduct of the first inhabitants of the Camdeboo, and for the turbulence of those of the Zuureveld, will be found in the circumstances under which the character of both was developed, as ascertained by the unpublished evidence. (*Vide* Preparatory Lists, 1777—1802.)

(2) The first portion of the proceedings of this meeting consists of a resolution to postpone issuing the summonses against the absentees from the drill at Stellenbosch, until returns be received from the several country officers, of the names of the men kept at home for the defence of the country, or "for commandos against the still daily plundering Bushmen," in order to prevent trouble and expense being blamelessly incurred by the absentees.

1776. Dec. 18. A letter from the Governor to the Landdrost of Swellendam calls for a report upon a complaint against the magistracy of that place lodged by the burger Frederik Zeele, of injustice suffered by him upon the unfounded complaint of the Bastaard Hottentot, Fredrick Wilken. No particulars are stated.

## General Report of Field Serjeant D. S. van der Merwe.

1777. March 13. ( + + ) On the 19th Dec. I was called upon by Carel van der Merwe for aid, in the first place.

“Worthy brother David Selialk van der Merwe. Should this letter reach you safe, it will be pleasing to me. As regards myself I am not yet well, and now the glands are so swollen in my thighs, that I can scarce walk; and as to the condition of the country, it is very bad, because the Bossiemans have so much their own way without opposition, and they have pushed in so far that they have passed me, and are round me day and night. On the 18th of the month, in the evening, they attacked P. Venter’s herdsmen close to his house, wounded them very severely, and murdered a very great number of sheep; from Dirk Coetse, also a lot; and from Koster, a lot of cattle away; Klaas Smit very severely wounded; here are no farms, or very few, that do not suffer under their violence. Oh, Heavenly King, look down upon us to our comfort and to the terror of our haughty enemies, for murder and riot are daily getting more and more the upperhand, and thus we must live in great extremity. I therefore beg you, in God’s name, that you will but give us so much help, as to beat the robbers back out of the mountains, were it but so many Hottentots, as quick as you can send them to me. Should we receive no help or deliverance, you may be assured by me that the time is not far off when you shall have all who now live in the whole range of mountains, in the Camdebo, for the anxiety of our hearts urges us more and more, because we are much too weak to oppose the numbers that have collected together in hundreds and thousands, and advanced against us, so that we are not certain of our lives for an hour. I shall, therefore, conclude, trusting that you will give us aid. A thousand greetings from your necessitous brother and sister,

“19th December, 1777.”

“CAREL VAN DER MERWE.”

On this letter I ordered out my men, J. van der Merwe, J. L. Pretorius, P. van der Berg, who did not come, J. Peffer, F. Swartenberg, J. C. Olivier. Ordered H. C. Herholt, but he did not appear, as he says, because Olivier would not let him ride. Contents of the letter of said Olivier:—

“Good friend D. S. van der Merwe, I have received your letter, and learn from it that it will not turn out well; that you may think of it, I have sent the Hottentot early; for the rest, think well of it before you order me. My compliments to you.

“21st December, 1777.”

“C. OLIVIER.”

On the night of the 22d, I got to Carel van der Merwe’s; the same night about two hours before day the robbers were among the cattle; but I attacked them again, with my men, and retook the cattle, except one that they had killed with an assagay. We staid there two days and sent out spies, but they found nothing; so we rode to Dirk Coetse’s, and again sent out spies, but saw nothing. At Coetse’s I got a letter from H. van der Merwe, from which I learnt that the Bushmen were in the mountains near my house; so, on the fourth day, we all rode from Coetse’s to my house; and on the 30th I got a letter from the Field Corporal A. P. Burger, running thus:—

“Very worthy and much esteemed nephew and niece, D. S. van der Merwe.—I shall be well pleased to hear that this reaches you safely, as to ourselves we are still well; but I find myself compelled to write you, for we fear that we are too weak, as we hear that such an immense number have collected: however, although the victory does not depend upon numbers, the Lord has often employed the arms of war to subdue his enemies, as was done by the great illustrious King David, and is recorded for us in 2d Samuel; and as the rule is laid down for us, in God’s holy word, to seek human aid in time of need, (Joshua 10 and 11,) so do not turn away from us, but come and help to defeat the great kraal, and let us be strong and fight for the name of the Lord our God. The Lord will do what is good in his sight, therefore, may he give you courage to contend against our enemies, for the insolence (*rasery*) of the heathen is striving to get the upperhand more every day. Oh! who shall live if God will (otherwise); for whoever looks upon the present state of christendom with an attentive eye, and with judgment, must perceive that it is in a dead and unfruitful state, and that all is plunged into a confused and lifeless mass. I shall, therefore, expect you on the 1st Jan. 1777, for if you come to the fight in person with some chosen men, it will be very pleasing to me. Now, God and the word of his grace be praised, with compliments to you all, I remain your cousin Andries P. Burger. (Signed) 30th Dec. 1776.”

Upon this request I ordered my men and rode. The men’s names were J. van der Merwe, H. C. Herholt, J. Peffer, C. Persoon, F. Toornheem, P. Swanepoel; C. de Clerk was ordered,

1777 Jan. 7. A notice of the proceedings of the Militia Court, on this date, states that, with respect to men kept from attending review by the officers of the distant districts, the resolution of the 10th December shall be adhered to; and on the written proposal of Opperman, Carel van der Merwe is appointed Field Sergeant of Sneeuwberg, *vice* Jaarsvelt removed to Bruyns Hoogte. “From 8th Jan. to 2d Feb. nothing occurred.”

but sent a Hottentot in his place, because he alleged that he was sick; but on the day when the commando marched, it was found out that De Clerk was at Abraham Oberholster's on the 1st Jan. 1777, and on the former commando also he did not appear, pretending that he had an eruption on his body; and J. S. Pretorius, who was on the commando, told me that De Clerk had said to him that he was too old to serve on commandos. J. S. Pretorius did not attend, as his horse was lame and could not go. Jan Steinvat was ordered, but did not appear, and sent nothing in the way of an excuse; G. J. Koekemoer ordered, but did not appear, as he wrote me, in consequence of boils in his legs; G. Loetriet personally ordered, but sent a Bastaard in his stead, who did not overtake the commando.

On the 1st Jan. 1777, we came to D. de Villiers'. On the 2d to Jacob de Clerk's. The 3d to Cornelius van Wyk's. The 4th to *Verquik Fontein*. The 5th we rode through to near the great kraal, and in the morning through the *Waay Hoek* to the *Duyvels Berg*, where we found the robbers, and shot or captured 62; but the greatest part escaped, having seen us from a distance; but on the same day we went further on account of water, to the *Drie Vonteynen*; but that water was so salt that hardly any one could drink it. On the same day the horse of D. Boek fell down; on the same day we went further on to the *Krikvors* (Frog) *Vonteyn*; but there was not water for us and the cattle to drink, there being more frogs than water. The same night some men turned back to the *Verquik Vonteyn*, there we sent out scouts, saw traces, but found nothing; we therefore turned back, and on the 11th Jan. got home.

General report of me the undersigned Sergeant, of the commando of the 15th Feb. 1777, to Commandant Opperman. Of the men whom I had ordered, I was joined at the house of B. J. Burger, by J. S. Pretorius, J. Pester, J. F. du Pree, F. Swartenberg, G. Loetriet, J. Swanepoel, G. S. Koekemoer, F. G. Toornheem, C. Persoon, J. Steinvat ordered, but did not appear, so I set him down as unwilling; J. van der Merwe ordered, but wrote me that his horse had fallen on him and hurt him; H. C. Herholt ordered, but sent me a letter signed by two witnesses, that he was plagued with some boils, and could not ride; Daniel Jacobs ordered, but wrote me a letter running thus:—

“Cousin David van der Merwe. After wishing you health, I have to inform you that I cannot ride upon this commando. Then my child is sick. Then I am on my road to Brintjes Hoogte, but have not been able to get further than to my brother Laurens Erasmus, and that I am there as the witnesses know also. Further compliments from me and my wife, your cousin, Daniel Jacobs. Per order, Roedolf Brets, Reklef Reklefs, 7th Jan. 1777.”

Upon (receiving) this letter, I wrote him that should his child get better, he must appear without fail at the place where he was ordered to come; and that he well knew it was the order that none should remove before apprising me, because it was impossible for me to make a proper report of persons who did not appear. On this he sent me back the following letter:—

“Monsieur David Schalk van der Merwe. Whereas I have learnt from your letter that I have acted amiss to you by removing without permission from my worshipful Sergeant; but I beg you to excuse me, for I have done it through my stupidity; for I have always heard that when new laws come out they are placarded, and I have not yet heard of the placard; but now I know it also that I must not remove without permission from my worshipful Sergeant; and if my child recovers, I shall appear before you, Sergeant. I remain your obedient and willing soldier, Daniel Jacobs. 1st Feb 1777.”

Outside was “To Mynheer, Mynheer D. S. van der Merwe, Field Sergeant.”

From this letter of Jacobs, although he says that he has done it, that is, removed without my orders, through stupidity, the rest of his letter shows that it is from no stupidity, but that he tries to turn the letter I sent him into ridicule, as may be seen from the address of the letter, for I have no right to such a title as the supreme government; and I imagine he knows very well how to address me. I also ordered the wagon of C. de Clerk on the commando, to convey the provisions, but he sent the wagon without a tilt; I then sent him a letter to send the tilt, as he was ordered to send his wagon with all its appurtenances; on which he sent me a letter running as follows:—

“Monsieur D. S. van der Merwe. You write me to send my wagon tilt to-morrow, which it is impossible that I can do, as it is the bolster of my bed. I am not unwilling. if I had enough bed clothes, to give the tilt, but I am deficient in these. I remain, therefore, after compliments, your friend, Cornelius de Clerk. 10th Feb. 1777. Turning over (the paper) I found the following words written;—“The tilt of which I write you, is the bolster for my head, and my wife is my mattrass; so if you claim the tilt by force, order the mattrass with it, as cook.”

From this, Mr. Commandant, you may see how little these persons care for my orders. I hereby request that such persons may be punished, so that others profit by the example.

Now I shall proceed to the persons ordered from the Sergeant Josua Joubert. Their names as follows:—J. S. du Plessis, J. Venter, J. Smit, J. Schoenman, A. A. Smit, W. van der Berg, Reklef Reklefs, J. Harholt, D. Booyse, J. Voortman; and with the Field Corporal B. J. Burger, Tjaart van der Walt, Jan Koese, Sarel du Plesie, H. Kruyger, Carel Pelster, J. van Heere, J. Pretorius, H. Mares, B. Vilgeon; and Hottentots of mine there were ten; and of Sergeant J. Joubert there were four; and of the Field Corporal, B. J. Burger, there were twelve Hottentots. The night after we came to the Field Corporal's, six scouts came to him whom he had sent out five days before, to see if none of the robbers were about his farm who might discover the commando; and they found a kraal of the robbers at the distance of about an hour and a half's journey on horseback; but in consequence of a heavy shower of rain, they came suddenly upon them, and the robbers fled. On the 16th we sent out the first scouts, in two parties, one party to follow the fugitive kraal, and they found them again, but the robbers came close upon them, and they shot one of the robbers, when the kraal again took to flight; they came home on the 18th, and the party who had gone to Rhenoster Berg returned on the 20th, having found nothing. On the 18th the first horse fell, of H. Pretorius; on the 19th another of Sergeant J. Joubert; on the same day sent out spies for the third time after the fugitive kraal, and they found the kraal on the 21st. On the 22d we went from B. J. Burgers to J. van der Merwe, to attack the kraal that had been found, and surrounded it on the 23d, before day, and through the fault of one who sent H. Hatting in his stead, the kraal was scared away before day, through the fault of a useless man named J. Vortman. On the 20th the Bushmen were among J. van der Merwe's cattle, and tried to take them from the herdsmen by force, but the herdsmen shot one of the robbers, when they fled, without carrying off anything. On the 21st we pursued the robbers the whole day, with the whole commando, but could not light on them, though we saw numerous foot marks; the people with us saw them the same day. On the 23d we went to the end of the *Rooy Berg*, to a spring called *Vink Vonteyn*. On the 24th sent out spies in three parties; on the 26th two parties returned having found nothing. On the 27th the third and last party returned, but had found nothing. On the same day we went to below *Sapanjas Poorts River* to the *Babeloonsche Tooren*, to the old defeated kraal, where the late Van der Walt and three other men were wounded. On the 28th, in the morning, Tjaart van der Walt and J. S. Pretorius clambered up on a ridge, and saw the robbers moving off; we then sent out scouts in three parties, after a portion of the robbers who had been seen by the men mentioned. On the 2d March the party of scouts returned who had followed the kraal that had gone away, and they found them; but coming upon them unawares, the robbers fled, they then commenced firing, killed 9, and took two of the robbers. On the same day a party of scouts joined us; they had seen, on a ridge, fifteen male Hottentots, who had slept there. On the 3d we went thither to defeat them, but they were gone; we followed in the same direction, but could not find them. On the 4th we were out on high mountains, three hours before day to reconnoitre, but could see nothing, for they make no fires. We constantly saw traces where they had fled, and also kraals that were abandoned. On the night of the 4th we moved to Krom River, and the same night sent out scouts. On the 6th the two parties of scouts returned, they had found a kraal that was removing, and coming too near, they were obliged to fire, and shot three. Total, one wounded, fourteen killed, and two prisoners. So I remain, with respect, your willing friend,

D. S. VAN DER MERWE, Sergeant.

[“Received from Veld Commandant Opperman, per  
L. Erasmus, 19th April, 1777, by me, Bergh.”]

In Collin's Report on the Bushmen, (Record v. 34,) may be seen a traditionary account of the origin of hostilities with the Bushmen of the Sak River and Hantam. The following account of the same event has been recently furnished by the Baron von Buchenroder, from notes of verbal information given in 1808, by Mr. J. G. van Reenen, son of the Van Reenen mentioned by Collin. “J. G. van Reenen says that his father had farms at Sak River, where the Bushmen (who differed from those called *Siniscen*,\*) lived very peaceably and amicably. Andries Jacobs, a servant of Van Reenen's had, while hunting, a quarrel with a Captain named Hacqua, and beat him with a samboc. This Captain was a very active Hottentot, and was highly respected. His name, which meant “Horse,” was acquired from his swiftness in running.) In revenge of this injury, he killed the servant (Jacobs). The Bushmen had all the cattle then driven home from the field, and took away those belonging to Jacobs, allowing all Van Reenen's to remain. Meanwhile the other servant of Van Reenen's had left the place to tell his master, and to complain of the conduct of Jacobs. Van Reenen says that on this the

\* At various periods, but perhaps first in 1752, the tribes who occupied the country about Kat River were distinguished by the name of *Chinese*. The language, or at least the dialect, of the several Bushmen tribes differed from that of the Hottentots, and of each other. But upon all these points more conclusive information will be found in other portions of this compilation—where, indeed, several of these notes would—if required at all—have been more advantageously placed; but that it is at present (Oct. 8, 1841,) extremely doubtful whether it will be possible to proceed with the publication of the Record any further than this sheet.

*Dedicatie*, or Address to Commandant G. R. Opperman.

1777. March 15. ( + + ) We, your servants, the undersigned Sergeants and Corporals. Long have We intended to speak with you upon the subject of this writing, but have been prevented by the numerous commandos which we have had to perform; we, therefore, now come to you with this simple written address, not doubting that it will be favourably received and regarded by you. Daily observation gives the fullest proof of the lamentable poverty so evident among numbers of our fellow burgers, through the fatal deeds (*het bedryf der fatale stukke*) in which the land-destroying Bossiemans daily, aye daily, persevere (*mede rondgaan*) in order utterly to ruin our fellow burgers, and to reduce them to poverty (*te grond*) by their violent murders and stealing, which at present rather increase than diminish; as will appear from the following occurrences among others:—While we were on the commando, a Hottentot of A. P. Burgers was killed with arrows, and pierced through with an assagay, and also a lot of sheep destroyed; and also all Pieter Swanepoel's oxen taken away, and two Hottentots murdered; and on the same day a portion of Pieter Harmse's cattle taken away, and soon after a lot of Sarel du Plesse's cattle taken away; and also some other occurrences which we shall not mention, but which you may see in the reports

boers made commandos against the Bushmen, but were not able to lay hands on the Captain; and that it was through this circumstance that the disasters began.

During the war with the Bushmen, Van Reenen came to inspect his father's farm, and while out shooting with a celebrated sportsman, they came unexpectedly upon a kraal where they saw some Bushwomen, who were much frightened. They gave them some tobacco, and promised that if they would bring their husbands (then, as they said when asked, out hunting,) to Van Reenen's house, they should have presents. Some Bushmen consequently came, and unstrung their bows as they approached. Van Reenen went towards them unarmed, gave them presents, and brought them to his house. Next day seeing more Bushmen coming, Van Reenen said he wished to see them all, when on their making a sign, a great number of them came; among whom he divided all the trinkets in his possession, and showing them the empty box, promised, that as long as they kept the peace they should have presents, which had the good effect, that they never did any injury to Van Reenen's cattle."

In 1823, Mr. B. had another conversation with V. Rn., when the latter added—"The Bushmen were the best and most peaceful people; but that they were not only robbed of their land by the boers, but intentionally provoked; and that at this moment he would still trust himself in the midst of them, in the assurance that some of them would recognize him, and prevent any injury being done to him."

Mr. Von B. adds—"I recollect that Mr. Van Reenen also said that he had taken pains to remonstrate with government against the hostile measures taken against the Bushmen, and that his opinion was, that government had acted on a wrong system of policy; of this, however, I can find no notes."

1773—1776. *Supplementary Papers, not procured in time for insertion in the order of their dates.*

1773. April 30. Letter from Adriaan van Jaarsvelt to the Landdrost and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch.

Sir,—Whereas I formerly reported to the Landdrost respecting the mischief and molestation of the Hottentots; it has occurred again that cattle have been taken from David Malan and Stephanus Smit by the Bossiemans. Whence it comes, through the intolerable and continued mischief done by the Hottentots, for they push in so, that the innermost men suffer as much injury as the outermost; that it was never so bad as now from September last to the month of May, and the time mentioned is not a suitable time to attack them on account of the rains, to which this tract of country is also subject during that time. And also, because we cannot discover the Hottentots, for when they have stolen they make no fires at night.

But we now have a suitable season at hand, namely, the winter, when they do not steal, that being on account of the cold and snow, an unfit time for them, and also because they cannot possibly do without fire then on account of the cold, by day as well as by night, which will enable us to discover them and get at them.

My fellow burgers, that is, those of my district, have, in consequence of this intolerable burden and oppression, desired me to request the Landdrost and Militia Officers to allow them to attack, at the proper time, the nearest of the kraals by which we are so plagued, and to shoot them, for we cannot wait until they steal again; because so many people are thus ruined, for we can never recapture any thing, because they leave none of the stolen cattle alive. It is, therefore, my respectful and urgent request that we may be allowed to do as above stated.

Your obedient servant, who remains in expectation of a speedy answer,

Sneeuwberg, 30th April, 1773.

ADRIAAN VAN JAARVELT.

1774. June. 20. Adriaan van Jaarsvelt to G. R. Opperman.—Seeing that for a considerable time back, as every one knows, the constant stealing and robbing of the Bushmen, notwithstanding all the trouble we have taken with commandos, still increases from day to day, although we have always hoped to secure peace by means of resistance, which hope has hitherto been fruitless,

☞ The publication of the Cape Records was discontinued (October 8, 1841,) from the reasons stated in a circular notice to Subscribers, published with the Editor's "Correspondence with the Rev. J. PHILIP, D.D." The result of that notice having been an increase of subscribers, and an application from the Cape Town MUNICIPALITY, and the Committee of Subscribers, to the Right Hon. LORD STANLEY, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to authorise the Colonial Government to increase its subscription—publication has been resumed, and will, circumstances permitting, be continued until the result of that application reaches the Colony. March 8, 1842.

sent in. It is our further object, in consequence of the exceeding poverty which prevails here among our fellow burgers, aye, so far are they reduced, that they can scarce maintain their families, and still less incur expence by purchasing powder and lead. We, therefore, unanimously request you to have a compassionate heart upon our poverty, so that through your request to our government, we may be assisted with some powder and lead, and also flints, to defend our country, (*onse velden te seconderen,*) for we are in great want of it through the frequent commandos, as stated in former and the present reports; so that through this, our only means of defence, we may bravely face our enemies, and repel them from our country, (*van ons velden te atkeeren,*) so that we may thus enjoy some peace and rest, and find some relief (*lugt*) from our poverty, for without this we see no chance of retrieving our condition in any degree. We, therefore, trust, that with a compassionate (“*inmenit innemende?*”) heart, you will bring it about, so that we may procure it through your solicitation. We now trust ourselves in the hands of your pity, and, further, hold ourselves obliged, with respect to this our humble request. We remain, after humble compliments, your necessitous servants and Sergeants and Field Corporals, Camdeboo, 15th March; David Schalk van der Merwe, Sergeant; Carel van der Merwe, Sergeant; A. V. Jaarsvelt, Field Corporal.

### General Report of Commandant Opperman.

1777. April I. († †) Mr. Berg,—Herewith you receive the report of all that has occurred from the month October, 76, to this day. In the first place, you must know, that according to your orders I read the copy of the [Resolution concerning] boundary line to the *Swellendammers*, who live beyond De Bruins Hoogte, and also asked the reason why they would disown the authority of this magistracy, on which I got for answer that it was the same to them to which Colony they were now subject, and also that several people had gone to procure their *attestaties*, but could not get them from their officer, namely, the *Dros* of Swellendam. I also asked them why they would not do the necessary commandos behind the Sneeuwberg, on which I was answered, that they were not unwilling to do commando with others, but that their Sergeant A. H. Krugel had forbidden them to do any commandos. I also sent for Krugel when I was beyond De Bruins Hoogte, that I might speak with him, he did not come, but sent me a letter, if I must speak with him I must come to him; but as I had ridden eleven days' journey from my home to that of Jacobus Potgieter, beyond De Bruins Hoogte, he might better come to me than I go to him; so that I did not speak with this Krugel; but you may see from the enclosed letter, Mr. Berg, what sort of a man this Krugel is, and whether he has such orders from his officer, I know not; but he writes me that I must, in future, order him on no commandos, that he will not attend to my orders, unless

and the stealing daily becomes worse, so that all our hopes of peace have vanished, and the people on the Sneeuwberg are of one mind to abandon their farms, as I also shall be obliged to do for we can scarcely earn so much as the Bushmen daily steal from us, and we thus are unable to pay the just dues of the Company. For instance, six days ago, it again happened that 72 cattle were stolen by the Bushmen from J. Joosten, out of his kraal (*miskraal*) in the night, and 2 horses wounded with arrows, of which one is already dead; the berdsman of the horses is missing, whether he be alive or dead I do not yet know; but the cattle of Joosten were overtaken at the end of Roode Berg, near Seacow river, and 30 of them brought back. Now, we will not suffer Joosten to set the example of removing, so we are obliged to give him the number of cattle that the Bushmen have stolen from him, as we have always done to our fellow burgers who have been, so to speak, entirely ruined by the Bushmen. I therefore request you to send me support from the surrounding Field Corporals, and to give us leave, during this rainy season, to give a good blow to the Bushmen, particularly in Seacow river, which is a place of concealment for all the thieves that escape from the fight; whereby we have hopes of securing peace, or at least some diminution of the stealing. It is for this reason that my urgent request is again addressed to you, and not only because it is my request, but on account of the further consequences which may arise from the removal of the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg; for I am sure that should Sneeuwberg be deserted, which will assuredly be the case, unless the Bushmen be compelled to keep the peace, the inhabitants of Camdeboo will also be compelled to abandon their farms; for, be pleased to consider that the Bushmen will have the extensive thickets in the whole of the Camdeboo for hiding places, and in my opinion, it will not be possible to get a Bushman out of them, without risk of bodily danger; whereas here upon the Sneeuwberg there is still a chance of defeating the Bushmen without any great danger. I therefore do not doubt that you will accede to my request, in which hope I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Sir, your obedient servant,

A. VAN JAARSVELT.<sup>(a)</sup>

<sup>(a)</sup> A letter of Opperman dated 3d Aug. 1774, says nothing of the Bushmen, but urgently requests that the party of 8 men who had conveyed to him the ammunition, might be excused from the annual drill on account of the severe fatigue encountered in that service. It is stated that the Hex and Berg rivers being impassible, it had become necessary to cross the Witsenberg, which was effected by twice taking the wagons to pieces, and carrying them and their contents by hand over the mountain. On the 5th Sept. he transmits lists (not found) of the men about to proceed on the commando on that day, and announces that he had appointed Josua Joubert Provisional Field Corporal from Landdrost's Drift to Bruyns Hoogte, and sent him with 12 men and 8 Hottentots to attack the robbers there,—“as a complaint was made to me on the 22d Aug. that the Bushmen are stealing and robbing there with cruel violence.”

I first receive authority to that effect from his officer, so that I do not know how it is with me ; for your orders which come from a higher authority are not obeyed, and should it continue as at present, I foresee the worst consequences, for beyond the appointed places which must not be inhabited, as the Fish river and Bushman river, there are some people who act contrary to the prohibition. Frans Kruger and Jacob Erasmus, have already removed beyond the Great Fish river ; and in like manner there are people who are already over the Bushman river, indeed they almost live mixed together with the Kafirs. I leave you to consider, Mr. Berg, whether such proceedings will not lead to illicit trade with the Kafirs, I say lead to it ; but God who knows all, best knows whether such be not already committed ; and in my opinion, unless some other arrangement be made, the evil will daily increase, for I need only say that there are many who live without God in the world, for were the fear of the Lord in them, they would also fear the earthly magistrate ; but now many are living according to their own fancy.

And as to what A. H. Krugel is stated to have said about the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg, I request that that case may be inquired into, and Krugel made to prove what he has said against them ; for believe me, Mr. Berg, if the matter rest as it now is, Krugel will daily brew more mischief. I therefore request that you will appoint a suitable time for the appearance of Krugel, together with the Sergeants of the Sneeuwberg, who are alleged to have committed such atrocities before you at the Drostdy. The Sergeants of Sneeuwberg are Hendrick Myntjes van der Berg, the late Sergeant Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, and the Sergeant Carel van der Merwe. I shall also deem it my duty to be personally present.

With this I send you, Mr. Berg, a petition sent to me from the Sneeuwberg people, from which you may see the nature of their request ; and a second petition sent me, respecting the lamentable state of matters with the Bushmen on Sneeuwberg, in which it is requested that they may have powder and lead from the Hon. Company. And thirdly, I send you the report of David Schalk van der Merwe, Sergeant, from which you may see, Sir, how it stands with the men under him. I must, however, apprise you of one thing, Sir, that I have spoken with one of the men whom he has reported, namely, C. H. Olivier, and asked him why he did not attend to the orders of the Sergeant, when Olivier replied to me that he had never opposed the orders, but that his Sergeant had ordered him to send a good and useful Hottentot, with a gun, to the commando, which he did ; and when the Hottentot had been two days gone to the commando, the Sergeant then ordered his servant (*knecht*, *i. e.* European,) on the same commando, and he said that he refused to comply with this order because the man was subject to the falling sickness, so that he was obliged to keep him to defend his cattle.<sup>(1)</sup>

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1775. May 1. Report of Commandant Opperman.—The report of the year 1775 of what has occurred in the districts of Swartberg, Nieuwveld, Sneeuwberg, and Camdeboo.

On the 20th Feb. it was reported to me that on the Sneeuwberg, in the district of F. S. Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, the Bushmen were stealing and robbing in a fearful manner, whereupon the provisional Field Corporal and A. van der Walt made a commando with his men : when he had taken the field he took prisoners 82 of these robbers, who still had with them the hides, horns, and fat of cattle, on which he turned back ; but having no handcuffs with which to secure the principal robbers, it happened that in the night all the Bushmen sprung on foot together, and took to flight, while some of the males attacked the wagon in which their bows and arrows had been placed. Van der Walt and his men repelled them, however, so that they did not get their bows and arrows. Shot 19 of the Hottentots, and caught 21 children. Van der Walt, therefore, requests to be allowed to destroy the robbers without giving quarter, and that there is too great danger to life in endeavouring to make such robbers prisoners, as there are no means of confining or fettering them.

In the month of March the Bushmen again stole 200 sheep from S. Smit, and 200 from P. Venter, and stabbed 7 to death ; 34 oxen from Booyesen, whereupon Field Corporal Van der Walt has asked me for a great commando, as, from the constant depredations of the bushmen, it is almost impossible for the people to dwell in the Sneeuwberg ; and I have accordingly seen fit to send a great commando to the Sneeuwberg district in the beginning of June.

At the provisional Field Corporal's, H. M. van der Berg, the Bushmen came to his sheep flock, in the day time, and attempted to take them away, on which his herdsman shot 4 of the robbers.<sup>(a)</sup>

1775. Sept. 1. Corporal H. M. van der Berg to Commandant Opperman.

Sir,—This is to inform you that I cannot let the men ride away to the drill this year, on account of the commandos, for the Bushmen have stolen 105 sheep from Jacobus Burger, on the 7th of last month ; and I did not receive his letter until the 28th, so that I now intend to seek the kraal that stole the sheep. I also send you the names of the men for duty, (six names with the names of the Captains of the Stellenbosch Militia under whom they are enrolled). I also inform you that Philip Botha

(1) Here follow an application for a loan lease, and minute details of civil questions,—a complaint against a servant of Widow Niekerk, who was stated to have threatened to shoot a person who harboured his deserted Hottentot,—descriptions of the stray cattle reported on various farms,—[among the persons appointed Corporals, is Tjaart der van Walt.]

(a) After reporting that a slave had come to a farm to steal something, but being kept off by the dogs, an armed Hottentot was sent to pursue his traces, that on being overtaken he had refused to surrender, and rushed upon the Hottentot with his knife. "so that the Hottentot was obliged to shoot him ;" and that 3 inhabitants, enrolled in the Swellendam District, had refused to serve on commando, alleging that "Mr. Mentz had forbidden them to do any commando." Opperman adds,—"Otherwise all is well so far."

The Sergeant M. van der Berg told me that he had heard from P. Botha that A. H. Krugel had bartered some cattle from the Kafirs for goats. It is also said by H. C. Herhold that the burger Philip Rudolph Botha had written to Sergeant H. M. van der Berg that Krugel had bartered cattle from the Kafirs for goats, adding that he, Botha, could prove this against Krugel; the burger Dirk Schalkwyk also told me that Krugel had a polled cow which he bartered from the Kafirs for two wethers. The servant of Mons. J. Myburg has also complained to me that the Field Sergeant Krugel had caught his Hottentots in the field, and had given out 2 to Theunis Botha and 2 to Smitsen Berg. I have also inquired into the reason why the reports for last October did not reach me in time, on which the Sergeant Van Jaarsvelt replied that A. H. Krugel was the cause, as he had been ordered by me to assist the Sneeuwberg people, and they were continually awaiting his arrival, thus the time passed over for sending me the general report.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Report of Commandant R. G. Opperman.

1777. April 10. Here follow the reports of the Sergeants of all that had happened in their districts:—

The Sergeant, Jacob de Klerk, 32 head of cattle taken away by the robbers; Cornelius van Wyk robbed of 33 cattle; Christoffel Smit of 5; Myndert Klasen of 18; Frans Kanfer of 17; the Widow Forie of 40; from Pieter Harmse 200 sheep, and in the night they tried to surprise the farm, shot 50 arrows into the thatch, and killed a horse with arrows at the house.

200 sheep were carried off from C. van Wyk, on this they made a commando; one of his men was wounded with a poisoned arrow, but recovered; on this they requested support from the Sergeants Zarel Marais and D. S. van der Merwe, pursued the robbers, and also fell in with them, and killed 53 robbers, and took 11 children.

The following is the report of the Sergeant Josua Joubert:—Pieter van Wyk robbed of 200 sheep, and the shepherd murdered; Stevanus Naude robbed of 15 oxen, and the herdsman murdered; the same night a Hottentot of Naude's ran off, hid himself about the farm for some days, and coming to the farm by night, killed Naude's principal Hottentot with a poisoned arrow; this thief was caught, but W. Pretorius, gave him over to Joubert, who then sent him to the Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe, but he got loose on the way, and ran off, when the person in charge of him was obliged to shoot him; from W. Engelbrecht 700 sheep carried off.

Now follows the report of the Sergeant H. M. van der Berg:—From the said Myntjes 200 sheep, and a shepherd murdered; from Hendrik Burgers 75 sheep; from J. Kruger 30 sheep; from Barnard Voster 75 head of cattle, on which they made a commando, and fortunately found the kraal, in which there were 300 Hottentots, but having too few men they only shot 20.

and I rode out to shoot game, and we fell in with a Bushman who had stolen sheep from me, and wanted to take him with us quietly; but the said Bushman was not willing, and unexpectedly struck me on the shoulder with the *kierie*. I was then necessitated to shoot him.

1775. Oct. 1. Extract Report of Corporal W. Steinkamp, Onder Roggeveld.—I have to inform you that here in my district, since the commando of last year, all is still in peace and quiet with the Bushmen.<sup>(2)</sup>

1776. Feb 9. Report of Gerrit Putter.—Mr Berg, the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, is hereby informed, that on the 17th Jan. 1776, 52 cattle were taken from the burger P. E. Kruger, Sen., and on Monday, the 21st Jan. went on commando from the farm of the said Kruger; the names of my men as follows, (9 names, his own included,) to the farm of Carel Kruger. On Monday, the 22d, to Coeckies Kraal, behind the Bonteberg; on the way found the traces of cattle followed by 4 Bushmen, went on to Matties Vley, on the abandoned farm of Jacob Louw; on Wednesday, the 24th, went on again, and when we reached Rosen Fontein we met one of the cattle of the said Kruger, which had escaped from the Bushmen, coming back; went on to Blommen Fontein; rested there on the 25th, killed a beast for the commando, and sent 4 men to go as far as the Swart Rug to cut off cattle traces, but they found none; 26th, to the abandoned farm of H. Nievenhuysen, on Sacke river; 27th, down Sacke river to Perdegas Vley; on Sunday, the 28th, followed upon the traces of the cattle over the Sacke river;

(1) The Swellendam Journal of June 18, and that of Stellenbosch, July 7 and 8, contain the correspondence which ensued between the two magistracies upon these complaints against Krugel; but afford no further information relative to the natives. Krugel's disregard of the Stellenbosch authorities is explained in a letter from the board at Swellendam, dated 18th June, 1777, to have arisen from no advice having been received at Swellendam of the confirmation by Government of the line of boundary agreed upon on the 3d Nov. 1775. "The late Landdrost Boonacker thus thought that all remained *in statu quo*, and Krugel acted under his written orders."

1775. Jan. 1. A List signed by N. van der Merwe of the Bushman Hottentots, and their ages, who after the commando have remained with the following inhabitants:—10 prisoners are of ages from 20 to 50, the rest children from 1 to 12; 5 of the adults have male names, such as Claas, Jager, &c., the term of service not stated.

(2) This report contains nothing further than the names of two men, who, without reason assigned, are kept at home, *i. e.* excused from drill at the time.

Another report is wanting from the Sergeant Carel van der Merwe, on the Sneeuwberg; there also, much mischief has been done by the robbers. Hoping thus to have done my duty, I remain,  
with kind compliments,  
Your servant and friend,

G. R. OPPERMAN.

### Extract Records of Landdrost and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch.

1777. May 6. The Landdrost stated that he had convoked this meeting for the express purpose of communicating to the members the written reports and annexed papers which he had received from the Field Commandant Mons. G. R. Opperman, on the 19th of last April, in order that such decision might be formed on these subjects, as the welfare of the Colony and general interests of the inhabitants should, under the circumstances, be deemed to demand.

These papers, which consisted of a letter from the Commandant, two petitions addressed to him by some of the Field Sergeants and other inhabitants of the most remote districts under his directions, and the general reports of the respective Sergeants, having been read, and it having thus appeared, that the depredations and blood-thirstiness still daily continued to increase, so that our inhabitants had already been obliged to fly from the Sneeuwberg, and were no longer safe in the Camdeboo, whither they had retired; while, notwithstanding the commandos, which, for some time back, had been continually sent out against these savage robbers, the inhabitants were robbed of almost all their cattle, and thus reduced to the greatest poverty, whereby they had become unable to secure their own subsistence, much less to pay to the Company the arrears of rent for their loan farms; on which grounds they had requested remission, or cessation of rent, and assistance in ammunition.

It was, therefore, unanimously resolved to transmit to the Hon. Governor and Council, authentic

and we then had rain, which effaced the traces; 6 men went out as scouts, who returned in the night, having found nothing; 29th, sent out 2 scouts before day, who returned, having found nothing; went on to Lieuwen river, but found nothing; so that we and the slaughter cattle and the horses were thirsty; 30th, down along Lieuwen river seeking water, but found none; we then returned up the river until we found water for man and beast, and the same day rode back until we recovered the traces of the cattle, but we could not keep them, so we the same evening returned to the abandoned farm of H. Korf; 31st returned homewards, and in the evening found the traces of a party of Bushmen who had passed the same day to steal again; we then went to the Drooge Fontein, where there was no water; on the 1st Feb. to the farm of W. van Wyk, on the Riet river; on the 2d February, returned to the farm of the said Kruger, when I dismissed my people.

Your obedient servant,

GERRIT PUTTER.

1776. April 11. Report of H. M. van den Berg to Commandant Opperman.—This is to inform you that the Bushmen have again stolen at Jacob Naude's; they have stabbed sheep dead, and also taken away, how many is not known, and on the 13th March we attacked the kraal, shot 17 and took 10. It was the kraal of the old Captain to whom I gave the staff, and since then the Bushmen have again stolen cattle and sheep; they stole them on the 19th March, at J. Kruger's, when we instantly pursued as far as the Rhenoster Berg, but did not find them. This is to inform you that I requested Josua Joubert for assistance, and that he assisted me, for in my district I can get no men to go on commando, half my men are gone to the Cape, and those who live on the mountain I have again ordered; but Kruger says he does not think he will ride, and Dirk Schalkwyk has twice refused to go on commando; and if it goes on thus we also shall be forced to remove again from the Sneeuwberg, for Jacob Naude is going away to the Roggeveld, because the Bushmen plague so. I also inform Mr. Opperman that Kruger (a) has drawn up a memorial, and is riding round to get all the men to sign it, to remain under Swellendam. I remain, &c.

1776. April 29. Report of Corporal W. Steinkamp, Onder Roggeveld.—The undersigned makes known that the following mischief has been done by the Bushmen:—1st. At J. Louw's, murdered a slave, killed 3 horses, stole 82 oxen, and 200 sheep. 2d. At C. Mouton's, when sitting at supper with the door open, they shot arrows into the house, and wounded a slave girl and a Hottentot, (who were still living when Steinkamp left home). Mouton then closed the door, but they did not cease to shoot at the house all night, until at length they drove the cattle off the homestead, to induce the men to come out of the house, but stole nothing. 3d. They broke open the house of J. Mouton in the night and destroyed every thing. The said Corporal further states, that 4 persons have already left their farms, that, if no support be given, the others and he himself must fly also; and requests a commando (b) Further reports that in the beginning of last March he made an expedition against the Bushmen, but without effect, and wrote to three Field Corporals for assistance, namely, G. Putter, H. Olivier, and C. Kruger, but got no aid. Putter said his horses were too low in condition, and ordered no men. Olivier said, that none of his men would come, and Kruger that all his men had left their farms, although only two were gone, and several were still at home.

1776. May 16. Report of Field Corporal A. van Zyl, Hantam. Mr. Landdrost, I inform you that the Bushmen here have stolen 35 cattle from Gerrit van Wyk, Gs. of which 10 were retaken, and 5 Bushmen shot. I remain, &c.

ADRIAAN VAN ZYL.

(a) Marginal note in handwriting of the Landdrost (Bergh)—“Hendrick Krugel, Myburgh says that he is the only one who has tried to remain under (the authorities of) Swellendam.”

(b) These appear to have been verbal reports reduced to writing in the Landdrost's office. Steinkamp's mark is witnessed by H. Flemmick and M. H. O. Woeke.

copies of the said two petitions, seconded by a humble request, in favor of the petitioners, in particular the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg and Camdeboo, and in general the other districts under their magistracy, that government may not only grant for their relief a good quantity of gunpowder, lead, and flints, wherewith they may, as much as possible, oppose and check the further encroachment of the said unpeaceable (*vredeloose*) and rapacious Bushman tribe, who, otherwise, are likely soon to break through into the nearer and more important districts; but also, seeing that the last ammunition granted, namely, 400 lbs. of powder and 800 lbs. of lead, when divided among 13 Field Sergeants, was altogether insufficient, considering the rapid expenditure by commandos in checking the deprecations, and that we were thus obliged to suffer the inhabitants to be almost devoid of the means of defence, that the government may be graciously pleased now to grant us 1500 lbs. gunpowder, 3000 lbs. lead, and 3000 flints.

It was further resolved to beg such favorable consideration to the other request of the said inhabitants, with respect to their arrears of rent, as the Council may deem it to deserve.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Extract from Resolution of Council.

1777. June 5. There was read a certain letter, with inclosures, from the Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Officers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, addressed to this Council the day before yesterday as follows:—

[Here is inserted the letter as in May 6, *supra*,] which letter and inclosures having been attentively discussed, and it being taken into consideration of this subject, that all amicable means of bringing the rapacious Bosjesmans Hottentots to a state of quiet had been tried in vain; we have accordingly been constrained to accede to the proposition contained in the said letter, to attack them by stronger commandos, and root them out in that way; and to grant for this end the requested 1500 lbs.

Mr. Landdrost.—When I had written this letter, I received this from Gerrit van Wyk; you may thus see, sir, how we are plagued here. I should write you further, but that I must see to collect a commando.

*Inclosure.* Cousin Adriaan van Zyl,—I inform you that the Bushmen attacked my farm last night, they surrounded and shot upon all the straw huts, they cruelly murdered three Hottentot children in the huts, and severely wounded my Witebooy; the very dogs and the whole premises (*werf*) are full of arrows; we had to keep them off the whole night by firing on them. My goats stood in the cow kraal, from which they have taken them, and they are off with them, 249 goats; upon this I expect the most speedy assistance from you. Whether they have taken any sheep I do not yet know, I had enough to do to save our lives. From their work this night it may be easily seen that they were in countless numbers.<sup>(a)</sup>

Relying upon your help, with our hearty compliments,

GERRIT VAN WYK, Gz.

1776. May 28. Letter from Sarel Marais, Sneeuwberg, to the Landdrost.—I have received your letter of the 19th May, from which I see that the Board have been pleased to appoint me Field Sergeant, trusting that this promotion will tend to give me greater encouragement and authority in the punctual performance of my duties. For this promotion, I give my best thanks to the Board. As to the performance of the duties of my office, I am not aware that I have not at all times done my best, which if it please the Lord I shall still continue to do. As to a Field Corporal I know no man better qualified than Andries Petrus Burger, Schalks son. I have given the young men notice as directed to have themselves enrolled within the prescribed time, and remain, &c.

SARL MARAIS.

P. S. I have to inform you that I and my people are obliged to be, so to say, on commando every day, but we are at present no longer in a condition to make a commando for want of powder and lead.

1776. June 5. Extract of Letter from Field Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe.—I have further to inform you that the fury of the Bushmen on the Sneeuwberg gets worse and worse every day; and that most of the men have fled to Camdeboo, for they could not possibly hold out longer, and those who are still here are in great danger, but do not know where they shall go, because Camdeboo is full, and they requested me to send them support. I sent men to help them on the 17th May, but they were too weak against the multitude of robbers, and the Field Sergeant Van Jaarsveldt also has not many men, and ammunition is wanting also.

1776. July 9. Report of Field Sergeant W. Steinkamp.—By this letter I inform the Landdrost how it goes in the country here with the Bushmen. Since I was at Stellenbosch (*op*) the Bushmen attacked the farm of C. Maton in the night, and wounded one of his servants with an arrow, and the servants wounded three Bushmen, and shot one upon the premises in the night. The Bushmen were among the Widow Nel's sheep in the day time, and took away 352 sheep, and also killed three servants who were attending the sheep. Since I was absent a Hottentot deserted (*gedraayt, gedrost?*) who had stolen sheep, and Jacobus Nel caused him to be shot—it was when he was Provisional Corporal. By the order of the Landdrost I have chosen a proper person for Field Corporal, named Jacobus Adriaan Louw.

<sup>(1)</sup> The remaining part of the proceedings refer to the complaints of Opperman and the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg, against A. H. Krugel, as formerly stated. As usual in such cases, another meeting was required to sign the letter to government, which is dated nearly a month later (3d June), and signed by the *combined* Boards, Civil and Military. In tenor it is identical with the Resolution of May 6.

<sup>(a)</sup> Both letters are docketted by the Landdrost "received per Matthys Guiliaume, Sen. 6th June, 1776."

gunpowder, 3000 lbs. lead, and 3000 gun flints. The Landdrost shall be particularly directed to give immediate orders to send hither for the ammunition, the sooner the better.

But although the savage disposition of the said Bushman tribe (*natie*) has been known in all ages, and though when hard pressed they defend themselves in the most desperate manner, so that the utmost rigour is necessary in attacking them; it was notwithstanding deemed necessary to direct the said Boards of Heemraden and Militia Officers to cause all possible care to be taken that no kind of cruelty be exercised towards the wounded or prisoners, or the women and children, by the commandos sent out by these Boards, or by their Hottentot attendants, as these last, being in general very much ill-used by the Bushman tribes (*natien*) may be naturally inclined to take revenge.

With regard to the request in the said letter, in favor of such inhabitants as, through the violence and depredations committed by the said Bushmen, had been compelled to abandon their farms, and have thus become unable to pay the arrears of land rent due to the Company, it shall have due consideration.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Extract Records Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Officers Stellenbosch.

1777. June 16. (After production of the foregoing Resolution of Council), upon which it was unanimously resolved, upon the proposal of the Landdrost, that the said ammunition shall be forwarded, as speedily as possible, in 3 or 4 wagons, hired for the purpose, escorted by a Sergeant or Corporal and a strong party, to the nearest Field Sergeant, with an open order directing that it be sent on in the same manner by commanded wagons;<sup>(2)</sup> but in particular with a guard of an inferior officer and six well armed men, from one Field Sergeant to another, until it be safely delivered to the Commandant Mons. G. R. Opperman; that care be taken that no fire be lit or tobacco smoked near the wagons on the way, and that the wagons be equally laden, and provided with tilts.

And further, that a letter be at the same time sent to the said Commandant, advising him of the transmission of the ammunition, and directing that it be so equally distributed among the 13 Field Sergeants under his orders, that the two remaining barrels may be kept by himself, to be issued when required to those who may be first in want of it, and have performed the greatest number of commandos.

That he be further authorised to resume the commandos, and to send them out in greater force where it may be necessary; but that he be recommended, according to the views and orders of the Government, to take care, and to see that care be taken with all earnest attention and zeal, that the women and defenceless children be spared, and that they, as well as the wounded and prisoners be not cruelly ill-treated or killed by the commandos, and in particular by their Hottentot attendants; this, however, shall rest upon the responsibility of the Field Sergeants and of the men under their orders, to be dealt with according to circumstances.

That he shall further direct, that after each commando has been performed, the Sergeants shall render a written report of their proceedings, to him or to the Landdrost, which reports shall henceforth be signed no longer by Sergeants alone, but also by all the men who have been commanded, or have accompanied them, so that it may be thus more readily ascertained whether the intended object has been effected, or whether any excess has been committed, in which case, upon any probable ground or doubt, the most rigorous investigation shall be instituted here by this board.

That finally, the Commandant be again reminded of his instructions, and recommended to be economical in the use of the ammunition, and to see that it be not needlessly expended; and further, that he comply with every part of his former orders, and that he, as well as, through his vigilance, all the Sergeants under him, act in all respects consistently with the duty of good and honorable men.....

(1) The letter to the Boards is to the same effect: another letter to the Landdrost directs him to send forthwith for the ammunition granted "with a view to more vigorous operations against the Bushmen."

(2) Extract from Stellenbosch Journal, 5th Aug. 1777. It was suggested by the Landdrost that it was demanded by expediency and the general welfare that the transport of ammunition shall no longer be effected by hired wagons, but, like in other districts, by way of commandos; and upon consideration of the fairness of the proposal, it was unanimously resolved, that henceforth the wagons required for this service, shall be ordered by the Landdrost or by this Board, from the inhabitants in general without exception of burger officers, and without expence to the district treasury.

## Letter from Governor Plettenberg to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1777. June 1. Good Friend,—Two Captains of the Little Namaquas Hottentots, known to us, and named Wildsehut<sup>(1)</sup> and Grootvogel, appeared before me yesterday, much complaining of the violence and depredations committed upon them by the Bosjesman Hottentots, and in particular that they had been incited to these proceedings by the Bastard Adam Boer, residing as overseer on one of the farms of the burger Pieter van den Hever, situated between the Great River and the Copper Mountains; and further, that cattle of which they had been robbed had been bartered from the Bushmen by two European Sergeants, hired from the Company, named Matthys and Schoenmaker Volkers, as you may hear more in detail from the said Hottentot complainants, and also from a Bastard who accompanies them, and another Namaqua, named Gerrit, who speaks Dutch. I have, therefore, deemed it best to send all these persons to you for this purpose, directing that, after making inquiry, you will take measures according to the circumstances, not only to have the cattle stolen by the said Bushmen, forthwith restored; but to cause the said Bastard, Adam Boer, and the persons Matthys and Schoenmaker Volkers, to appear before you as soon as possible in order to answer to the complaints made against them. I am, &c. O. M. BERG.

## Extract Records of Landdrost and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch.

1777. Aug. 5. The Landdrost was further pleased to state that Adriaan van Zyl, Field Sergeant of Bokkeveld, beyond Doorn river and the Hantam, had, some days ago, verbally reported that the Bushmen in the districts, the Groot and Klyne Rivers, beyond the Roggeveld, had plundered our inhabitants and the Hottentots, of about 300 horned cattle and about 1300 sheep; that they had attacked the farm of H. van Zyl, and shot many arrows at the house, that they had attacked W. van Wyk's wagon while on the road, wounded his wife with an arrow, (of which hurt she had however recovered,) and killed a horse at the wagon.

That the said Sergeant Van Zyl had therefore requested that a strong commando, in two divisions, under himself and the Field Sergeants G. Putter and W. Steinkamp, of the Great and Middle Roggeveld, might proceed against the said robbers in the beginning of next month, September, and that they might be assisted by men from the districts of Oliphants river and Piquetberg.

This application having been taken into consideration, it was unanimously resolved to write the Field Sergeants J. P. Smit and G. Smit, to send as many men as could be conveniently spared from the said districts of Oliphants river and Piquetberg, as speedily as possible, to the said Sergeant Steinkamp, in order to assist on the said commando on the 1st September.

## Letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor Plettenberg.

1777. Dec. 4. It having been ascertained that for some time several runaway slaves have betaken themselves to the Kafirs, my predecessor, Mr. Bonaeker,<sup>(2)</sup> gave permission to the burger

1777. Aug 24. A letter from Landdrost Ryneveld, of Swellendam, informs the Governor, that in order to supply the number of draught oxen required at the new post in Auteniquas Land, he had urged the farmers who were in arrear of land rent to pay the same in cattle. "It will, besides, be highly necessary, with your Excellency's approbation, that J. M. Theunissen, the Corporal at Riet Valley, should take a journey further inland to purchase cattle for the Company." A subsequent letter (27th Oct.) reports the discontinuance of the practise of returning the salute of the burgers at the yearly review, in consequence of two persons having been wounded by the bursting of an old cannon, but does not advert to the result of Theunissen's journey.

(1) This Hottentot Chief is mentioned (*supra* p. 10,) in 1772, when he was secured in the occupancy of Lely Fonteyn, [the present site of a Namaqua Mission,] against the claim of H. Engelbrecht. The following note from the *Ordonantie Boek*, (vol. 14, p. 229,) shows that a subsequent arrangement was sanctioned by Government.—1786, Oct. 7. The said Hermanus Engelbrecht and the Hottentot Captain Wildschut, having requested the Governor that they might be permitted to exchange their farms; and that accordingly Engelbrecht should give up to the said Hottentot Captain Wildschut his farm the Uitkomst, lying between the Kous and the Groene rivers; and on the other hand, that Engelbrecht should re-occupy the place Lely Fonteyn. This arrangement was approved by the Governor. Thus the place Uitkomst is granted to the said Captain Wildschut as a kraal for his people, while it is permitted to Engelbrecht to depasture the farm Lely Fonteyn *de novo*. The charge of rent on the said farm shall accordingly recommence.

(2) Mr. Bonaecker was superseded by orders from the Directors, as he had entered the Colony as Sergeant in 1770, and as there were civil officers enough in the Colony for such offices. No unfavorable inference should be founded upon the *capacity* in which the Company's servants originally appear. The Civil Cadets, whatever their qualifications, are generally entered as "soldiers" (e. g. Landdrosts Bletterman, Bussinne, Woecke, &c.) or as "young sailors," in which capacity Landdrost Ryneveld, father of the highly distinguished "Fiscal," entered the Colony in 1759.

Jacob Joubert to take a journey into Cafferland, in order to try to recover these slaves in a friendly manner by way of barter, upon the owners paying to Joubert 25 Rds. for every slave delivered here. Joubert has this day returned from his journey, having, from the want of articles suited for barter, recovered only one slave of J. du Pree, who had been a year and a half among the Kafirs. This slave is unable to state to whom the other slaves belong, who are still there, and of whom Joubert says there are 18, whom he undertakes to recover as above stated.

It appears to me, under your Excellency's approval, very desirable and necessary that this should be effected in order betimes to prevent such assemblages in that quarter, and it would be well if the slaves so recovered, who know the way to the Kafirs, were secured by the owners, with iron shackles on their legs, to prevent future desertion.

This Joubert has brought with him, voluntarily, one of the Kafirs in his service, and as he is about to proceed to Cape Town, I give this letter into his charge, as your Excellency may be inclined to converse with him; he has been frequently in Cafferland, and is well acquainted with the manners and customs of that people, which information may be of use hereafter.<sup>(1)</sup> Should he procure your Excellency's consent to his proposed journey, he should be furnished with an order, that under pretext of recovering slaves he may not incur the guilt of any barter in cattle, or other smuggling with the Kafirs, in contravention of the Proclamations issued from time to time on that subject.

### Evidence relative to Trade with the Kafirs.

1778. Jan. 17. Appeared before me, Menso Blankstein, Secretary of Swellendam, in presence of the undermentioned witnesses.

The Hottentot Piet, of competent age, who at the requisition of the Landdrost here, Daniel van Ryneveld, declared it to be true, that appearer, who was brought up in the service of Claas Prinsloo, sen. rode far into the interior to shoot elephants, in company with his young master, Joachim Prinsloo, the burgers George Frederick Rautenbach, Antony Lombaard, and the sons of Willem Prinsloo, sen. named Martinus, Hendrik, and Willem; there were, besides the abovenamed persons, the Hottentots Boevezak, Plaatje, and Stuurman, residing with Mons. Pieter Hendrik Ferrara, Martinus, Hottentot, and Jan Claas of Solomon Ferrara, Claas of Stephanus Cronje, Valentyn of Jan Cronje, Snel of Willem Prinsloo, sen. and Piqueur belonging to a kraal near the place of Laurens Erasmus.

That they first proceeded northwards to the Great River, in order to shoot elephants on the other side of it, but as the river was impassable, they turned southward into Kafirland, where each of those burgers bartered cattle for himself from that people, giving for each head of cattle four bunches of beads and two copper plates, and a string of beads for each calf.

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EUROPEAN POPULATION.—The total European Population of the Colony at its first capture in 1795 was 14,939, of whom 4,269 were adult males, 2,870 women, and 7,900 children; this was exclusive of 2,039 Company's servants, garrison, and sailors in hospital, who, like the population of the capital and its more densely settled vicinity, had no communication with the native tribes, and took no share in the internal defence, or extension of the Colony. The adult males were in 1657, 10; in 1672, 64; in 1687, 230; in 1697, 435; in 1707, 513; and on each *tenth* year thereafter, successively, 663, 763, 924, 1221, 1509, 2065, and 2552; in 1786, they were 3238; and as before stated, 4269 in 1795.

It will appear from the tables compiled for an appendix to these papers, that but a small proportion of this limited population was employed in grazing cattle, and thus extending the Colony; meanwhile the following notes, framed from the list of loan farms granted from the year 1768 to 1778 inclusive, may convey some new information upon the subject. Out of 94 farms, the whole number taken in 1768, 53 were farms not previously granted; and 41 were changes of residence. In 1769, of 178 farms taken, 138 were new farms. In 1770, there were 56 changes of residence, and 91 new farms. In 1771, 60 changes, 88 new farms. In 1772, 58 changes, 88 new farms. In 1773, 60 changes, 73 new farms. In 1774, 49 changes, 31 new farms. In 1775, 76 changes, 41 new farms. In 1776, 99 changes, 59 new farms. In 1777, 116 changes, 44 new farms. And in 1778, 101 changes, and 23 new farms. Almost all the new farms granted after the arrangement of the boundaries in 1775, are in the Zuurveld, that is east of Gamtoos river, or over De Bruyns Hoogte, of which many had been previously occupied. Of these farms many are granted twice over under different descriptions; and the same individual frequently takes several farms at the same time.

The names at first given to farms, still well known, will convey correct information regarding the gradual extension of the Colony.

(<sup>1</sup>) Whatever information may have been obtained from Joubert does not appear to have been reduced to writing; this journey was authorised by Governor Plettenberg on the 22d December, and all the suggestions of Landdrost Ryneveld were attended to, with the addition that any barter with the Kafir or *Hottentot* tribes should be severely punished; and that upon failure of the owner of the slaves recovered to pay the stipulated reward of 25 Rds. the reward should be paid by, and the slaves forfeited to, the Company.

That having bartered many cattle, they returned with the same, and in a wide flat, at the other side of the Great Fish River, where no one could see them, they drove out each his cattle and took them with them.

That the appearer returned home with his young master, leaving the bartered cattle with Willem Prinsloo, sen.

That the appearer soon after the last ploughing season, went to Willem Prinsloo's with his said young master, and taking away the cattle, lay with them beyond Fish River; after which his young master returned home, leaving appearer with the cattle, and giving to him, as the lions were very bold there, a gun, as also a horn of powder and some balls, in order to set as a spring gun.

That upon a certain morning, not long ago, while appearer was still asleep, and the cattle lying on the place. the Heemraad of Stellenbosch, Jan Bernard Hoffman, and some other persons awoke him, after taking away his gun, and asked him if his master had in the herdany Kafir cattle. Upon his answering yes, they caused the Kafir cattle to be driven out, and to be brought hither, together with the appearer, and the other Hottentots who were there. Thus passed, &c.

The mark of Piet ✕

In my presenee,

As witnesses, C. F. WOTKY, J. W. ZULOH.

M. BLANKSTEIN.

### Report of Field Sergeant W. Steinkamp.

1778. Feb. 3. I have to inform Mr. Bergh that I made a commando in the month of September; 3 were shot and 11 taken, who confessed that the Captain of the Bokkeveld had been there, and had warned them that the commando was coming, when they all fled into the mountains, and it was impossible to find any more of them. When the Captain had warned the Bushmen that a commando was coming, he returned to his kraal in the Bokkeveld; so that he co-operates with all the Bushmen.

I also inform you, sir, that now on the 11th January, the Bushmen took away 80 cattle from the Widow of C. van Wyk, they were pursued, but nothing was recovered; they also attacked the farm of C. Mouton, and burned his house and also his things. (1)

### Report of Field Sergeant C. Kruger.

1778. March 12. Report to the Landdrost with respect to the proceedings of the Bushmen in the Middle Roggeveld, that it has never before been so as now, from January to the present time with stealing and surrounding the houses by night, and discharging arrows at them, so that the people dare not venture out to protect the cattle; and we cannot take the field with a commando at present, in consequence of the prevalence of the horse distemper, but must await a suitable season; I therefore request to be furnished by the company with 12 firelocks, and a field tent to keep them dry; and that they may be sent by Corporal D. Naude.

The mischief the Bushmen have recently done:—From Teunis van Veure (?) 20 cattle; from Jan Myer, (?) 116 cattle; from Jan van der Westhuysen, 33 oxen; from Piet van der Byl, 53 cattle; from Piet du Plessis, 680 sheep; from Jacob Kloete, 104 sheep.

This is what they have kept, besides the other mischief; they have also sometimes wounded the herdsmen, and occasionally taken cattle, which have been afterwards retaken from them, on which occasions two of the thieves have been shot.

### Petition of Inhabitants of Camdeboo, &c., to Governor Van Plettenberg and Council.

1778. March 24. Gentlemen,—We your most obedient servants beg, with all humility and respect to express, as we deem it right and fitting to do, the desires of our troubled hearts with regard to our melancholy condition in these troubled times, in consequence of our great distance from the Government who hold power by the will of God, and also from God's House and

(1) On the 30th April, Lucas Steinkamp writes to the Landdrost apologising for having been compelled to remove to Roggeveld.

Church; of which we have been hitherto destitute, for there is not to be found among us any building where we can unite in calling upon the name of the Lord.

Having long reflected upon this matter, we have thought fit to lay our desires before you with all humility, as it is perhaps possible that, on consideration of our prayers, you may favor us with a Clergyman and a Landdrost, not that we wish, from any ground of discontent, to separate from Stellenbosch, but solely on account of the great distance of that place; for how many are there here in the country who have already departed from the commands of their God, and, to our great injury, become disobedient to Him, and to those who, by His will, are established in authority. As they live so far distant, they think our correctors do not see it, and how can they become aware of our misdeeds? Under this feeling (*sulken protekol?*) they commit wilful insubordination from which we apprehend serious oppression, unless God, through your means and power, should be mercifully pleased to prevent it.

But alas! it is no great matter of wonder that things go on so ill in some parts of this country; for, as before said, we have been hitherto without teachers and clergy, so that many fine young people are growing up like the ignorant cattle, without any opportunity of learning in their youth the first principles, from which they may not depart when old. Even among the aged people some are found whose errors might perhaps be corrected by the censure of the servants of Christ. But as to the good, how many a distressed soul longs and sighs to approach the throne of God, and day and night to seek pleasure in His law, and to partake the sacrament appointed by Christ, which he is sometimes denied the opportunity of enjoying.

We therefore again unanimously request, that the obdurate hearts of some may be humbled, and upon the other hand, that the good and just may be encouraged and supported by the appointment of a Clergyman and Landdrost.

As to the building of a church and houses for the Minister and Landdrost, we offer to furnish wood and bricks upon the spot you may fix upon; requesting only that artificers with their tools may be furnished by the Company, so that the work may be begun and completed in God's name, and may he send his blessing that our petition may find grace in the eyes of your honorable Council; in this hope we have the honor to subscribe ourselves your obedient servants, Johan Kruger, Jan Adriaan Venter, Adriaan van Jarsvelt (and 30 others).

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#### Extract Records of Landdrost and Militia Court, Stellenbosch.

1778. April 7. Two letters were read, one from W. Steinkamp, Sergeant of Great Roggeveld, dated Feb. 3, and the other from Carel Kruger, Sergeant Klyne and Middle Roggeveld, dated March 12, both addressed to the Landdrost. The first to the purport that upon a commando performed in Sept., last year, against the still plundering Bushmen, three of them had been killed and eleven taken, who had confessed that they had been warned of the approach of the commando by a Hottentot Captain of the Bokkeveld, and had fled into the mountains, so that the commando could not overtake any more of them. That after giving them this warning the said Hottentot Captain had returned to his kraal in the Bokkeveld, but they did not mention his name; further, that the said robbers had burned the house of C. Mouton, with all it contained.

From the second letter it chiefly appeared, that the said Bushmen, still proceeding in their thefts and acts of violence in Middle Roggeveld, had not only driven off much cattle from several of the inhabitants, but had also surrounded some places in the night, and shot so briskly with their arrows that the men within could not venture out to protect their cattle; and further, that in consequence of the distemper among the horses they were not in a condition to overtake the robbers. Kruger therefore requested, in order that he might conduct a strong commando against them on the first suitable opportunity, 12 guns and a tent, to be sent by the Field Corporal D. Naude. After deliberation, it was unanimously agreed to deliver the said guns and tent to Naude upon his arrival, provided that good care be taken of them, and that Kruger be responsible for their being returned.

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#### Extract from a letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor Plettenberg.

1778. April 10. It is, lastly, my duty to state that two of the inhabitants who have been recently implicated in the cattle barter with the Kafirs, have been with me, and have, after convic-

tion had been brought home to them as close as possible, (*na dat haar binnen camers het vuur zoo na moyelyk aan de sehenen was gelegd.*) fully confessed their guilt in that respect. The other burgers implicated have not yet appeared, in consequence of the distance. When they do appear this matter may be very moderately settled, especially in consideration of the good object of your Excellency in this matter; and I shall take the liberty of reporting the result.<sup>(1)</sup>

D. VAN RYNEVELD.

1778. Aug. 4. The Landdrost produced a letter addressed to by Josua Joubert, the Field Sergeant of the district near De Bruyns Hoogte, dated 17 June, from which it chiefly appeared, that the Bushmen still proceeding with their aggressions had not only drawn off and destroyed much live stock for several of the inhabitants there, but had also killed some of their herdsmen.

(1) Another portion of the letter relates to a young burger, who, on account of his disorderly conduct, his mother requests may be employed as sailor and sent from the Colony, but not prosecuted judicially, to which request the Governor assents on the 21st of the same month. The following seems to have been the evidence alluded to:—

This 17th January, 1778, &c. The Bastard Hottentot Adam, &c. That for the last twelvemonths Appearer has resided with the burger Jacobus Potgieter, that in the last ploughing season he proceeded with said Potgieter, Dirk Schalkwyk, Jacobus Voree, and Lewis Koetzee, together with three Hottentots (named) to Kafirland, in order to fetch two slaves of Voree's, who had deserted and gone thither.

That not finding the said slaves, the said Voree purchased by barter 20 head of cattle; Potgieter two oxen, which he used in his team; Schalkwyk and Koetzee, each a heifer, for iron, copper, and beads, which cattle were driven by night by the appearer and others, in order that they might not be seen, to the cattle place of said Potgieter; and the cattle of Voree, after being marked, were driven to the place of Theunis Botha, &c. &c.

Appearer heard from the Kafir T'zamka, now present, that the Chief from whom the said cattle were bartered, is called Seramma.

Witnesses, C. F. WOTKY, J. W. ZULOH.

This passed, &c.

The mark of the appearer ✕

In my presence,

M. BLANKSTEIN

This 17th January, 1778, &c. The Hottentot Ruyter, apparently 17 or 18 years of age, &c. That the Appearer, who resides with the burger Jacob Erasmus, has frequently seen upon his master's place of residence, lying on the Fish river, and therefore near Kafirland, many of that people driving past herds of cattle, from whom his said master, occasionally, when the cattle were in good condition, purchased some for copper, beads, rings, and iron, which his master always kept for that purpose in a bag in his house.

That not long since, his master being at Cape Town, while the burger Hendrik Hatting had charge of the farm—and who, as well as Frans Krieger, and the greater part of the inhabitants residing in that quarter, bartered with the Kafirs—the Heemraad J. B. Hoffman, and other Dutch people came there. That Hatting rising in the night, desired appearer to drive out all the Kafir cattle, and to remain with them in the field until those gentlemen had gone away.

That next morning some persons, among whom was the Bastard Hottentot Adam, who had gone out to kill sea cows, asked him if he had Kafir cattle in the herd; on which he answered, yes; when they desired him to take the cattle home, which he did; Hatting then told him to drive out the Kafir cattle, and the said Mr. Hoffman desired him to proceed to Swellendam with the Kafir cattle, which he also did.

The appearer lastly states, that among the cattle brought hither, there are two which Hatting had bartered from the Kafirs, some which the servant of Erasmus, named Jan Muller, had bartered, and four besides which Erasmus had purchased for the appearer.

Thus passed, &c.

The mark of Ruyter ✕

Witnesses, C. F. WOTKY, J. W. ZULOH.

In my presence,

M. BLANKSTEIN.

1778. May 5. The Stellenbosch records of this date notice the confirmation of Adriaan Jaarsvelt in the office of Field Sergeant beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, whither he had removed from the Sneeuwberg; the grounds stated are the necessity of having a person in command there in consequence of the *door vallende* robberies and murders by the wild Bushman Hottentots in that quarter, and the vigilance formerly displayed by him in that capacity.

1778. May 26. A Resolution of Council notices the intention of the Governor to visit the eastern frontier in the ensuing September; the object stated is "not only to inspect personally the remotest farms and the recently appointed boundary between the districts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, but to give the necessary directions in various matters which require to be redressed in the said remote districts; relays of oxen for 6 wagons (afterwards increased to 7) and an escort of a Cornet, Corporal, and 8 burger dragoons are ordered from Swellendam to meet the Governor upon the boundary of the districts on the 6th October, and there relieve a similar escort from Stellenbosch who were to attend the Governor to Camdeboo. The teams and provisions to be paid for by government, and the annual drill excused in consequence of these extra duties.

A Resolution of Council (August 18) provides that though the Cape burgers have no claim to the same exemption, they also shall be excused from drill this year that "they may not be subjected to any greater burden than those of other districts."

*Governor van Plettenberg's Journey.*—No other account of this tour has been found than that laid before the Council on the 1st Dec. 1778, and repeated in the dispatch of March 1, 1779. The objects of the journey are stated, in the same general terms quoted above, in a dispatch (October 10) to Batavia. No mention of the treaty with the Kafirs seems to have been made by the Governor until Nov. 14, 1780, after their collision with the Colonists about Bushman river. A comparison of the facts now supplied with the published narratives of Thunberg, Spaarman, Paterson, and Vaillant, from 1772 to 1782, will, however, suffice to settle the question of the position of those tribes.

Some addition was made at the period to the slight knowledge then obtained of the geography of the Colony. The surveyor's Leister, who had made a cursory sketch of the eastern frontier, was (October 3) employed to survey the coast from Cape Aquillas eastward. An English ship, the *Colbrook*, had been wrecked near Hanglip, and the Captain of the Dutch ship *Katwyk-aan-Rhyn*, writes on the 23d July, that he had put into a fine deep bay not laid down in the charts. "The farmer Corns. Boota told us that the bay was named *Angoela*, and that it is the first east of Mossel Bay."

Governor Plettenberg, who was to be received on the Bruyns Hoogte on the 6th October by the Swellendam party, and

## Report of Field Sergeant Adriaan van Zyl.

1778. Nov. 2. This is to inform the Landdrost and Heemraden that the banditti and murderers have murdered two herdsmen of H. Louw, and wounded two, and we have shot seven Bushmen. I also inform you that I have ordered the men on commando, but I can get no one to ride on commando. There are three who have forbidden their servants to go on commando, though ordered; and every one relies on this (precedent). These are Nicolaas Laubscher, and Jacobus van Reenen, as may be seen by the letters, and Gerrit van Wyk, G. son. This is now the third time that I have reported these men for frequently refusing to serve on commando; that is the servants of the said Laubscher, van Reenen, and Van Wyk, named Jan Matthys, Samuel Rossouw, (?) (1) a baptized Bastard, Hendrick Beukis, Jan Mostert, De Waart Zoon, (?) and a servant of Hendrick van Zyl, named Willem Lenberg (?). I have also to state that all the Hottentots and Bastards fit for commandos are going away to the Namaqua country to evade serving on commandos. I request that the Board may write to the Field Sergeant in that country, to order out all the Hottentots and Bastards every year in the month of March, for our relief who must be always upon commando. This would be better than trafficking and bartering with the Namaquas, and we might then in time bring it so far—(several words illegible.)

It is now my most earnest request that the Landdrost and Heemraden may be pleased to assist me in this, otherwise it will be impossible for me to attend properly to the duties of my office. The Landdrost will be pleased to send me an answer. I know of nothing more necessary to write about.

## Report of Field Sergeant W. Steinkamp.

1779.(\*) Feb. 15. To the Landdrost, Sir,—I send you the list of the men for duty in my district, (10 names) the following are struck off the roll :—(6 names) these are servants (3 names). I have also to inform you that the Bushmen still steal here in my district, and if it continues thus any longer, we shall be obliged to fly; for many people have already fled from their farms, here follow their names, (8 names) and we are too weak here to do commando, for the Hottentots (2) who were in my district have gone away to the Namaqua country, and those who have not gone yet, are quitting the Dutch and going thither also; and the Bushmen come by night in 40 and 50 to lay waste the farms; they drove off a flock of sheep of Jacob Louw's, and stabbed 40, the rest were retaken; they attacked Albert Nel's in the night, and shot many arrows at the house, and took away a flock of sheep, but the sheep were retaken, except 30, which they had killed.

I also request that I may have my discharge, for I am unfit to ride so far into the fields with commandos, for I am subject to gout, and am also too corpulent to ride.

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“to be accompanied by them further inland, and then, back through Auteniquas,” returned to Swellendam on the 16th Nov., having “crossed the mountains upon the 3d and proceeded to examine the bay of the Keurbooms river,” called “Van Plettenberg's Bay,” in Resolution of 19th May, 1780. It is therefore doubtful whether the time would admit of a more minute inspection of the Zuurveld than had been made by the Commission in 1770.

The information obtained from A. C. Greyling, cited in a note on Collin's Report, (p. 9), agrees with Spaarmann's notice of the advance of some Kafirs towards Bruyns Hoogte, in January, 1776, and is confirmed, as to the position of the Chiefs when sent for in 1778, by Van Jaarsvelt's letter, dated April 8, 1779, (*infra*.) On the 12th March, 1779, Jaarsvelt reports that the adult males of his district consist of 24 men for duty, 17 struck off the list for duty, 3 Company's servants, and 5 young men of age for duty. The number of Swellendam inhabitants then in that quarter, is uncertain; but on the 17th October Landdrost Ryneveld reports, “I have the satisfaction to inform your Honors that every thing in this district is in due order.”

(1) Inclosed is a letter without date, addressed to Van Zyl, and signed by Rossouw, pleading his master's business and his master's orders, that “above all he is to ride on no commando.” He says, “all the pleasure I have had in this country, has ceased for the last three years, and I have now nothing but sorrow: if you are disposed to drive me into further trouble, you may do so. I do not know what harm I have done to you.”

(2) 1780. Aug. 7. “The daily increasing numbers of Bastard Hottentots,” “the inconvenience of slaves passing for free persons, under the name of Bastards,” and “the hardship of imprisoning free persons suspected to be slaves,” are the chief grounds advanced for a proposal of the Stellenbosch Board to subject that class of persons, (for nothing is said of the Hottentots,) to a series of regulations similar to those subsequently made under the British Government.

The Records of the Stellenbosch and Swellendam districts contain entries of the “Bastards” born on the several farms, of Hottentot mothers by slave fathers, who by a local regulation of 13th November, 1775, were apprenticed to the farmer on whose property they were born, till 25 years of age.

(\*) As the papers from 1779 downwards, relate partly to the Bushmen and partly to the Kafirs, they will, as much as possible, be distinguished by the word “Bushmen” or “Kafir” placed at the top of the page.

Extract Dispatch from Governor Plettenberg and  
Council to Chamber XVII.

1779. March 1. A petition having been submitted to us last year by the inhabitants of the *Camdeboo*, a district lying a full month's journey on horseback or by wagon, to the north of this place, where sundry families settled some years ago, and who have now increased to a great number of people (*vry groot aantal van menschen*) setting forth the inconveniences to which they are subjected by the distant position of that district; we then deemed it most advisable to postpone any decision upon the prayer of the said petition until the undersigned Governor should have personally examined every thing connected with the subject during his intended tour. This examination having taken place, His Excellency informed this Council upon the 1st Dec. last,<sup>(1)</sup> that upon his arrival in the *Camdeboo*, the inhabitants of that district had again in the most urgent manner represented that, as above noticed, their dwellings were a full month's journey from *Stellenbosch*, to the jurisdiction of which they are subject, so that a journey of two months was required for the mere settlement of minor differences among themselves, and that they were obliged meanwhile to leave their wives, children, and property exposed to the greatest danger, not only from the *Bosjesmans*,—a tribe of *Hottentots* who live entirely by robbery, and thus do great injury to the aforesaid aborigines of the country as well as to our inhabitants, by stealing their cattle, and killing the herdsmen,—but also from other vagabondising people—that many evil-disposed inhabitants availed themselves of these inconveniences to annoy other good inhabitants, and that the most serious consequences were to be anticipated from the increasing hatred and animosities thus engendered among these inhabitants. They further represented that their being obliged to attend annually at *Stellenbosch* for their burger militia exercise also operated as a severe burden upon them, as they had thus not only to be absent from their dwellings between two and three months, but that during the absence of the majority of the fencible men, all was left as a prey to the said sanguinary and rapacious *Bushmen*.<sup>(2)</sup>

Upon all these grounds the said inhabitants again earnestly begged that a *Landdrost* might be stationed in the said *Camdeboo*, so that petty disputes might be arranged, and order and quiet maintained among them, and their militia exercise performed on the spot as at *Stellenbosch* and *Swellendam*.

That the distance of the church at *Waveren* produced inconveniences no less serious, as they were thus deprived of the opportunity of partaking of the holy sacrament, and were frequently, for years together, unable to get their children baptized, who consequently would grow up as it were in a state of nature, without instruction in the first rudiments of religion, from which none but the worst effects might be expected. These inhabitants, therefore, strongly insisted that a clergyman also should be stationed in *Camdeboo*, and a church built, again repeating the offer contained in the said petition, to furnish the materials, in wood and brick, required for the construction of a church and dwellings for the *Landdrost* and Clergyman, provided that the Company should supply the requisite artificers.

With regard to these requests, the Governor further testified, that he had ascertained that in consequence of the daily increasing number of inhabitants, no more suitable lands and pastures could be found nearer at hand, so that the said inhabitants of *Camdeboo* had been compelled to go to such a distance, that to reach that district it was necessary to pass several tracts of country, here called *Caroo* lands, some of which were entire deserts, so that in a whole day's journey not the least grass or other food was to be found for cattle or water for them to drink; while, on the other hand, the said *Camdeboo* district consisted of good grass pastures, and consequently that the inhabitants residing there, when all should have been once put in proper order, could not only

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(1) The Resolution is omitted, as the despatch is more explanatory, and contains the whole substance of the Resolution with exception of the portion relating to *Bushmen* as here given in the letter of March 25, 1779, and of the following passage, which may have alluded to the arrangement of the boundary with the *Kafirs*, (first expressly mentioned on the 14th Nov. 1780.)

“In pursuance of the chief object of his journey, he had not only more particularly examined and fixed the boundaries already appointed between the districts of *Stellenbosch* and *Swellendam*, but had in particular issued such directions upon all points presented to his notice, as were required for the preservation of peace and quiet among the inhabitants of the said remote districts.”

(2) The numbers summoned as absentees from the annual drill frequently exceeded 60 in each district.

procure a good subsistence for themselves and their families, but would also contribute much to the general advantage of this Colony by rearing cattle and producing butter.

It was therefore resolved, after discussing the subject in our said meeting of the 1st December, to transmit to your Honors an authentic copy of the petition of the inhabitants of Camdeboo, herewith inclosed accordingly, and to take the liberty of requesting that it may be taken into favorable consideration, and that you may be pleased to permit us to establish there a magistracy, consisting of a Landdrost, four Heemraden, and a Secretary, as at Stellenbosch and Swellendam, of whom the Landdrost, Secretary, and a Messenger, must be Company's servants, while the Heemraden may be selected from the best qualified inhabitants; unless your Honors should see cause to authorise us to appoint a person of the rank of junior merchant, who, together with a clerk, might make a yearly visit to that country and the adjoining but equally distant parts of Swellendam, to settle petty disputes in a summary manner; but in cases civil or criminal, which absolutely require judicial sentences, collect the necessary evidence, and deliver it to the Landdrost having jurisdiction, in order that the guilty may be regularly proceeded against. The Commissioner might also witness the exercise and review of the distant inhabitants at a fixed time and place.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Extract of Records of Militia Court, Stellenbosch.

1779. March 9. The Landdrost informed the meeting that he had recently spoken with the Field Sergeant, Josua Joubert, who was then here, concerning the constant depredations and murders committed by the Bushmen Hottentots in the districts of Camdeboo, Sneeuwberg, &c. with the state of which districts and the distressed condition of the inhabitants there, consequent on the proceedings of the robbers, he, the Landdrost, had, during his tour in that country,<sup>(2)</sup> fully informed himself; and that he had thought fit to furnish the said Joubert with the following orders for the guidance of the several Field Sergeants, in order that these robbers should be traced and followed up to their fastnesses by reliefs of strong commandos and, if possible, entirely destroyed.

The respective Field Sergeants on the Sneeuwberg and in the Camdeboo, Charl Marais, Carel van der Merwe, David Schalk van der Merwe, Josua Joubert, Hendrick Meintjes van den Berg, and Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, are hereby expressly ordered to call out one half of the men under each of them, in order thus jointly to form a corps under the command of one of them, and a Corporal, both to be chosen by lot, which burger corps shall remain in the field for at least one month, and act against the plundering so-called Bushman Hottentots, attacking them in their dens and concealed hiding places, and on the return of this burger corps, the remaining men who were not employed on the first expedition, shall be instantly commanded to form another expedition for the same end, also for a month, and under a Sergeant and Corporal chosen by lot.

Said Sergeants are expressly authorised to order upon these expeditions, and henceforth when necessary, the inhabitants who reside beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, and along the Great and Little Fish rivers, as far as the Riet Berg, and who are thus, according to the last arrangement of boundaries, under the Stellenbosch jurisdiction, even such as may not have been yet inscribed.

The said Sergeants are further earnestly recommended and ordered, to take particular notice and make an exact report of such men as, being ordered upon the expeditions, may show them-

(1) Then follows a request for the appointment of a clergyman, with a suggestion that provision should be made for the probable contingency of his acquiring a distaste for his place of abode, and by soliciting a removal upon the first vacancy elsewhere, leaving his new congregation without a teacher.

The reply of the Directors to this dispatch, (dated November 10, 1780,) contains no remarks upon the extension of the Colony by the migration to Camdeboo, or upon the recent hostilities with the Bushmen, both of which subjects appear to have been first noticed, and that cursorily, in the despatch of 1st March, 1779.

The decision of the Directors upon the proposed establishment of a new magistracy "on the footing of the primitive institutions" of the other country districts was "postponed for the present," "it being still uncertain what regulations may hereafter be necessary for their government. The alternative proposal of an annual Commissioner was finally declined as being "for various reasons altogether inadmissible."

A Resolution of Council, (March 30,) refers to the deportation of a burger upon the Fiscal's representation that his conduct had been irregular; certain inhabitants conceiving their privileges invaded, asked permission to send deputies to Holland, which was refused.

(2) It seems probable from this passage and from Landdrost De Wet's allusion subsequently to the tenor of the treaties made with the Kafirs, that he accompanied the Governor on his tour.

selves unwilling or disobedient, so that they may be duly prosecuted by me, the Landdrost; and the Sergeants shall be held responsible for any neglect in this respect. The Sergeants who remain at home, or their Corporals in their absence, shall see that due precautions be taken by the men not in the field, against the thefts and violence of the Bushman Hottentots.

After the termination of both the said expeditions, each of the Sergeants commanding shall furnish a due report of his proceeding, signed in the customary manner, and shall thenceforth, as well as all the other Sergeants, continue to send commandos against the said Bushmen, as heretofore usual, until further orders are issued on the subject.

Stellenbosch, 6th February, 1779.

Which said order was unanimously agreed to by this meeting.<sup>(1)</sup>

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Letter from the Governor and Council to the Landdrost, Heemraden,  
and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch.

1779. March 25. Good Friends,—It having been intimated by the Governor that it had appeared during his late journey to the distant districts, that in consequence of the still continued robberies by the Bushman Hottentots, the inhabitants of the so-called Sneeuwbergen had been at length compelled to abandon all their dwellings there, and take refuge elsewhere; that he had learnt upon inquiry, especially from the respective Field sergeants, that the said robbers now harboured in great numbers in the Bamboes Bergen, from which place of assemblage they sent out small parties in various directions, who, having spied the localities of the several farms, robbed them of their cattle, and committed other acts of aggression when least expected, so that it is hardly possible to resist these small parties, which could rarely be seen, by means of separate detachments; and therefore that there remained no other mode of extirpating them, than to assail the robbers in their said fastness with a strong commando. We must, therefore, conclude by hereby directing you to adopt and put in execution such measures in the matter, as you shall find to be necessary for the extirpation of the said rapacious tribes.<sup>(2)</sup>

By order, &c.

O. M. BERG.

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Letter from Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Officers  
Stellenbosch, to Governor and Council.

1779. April 13. In due compliance with your respected order of the 25th March last, to attack the ever-plundering Bushman Hottentots with a strong commando in the Bamboes Bergen, where they harbour in great numbers, and to adopt and execute such measures as we may find necessary for the extirpation of the said rapacious tribes, we have this day fully debated the subject in our combined meeting, and we have deemed it best, in order to effect that expedition by a strong commando, without, at the same time, denuding the inhabited district of the force necessary for defence against the pillage of the wandering robbers, that this be executed in the manner recently prescribed in a written order for the guidance of Field Sergeants of the Camdeboo and Sneeuwberg districts, with a view to the pursuit and destruction of the said robbers.

It was accordingly resolved, under your approbation, to direct the said Sergeants (names as above) in the most earnest manner, to form a strong corps, in the manner above stated, consisting of one half of the men of each district, by which corps, commanded by a Sergeant and Corporal, chosen by lot, the said expedition to the Bamboes Berg shall be performed, and without the slightest delay or neglect, attacking the Bushmen in their hiding places there, with the utmost energy, and if possible extirpating them, with further directions to the Sergeant in command to render to the first undersigned an exact report of his proceedings.

It was further considered, on account of the commandos constantly required against the said Bushmen and other vagabonds, that it is necessary to have in readiness here, some supply of powder

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<sup>(1)</sup> It was also agreed, on the proposal of the Landdrost, that the several clergymen be requested to furnish lists of all baptisms from 1758 to 1762 inclusive, in order that all young men of the proper age may be duly enrolled for burger duty.

<sup>(2)</sup> This communication had been made to Council by the Governor on the 1st December, 1778, and forms a part of the Resolution of that date.

and lead, to be issued from time to time to the Sergeants, we therefore take the liberty humbly to request that you may be graciously pleased to grant to us for that purpose, 1000 lbs. gunpowder and 2000 lbs. lead.

Hoping that we have thus fulfilled your highly respected order, we remain,<sup>(1)</sup> &c. &c.

O. G. DE WET, &c. &c.

### Extract of Report from Corporal Albertus van Jaarsvelt to D. S. van der Merwe.

1779. April 19. On the 12th February, the Bushmen killed 5 cattle of P. Olivier's; his Hottentots saw the robbers carrying the flesh into the mountains, to the foot of a rock, and I then ordered the men to destroy those robbers, and the same night they went after them. Here follows the list of the men ordered<sup>(2)</sup> (12 names).

### Letter from Cornelius van Wyk to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1779. July 8. Sir,—This is to inform you that I have again removed into the abandoned country called the Nieuwveld, lying to the north, whence the Field Sergeant Jacob de Klerk had removed. Be pleased, sir, to appoint me Field Sergeant in this country, provided that the other people coming hither approve of my being so appointed. These people are (11 names).

### Report of Field Sergeant Charl Marais.

1779. Sep. 2. ( † † ) Report from the Field Corporal Andries Petrus Burgers, of what occurred during my absence on my journey up.

The depredations of the Bushman Hottentots.—The 18th March, a shepherd of Jan Viljoen murdered in a cruel manner, and 250 sheep taken. The 8th March, 32 milch cows carried off from Jasper Smit, and 10 shot. The 4th April, 150 sheep driven away. The 20th March 2 horses of Willem Schalk van Heerden shot, and 20 cattle taken. The 3d April, 14 cattle of J. J. Swaane-poel taken. The 12th May, from Hendrick van der Merwe, 5 cattle taken. The 13th March, from Dirk Koetzee, 20 cattle taken. The 29th March, 7 calves of Jan Andries Esterhuisen shot.

Two commandos done by the Field Corporals. The 20th March, one commando done, and 2 robbers shot. The 20th April, another commando with Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe and the Corporal Tjaart van der Walt, 9 robbers shot, 5 taken.

David Custer reported as unwilling, by the Field Corporal A. P. Burgers, as having ridden to the upper country, (*i. e.* towards Cape Town,) after being commanded, without sending any excuse or message, and as having said in the house of D. de Villiers, in the presence of P. Swanepoel, Sen. and of the said De Villiers, that he would obey no orders of the Field Corporal, although he commanded them.

My report after my return home. The 17th August, 200 sheep taken from Hans Camffer, pursued, overtaken, and recaptured, except 15, which they had stabbed. The 15th August, they took 32 cattle from Willem Lubbe, and daily wander about among the farmers to do mischief.

The 19th August, a commando done by me. The 25th, attacked a kraal, 6 killed 1 taken. 28th, 8 killed 3 taken. 29th, 7 killed. 2d September, 5 killed 1 taken, and 1 of my men named David Vorie, severely wounded by the Bushmen. On the 20th August, while I was on commando, 3 cattle taken from Dirk Coetzee, and they were among the sheep flock which were rescued by the herds; they killed some of the sheep, but took none away.

2d September, divided the little Bushmen among the men as follows:—J. J. Swanepoel a girl; Alewyn Johannes, a Hottentot; L. J. Vorie, a Hottentot; David Vorie, a little Hottentot; C. Harmse, a girl; W. S. van Heere, a little boy.

(1) The arrangements described in this letter were approved, and the desired quantity of ammunition granted, two months after, by Resolution of Council, 14th June, 1779, and the approval of government was laid before the Board at Stellenbosch on the 7th September following; but it will soon appear that these orders were inoperative.

(2) Nothing is said of the result; one refused to go because "his son is not at home," and another because "the Field Sergeant has taken his Hottentots from him; and if the Sergeant will not obey the Landdrost, he will not obey the Sergeant," &c.

I have considered, as to the matter of the general commando, that the month of October is the best, and have written to the other Field Sergeants to be at the farm of Field Sergeant Jacob de Klerk, up the Soute river, on the 20th October.

List of the men for duty whom I have kept at home and excused from drill (here follow 32 names); the two last are Swellendam men who live in my district, and I have commanded them; they have not yet taken out their passports, and I request that they may come to no harm on that account; when the commando is over, they will take out their passports.

Your servant,

CHARL MARAIS.

### Report of Field Sergeant Carel van der Merwe to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1779. Sept. 3. ( + + ) Sir,—You are hereby informed of the violent murders and the robberies of the so-called Bushman Hottentots since my absence in the month of February, as follows:—From Hendrick van der Walt, 7 cattle; from Johannes L. Olivier, 27 cattle; from Carel Gerots, 38 cattle; from Schalk van der Merwe, 40 cattle; from Hendrick van der Walt, 7 calves and 1 ox; and from Karel van der Merwe, Ds. 10 draught oxen; upon this, and while it was going on, (*waar op en tussen*,) the commando went out under the Field Corporal Tjaart van der Walt, who marched on the 20th April to the assistance of the Field Sergeant of Camdeboo, and Corporal Andries Pctrus Burger. They proceeded along the left bank of Mr. Van Plettenberg's river, whither the stolen cattle had been driven; they saw traces of a great multitude of robbers, but could not find them, though they took great pains, as the robbers constantly kept spies out. They were then obliged to go somewhat further in order to get before the robbers who were flying, but in vain, as they were watched from every side; they found, however, one kraal on the 2d May, killed 9 and took 5 defenceless, whom they divided among the men; and as they could not find the Bushmen, they were obliged to divide the commando and to return homewards, each his own way. During his journey home, the Field Corporal Van der Walt, with few men, fell in with 16 robbers, on the abandoned farm of Willem Burger; they were out for the purpose of stealing, and immediately took refuge in the house for their better defence; so they had there a long and severe fight; the robbers shot the horse on which Van der Walt was mounted, dead; but by sunset they had killed 12 of the robbers. Their object was thus frustrated, for they were, as has been frequently observed when the commando is out, making an irruption in the rear.

After all this there is still no change; but they break in daily more and more with furious pillaging as follows:—

From Jan Koetse, 4 calves; from Gert Kruger, 70 cattle; from Barent J. Voster and P. S. van Heere, 12, with their draught oxen; from J. P. Briets, 12 draught oxen, and the herdsman murdered; from J. J. van der Merwe, 11 cattle; from P. Venter, 6 cattle; of Stevanis Christiaan Smit, a herdsman murdered, who was dexterous with a gun; the gun, powder, and bullets taken; and from Hendrik, and Johannes, and from Nicolaas van der Walt, 23 draught oxen; ditto from J. L. Olivier, a lot of sheep.

In the midst of all this I assembled a commando on the 1st August, in full hopes of receiving, as I requested, assistance from Camdeboo; but the Corporal Van Jaarsvelt came with but two men and ten Hottentots, much discontented on that account, and saying,—“I shall do no commando thus;” but I advised him to march with me for “you see the commando is weak;” he replied, “I am a Corporal of the burgers, but not of the Hottentots; are there no men in Camdeboo?” he then enumerated 21, and said, “what say you to this, the provision wagon has come to a stand at Koekemoer's, in Camdeboo, with 4 oxen, I shall go back in spite of you, and report accordingly, else it will never do.” He then gave over to me the 10 Hottentots and one mounted man of J. J. de Beer, sen., and went home with one man, who was ordered to return to the commando.

So I went with this small party of 12 men on the 3d from Griesel to J. J. van der Merwe, and thence to Tavel Berg, where, on the 10th, I found such an immense assemblage of robbers, that we had not the courage to attack them; but reflecting that we have the promise in our favor, that they have the threats against them, and that the Lord does what seems good in his eyes, we advanced upon them, and they were put to flight by the powerful hand of the Ruler of heaven and earth, and 17 of them killed there. From the smallness of my party we could not surround them, so they escaped from me. I found there great numbers of hides and skins of cattle and sheep, of which the flesh had been consumed. On the 11th, I went thence to the Nauwe Poort, at the

source of Mr. the father of the country, Van Plettenberg's river; on the 14th, found a kraal there, killed 19, and took and divided among the men 7 defenceless; found, as before mentioned, hides and skins: on this night a horse was severely wounded by the robbers, while the rider was on its back. The same day I became very ill with gout, and was obliged to return home, so I dismissed the men on the 16th, at the house of J. J. van der Merwe.

Now, sir, your sudden alteration of the orders reached me by Charl Marais, and to my sorrow, for the men had been already ordered, and were united as one man to execute your orders, and thus through dividing them, and then countermanding the order, the men have been prevented from making a strong commando in any country. And now it lies in confusion, (*en war*) as I shall here state, that the robbers have broke through to the Camdeboo, and have taken Gert Jacobus Koekemoer's draught oxen to the very last, and the Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe has not sent a commando in pursuit. The Corporal Jaarsvelt at first arranged for a commando, but it was hindered by the Sergeant, and now there is no pursuit, and no resistance.

From this, sir, you may sufficiently perceive that all is in disorder, and it is my humble request, in the name of all the oppressed, that some regulation may be made according to your good judgment. Trusting that I may be favored with your helping hand, so that I may be reinforced, otherwise it is impossible to hold out. For now again five of my men have fled, namely, Johannes van der Walt, Nicolaas van der Walt, Jan Coetsee, sen., Jan Coetsee, Js. and Stevanis Christiaan Smit; and your servants know not what to do. My request is that my men may be exempted from the exercise.

Herewith, recommending your honor to the protection of Jehovah, I subscribe myself, with all sincere veneration,  
Your humble and willing servant,  
3d September, 1779.

KAREL VAN DER MERWE, Field Sergeant.

#### Report of Corporal Albertus van Jaarsvelt to the Landdrost.

1779. Sept. 3. Sir,—In obedience to your orders a commando was ordered here on the 1st August, by D. S. van der Merwe, to the assistance of Carel van der Merwe, the Field Sergeant on Sneeuwberg. Upon this duty I was sent by my Sergeant. I rode with my own wagon and oxen and three servants; on coming to D. Koekemoer, I found there a wagon of G. J. Kokemoer's, which had been ordered by D. S. van der Merwe, to carry the provisions; it had but 4 oxen, two of C. Opperman's and two of Koekemoer's; these 4 oxen being unable to draw the wagon up the mountain, I rode with my wagon to Griselt's, where the commando were to assemble, and I found there but two mounted men, P. Swanepoel and a Dutch bastard of J. J. de Beer's; the others were 12 Hottentots on foot. The Sergeant kept the bastard, for he has the christians generally mounted, so that he could employ that Hottentot as a scout or otherwise.

As they had no provisions in consequence of the detention of the wagon from want of oxen, I gave them all the provisions which I had brought for my own use.

You may thus see, sir, that I was not unwilling to go on commando; but the Sergeant on Sneeuwberg says he will report my conduct to you. You may imagine yourself, sir, what sort of a commando I could have made with 2 men on horseback, and 12 Hottentots on foot; it was impossible, and I therefore went home, leaving my people with him. I therefore beg that I may have your support, for what I state is the truth, as may be fully testified by witnesses.

#### Report of Field Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe to Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1779. Sept. 4. Worthy sir,—I have the honor to transmit to you the reports of what has happened since those last sent you, on the 12th January of this year, 1779. In the month of January, 29 cattle taken from J. J. de Beer, by the robbers. On the 28th, 69 cattle taken from G. J. Koekemoer, by the Bushmen, of which they recaptured from them 50. According to the statement of Isaac van der Merwe, 400 sheep missed, of which nothing has been found. On the 6th February, I sent assistance to Sarel Marais. On the 12th, 5 cattle of P. Olivier were killed by the robbers; and on the 20th, another beast of Olivier's; on the 22d, I sent aid to A. P. Burger.

On the 20th April, I went on commando with my men and two Corporals of the Sneeuwberg, A. P. Burger and Tjaart van Walt; the greater part of my men attended, excepting that from the

family of J. J. de Beer I ordered his son, but was answered by the father, that he could not possibly send his son on commando this time, as he must send him to Bruyus Hoogte. From D. Koekemoer's, F. Toornhiem was ordered, but he did not appear, having gone to the Salt Pan. F. du Pree was ordered, but refused, and has removed.

In May, 36 of my sheep were missed, and have not been discovered.

On the 1st August, I ordered out my men, Isaac van der Merwe in person, or two good shots; he sent one. D. van der Berg personally, and he sent two shots. P. M. van der Berg two good shots, but he sent none. G. Lotriet two good shots, not sent. A. Oberholzer, two good shots. C. de Clerk one good shot. Stienvaard personally did not appear. P. Swanepoel, J. Swanepoel sent one good shot. J. J. Jacobs excused on account of his wife. From the family of J. J. du Pree two were ordered, his son David and a good shot; he sent one shot, but refused to send his son. F. Toornhiem ordered from the family of D. Koekemoer, who refused to send him. D. Jacobs personally. P. Forie personally, but he sent a Hottentot. Ordered a provision wagon from G. Koekemoer, and from each man oxen enough for a team; but as G. Koekemoer offered to furnish oxen as he must drive the wagon himself, I relied on that promise, so that the other men sent no oxen, and he brought his wagon to his father's, and left it there.

These men were ordered to go to the assistance of Sergeant Carel van der Merwe, under charge of my Corporal A. van Jaarsvelt; but when he saw that only one man had made his appearance, he dismissed that man, went home, and, according to the statement of C. van der Merwe, will be reported to the Landdrost as unwilling.

On the 27th August, 109 cattle were taken from Gerrit Koekemoer by the robbers, and the moment I was apprised of it by letter which reached me on the 28th, I hastily called out the nearest neighbours; and on the 29th, one hour before daybreak, went after them, with these men, namely, I, as being the first, D. S. van der Merwe, my son Isaac van der Merwe, Dirk Booysen, and 9 shots from A. Oberholzer; when we reached J. J. de Beer's, I ordered his son David, on which he instantly refused to send him, and, after some further exchange of words, he said, if I again asked his son to go on commando, he should first see whether he could do so or no. Thence we went to D. Koekemoer's, where I found C. Olivier and took him with us, and the same day rode to Kasparus, where we met Gerrit Koekemoer coming back; he said that the Van der Walts had told him that pursuit was now in vain, and besides, that we were too few in number, and not supplied with provisions, so that the Bushmen are said to have kept 61 cattle, the rest were found.

You may easily see from this, sir, the kind of insubordination shown by those men; and some of their excuses I have my reasons for inclosing, from which you may perceive, that when I order men, I do not get them, but get only more of these excuses. I therefore hope to wait upon you personally towards the end of next month, in order to submit to you the course that should be adopted to put to rights the people who show such examples (*tot herstelling van deese voortgangers*).

### Report of Field Sergeants H. M. van der Berg and Adriaan van Jaarsvelt to the Landdrost and Militia Court.

1779. Sept. 11. ( † † ) Sir,—Herewith you receive the report of the last commando. The lot having fallen upon Sergeant H. M. van der Berg and Corporal C. Botma, and the said Botma having shortly before been on commando, the Sergeant van Jaarsvelt took command, in the room of his Corporal, and ordered the following men, who had not been employed on the last occasion:—(16 names, of whom three were “excused.”) The men ordered upon this expedition by Sergeant Josua Joubert, are these, (12 names,) and 12 Hottentots with guns; Joubert's men, above named, were all present; those absent without advancing any valid excuse were (14 names,); excused as being unfit to serve on this occasion (6 names). H. M. van der Berg brought with him 5 Hottentots with guns.

The commando arrived at the house of the Field Corporal W. Burger, on the 15th August, being only 32 shooters strong, for not one of A. van Jaarsvelt's men had come. 16th, sent out six scouts

1779, Oct. 5. In a letter of this date, from Hantam to Secretary Faure, Sergeant A. van Zyl states, as his reason for detaining several men from the annual drill, “we cannot yet know whether the Bushmen will still continue to steal and murder.” On the 12th October, a letter from C. Kruger, Middle Roggeveld, gives the names of 15 men ordered on commando, of whom four did not attend, and the names of 6 who had failed to send the provisions ordered, from which he anticipates the failure of the commando.

on the route the commando intended to take. 17th, remained at the said farm to see whether Jaarsvelt's men might not perhaps come, or some intelligence of them. 18th, marched to the Doorn river six hours N.E. 19th, the scouts came with information that they had seen the robbers' fires, and had come unexpectedly on one of them, who escaped. 20th, sent out six scouts again; remained at the same place. 21st, marched to Klyne Brak river six hours eastward. 22d, scouts returned, having found nothing; sent out eight more. 23d, remained at the same place. 24th, marched to Great Brak river seven hours eastward. 25th marched two hours up the same river N.E. where we found two kraals, from which the robbers had fled before us; the scouts returned, having found a kraal from which the robbers had just fled; sent out six spies to seek them. 26th, travelled four hours N.E. up the said river, where we remained on the 27th. 28th, the scouts returned with information that they had found three kraals, which the robbers had quitted, where they found many cattle destroyed. The scouts had caught two females belonging to the robbers on their way back, who promised to guide us to them, but entirely misled us, and conducted us where nothing could be found. 29th, returned to our last resting place, and went four hours N.E. upon a branch of the said Brak river. 30th, took with us the other prisoner who promised, on pain of death, to lead us to the robbers, who were said to be in the Rood Berg, but took us six hours further N.E. where also nothing was to be done, and as we saw that we had been cheated again, we turned back. On our way back, on the 31st, we found the traces of sheep driven further to the N.E. than we had been. Sent seven scouts to pursue the traces; the prisoner told us that a Hottentot named Caarl, who deserted a year ago with a gun, is in the same kraal to which the sheep were driven, which seems true, as we heard the report of three guns.

1st Sept. The scouts came and said they had found two kraals where the robbers still were. 2d, the whole party marched seven hours N.E. into the Roode Berg, where the robbers had been found; in the morning we surrounded the kraal, namely, that of the Hottentot Caarl, who has the gun, but again to no purpose, for they had fled the same night; we galloped up to the other kraal, namely, that of the Captain Caantoe, but they were also flying, for we saw them running far off, and shot eight of the hindmost, taking five children; also shot the Captain Caantoe; all the rest escaped in the rocks; returned to our last resting place. 3d, changed our course, for we saw that nothing was to be done before us about the Toren Berg and Roode Berg, as the robbers all knew we were coming. 4th, marched to the Zout Pan to the south eight hours, and sent out twelve spies in two parties, one eastwards to the Bamboes Berg, the other to the south. 5th, staid there; in the evening a party of spies returned, saying they had found a large kraal of robbers. 6th, surrounded the kraal and shot no more than 13, took six little ones, for we were much too weak to surround and turn such a great number of robbers, for, from the smallness of our numbers, we were obliged to stand very wide apart; and when the Bushmen saw that there were so few of us, they rushed on, and shot at us so that we were forced to give way; they thus got away into the ravines. 7th, the other party of scouts returning, reported that they had seen a party of robbers on their way towards our districts. 8th, marched eight hours south to Brak river. 9th, having paid particular attention during the whole journey, we found that such weak commandos rather embolden the robbers than impress them with fear. On the same day we turned back, and dismissed the men.

We remain, your obedient servants,

H. MYNTJES VAN DER BERG,

A. VAN JAARVELT,<sup>(1)</sup> A. S.

P.S. We thought fit to let Carel and David van der Merwe take a different direction, which was fully approved by all the Sergeants.

(1) The following explanation was procured from Stellenbosch:—1779. Sept. 11. Report of Field Sergeant Adriaan van Jaarsvelt.—The Landdrost and Militia Court are hereby particularly and duly informed by me, first, as to the commando, that my men staid away without offering the slightest excuse, except Anthonie Botes, H. Hatting, and C. Labuscagni, who brought in well founded excuses; the others may be found named on the report of the last commando. It is, therefore, full time that we Sergeants should make our complaint to the Landdrost, and if the most rigorous proceedings be not had against such unwilling people, I fear that henceforth we shall be unable to get one man on commando; for if they will no longer obey the orders of their government, how much less will they obey a Sergeant, more particularly as we have been assured by the men who did attend, that unless such disobedience be reported and punished, they do not intend in future to risk their lives with so few men, that nothing useful can be effected against the numbers of the enemy.

Secondly, I request the Landdrost and Militia Court to excuse my men, as named on my last return, from burger duty this year; for on the last commandos little has been done from our weakness in point of numbers, and we have now to apprehend worse consequences than formerly, and the commandos must be kept up, or else we shall never be able to retain the country, for while we were on the last commando the robbers again took from J. H de Lange 700 sheep.<sup>(a)</sup>

(a) The remaining part of this report consists of an explanation of the reasons which had prevented the writer from nominating a Field Corporal, in which the only point worthy of notice is, that the name of Botma, whom he subsequently wished removed from the frontier, was proposed hastily.

Report of Sergeant Josua Joubert to the Landdrost and Militia Court, Stellenbosch.

1779. Sept. 29. You are hereby informed of the state of matters at present, in this country from the violence of the Bushmen Hottentots who have killed Roelof Myer, the servant of J. A. Myburg, while out with the cattle, and have murdered a Hottentot woman and a child of Johan Kruger's, and carried off 400 sheep from the house; also that to this time the inhabitants do nothing but fly from the Sneeuwberg, first one, then another, without knowing where to go. I fear for my whole neighbourhood, who are also on the eve of flying, so that I may be left alone.

Report of Field Sergeant W. Steinkamp.

1779. Oct. 22. I have kept six of my men at home from drill (names). I also inform you that the Bushmen have been busy again; they have broken open the house of C. Mouton, and destroyed all his things, so that I cannot let all my men leave home. I have ordered my son to have his name enrolled, but do not know whether he has done so yet; if he is enrolled I shall keep him also at home.

Extract of Dispatch from Chamber XVII to Governor Van Plettenberg and Council.

1779. Oct. 23. We must not pass over without notice the laudable zeal displayed by Governor Van Plettenberg in undertaking a journey for the purpose of an ocular inspection of the most distant farms, and the last defined boundary between the Colonies of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, as also to give the necessary directions in various matters which require to be provided for; we trust and expect that this journey has accomplished the good objects with which it was undertaken....

Letter from Field Corporal Albertus van Jaarsvelt to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1779. Nov. 15. ( † † ) Mr. Landdrost,—Necessity compels me to give you an account of the occurrences while the Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe has been absent on his journey to Cape Town, having given the command over to me, we have always been in the habit of sending support to Sneeuwberg from the Camdeboo, and so long as there were no people removing from Sneeuwberg, we had no such severe losses as now recently. On the 13th Nov. Carel van der Merwe, the Sergeant on Sneeuwberg, and his brother Hendrick came to me and informed me that Tjaart van der Walt, Sarel Plessie, Stephanus Christiaan Smit, Nicolaas van der Walt, and Johannes Petrus van der Walt, had removed from the Sneeuwberg to the Rhenosterberg in the middle of the Bushman country, where they once before lived, but had left it; and now, upon letters received from the sons of Barend Burger, they have gone thither again.<sup>(1)</sup> The two last named, some months ago, came to Camdeboo from Sneeuwberg, and went home to Rhenosterberg; they have thus moved thither and thither several times, to the great injury of Camdeboo and weakening the Sneeuwberg. Some stay here altogether, so that there is a wide opening on Sneeuwberg, and the Bushmen may now pass safely, with the cattle they steal here.

But now, sir, I must tell you another tale. I have been informed that Tjaart van der Walt,

On the 13th October, 1779, H. C. Herholt, Field Sergeant of Swarteberg, sends a list of twelve men in his ward for duty; seven struck off, and five Company's servants; and reports that on the 12th he had sent seven men to the assistance of Sarel Marais; he reports the names of several who had refused, and begs that "they may be punished, otherwise it will be impossible to execute the commandos."

(1) The following explanation has been recently found at Stellenbosch:—1780. Sept. 17. Letter from Field Corporal Tjaart van der Walt to the Landdrost.—Sir,—This is to inform you that we have not gone away in despair (*de waar*) as represented by the Field Sergeant, according to the letter I have received from you; but, as the people were intending to remove from this part of the country altogether, not being able to hold out in the hills on account of the Bushmen, and as it was very dry in the plains, I deemed it advisable to keep the people together, and to move with them behind the mountains, where there was pasture for our cattle, and where we had a more open country. I think it besides much better, if we must move, to move up towards the Bushmen than to fly from them; and as to commando, we have done that here also, as the Sergeant will have reported.

Rhenosterberg, 17th September, 1780.

I remain, &c.

TJAART VAN DER WALT.

Field Corporal, told J. J. van der Merwe that the sons of Barend Burger, who now reside under Hendrick Meintjes, behind the Sneeuwberg, have written to Nicolaas and Johannes van der Walt that they must come to them and live there safe from the Bushmen, as the Bushmen had said they might live there securely, they should do them no harm, upon condition that they should be allowed to pass in safety with the cattle they stole from Camdeboo, and that these cattle should not be taken from them.

The burger Jan Jacobs has also apprised me that Jan Coetsee has told him that Hendrick, Johannes, and Nicolaas van der Walt also do this, that they allow the Bushmen to pass with the cattle they steal in Camdeboo, upon the agreement already mentioned, without attacking them, which also appeared when the 1000 sheep were taken from J. J. de Beer, on the 25th October. I was in pursuit of them with some men, and when I got on the Sneeuwberg, I requested assistance, being too weak; the first who rode with me was Carel van der Merwe, Ds. and he turned back when he had ridden some 4 hours; Stephanus Venter rode 2 hours with me, and then turned back. I asked Stephanus Smit, H. van der Walt, and J. Olivier, to go with me, but they did not; only B. J. Burger, Schalk's son, went with me to the Roode Berg; he knows the country there, and said that we were too weak to do any thing, and that the hills were impassable for horses. I was thus forced to return without effecting any thing; I would, indeed, have applied to the Sergeant Carel van der Merwe, but had no time, as he lived too far out of my way, as I thought it best to keep close on the traces of the sheep.

I shall, therefore, leave it to you, sir, to consider the mischief that has happened, as well by the removal of these men, as by their agreement with the Bushmen (should that be true, which I leave to your wise judgment). There has never been such an irruption of the Bushmen as now, for here we see Bushmen daily, and though we make every exertion, we cannot overtake them, the country is so rugged and hilly. They light fires in the mountains before our eyes; and as the Bushmen have now such free access, please to see, sir, the number of cattle that have been carried off recently.

Gerrit Koekemoer, all his draught oxen and a lot of wethers, the shepherd murdered. 25th October, J. J. de Beer 1000 sheep, the shepherd murdered, and about 300 lambs recovered, which the Bushmen could not drive up the Sneeuwberg.

30th October, from D. Koekemoer, 6 oxen, and 2 retaken severely wounded. 31st October, from me, Albertus van Jaarsvelt, 22 cattle. 4th November, a cow of D. Koekemoer stabbed dead and the flesh carried away.

This is what I have to state to the Landdrost, and have further the honor to name myself, with all respect,

Your obedient servant,

ALBERTUS VAN JAARSVELT.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) 1779. Nov. 24. Report of Corporal A. van Jaarsvelt to Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe.—You are hereby informed of what has happened during your absence at the Cape.

First, on the 11th October, 4 Hottentots were with the sheep of J. J. de Beer, of whom I have caught one who speaks good Dutch, and who had lived with Barent Burger; he confesses that they meant to murder the shepherd and take the sheep; but the shepherd ran home, and 4 mounted men were instantly on the traces; the Hottentot confessed that he was there, as also the Hottentot Carel, and said that the kraal of the robbers lay on the other side of G. Koekemoer's. I was, therefore, obliged to order a commando to inquire further into the matter; but the Hottentot misled me and the whole commando, and took us a wrong course; and when I asked him why he thus misled us, he said that if we would go up the hill with him, he would show where they had murdered a horse; as the hill was steep, I sent two Hottentots with him; but when they got up they found nothing, and coming back, the Hottentot prisoner took to flight, so we were obliged to shoot him.

Secondly, on the 25th October, the Bushmen took 1000 sheep from J. J. de Beer, and murdered the shepherd; we retook 300; but they kept the rest. I pursued the sheep to the corner of Rhenoster Berg, but did not find them.

Thirdly, on the 30th October, 6 oxen taken from D. Koekemoer, of which only 2 were recovered wounded, they kept the rest.

Fourthly, on the 31st October, the Bushmen took from me, Albertus van Jaarsvelt, 22 cattle, of which they killed 9, and are off with the rest.

Fifthly, on the 11th November, I ordered a Hottentot commando, and sent them out to try if they could fall in with the robbers, but they found nothing except the places where the cattle had been murdered.

Sixthly, on the 17th November, the Bushmen took part of C. Olivier's cattle, I pursued on the traces with a commando, but found nothing except 9, which they had killed, and 8 wounded; we could not find the traces any further.<sup>(a)</sup>

(a) The following letters addressed to the Sergeant or Corporal in Camdeboo, describe the state of affairs there, down to the month of December:—

1779. Dec. 17. Letters from D. Koekemoer, J. J. de Beer, and C. Olivier to A. van Jaarsvelt.—Respected cousin Albert van Jaarsvelt,—I hereby inform you that on the 15th of this month the Bushmen drove off my sheep flock, which, upon pursuit, we retook, but they had killed 33, and wounded 3, of which we had to cut the throats. I should have reported this sooner, but that I have no people to send, as all the flocks must have double guards, and because you know that the Bushmen are seen here every day, &c.

D. KOEKEMOER.

## Report of Field Corporal Cornelis Botma, De Bruyns Hoogte.

1779. Dec. 7. This is to report that on the 15th November, I got together a commando of 16 men to pursue 1100 sheep and 200 goats, stolen by the Bushmen from Cornelis Engelbrecht, and found the same robbers on the 19th November, beyond the Great Fish river, and shot 14 of the same kraal, that we could see; for while firing we were surrounded by the Bushmen, they shot at us with arrows from all round, so that there was only a small opening through which we were forced to fly; it was in a great forest, and we were much too weak for the numbers that were collected there. It swarmed with Hottentots; of the 1100 sheep and 200 goats, all that were alive were 395 sheep and 28 goats. I therefore request the Landdrost, if the Field Sergeant van Jaarsvelt does not return to his post, and supply us with ammunition, to send some by the bearer of this report; for when I order the men on commando, most of them come without ammunition, and in this way the Bushmen will soon have the upper hand; the greater part of the men have fled. According to your orders, I told the men who by the last arrangement of the boundaries belong to Stellenbosch that they must get their passports, but they made no answer. I think it would be well were they to answer for it at Stellenbosch, and thus many irregularities now prevailing would be checked.<sup>(1)</sup>

## Extract Records Landdrost and Militia Court, Stellenbosch.

1779. Dec. 7. Lastly, the reports recently received from the Field Sergeants of Camdeboo, Sneeuwberg, and other districts, were re-examined, from which, among other things, it appeared, to our especial displeasure, that the commandos against the plundering Bushmen, and particularly the expedition to the Bamboes Berg, in pursuance of the written orders transmitted upon the subject,—had not been carried into execution, chiefly as it seems through the disobedience and neglect of various inhabitants; while it is hardly possible to ascertain from the reports, (which are mostly confused and unsatisfactory,) who are the guilty persons, so that they might be punished according to their deserts; but on the other hand, that the non-execution of these orders so salutary for the public interest is chiefly attributable to disunion, dissensions, and self-willed conduct, as well on the part of the Field Sergeants as of these Corporals and Burgers. It was therefore unanimously resolved to write the said Sergeants, in the most earnest manner, to resume and send out the said commando as specified in the first order sent for their guidance, adding that they shall take care to preserve unanimity and mutual good will among each other and the Corporals and inhabitants under their orders, and that in ordering out the men they proceed with discretion and without favor, and that on the termination of this great commando, the officer in charge shall transmit to this board a full report of the proceedings by the first conveyance.

Dec. 18. Respected Cousin Albert,—I am unable to send any one, still less to come myself, on commando, for the Bushmen every day roam about my premises, so that I have to take care of myself. I am, with compliments, C. OLIVIER.

Dec. 18. Worthy Cousin Albert,—You order me to send a mounted man on commando with powder and lead, and you know yourself that I have borrowed powder from Sergeant Carel, to defend my own cattle, and that I must have double guards with my cattle, and you are not ignorant that the Bushmen are daily seen here; yesterday again D. Koekemoer's people saw a gang of these fleet-footed thieves pass my place in the hills, so that I must constantly be ready to jump into the saddle (*op sprong*). I therefore cannot spare a man this time; my corn stands, as you saw dead ripe in the field, and you know how my people and horses have been murdered while the Sergeant was away, &c. J. J. DE BEER.

Dec. 19. Letter from G. J. Koekemoer to D. S. van der Merwe.—Good friend David Schalck van der Merwe,—I hereby inform you that I pursued Daniel's oxen, and they have taken 7 away, and killed 2, and we followed the traces of 5 up the mountain, but could not keep it further; and I inform you that it is impossible for me to ride with you, for the Bushmen rove about me in the hills every day. I also received the order too late, and on Wednesday, the Bushmen were among my cattle, and killed two cows.

(1) The residue of this letter either refers to Hottentots in service as given below, or is given in the paper relative to Kafirs.—“I also request to be instructed how to act in such cases as this. Hottentots deserting from one person and going to another, and then the men come to me for my assistance to get back their servants, as has happened to-day with Antonie Botes, and the servant of Pieter van der Byl, named J. Stols, who has a Hottentot of Botes, and Botes demands the Hottentot, and the said Stols will not give him up, and says they are a free people who may live where they will; and then I asked him if that was his reason for keeping the Hottentot? and he then said not exactly that, but we agreed together that I should keep the Hottentot; but Botes says that this is not true, so I cannot set the matter to rights. Stols also says that he does not want either Corporal or Sergeant, that any one who has to complain of him must complain to his officer in the castle; and Botes says he will not complain of Stols to the Landdrost

I remain, &amp;c.

CORNELIS BOTMA,

It was further resolved to send to each of these Sergeants a separate written order and an admonition to all the burgers under their orders, setting forth chiefly that, like well-disposed burgers, they should repeat and execute this commando according to our orders, with unanimity, and with due respect to their officers, laying aside all differences, so that their rapacious enemies may be at once entirely subdued, and that their own welfare may be advanced by their good conduct, remembering their oath and duty to be obedient to the commands of the government, so that the government may not be compelled to punish the disobedient in the most rigorous manner according to law, which order shall be read to the inhabitants by the Sergeants, &c.

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### Extract Letter from Field Sergeant A. van Jaarsvelt to Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1779. April 8. The Kafirs have not as yet removed, but still lie where the Governor (*Edele Heer*) left them, and talk of again sowing corn; this our people urge me to forbid; I, therefore, request your support.

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### Extract Records of Landdrost and Heemraden Swellendam.

1779. Aug. 16. Lastly, Lucas Meyer was appointed Field Corporal at the Bosjesmans river, and it was deemed proper to write him to endeavour, by gentle means, to dislodge the Kafirs who are lying on this side of the Bosjesmans river . . . . .The residue of this month, and the whole of September, passed over without any occurrence worth noticing, until Monday, the 25th October. .

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### Extract of Letter from Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor Van Plettenberg.

1779. Aug. 25. As successive complaints have been made by the inhabitants on this side of Bushmans River, regarding disturbances with the Kafirs, I have under the approbation of your Excellency, appointed a Field Corporal there, in order to check and prevent, as far as possible, all disorders, and rash proceedings, on both sides, upon which subjects, I hope to have the honor of communicating verbally with your Excellency in the course of the ensuing month September, in order to learn your highly respected pleasure; shortening, therefore, this communication, &c.

I take, &c.

D. RYNEVELD.

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### Extract Records of Landdrost and Heemraden, Swellendam.

1779. Oct. 25. The President stated that numerous complaints were daily made of the conduct and aggressions of the neighbouring Kafirs, although no dependence could be placed upon their authenticity, seeing that almost all the statements were at variance with each other. The Landdrost, therefore, inquired whether any of the members present were in possession of certain information to enable him to make a well-grounded report to the government, and to request a decision upon

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The following summary is in the handwriting of the Landdrost:—

1779. Stock stolen by the Bushmen according to reports received.

From Philip Olivier, 6 cattle; Johns. Jurgen de Beer, 29 cattle and 900 sheep; Gerrit Jacobus Koekemoer, 97 cattle; Isaak van der Merwe, 100 sheep; David Schalk van der Merwe, 36 sheep; Johannes Viljoen, 250 sheep; Jasper Smit, 32 cattle and 150 sheep; Willem Schalk van Heerden, 20 cattle; Johns. Jochemus Swanepoel, 14 cattle; Hendrik van der Merwe, 5 cattle; Dirk Coetze, 23 cattle; Jan Andries Esterhuysen, 7 cattle; Frans Campher, 15 sheep; Willem Lubbe, 32 cattle; Jan Hendrik de Cange, 700 sheep; Johan Kruger, 100 sheep; Hendrik van der Walt, 17 cattle; Johannes Olivier, 27 cattle; Carel Grots, 38 cattle; Schalk Willem van der Merwe, 10 cattle; Carel van der Merwe, D.s., 10 cattle; Jan Coetze, 4 cattle; Gerrit Kruger, 70 cattle; Barend Johns. Forster and Pieter Schalk van Heerden, 112 cattle; Hans Jacob Brits, 12 cattle; Jacobus Johns. van der Merwe, 11 cattle; Pieter Venter, 6 cattle; Hendrik, Johannes and Nicolaas van der Walt, 23 cattle; Johannes Lodewyk Olivier, a lot of sheep, number not mentioned; Jacobus Louw, 40 sheep; Albert Nel, 30 sheep; Cornelis Engelbregt, 705 sheep; Diderik Koekemoer, 6 cattle and 36 sheep; Albertus van Jaarsvelt, 22 cattle; Cornelis Olivier, 17 cattle; Daniel Jacobz, oxen, number not stated; Pieter Fouri, 70 cattle.—Total Amount 750 cattle and 3,062 sheep.

these wide discrepancies ; but, as none of the members were able to state any thing except on the authority of rumour, the Landdrost requested, that should they hereafter procure any trustworthy information, it might be communicated to him.(1)

### Extract of Letter from Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor Plettenberg.

1779. Oct. 28. When about to close this letter, a report has reached me from Field Corporal Johs. Herms. Potgieter, merely stating the flight of the inhabitants at Bushmans river on account of the Kafirs ; but mentioning the particular cause. I have, therefore, although little can be now done in the matter, felt it my duty to send the original report after taking a copy.

### Report of Field Sergeant J. H. Potgieter to the Landdrost of Swellendam.

1779. Sept. 27. (Inclosure.) Information for Mr. Daniel van Ryneveld, Landdrost of Swellendam.—Sir,—Your obedient servant has hereby humbly to report to your honor, namely, to inform you that the men have fled from the Kafirs, namely, Jan Predoris, Daniel Kuen, Jacob Krytsinger, Loekas Meyer, Nics. Niemand, Theodoris Potgieter, Daniel Marais, sen., Dirk Minnie, Dirk Markis, Piet Markis, Jan Markis, Solomon Ferraira, Piet Ferraira, Johannes Jacobus van Reenen, Jan Booyse, Andries de Jaager, Johannes Holtshouse, jun., Jan Pieterse, and Carel Minnie. Sir, your humble servant has to inform you, that I shall keep the men at home. Sir, I cannot tell what further that tribe intend to do in my district. Sir, I should have made an earlier report, but I wished first to speak to the men in order to report to you on the matter.

I should have come myself to make report to you, but I have tired my horses in going to learn the truth.

Sir,—This tribe only wait until the men first go to drill, then they would have it as they like, so that I cannot say, sir, what may be their intentions. They have already stolen cattle from the men who have fled.

Commending your honor and your dear family to the merciful protection of the Almighty,

I remain, with due respect,

(Signed) J. H. POTGIETER.

### Declaration of Field Corporal Jan Scholtz.(2)

1779. Nov. 5. This 5th November, 1779, appeared before me, Menso Blankstein, Secretary of Swellendam, in presence of the undermentioned witnesses.

The Field Corporal of the Gamtoos river, Jan Scholtz, who, at the requisition of the Junior Merchant and Landdrost here, Daniel van Ryneveld, declared it to be true, that the appearer, in the month of July last, asked permission of the requirant, (*i. e.* the Landdrost,) to ride inland, in order to get hold of his servants, that this was not only consented to, but the appearer was also ordered to

1778. Sept. 17. The Landdrost of Swellendam reported that he had been informed by the Adjutant P. H. Ferreira, that some persons fishing at the mouth of Swartekops river had seen three fires on an island (Bird Island) near the mouth of the Koega ; and on the 14th November, that Stephanus Ferreira, Daniel Khuen, Cornelis van Rooyen, Pieter du Preez, and Lucas van der Schyff, who had been ordered to try to communicate with the island by signs or by a raft, had not been able to procure any answer to the signals they had made. As all these persons are subsequently mentioned as involved in the disputes with the Kafirs, it is probable that no important communication had *then* been made upon that subject. J. H. Potgieter was appointed Field Sergeant beyond Gamtoos river on the 17th June, 1778.

(1) 45 burgers were this day summoned for being absent from annual drill, and 68 excused upon payment of "the light penalty." It was resolved that in future, absentees on the first day of drill should pay the light penalty, with one dollar more for each day's absence, while those who might not appear during the days appointed should pay the full penalty.

The distance of Swellendam from Cape Town had shortly before induced the Landdrost to request, and the government to permit him to conduct prosecutions before the Court of Justice by proxy ; and the distance of the seat of magistracy from the extremities of the district led the Board now to represent the difficulty of carrying civil sentences into execution, and to request that their jurisdiction still limited to 25 guilders might be extended, as was done accordingly by a Resolution of 14th December, 1779, extending the jurisdiction of the Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden to 50 Rds. with *parata executis*.

(2) This and the three following declarations were copied from the original in the Swellendam Records. No copies have been found at Cape Town, nor has any allusion to those investigations been discovered in the correspondence of the period.

inform himself of the state of affairs there with regard to the disputes between the inhabitants and the Kafirs.

That the appearer intending to ride to the Sunday river, met, on the 10th of October, at the Zwartkops river, the burgers Jan Pretorius, Daniel Keune, Lucas Meyer, Nicolaas Niemand, Theodorus Potgieter, sen., Dirk Minie, Jan Markis, Solomon Ferreira, Johannes Jacobus van Reenen, Jan Booysz, Andries de Jaager, Jan Andries Holthausen, jun., and Jan Pieterse, who had fled with their cattle from beyond the Zwartkops river, because, as they stated to the appearer, the Kafirs had driven them away, burnt their houses, and carried off much of their cattle. They had with them also the cattle of Jacob Cretzinger, Daniel Marais, Dirk Markis, Pieter Markis, Pieter Hendrik Ferreira, and Carel Minie.

That the appearer having caused some of the Kafirs, wandering about there, to be asked for what reason they carried off the cattle of the inhabitants, he had received for answer, in substance, that they could not suffer the Gonna Hottentots, who daily stole their cattle, to reside among the christians, but desired that the christians should drive them away, in order that they should be again able to get their cattle.

That, thereupon, the appearer, in order not to expose himself to any danger, rode back hither to make a report of his proceedings, &c. &c.

The mark of Jan Scholtz ✕

In my presence,

As Witnesses, C. F. WOTKY, J. W. ZULOH.

M. BLANKSTEIN. Sec.

This 15th December, 1779, appeared before me &c. (ut supra,) the burger Hendrick Christoffel Janse van Rensberg, of competent age, who &c. (ut supra,) declared it to be true. That the appearer, in the month of August last, rode from his farm on the Bushman's river, named Olyve Fonteyn, to his other farm on the Sunday river; that during his absence, and on the 19th August, a party of Kafirs came to his before-mentioned place of residence, and murdered his cattle herd, named Caffer, and carried off one half of the appearer's herd of cattle, (although some of them returned of themselves,) together with four head belonging to a Hottentot belonging to him, named Jacob, which were brought back by the commando sent out thereupon, the appearer missing, in all 22 Cattle.

That the appearer's people having next day, the 20th August, gone into the field to see what had become of the herdsman, found him with his throat cut, and with some stabs of an assagai in the head.

That the appearer being, as before mentioned, upon his other farm, sent thence on the 18th of the said month of August, and thus the day before the above-mentioned murder was committed, three Hottentots, named Koetje, Mattroos, and Jager, to his place of residence on the Bushmen's river, who are still absent, and who, as he presumes, have been either murdered or carried off by the said Kafirs.

That the appearer, together with Roeloff Camfer, and Barend Lindenquast, being sent for upon the 4th August, by the burger Daniel Delport, found upon his place, and inspected, one male Hottentot, a female Hottentot, and a child, who had been murdered by the Kafirs, covered with some mats and with the straw huts burnt, besides another Hottentot, and a little Hottentot girl, who lay near the house, murdered, by means of assagais; there were besides two Hottentots and one female severely wounded, of whom, as the appearer has since heard, the female has subsequently died of her wounds, and the other two have recovered.

Declaring nothing further, &c. with offer to confirm the same with solemn oath.

Thus passed, at the Secretariat, at Swellendam, in the presence of the Messenger, Christophel Frederick Wotky and the substitute Johan Wilhelm Zuloh.

As witnessess, C. F. WOTKY, J. W. ZULOH.

H. C. J. VAN RENSBURG,  
M. BLANKSTEIN.

This 18th December, 1779, appeared before me, &c. (ut supra,) the Field Corporal, Stephanus Scheepers, who (ut supra,) declared that it is true.

That the appearer having taken a journey to Kafirland (in the year 1763,) found no Kafirs in the districts where the Governor last year gave out farms; but that he, the appearer, first fell in with them and their cattle, five days' journey further inland, although the said tribe have subsequently moved further in this direction among the christians.

That in the month of June last, to the best of his recollection, Kafirs appertaining to the tribes

of Magoura and Mahoti, came to the appearer's cattle place, called Klip Fontyn, lying on the Bushmans river, and there murdered appearer's cattle herd, carrying off 60 head of cattle, together with his servant, Jan Koetzce, who, notwithstanding escaped from them, leaving the cattle in their hands.

That the appearer, in the month of October, 1777, being on the farm of Lucas Cornelis, Janse van Vouren, asked of one of the Kafirs who came thither, for what reason they, the Kafirs, carried off the cattle of the christians, and received from him, in substance, the following answer:—" You christians harbour the Gonnas Hottentots expressly to steal our cattle ; why do you not drive that people back again to us ?"

Declaring nothing more, the appearer gives, as reason for his knowledge, as in the text, offering to confirm the same by solemn oath. Thus passed in the Secretariat of Swellendam, in the presence of the Messenger, Christopher Frederick Wotky, and the substitute Johan Wilhelm Zuloh.

This is the mark of Stephanus Scheepers ✕

In my presence,

M. BLANKSTEIN, Sec.

As witnesses, C. F. WOTKY, J. W. ZULOH.

This 19th December, 1779, appeared (*ut supra*) the Field Corporal, Johannes Hermanus Potgieter, of competent age, who (*ut supra*) declared it to be true.

That the appearer, about six weeks ago, without being able to state the exact date, rode to the Bushmans river, and there interrogated some of the Kafirs lying on the other side of that river, as to the reasons why they deprived the christians of their cattle; on which some of them replied to him, in substance, that this was not done by them, but by the Kafirs residing further inland, and that it was because the Gonna Hottentots, who had formerly lain among them, and now resided among the christians, constantly carried off their cattle, and brought them to this side the Bushmans river, wherefore they, the Kafirs, presumed that the christians acted with the said Gonna Hottentots; they desired, therefore, that the christians would dislodge the said Gonna Hottentots, and drive them back to them, in order that they might again obtain possession of their cattle when they, (the Kafirs) would be contented, and remain quiet.

That the appearer had understood from some Hottentots, in the service of the christians there, that some of the Kafir cattle occasionally got mixed with those of the christians, and were then slaughtered by the said Gonna Hottentots, which incited the Kafirs to take the cattle of the christians in lieu, declaring nothing further, with offer to confirm the same by solemn oath, &c. &c.

JOHANNES HERMANUS POTGIETER.

In my presence,

M. BLANKSTEIN.

Witnesses, C. F. WOTKY, J. W. ZULOH.

### Extract of Report from Field Corporal Cornelius Botman, De Bruyns Hoogte, to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1779. Dec. 7. When my men hear that a commando is about to go out (*i. e.* against the Bushmen,) they fly to the district of Swellendam, so that I am then too weak to prosecute the commando; and, perhaps, when all is quiet again such persons will come back, and oppress those who have done their duty; it has already happened that men who had thus removed, have found, upon their return that their farms were occupied by others: they ask for their farms, and are asked in their turn, why did you fly? when they reply, we were obliged to fly from the Kafirs, and this is often a false pretence, for why might not one stay as well as another. I now speak of migratory people, whose farms are in no danger from the Bushmen.

### Extract Letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Governor Van Plettenberg and Council.

1780. March 13. By the two inclosed letters, which I received, the day before yesterday, from Josua Joubert, the Field Sergeant beyond the Camdeboo river to De Bruyns Hoogte,<sup>(1)</sup> it has

(1) These essential papers have been searched for in vain in the Colonial Office and at Stellenbosch.

been first brought to my knowledge that, during the last three months, some actual hostilities have broken out between the Kafirs beyond De Bruyns Hoogte and the inhabitants residing there, that a considerable number of cattle had been stolen from the inhabitants by the Kafirs, that in the reciprocal attack, some of the inhabitants having been wounded by the force collected by the Kafirs, they, on the other hand, had been put to flight, leaving behind them 8 or 9 killed, while, in order to meet the still threatened violence of the Kafirs, a strong commando was about to take the field. Upon the proceedings of this commando, as it appears to me, will depend the doubtful question whether the Kafirs are to be forcibly dislodged, or the inhabitants obliged to abandon that country.

I have felt it my duty to submit these letters to the Militia Court, and to lay my humble report before your Excellency and Council.

From the first letter the Council will perceive that these hostilities are chiefly caused by the violence and annoyances committed against the Kafirs by inhabitants, with respect to which they had complained to the Field Sergeant, that Willem Prinsloo, sen., had taken possession of some of their cattle and also of Marthinus Prinsloo, by whom or by some of his companions during a journey into Kafirland, one of the subjects of Captain Gaggabie had been killed, regarding which complaints, however, these persons had advanced (1) opposite allegations, or the best exculpatory pleas they had to offer (*beste vershioningen*).

It is by no means improbable that their complaints and accusations are more or less founded in fact, for the natural disposition of the Kafirs, however revengeful it may on the one hand be, is, on the other, not so cruel as to provoke them to such daring attempts without just cause.

The council must be well aware that any endeavour to ascertain the precise truth by close examination would be rendered nugatory by this great distance.

It is meanwhile certain that most of the family of W. Prinsloo, sen., are mischievous inhabitants of that country, who cause disquiet, and will not fail to do all that is possible to have the Kafirs removed thence, in order to enlarge the extent of their own farms. Thus the promise made to your Excellency by the Kafir Captain Koba, to remove beyond Fish river, with his people is already used as a good pretext to justify them (the Prinsloos) in forcibly urging the Kafirs to fulfil that promise (although no orders have been as yet given to proceed to these extremities).

I should imagine that the object of your Excellency in those negotiations, was not so much to extend the country for the benefit of our inhabitants, as, by their separation from the Kafirs, to prevent, as far as possible, the increasing illicit traffic with that people, by which, as experience has taught, much violence and annoyance to that people on the part of the inhabitants, is brought about, which naturally produces the hostilities of those tribes. Probably your Excellency and Council will deem it necessary, before coming to any final determination, to await the report of the result of the last commando of the burgers; but the impossibility of punishing according to their deserts those who are negligent or unwilling to serve on the regular commandos, as the Sergeants indeed desire, though it is often caused by their own conduct; the difficulty of convicting upon the mere accusation of the Sergeants, the repeated prayers of the inhabitants for the appointment of a person with superior authority in that country, and the anticipation that unless proper means be adopted betimes for the purpose of pacifying the Kafirs, further evils may, perhaps, be expected from them, or from the Bushmen, who are, as it is now said, beginning to unite with the Kafirs; all these considerations have urged me, under your indulgence, earnestly to deliberate upon what is the most advisable course in this matter.

However limited my own poor judgment and penetration in this matter may be, I conceive that it is incumbent upon me to employ them, being assured that your Excellency and Council will receive my suggestions with indulgence.

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(1) The papers here referred to not having been found among the Records, the next best evidence upon the subject of the first breach of the peace between the Colonists and the Kafirs will be found in Landdrost Woeke's letter of November, 1786. While reporting a friendly message from Sambie, he proceeds,—“But, sir, this friendship will not be of long continuance, for I regret to have to report, that on the 4th October last, on the farm of R. Carelse, during his absence at Cape Town, one of his Hottentots, by order of the Bastard Jacobus, shot a Kafir who was attempting to steal a sheep,” &c. “which event has given, much alarm to the Kafir Chief Langa, whose subject the deceased was, and who *de facto* demands that the perpetrator may be given up to him, or that he may have satisfaction.” Mr. Woeke then proceeds to explain,—“This occurrence resembles that which happened in the year 17—, and when, as the undersigned well remembers, Willem Prinsloo, under the pretext that the Kafirs had stolen a sheep from him, shot one of them, on which the Kafirs rose and made an attack upon the inhabitants, the result of which was a fearful slaughter of the Kafirs, and the ruin of many of the inhabitants, and what else is now to be expected from the Kafirs?”

As none of the burger officers here might be disposed to go to that country to reside, for any period long or short, and as such as might be so inclined may, perhaps, be ill qualified to accomplish the objects of the appointment, and although it may be expected that appointing a Field Commandant, whose property, family, and abode are in that country, will give rise to party feelings and new embarrassments,—I still conceive that, under existing circumstances which demand an early decision, the last-mentioned measure is the best; as the appointment to this office of a man acquainted with the localities of the country, and the character of the people is, after all, the readiest, and, for both the Company and the inhabitants, the least expensive means of provisionally uniting the burgers there, now divided among so many Field Sergeants, as it were into one body and under one command for mutual support and for the general welfare.

From the great extent, however, of the country to the north, as well as to the east, it is, in my opinion impossible for one Commandant to issue the needful directions upon all matters requiring a speedy decision; for were he in the east, the inhabitants in the north would derive little or no advantage from the appointment.

It is, therefore, my opinion that it would be more advantageous and advisable to appoint two instead of one, that is to say one in the north, over the Coup, Hantam, Roggeveld and Swartenberg, and part of Sneeburg; for which appointment Sergeant Charl Marais is very well qualified; and the other over the country to the eastward, for which office I should conceive Sergeant Josua Joubert, from his personal qualifications as well as from the position of his place of residence, the best suited. The nearest Sergeant should be placed under the orders of these two Commandants. This done, it should be the duty of the eastern Commandant, to exert every endeavour to pacify the Kafirs by the most gentle means, to oblige them to abide by the established arrangement of the boundary of the Great Fish river, and to take care that illicit barter be rigorously suppressed, by duly reporting the transgressions.

The wisdom and perspicacity of your Excellency and Council will soon perceive whether this proposal is plausible or otherwise; or you will easily devise more salutary and suitable measures for the benefit of the remote inhabitants, &c.

Stellenbosch, 13th March, 1780.

O. G. DE WET.

### Extract Records of Heemraden and Militia Court, Swellendam.

1780. March 17. The President (Van Ryneveld) produced, lastly, two letters; the first from the burger Adjutant Mons. Pieter Hendrick Ferreira, and the other from Field Corporal Lucas Meyer, both containing requisitions for a supply of ammunition, to enable them to oppose the plundering Kafirs,<sup>(1)</sup> which requisitions having been taken into consideration, it was thought fit not to comply with them for the present. The President proposing, upon the receipt of further intelligence, or when a report has been received of the expedition now on foot, immediately to convoke a meeting of the Board, and then adopt the measures which may be necessary.

1780. July 20. A narrative was this day given by desire of the Governor by the Surgeon of the French vessel "*Deux Marins*," the sole survivor of a boat's crew of 10 men, who, on the 31st May, had landed on some "unknown part" of the east coast in search of water. The boat was upset and the crew drowned, while attempting to return to the ship. Perceiving smoke at a distance, *Pierre Kieselaar* was thus conducted during the night to some Hottentots, his vessel being gone in the morning; he the same day set out further inland, and after walking for 10 or 12 days, met Jacob Kok, [then living near Gantous river,] out hunting. It is not stated how he procured food, or whether he saw any more natives in the interval.

(1) Neither of these letters have as yet been found. The proceedings of this meeting furnish an instance of the difficulties complained of in executing sentences, and of the means by which those difficulties were met. A burger (P. Nortier) in arrears of his local assessments since 1772, was warned to pay up his arrears before the last day of December, on pain of being reported to government as a fit subject for the service of the Company.

A regulation of the Stellenbosch Board (June 13) prohibited the Field Sergeants from excusing, "under the pretext of commandos or otherwise," burgers who had not been sworn in from attending the annual review. Lists of other burgers on the roll for duty, but detained for commandos, were ordered to be furnished annually before a specified day, on pain of the Field Sergeants being charged with all the fines thus incurred.

In Swellendam (June 16). It was provided, upon complaints that Corporals had refused when called out by officers of the same rank, that even superior officers must obey when called to serve on commando, and on joining assume the command according to rank. Two burgers who had refused to allow their sons to serve, on the ground that "they were looked upon as Bastards, and thus not good enough to perform military duties," were ordered to enroll their sons for duty, on pain of the usual fine of 25 Rds.

## Extract Resolution of Council.

1780. July 25. It having appeared, from reports transmitted to the Governor by the Landdrosts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, and now laid before the Council by the Governor,<sup>(1)</sup> that upon the receipt of intelligence that the Kafirs had attacked divers of the distant farms of our inhabitants, killed some men and taken away the cattle found there; the Field Sergeant Josua Joubert, of the district of Stellenbosch, and the Adjutant of the Swellendam Militia, Petrus Hendrick Ferreira, without, however, having received any special orders to that effect, either from the said Landdrost individually, or from them and the Militia Court in general; had marched with a strong commando of inhabitants residing in that quarter, traced up and attacked the said Kafirs, and not only shot a considerable number of them, but had, moreover, taken possession of a considerable quantity of horned cattle, which they had divided among themselves.

It was accordingly resolved to direct the said Landdrosts to make particular inquiry into this matter, and, should it appear that any thing has been done in this matter, without an urgent necessity, and in a manner deserving of punishment, in that case to prosecute the culpable parties before the Court of Justice.<sup>(2)</sup>

## Extract Records of Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Court, Swellendam.

1780. Aug. 9. There were then resumed the requests formerly made, and now repeated, by the inhabitants of the boundaries on the side of the Kafirs, for gunpowder and lead, wherewith to resist those tribes, as also, for the appointment of one of the officers to lead them, when the President stated, that as he must soon ride towards the Cape, he should ask the pleasure of Government on the subject; meanwhile a barrel of gunpowder might be sent to them when an opportunity offered, with a strict recommendation that they must only act in the event of absolute necessity, and only upon the defensive; which, after some deliberation, was approved and thus resolved upon.

The residue of this, and the whole month of September, passed over without any event worthy of notice, until the 26th October.

Extract of a Letter from Field Sergeant J. Kruger, Camdeboo,  
to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1780. Sept. 12. Here follows a list of the men for burger duty, (32 names,) and I beg from your justice that they may be excused from drill for this year. It were needless to keep them at home for the sake of such commandos as have been hitherto executed here, or of those which may be similarly executed hereafter; for the object of the commandos is defeated by the want of regularity, but solely because the men are wanted on account of the hostile violence of the Kafirs as well as of the Bushmen, should both invade us at once, that we may prevent the invasion as far as our weak means will allow, so that every soul be not in one day sacrificed to their fury. Should there be any men in this district whose names I have accidentally omitted, I trust you will excuse the fault, for the men are moving about hither and thither, promiscuously like ants. I have, &c.

Letter from Field Sergeant Adriaan van Jaarsvelt to the  
Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1780. Sept. 17. Sir, - Herewith you receive the report with regard to the notice<sup>(3)</sup> to Willem Prinsloo, sen., which was given on the 26th August, Prinsloo replied that he would immediately

(1) These reports having been laid before the Council, ought to be found in the bound volumes of *Bylagen*, (Exhibits) but have not been found.

(2) The dispatch contains letters of the same date to the two Landdrosts. These letters are *verbatim* the same as the Resolution, except that in each, reference is made only to those under the respective jurisdictions.

The following version of the Resolution is published in the Parliamentary Papers:—

“Resolution, 26th July 1780. Two Inhabitants, named Josua Joubert and Petrus Hendrik Ferreira, together with a number of others, having thought proper to form a large commando, without authority, and having killed a great number of Kafirs, and carried off their cattle, and divided the same, without the permission of the Landdrost,—the Landdrosts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam were ordered to make a strict inquiry into the circumstances, and if they should find that the parties, without urgent cause, had committed any culpable act, to proceed against them before the Court of Justice.”

(3) From the tenor of Landdrost De Wet's letter of March 13, (*supra*, p. 92,) it is probable that the notice here alluded to, was a notice to remove from the neighbourhood of the Kafirs.

do so, but his children, who live independently of him, say that they do not know whether they also are included in the word (*huysgezín*) family, and that if it be so meant, they also will comply with the order as soon as apprised of the meaning.

I have further to inform you, Mr. Landdrost, that the Kafirs are again lying on this side of the Fish river at Commadagga, on which I assure your honor that it will speedily follow, that all Bruyns Hoogte, Zwarte Ruggens, and Camdeboo will be overpowered by them, for among us all there is not ammunition enough for our own defence; and then God knows how wretchedly it may hereafter go with our wives and children, for the Kafirs who now lie there are those with whom hostilities have already taken place.

I remain your servant,

A. VAN JAARVELT.

### Letter from Field Sergeant A. van Jaarsvelt to Landdrost and Militia Court.

1780. Oct. 4. Sir,—Having purchased a farm in Camdeboo, I have given over the charge of my post to the Field Corporal Cornelis Botma, with exception of the Kafirs, that no harm may be done to them before orders are given to that effect. I therefore send you my appointment, and beg to resign the employment. I have reflected much upon the matter, and it appears to me the best course, and that, certainly, which involves the least extent of responsibility, to quit entirely; for to continue longer with all these disorderly Field Sergeants can lead to nothing but disgrace. Nevertheless, should orders be issued respecting the arrangement with the Kafirs, I feel myself bound to attend to them, according to the order, because I undertook to do so, and remain,

Your obedient servant,

A. VAN JAARVELT.

P.S. I now live at the Bath, behind the Swarteberg, so that I cannot be present upon an instant order, but shall attend if the Lord be pleased to restore my health.

### Extract Records of Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Court, Stellenbosch.

1780. Oct. 10. The Landdrost laid before the Board two letters successively received by him from Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, the Sergeant beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, dated 22d June<sup>(1)</sup> and 17th July this year, which letters being read, and the contents considered, it was deemed best and necessary under existing circumstances, and resolved unanimously, to address the following letter to the Governor and Council, accompanied by both said letters.

The undersigned Landdrost has this day laid before the combined Board two letters recently received by him from Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, Field Sergeant beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, containing a detailed account of the present position of the disputes and hostilities, which have for some time back occurred between the inhabitants there and the Kafirs now residing on the further side of the Great Fish river under various Captains, and which have burst into actual war, as also the dangers with which the inhabitants are threatened, and how the furthest distant Chief of that nation named Gagabie<sup>(2)</sup> had requested the aid of the inhabitants, to attack the said hostile Captains, who are properly his subjects and in rebellion against him, with a combined force, and compel them to submit to him, offering his friendship and peace upon a permanent footing. There being added to the first of these letters a note as a proposal to the Governor.

From our ignorance of the intentions of your Excellency and Council in this respect, we find ourselves unable, and not duly qualified, to entertain these questions; we have, however, deemed it our bounden duty, to bring them to your notice, as we have now the honor to do, together with the said original letters, for the fuller elucidation, respectfully awaiting such instructions as you may be pleased to issue for our guidance.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) The letter of June 22d has not been found.

(2) Chacha Bea, (Paterson, 1779) Chachabee, (Alberti,) Hahabee, (Collins, 1809); where proper names are of importance, it should be remembered that in Dutch the letter G is pronounced like the English H, the letter V like F.

(3) Here follows a repetition of the suggestions contained in Mr. De Wet's letter of the 13th March, for the appointment of two Commandants. The Board further request to be allowed to frame instructions for the guidance of these officers, "partly extracted from the orders of the year 1774 to G. R. Opperman;" "but particularly with the addition of such special and general orders, as may be dictated to us by [a knowledge of] the respected intentions of the Council;" a supply of 1000 lbs. gunpowder and 2000 lbs. lead is also requested, "as the relations with the Bushmen, and those which have newly sprung up with the Kafirs, require that the inhabitants should be at all times duly supplied with ammunition."

## Extract Resolution of Council.

1780. Oct. 24. There was then resumed a certain letter addressed to this Council on the 10th instant, by the Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Court of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, stating,—

That as the differences which have arisen between our inhabitants beyond Bruyns Hoogte and the Kafirs now residing beyond the Great Fish river had recently broken out into open hostilities, they had seriously deliberated in an express combined meeting, upon the necessity of succouring our said inhabitants as much and as speedily as possible against the dangers wherewith they are now threatened in consequence of the events which had occurred; and had accordingly devised the measures proposed in this said letter.

On which it was understood that the said Landdrost, &c. should be informed in reply, that although we are fully sensible that, considering the remote situation of the country occupied by our inhabitants, and the inconveniences and obstacles thence arising, the proposed regulations could not fully accomplish the desired end, we had resolved, notwithstanding, to authorise the measures proposed with that view, and had accordingly made the following appointments out of the persons whose names had been submitted:—Adriaan van Jaarsvelt as Commandant in the countries lying to the east, with the rank of Lieutenant, and, to assist him in the same country; David Schalk van der Merwe with the rank of Cornet; Charl Marais as Commandant in the northern country, with the rank of Lieutenant; and to assist him there, David de Villiers Ds. with the rank of Cornet.

With regard to the appointment and distribution of the Sergeants, it was thought proper to leave the same to the Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Court.

And as it is deemed absolutely necessary that the said Commandants, as well as the officers appointed to assist them, and the Sergeants about to be appointed, shall be furnished with proper instructions for their guidance on future occasions, the said Boards, are ordered to frame such instructions without delay, and to submit them for the approval of this Council.

It is also resolved to accede to the petition contained in the said letter, and to issue, on the Company's account, 1000 lbs. of gunpowder, and 2000 lbs. of lead.<sup>(1)</sup>

## Extract Records of Militia Court, Swellendam.

1780. Oct. 25. Present the Landdrost Daniel van Ryneveld and all the members, with exception of the Lieutenant Mons. D. du Plessis in consequence of indisposition.

After the resumption of the resolutions of last meeting, the President exhibited a letter addressed to him by the supreme government at the Cape of Good Hope, 25th July, A. C. relative to the expedition led by the burger Adjutant here, Mons. P. H. Ferreira, against the Kafirs, which being read, it was resolved to call the said Adjutant, now here, before the Board, in order to hear what took place with respect to that journey (*tocht*).

The Landdrost represented to the said Ferreira, upon his admission, that he had greatly misapprehended the views of the government in undertaking such a commando without giving any previous intimation, still less receiving any order, or even having in any manner duly apprised him, the Landdrost, of his intention.

Upon which the said Ferreira stated in his own defence, that he had been requested and urged by the burgers in general, as well in Lange Kloof as further inland, and even by some belonging to Stellenbosch, and also ordered by the Commandant Mons. Frederick Potgieter to assemble a commando, in order, if possible, to recapture the cattle carried off by the Kafirs; when he, Ferreira, forthwith dispatched a letter from house to house to the President,<sup>(2)</sup> in order that he might be apprised of what had occurred, as speedily as possible, but that that letter, being detained somewhere, had arrived too late.

(1) Communicated to Stellenbosch per despatch of the same date, and produced before a combined meeting there on the 14th November, when it was resolved to prepare the instructions previous to the next meeting, to communicate with the Commandants in the meantime, that Sergeants might be selected to fill up the vacancies. The new instructions for the Commandants and Field Sergeants were sanctioned at Stellenbosch on the 5th December, and by the government, as "in every respect agreeable to the intentions of this Council" by resolution of the 27th following.

The removal of Josua Joubert from the Camdeboo district, and the appointment of Johan Kruger to succeed him as Field Sergeant, may account for the appointment of Van Jaarsvelt. The resignation of Albert van Jaarsvelt, (the brother of Adriaan,) who had removed to Swarteberg, was not accepted, as he had not any other permanent *domicilium* than in Camdeboo.

(2) Vide *supra*, March 17, 1780.

That he, having called out the inhabitants in that quarter for the sole purpose above stated, expressly ordered them not to fire before he should deem it absolutely necessary, and gave orders to that effect.

That having found the commando formed by the Stellenbosch men, he was forced to take upon him the command of the whole; that he gave no orders to fire; but on seeing that some arrows (*pylen*) came towards them from the said Kafirs, he had placed his men and those of Stellenbosch in a posture of defence, and that they had fired without awaiting an order.

That having consequently taken a great number of cattle from the Kafirs, the leaders of the Stellenbosch commando, Cornelis Botma, Hendrick Myntjes, Josua Joubert, and one Krugel had proposed to divide the captured cattle among themselves, and actually did so; in opposition to which, he Ferreira, had said and insisted that he had not gone to take cattle from the Kafirs, but solely to endeavour to recapture those which had been stolen, and that he therefore positively would not consent to any division, except in so far that as the herd was too large to be kept together, each person should take a portion into his charge, until such time as the government should dispose of the matter; and that he gave orders accordingly to the men under his command.

After this explanation had undergone deliberation, it was unanimously adjudged that no neglect of duty could be ascribed to the said Ferreira, and it was resolved accordingly, that the President should transmit an extract of these proceedings to the government, in order that the innocence of the said burger Adjutant might be apparent.<sup>(1)</sup>

The burger Lucas Martinus Rensburg was then called before the Board, who had been sent expressly by the Field Corporal Barend Daniel Bouer, to inform the President that some of the Kafir Captains and their people had placed themselves on this side of the Great Fish river, at the Assagaibosch, as well as upon the mountain above the burger Stephanus Scheeper's, and that the burgers residing there had consequently requested that one of the officers might be authorised to lead a commando against them.

Upon which the President proposed that if any of the members felt inclined (*plaisir hadde*) for such a commando, he should propose him to government for the purpose of procuring the necessary instructions.

After deliberation on the subject it was resolved to leave it (the selection?) to the pleasure of the Governor.

The said Rensburg further reported that the Kafir Captain Langa had voluntarily sent back 109 head of cattle and 4 horses, which had been restored to the owner by the said Field Corporal. Further, that Langer had asked permission to be with his cattle on this side of Bushmans river for three days, but though this time had long since elapsed, he would not remove, and therefore they would the more require a large and respectable force (*een zwaar en aanzienlyk commando*).

This subject having been seriously deliberated, it was thought right to answer the said Rensburg, that so soon as this board had learnt the intentions of government in this matter, the Field Corporal should be apprised of the same.

### Letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Governor van Plettenberg and Council.

1780. Nov. 11. On the 29th of last September, the undersigned, Landdrost of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, was honored with the highly respected letter of your Excellency and Council, dated the 25th July, in which you were pleased to direct that a due and minute inquiry should be made

(1) 1780. Dec. 18. Letter from the Landdrost of Swellendam to the Governor and Council,—The respected letter of your Excellency and the other members of the honorable Council, addressed to me on the 25th July, respecting the conduct of the burger Adjutant Pieter Hendrick Ferreira, as the leader of the commando against the Kafirs, was read by me to the Militia Court in the month of October, as the Board being then almost complete, the contents might become the more generally known.

It was then thought proper to cause the said Ferreira to make his defence before the Board; after which I was requested by the members generally to submit to the government the extract of the resolution which I have now the honor to inclose, in order to show the innocence of the said Ferreira.

And as the said Adjutant Ferreira has expressed to me his great concern that he had thus happened to give cause for any displeasure, together with a request that I would do my best for him with your Excellency and Council, I could not decline so to do, in consideration of his, in every respect, just sentiments (*zyn alle sints billyke sentimenten*), and good character, in the burger service as well as in his individual capacity; but on the contrary, I must take the liberty to beg that his satisfactory explanation may be favorably viewed by your Excellency and Council. Meanwhile, &c.

with regard to a strong commando of the inhabitants residing at a distance, having taken the field against the Kafirs without special orders, and what further took place on that occasion, as had appeared to your Excellency and Council by the report of the Field Sergeant Josua Joubert; with further instructions that, should it appear that any thing had been done in that matter without an urgent necessity, and in a manner deserving of punishment, in that case to proceed against the guilty parties before the worshipful Court of Justice, which respected order the undersigned is also ready dutifully to obey.

But as it has occurred to the undersigned, since examining the said order, that it is doubtful whether your Excellency and Council may have taken into consideration the effect of instituting criminal proceedings on account of the incontestible, evidently wilful and every way culpable conduct of the said inhabitants on the face of the report, as well with respect to their taking the field against the Kafirs, as their offensive operations against them, with the result that a great number of them were killed, and the arbitrary divisions among themselves of the large quantity of cattle captured; the execution of this order, if carried to its full extent, would be attended with the entire ruin, not only of all the men who went upon the commando, and of their families; but in addition, of all their connections, and consequently almost all the inhabitants of that district would be exposed to irreparable ruin (*flettrissure*).

The undersigned, therefore, feels doubtful how, and in what manner, the true object of the order may be best attained, and has, therefore, deemed it most advisable, previously to taking any steps in the matter, now respectfully to request that your Excellency and Council may be pleased to furnish him with further instructions, after taking into consideration these his reflections on the subject.

It appears besides, by the said reports, that the Kafirs were then residing beyond the Fish river, so that they were, in so far, abiding by the agreement concluded with them by your Excellency, namely, that the said Fish river should be the boundary between the respective territories; whereas Adriaan van Jaarsvelt, recently appointed Commandant for the eastern countries, has reported to the undersigned Landdrost, by his letter of the 17th September, hereunto annexed, that the said hostile Kafirs have again set themselves down on this side of the said Fish river, at the Camdagga, and that it is consequently anticipated that the whole Bruyns Hoogte, Swarte Ruggens, and Camdeboo will be overwhelmed by them, and that the inhabitants there are in great difficulty and danger; and this the undersigned also deems it his duty to bring to the notice of your Excellency and Council, with a view to the formation of positive instructions for the present and future guidance of the said Field Commandant and other inhabitants, in their conduct towards the said Kafirs, &c. &c.

O. G. DE WET.

### Extract Resolution of Council.

1780. Nov. 14. It having been intimated by the Governor that in the course of the journey he had made into the interior in the year 1778, it was agreed with the chiefs of the Kafirs, in order to avoid all disputes with our inhabitants residing thereabouts; that the Fish river should serve as a boundary between them, and that accordingly the said Kafirs, with their cattle, should not be at liberty to come in this direction over said river into the country occupied by our inhabitants; and that on the other hand, our people should remain on this side of that river; but that the said Kafirs, contrary to the positive promise (*sterke beloffte*) they had made to him, had, notwithstanding, crossed the said Fish river, and even placed themselves and cattle upon the farms of our inhabitants, through which the differences which had arisen with the said Kafirs were principally caused. It was, therefore, thought proper, and resolved accordingly, more particularly (*nader*), to fix the said Fish river, as at present, as a boundary between our inhabitants and the Kafirs, and to notify the same in the instructions to the Field Commandant of the said remote district, with an order to him, that in the event of the said Kafirs not voluntarily fulfilling their promise to the said Governor, and returning to the other side of the Fish river, he shall in that case forcibly compel them so to do.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) The following version of this Resolution appears in the Parliamentary Papers:—"Resolution of Council, 14th November, 1780. The Kafirs having encroached upon the limits agreed upon between them and the Governor in 1780, and having even settled on this side of the Fish river; this river was again publicly declared to be the boundary of the Colony, and the Commandants were, therefore, ordered to dislodge the Kafirs, and to repel them by force, should they again return to the Colonial Territory."

## Instructions for the Commandant of the Eastern Country.

1780. Dec. 5. Instructions for the guidance of Mons. ——— appointed Commandant over the eastern country with the rank of Lieutenant, and of Mons. ——— appointed to assist him with the rank of Cornet, drawn up by the Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia officers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, with the highly honored approval of the Hon. the Governor and Council of the Cape of Good Hope, in pursuance of their letter of the 24th October last.

1. Whereas the intentions and objects of the Hon. the Governor and Council, in appointing you to the office aforesaid, extend to the prevention and removal of sundry negligencies, irregularities, and confusions, which, have for some time back, prevailed among the inhabitants residing far off, and also, where necessary, to place the said inhabitants in a better condition to repel all violence and acts of hostility which may be attempted against their peace and security, whether by the plundering Bushmen Hottentots or by the bordering Kafirs; you will, accordingly, employ all due care and diligence for the attainment of these objects, especially regulating your proceedings by the following directions.

2. Your first care should be to remove and prevent whatever has given cause, or may hereafter give cause, of offence to both the aforesaid tribes, and to watch that such be not henceforth done by any of the inhabitants; but that on the contrary, every amicable means may be tried not only to put an end to the hostilities which have recently broken out between the inhabitants and the Kafirs, and to bring about a permanent peace with that people; but to induce the wandering and still plundering Bushman Hottentots, if not to adopt peaceable habits, at least to return to the mode of life which former experience has shown to have been less troublesome and injurious to the inhabitants.

3. The Bushmen Hottentots being a savage people, so entirely different from the Kafirs, that the latter are comparatively capable of being treated with, (*handelbaar*) civilized, and submissive to chiefs, ruled also by customs which supply the place of law, it becomes self-evident that the policy towards the tribes which border to the north, and those bordering on the east, must, in accordance with their respective circumstances, be entirely distinct.

4. With the Kafirs, as in themselves a very peaceable and timid people, you must endeavour to come to a specific and permanent treaty of peace, concluding the treaty with their captains and chief men, and especially bearing in mind that you, in the name and by the authority of the government, and they for their whole people, or the captains for those subject to them, promise and bind yourselves, in accordance with the arrangement made by the Governor during his journey two years ago, to let the Fish river be the boundary between the territories of the Hon. Company and theirs; so that they may never advance any claim to the lands and pastures on this side, and that no use shall or may be made by our inhabitants of the lands and pastures on the further side of the said Fish river.

5. That further, for the atonement of the injury done on both sides, a general restoration shall take place of all the cattle taken by either party, whether by hostile measures or otherwise; and here care must be taken that on the part of the inhabitants, all be done in good faith and uprightly, so that not a single head of the cattle of that people remain in the herds of our inhabitants; but on the contrary, that all the men who served on the strong commando against the Kafirs, and who then received their share of the captured cattle, restore the full number of that share, and, where any deficiency occurs, that fair compensation, in one way or the other, be made to the satisfaction of the Kafirs.

6. In order that this treaty may be more permanent, it must be also agreed and covenanted on both sides, that whenever injury or violence is committed against our inhabitants by any of the Kafirs, the injured party, after giving you previous intimation, may proceed to the chief of the person who may have committed the injury or violence, in order to procure compensation for the same, so that the offender may be punished in their own way.

7. In like manner, on the other hand, should any of our people commit injury or violence upon any of theirs, and you receive intimation of the same, whether from the injured party or his captain, you are expressly ordered, after having made due and minute inquiry, to make an immediate report to the Landdrost, transmitting the proofs you have obtained, and allowing such injured Kafirs as may be so disposed, to come hither, together with your report, furnished with open passports, and accompanied by one or more competent and faithful interpreters, in order that their complaints may be heard here.

8. You will meanwhile take especial care that you do not take any part in the disputes among that people, or in the feuds which have arisen, or may hereafter arise, between the hostile chiefs, but leave them to fight out and settle their disputes among themselves, without favouring either party, or meddling in the matter, and all applications which may be made, from either side, for the help of the inhabitants must be civilly refused.

9. As there is good reason to suspect that notwithstanding the prohibitions and severe penalties of the existing laws, against bartering cattle from the Kafirs or Hottentots, the practice is still carried on by some refractory and avaricious inhabitants, and that on these occasions much injury and violence is done to the Kafirs, in which, however, it has seldom happened that any one could be so far detected, as to receive his well earned punishment according to law; and that the inhabitants are as little deterred by fear of the prescribed penalties, as are the Kafirs by the injuries and violence aforesaid; but that, nevertheless, hence arises the enmity between this people and our inhabitants, of which the injurious consequences have been experienced even by those who are entirely innocent. You will, therefore, take care, agreeably to the said laws, that none of the inhabitants presume to go beyond the Great Fish river, still less enter into any cattle trade with the Kafirs there; and that the transgressors herein, be reported to the Landdrost.

10. But should the Kafirs not be disposed to adhere to and fulfil the treaty which the Governor made with them regarding the boundary, and not be induced to comply therewith by any arguments, you will at once assemble a respectable and well armed commando, and thus forcibly compel them to go to the further side of the Great Fish river, and to remain there; after which forcible expulsion it is not to be expected that any reciprocal restoration of captured cattle can take place.

11. It shall not, however, be permitted to the commando employed for this purpose to take from them any more cattle; unless there be evidently seen among their herds any of the cattle stolen from our inhabitants, which alone it is permitted to retake, in order to restore them to the right owners.

12. In that case also all negotiations with the Kafirs must be at once put an end to, and they must not be permitted to come to this side of the Fish river, whether in parties, or singly, and as little must any of our inhabitants presume to go beyond that river.

13. With respect, on the other hand, to the Bushman Hottentots, who still roam about without any fixed residence, and by their predatory proceedings, ceaselessly annoy the inhabitants and render their property insecure, and with whom we can entertain no hopes of a tenable peace, seeing that they are scattered far and wide, going out to plunder in small parties, who, for this purpose, conceal themselves in the rocks and mountains, until, watching their time, they avail themselves of the opportunities which are presented,—you must be always active in attacking and overpowering them in their caves and hiding places; but, in the event of their not being induced to surrender, you, or those in charge of the commandos, are at liberty to put them to death, and entirely destroy them, sparing at the same time, as much as may be in any way possible, their women, their men not capable of defending themselves, and their children, and ever avoiding the cruel and inhuman shedding of innocent blood.

14. Those who may be taken prisoners, whether they be fighting men (*weerbaare*) or not, and the children, must be divided among those who have assisted on the commando, to serve for their subsistence for a certain fair term of years, according to the prisoner's age; if, however, the inhabitants who have assisted on the commando should not be willing to receive the prisoners on this condition, the division and delivery must take place to and among the other inhabitants, always preferring those who are the poorest (*minst vermogend*) and who can derive the most advantage from their services, or otherwise they must for the same purpose be sent hither.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) These instructions contain in all 41 articles. The remaining 27 give no further information as to the course of policy prescribed in the first 14, but consist of the details necessary to give it effect. They are, therefore, abbreviated. 15, places the 5 districts of Agter De Bruyns Hoogte, Agter Sneeuwberg, Op Sneeuwberg, Camdeboo, and Camdeboo to Bruyns Hoogte, (now Buffels Hoek), under the Commandant's orders. 16, relates to 300 lbs. of gunpowder, &c. sent to "to be divided where required for the protection of the inhabitants." 17 directs due respect to be shown to the Commandant. 18, annual lists of men for duty. 19, precautions for defence in the absence of commando. 20, obedience when called out. 21, the burden of commando duty to be imposed equally. 22, 3, 4, 5, and 6, separate lists of men necessarily kept back from annual exercise, fine of 25 Rds. on those so detained going to Cape, the same on those not attending to take the burger oath. 27, those excused exercise not to exceed three-fourths of men for duty, "while the violence of the Bushmen continues." 28 and 9, changes of residence, and young men attaining age for duty, to be reported. 30, 1, and 2, both Commandants not to be absent together, nor any of their inferior, more than 8 days, without leave. 33 and 4, persons to be prosecuted for neglect of duty, to be summoned when the Commandant attends the Court. 35 and 6, mode of serving summons. 37, selection of sergeants and corporals. 38, inquests in case of deaths by violence, whether inhabitants of district, travellers, or Hottentots, and Bastard

## Report of Field Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe.

1780. Jan. 5. Worthy Sir,—I send you the reports of what has occurred, together with the report made to me on my return from the Cape by the Field Corporal Albertus van Jaarsvelt, from the 11th October to the 24th November last.

On the 10th December, the Bushmen drove off D. Jacob's herd of oxen, on which the Field Corporal van Jaarsvelt wrote me on the 17th that he could not possibly ride after them, because his cattle-herd had been absent all the night before.<sup>(1)</sup> On this I ordered a commando, and rode myself with two of my sons (3 others named) and some Hottentots; I went to the Field Corporal Jaarsvelt's, where I found that he was just about setting off for Swarteberg, with C. Opperman, and in my presence he went away in company with (3 names); these are people who recently complained that their horses were not in condition, as you may see by the inclosed papers, which are sent on purpose to show you that when I order men I get more excuses than men; and I leave it for your consideration whether you should not give me your support, for, according to present appearances, I cannot continue Sergeant, for without men, we can make no expedition. On the 22d December, all P. Forie's cattle were taken away by the Bushmen, and he writes that 70 are still missing, but G. Koekemoer and F. Tornhiem (who followed them and found some of the cattle killed, and some coming back,) say that 40 are still missing.

I remain, &c.

D. S. VAN DER MERWE.

P.S. I send you the excuse papers<sup>(2)</sup>; besides P. Forie I ordered (3 names as above); they sent no excuses and did not attend.

## Reports of Sergeant Carel van der Merwe, Sneeuwberg.

1780. April 12. The Landdrost is hereby informed, that on the 16th March, the rapacious and daring Bushmen forcibly robbed H. van der Merwe, Schalk's son, of his team of oxen, while travelling. They burnt P. Venter's house, in which was stored much property of H. Kruger, jun., H. Kruger, sen., of J. J. Kruger, and of Venter's; having first forcibly driven away the people in charge, who narrowly escaped. The men above named had moved a short way off with their stock in consequence of the severe drought. They attacked a Hottentot of J. van der Merwe's who was on the road with two pack oxen, one of which they wounded mortally; by the help of others who came up at the moment, the Hottentot escaped, and two of the robbers were shot.

May 17. To inform you as to the condition of my district on Sneeuwberg, there is still no end to the pillage of the rapacious Bushmen. The said robbers have twice in quick succession, on the 20th April, taken a lot of cattle from Jacobus van der Merwe, and on the 10th May, they drove off a lot of Isaac van der Merwe's, and murdered the herdsman. On the 12th May, they drove away almost all the draught cattle of P. A. Olivier. In consequence of all this, I am now resolved to take the field with a commando, of the result of which you will receive a report. I request that my

Hottentots. 39, prompt obedience of Landdrost's orders. 40, on differences of opinion between commandants, plurality of sergeants to decide. 41, due report to be made of all events of importance, general admonitions as to conduct in cases not specified.

The following is an Extract of the Instructions to Field Sergeants of De Bruyns Hoogte issued on the same day:—

1. The aforesaid commandants must be respected and obeyed as much by the Field Sergeants, Corporals, and privates, in all matters consistent with the interests of the Company and welfare of the inhabitants.

2. Every person, therefore, residing within the Commandant's district must comply with the orders regarding which he is furnished with proper instructions.

3. The Field Sergeants and Corporals shall, nevertheless, be constantly upon their guard against the murders and robberies of the Bushman Hottentots, always pursuing them with the usual commandos, in order to take them prisoners or to destroy them, immediately reporting his proceedings to the Commandant, and annexing a list of the men who assisted on the commando.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Van Jaarsvelt's note of the 17th, states that he cannot pursue, as his own "herdsman and part of his cattle have been out all night, and he does not know whether they may not be gone also." The note having nothing further is omitted.

(2) (Inclosures apparently of this report.) Esteemed Cousin Albert (van Jaarsvelt?) I inform you that the Bushmen have this night carried off my whole herd of cattle to the very last. I remain, after compliments, your friend Pieter Forie. 22d Dec.

Esteemed Cousin D. S. van der Merwe,—I inform you that yesterday, I recovered part of the cattle, 70 are still wanting, and two of my Hottentots who have gone on the traces have not yet returned. Compliments from me, your Cousin, P. Forie.

Good friend D. S. van der Merwe,—I let you know that I have not a single Hottentot, and must attend my cattle myself. J. Steinvoot.

(3) 20 other articles in these instructions contain the details shortly stated as constituting the 27 last articles of the instructions of the Commandants.

men, whose names follow, may be excused from the exercise (29 names). Now follow those struck off, and Company's servants (9 names). I have not been able as yet to procure the birds I promised to send you, but shall endeavor to do so. In pursuing the cattle above-mentioned, of Jacobus van der Merwe, 22 robbers were shot.

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Extract of a Letter from H. van der Merwe, Sneeuwberg,  
to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1780. August, 20. I must not omit to inform you of the depredations committed since the month of July. Gysbert Roos robbed of almost all his sheep and cattle, and a slave who attended the sheep missing; from about the middle of July to this day, 600 sheep of M. de Beer destroyed, and in retaking the few that remained, the Bushmen fired from two guns upon Blommerius and De Beer.

On the 3d August, a great multitude of them murdered two herdsmen of P. Swanepoel, (one of the robbers had a gun); they have almost ruined this man. In pursuing the cattle the robbers threatened the men with 3 guns. After all this, on the 24th August, the Field Corporal A. P. Burger ordered a commando, but got only 7 men and 10 Hottentots, so that he dared not go out with so few, and as you may easily imagine this makes the state of matters still worse.<sup>(1)</sup>

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Report of Field Sergeant Carel van der Merwe.

1780. Aug 25. Sir,—I hereby acquaint you with the mischief done by the rapacious Bushmen. Beyond the Rhenoster Berg, Johannes van der Walt's working oxen were taken, a few of them were recovered; on this a commando was made on the 27th June, and 32 robbers shot. In the month of March, many sheep of the widow Venter's were destroyed by the robbers, which they did not report to me until the 31st June. H. van der Walt had also some sheep murdered; whether this occurred recently or when they first went there, has not been stated. At the farm of Johannes van der Walt, they murdered 2 young Hottentots, took 60 sheep out of the kraal at night, and made off with them. Sir, your order, as to the men who have not been sworn in, did not reach me until the 24th August, when a commando was about to go out, it was, therefore, impossible to comply with it this year; it is my earnest request that they may be allowed to come up from time to time, so that I may not be deprived of too many men at the same time. Meanwhile, we had another commando to no purpose; we also applied to Camdeboo for help, but it was during the absence of the Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe, when Isaac van der Merwe was in charge, and not a single man came to help us. So bad, sir, is the state of affairs.

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Report of Field Corporal A. P. Burger.

1780. Sept. 10. The Landdrost is informed by me, the undersigned, of the mischief done, with a subjoined request. Now, sir, the mischief done since my Sergeant has been to the Cape, now nearly four months. The Bushmen murdered a herdsman and also a slave of Gysbert Roos, and took away a gun, 700 sheep and 70 cattle, on the 20th June this year, when I hastily made a commando, hoping to find some of the cattle in the hands of the same robbers or at their kraal (*by de of met de selfde roovers*); but it did not fall out so, for all our food was consumed; on the way, however, we found 100 sheep and 40 cattle of those stolen from Roos, which are all that man now has. On the 6th June, the Bushmen took 600 sheep and 5 cattle besides, from Mathys de Beer, and the two men there pursued the stolen cattle the same day, and overtook them in the evening in a very inconvenient place, when it was dark, and then the Bushmen fired three shots with a gun at the two men; the two men also fired at them, but could effect nothing, as it was night, so their labour was in vain, and the Bushmen retained the cattle; and now on the 30th July they murdered

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(1) The remainder of this letter relates to a deserted Hottentot, stated to be harboured by Herholdt, the Field Sergeant of Swarteberg, whose services are claimed because he was hired by the applicant, and had been brought up by him. When asked for, Herholdt is stated to have said, "I warned the rogue that when his master came to fetch him he must *not* conceal himself." As the Hottentot did conceal himself, it is argued by van der Merwe, that, "like he who brought the message, 'Saul is dead!' Herholdt was self-convicted."

two herdsmen of P. Swanepoel, sen. and took a gun; and on the same date took away, and kept 430 sheep; I then ordered out another commando, but did not get any more than six men, so that it was impossible to go out with so few men, and nothing is to be looked for but that all our trouble will be in vain. I, therefore, inform you, sir, that many men write such bad excuses, and then stay away, and others show themselves unwilling, and stay away without writing at all; so that through their misconduct the pillage and the murdering daily become worse. I send you copies of the letters; J. Treurniet and G. Lotriet wrote nothing, and staid away, the names of the others are to be seen on their letters.

I, therefore, leave it, sir, to your good judgment, trusting that you may be pleased to take measures that such persons may pay somewhat better attention to the commandos, for through their fault you may perceive, sir, that the commandos cannot go out, and are too weak also. I therefore hope that you will be pleased to lend a helping hand to me and to others who are willing.

### Letter from Johann Kruger to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1780. Sept. 12. Sir,—Your order as to the men for duty and the young men did not reach me until the 10th September, by the servant of Josua Joubert, so that it was a matter of impossibility for them to appear at Stellenbosch, the time was too short; I therefore beg that they may be pardoned for this year; were this year like former years, when water and food for man and beast could be found along the wagon-road, there might be a chance, but it is now impossible, for it is more than 4 months since some people have gone to the Cape from this quarter, of whom some are still detained on the road with wagons and oxen.

As to your order that the two Swanepoels, J. Swanepoel sen. and his son Pieter, should appear at the Cape on the 1st September,—this also was impossible, for I only received the order on the 6th September.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Report of Field Sergeant Carel van der Merwe to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1780. Sept. 16. Sir,—Having informed you that a commando went out on the 24th August, I deem it my duty to report the result.

Being unable to accompany the commando myself, in consequence of indisposition, I was obliged to intrust the charge to another fitting person, and I thus appointed Karel Gerots.

The commando marched along the left bank of Plettenberg's river, and on the 4th September, killed 14 robbers, and took 4 little ones, and while the commando was out, the robbers took 18 cattle from Barend Jacobus Burger on the 4th September, and brought them to their kraal in the same country where the commando then was; and on the 6th they attacked the same kraal, killed 51 robbers, and took 11 as before.

Copies of the *Excuse Brieven*.—Good friend, Mons. Andries Burger.—After wishing you good health, I inform you that I cannot send my son on commando, for my horse is too weak, and would be unable to return home; be pleased not to take this amiss, but I send you an efficient (*bekwame*) Hottentot. You write that I must furnish powder, but I have no powder.

22d August, 1780.

J. A. ESTERHUISEN.

Much respected Cousin Andries Burger,—I beg that you will for this time be satisfied with a Hottentot, for I am lying here in the fields with my cattle, and my wife, because my cattle are dying; for I am daily driven away by W. Lubbe and P. Jacobs. I have desired my Hottentot to catch a little one for me, and I beg that if he gets one, he may be allowed to keep it, and that you will see that the Hottentot has victuals, &c.

23d August, 1780.

DIRK KOETSE.

To the Field Corporal Mons. A. Burger,—I inform you that I cannot come on commando this time, for the Bushmen have been seen near my house, and also because I have not yet sown a handful of corn; it has been so dry, and I would fain sow some corn for myself, so I beg you will excuse me for this time, another time I shall do my best.

23d August, 1780.

CORNS. DE PLOOY.

To the Field Corporal A. P. Burger,—Respected Cousin, as to the commando, I know not what to do, my horse is so weak that he can scarcely move, and food for forty days I have not got, and know not where to get it, otherwise I should send you a man. I have also no powder, and I beg your help and advice to get some. You will have heard how I reached my house.

20th August, 1780.

MATTHYS DE BEER.

(1) For the residue of this letter, *vide* papers of the same date relating to Kafirs (*supra*, p. 95.)

Nicolaas van der Walt, Jan Booyse, and two Hottentots were wounded by the robbers in the fight. Dismissed the commando on the 11th September.

Carel van der Merwe, Davit's son, was personally commanded, but, without excuse, sent a Hottentot; on which the other men insist that if this be allowed to pass they shall hereafter do the same; so that in this way, I shall at last have to do commando with none but Hottentots, which cannot be; you will therefore be pleased, sir, to prevent it.

J. M. van der Berg absent without excuse; here I request your helping hand, to oblige from henceforth to submit to your orders.

The persons who have not yet been sworn in are (5 names). I formerly begged you to allow them to come up from time to time, they have been on this commando, and both their horses and oxen are in too poor condition to allow them to come to the review.

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### Report of Field Sergeant C. Kruger, Roggeveld.

1780. Sept. 26. I have deemed it necessary to keep at home the men for duty who have been sworn in, for the Bushmen's traces have been seen lately, so that we are daily expecting that they will do some mischief, and that we shall have to pursue them. I inclose a list of the men I have kept at home, and I have written to the young men not yet sworn in, of whom a list is inclosed, to appear at Stellenbosch without fail.

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### Report of Sergeant W. Herrholdt, Swarteberg.

1780. Oct. 1. Since my last report I proposed to call out a commando, and ordered the men whose names follow to meet at the house of A. Raubenheimer on the 15th September, to go on commando to the Nieuwveld mountains, on which these persons were unwilling, and did not attend. For three years S. van der Berg has contributed nothing to commando, or to the Governor's journey, on which I ordered his wagon (12 names) Through the unwillingness of these, I was obliged to drop the commando. The names following are the men whom I have excused from their burger exercises this year, as they are willing for commando should any thing occur here (15 names).

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### Report of Field Corporal C. van Wyk, Nieuwveld.

1780. Oct. 7. I received your letter directing that the young men not sworn in should be present at the exercise at Stellenbosch, but they could not do so, for the Bushmen are still daily stealing and robbing, and the men have just returned from commando, as may be seen from the report; I have therefore kept the following men at home (7 names); I send D. Marais to the exercise

Report of what the Bushmen have killed and stolen from the month of April, 1780, to this date. At C. Smuts', sen. on the 12th April, they killed a herdsman and wounded 6 cows. On the 12th May, they took 15 working oxen, which have not been recovered. On the 10th August, found 4 Bushmen who were employed stealing, shot one, took another; the two others escaped.

At J. A. Kruger's, on the 2d May, they took 10 cattle, not recovered. On the 13th, one do. do. On the 6th June, two do. do. On the 1st July, 24 do. do. At C. Jansen's, 3d June, 10 working oxen taken, not recovered.

At F. H. Kampfer's, 6th May, they took the whole flock of sheep, of which they stabbed 40; but the shepherds recaptured the rest. At the Corporal C. van Wyk's, on the 21st July, 18 cattle taken, not recovered, and on the 27th, 10 do. do.

Whereupon, on the 1st August, I made commando, consisting of the following men, who assembled at the abandoned farm of P. Hermanus (7 names). On the 4th, we set out pursuing the traces of the cattle they took on the 21st July, and on the 9th, found a kraal, and called to them to ask if they would surrender; but on the contrary, they defended themselves, on which we shot 7; the rest saved themselves by flight, and having examined the kraal, we found in it the skins, horns, and fat of cattle; we then went on upon traces of the cattle until the 15th when we found another kraal, and asked them to surrender, but they said no, and began to discharge their arrows, on which we shot 10, took 6, the rest escaped; searched their kraal also, found the bones, horns, and fat of cattle; and perceiving that the traces of the cattle went no further, we turned back, divided the six prisoners among the men, and got home on the 20th August.

Letter from T. G. van Aardt, Roggeveld, to the Landdrost  
of Stellenbosch.

1780. Oct. 25. I hereby respectfully inform you, that on the 17th October, at my dwelling place, in Roggeveld, a Hottentot of mine was murdered by the Bushmen, and 15 draught oxen and 19 horses were also murdered.

*Abstract of Convictions before the Court of Justice in the Castle of the  
Cape of Good Hope, 1769—1782.*

1769, May 11. 1, Adriaan Steffens, 2, Gerrit de Bruyn, 3, Pieter Keese, 4, Pieter Jarsberg, sailors and quartermaster of the ship "*Blydorp*," convicted of theft on board the said ship; sentenced, all the prisoners to be scourged; Nos. 1 and 2 to be branded and to be banished for life. Executed 13th May.

1770, Jan. 25. Thomas, slave of A. Bester, convicted of assaulting and wounding the slave Abraham; sentenced to be placed under a gallows with a rope round his neck, and thereafter to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 27th January.

25. Baatjoe, slave of C. D. Persoon, convicted of assaulting and wounding Willem Muller; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 27th January.

25. February, slave of A. Kocleks, convicted of assaulting with intent to murder his master's son; sentenced to be broken on a cross with the coup de gras. Executed 27th January.

May. 10. The Hottentot Fredrick, convicted of sheepstealing and assaulting with intent to murder the Hottentot David; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 12th May.

10. The Hottentot Kalkoen, *alias* Vogelstruys, convicted of the murder of the Hottentot Baartman; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 12th May.

10. The burger Christiaan Roelofsz, having been summoned by edict, he having no fixed "*domicilium*," for having injured the "Burger Raaden" and the "Burger Bode;" Leonard Walpot, in having abused and refused to pay though he had money in his hand, the Burger Raaden and the Bode, when the latter called upon him for payment of three years' "*quotesatie*" money; sentenced to be banished the colony for ever, upon pain of more severe punishment if he shall return. Pronounced 31st May.

Oct. 4. Talima, slave of A. Dzaarsz, convicted of the murder of the slave July; sentenced to be broken on a cross without the coup de gras.

4. Tymen Otto Douwes van Ham, convicted of assaulting and breaking the arm of J. W. Machmeer; sentenced to be scourged and to be banished for life. Executed 6th October.

Dec. 13. The Hottentot Willem Stroo, convicted of the murder of the slave Sybrand; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 15th Dec.

1771, May 2. Anthony, slave of A. Schreyn, convicted of the murder of the slave Fortuyn, sentenced to be hanged. Executed 11th May.

Oct. 31. Augustus, slave of J. Le Roux, convicted of the murder of the slave Alexander; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 9th Nov.

31. 1, Akir, 2, Sacoedien, black constables; 3, Tanjanko, 4, Oensien, Chinese, convicted of theft; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor in chains; No. 1 *ad vitam*, Nos. 2 and 3 to 50, and No. 4 to 10 years' hard labor. Executed 9th Nov.

Nov. 28. Philander, slave of A. Caldeyer, convicted of the murder of Marot; sentenced to be broken on a cross without the coup de gras. Executed 7th Dec.

1772, June 4. January, slave of J. Esterhuizen, convicted of stabbing his master with a knife; sentenced, to be hanged. Executed 13th June.

July 13. The Hottentot Louis, convicted of cattle-stealing; sentenced to be placed under a gallows with a rope round his neck, and thereafter to be scourged and branded and to hard labor at Robben Island for 50 years. Executed 8th August.

30. Pany, slave of J. G. van Helssingen, convicted of desertion, housebreaking, and theft; sentenced, to be placed under the gallows with a rope round his neck and thereafter to be scourged and branded, and to 50 years' hard labor at Robben Island. Executed 8th Aug.

30. July, slave of S. Kuun, convicted of the murder of the slave Titus; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 8th August.

Oct. 22. 1, Willem, slave of F. Visser, 2, the Hottentot Fuyk, convicted of conspiring to murder and rob the christians, (the white people) and endeavouring to persuade several other slaves and Hottentots to join them; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 31st Oct.

Dec. 31. 1, Klyn Booy, 2, Kleyn Jantje Links, 3, Kleyn Dirk, 4, Cupido, 5, Spanger, 6, Sprengveld, 7, Jantje *alias* Reebok, 8, Jantje Links, 9, Thys, Hottentots, convicted of the murder of Tuytenaw, his wife, and

daughter; the prisoners had been shepherds employed by some farmers in the Roggeveld, and had deserted with their arms, and committed numerous depredations. The Hottentots Toontje, Jantje, Fin, and Kromme Ruyter, who belonged to this gang, were shot by the party who apprehended them;\* sentenced,—No. 1 to be broken on a cross with the coup de gras, No. 2 to be hanged; the other seven prisoners to be scourged and branded; Nos 3, 4, 5, and 6, to be “hamstrung,” and to be confined in the slave lodge for life; No. 9 to 10 years’ hard labor at Robben Island. Executed 9th Jan. 1773.

1773, May 27. Carel Philip Cassel, the Captain of a Dutch merchant ship. The Fiscal files his intendeth, the defendant having fled, and having been duly summoned for stabbing and killing Captain Van der Weyde;† sentenced to be banished the colony, upon pain of more severe punishment if he shall return, and confiscation of his property. Pronounced 10th May.

July 22. 1, Maart, 2, Ontong, slaves of the Widow Nel, convicted of the murder of their master, W. Nel, by stabbing him; sentenced,—No. 1 to be tied to a cross, and to be pinched with a red-hot pincer in eight different places, and thereafter to be broken, and his head chopped off; No. 2 to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life.‡ (The date of execution not mentioned.)

Nov. 11. 1, The Hottentot David Paardewagter, 2, Platje Huelman, convicted of the murder of Ernst Hendrik van Billeow, by beating him to death with kirries; sentenced to be broken on a cross without the coup de gras. Executed 20th Nov.

1774, June 9. Thomas Alting, (European,) quartermaster on board the ship *Alkemade*, convicted of the murder of the cook, Jan Jacob Spendler, by stabbing him with a knife; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 18th June.

July 21. Johan Christople Heymers, (European,) a Sergeant who had acted as “substitute” to the Landdrost of Swellendam, convicted of illtreating and beating Godfried Heyl, a constable, who had been sent by the Landdrost with the prisoner for the service of a process. They had had several quarrels on the road; Heyl afterwards died from the injuries he received; sentenced to be taken to the place of execution, to kneel down, the executioner to flourish his sword over the prisoner’s head, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 30th July.

1775, March 16. January, slave of J. Radyn, convicted of culpable homicide, in killing the slave Moether, in a quarrel; sentenced to be scourged and 20 years’ hard labor at Robben Island. Executed 29th March.

April 13. Absalon, slave of A. Blyenberg, convicted of assaulting and stabbing the slave Gabriel; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 29th April.

20. Mey, slave of D. Kepler, convicted of desertion and housebreaking and theft; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 29th April.

20. Moses, slave of C. Grovenewald, convicted of assaulting and stabbing the slave January; sentenced to be scourged and 20 years’ hard labor at Robben Island. Executed 29th April.

July 5 Floris, slave of A. F. Koeleke, convicted of the murder of A. F. Koeleke, jun. by stabbing him with a knife; sentenced, to be broken on a cross without the coup de gras. Executed 8th July.

Sept. 1. Burgest Potmeyer, European, a wagoner, convicted of manslaughter, in killing Evert Ghysen; sentenced to be taken to the place of execution, and to kneel down, the executioner to flourish his sword over his head, and to be banished for life. Executed 9th Sept.

1776. August 1. July, slave of J. H. Elers, convicted of housebreaking and theft; sentenced to be placed under a gallows with a rope round his neck, and thereafter to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 10th August.

24. Abel, slave of J. W. Hurter, convicted of assaulting and stabbing with a knife his master, his master’s son, and one A. Munnik; sentenced to be broken on a cross. Executed same day.

Nov. 7. Andries Samuel Weyltz, European, a soldier, convicted of forgery, in having forged the name of a “*slagters knecht*”‡ to an order on his employer for Rds. 193; sentenced to be taken to the place of execution, to be tied to a pole with the inscription “*Falsaris*” over his head, and thereafter to be banished for life. Executed 16th Nov.

7. 1, Jan Adam Baner, European, agriculturist, 2, the Bastard Hottentot Nella; convicted of incest; the 1st prisoner was married to the mother of the 2d prisoner, who was his step daughter, and with whom the crime was committed; sentenced, the 1st prisoner to be scourged, and to be banished the Colony for life; the 2d prisoner to witness the execution, and to be confined on bread and water for four weeks, and thereafter to be placed in the slave lodge for ever. Executed 16th Nov.

1777. April 10. 1, Rudolf Schoffer, 2, Michiel Greeneke, sailors, convicted of theft; sentenced to be scourged and to hard labor;—No. 1 to five and No. 2 to three years. Executed 19th April.

\* Two Hottentot Captains named Kees and Bocke Baas volunteered, with 30 of their own people, to apprehend this gang; provided they were furnished with arms, and which being done, they succeeded in doing so in six days.

† The Defendant and others had been dining at a farewell dinner at Government House, and quarrelled after leaving the house.

‡ Ontong seems to have had no concern in the actual murder, but was present, and did not attempt to prevent his master being stabbed by Maart.

April 24. January, slave of Lieutenant Laubscher, convicted of the murder of the slave Aaron; sentenced to be scourged and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 31st May.

May 15. Satoe, slave of J. Roeland, convicted of assaulting and stabbing his master, and inflicting seven wounds; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 31st May.

August 21. 1, August, slave of J. Minnic, 2, Tsoa Toko, a Chinese, convicted of housebreaking and theft; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 20th Sept.

21. April, slave of M. Greef, convicted of attempting to poison the slaves July and Thryn; sentenced, to be placed under the gallows, with a rope round his neck, and thereafter to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 20th Sept.

Nov. 27. Elias, slave of H. Cloete, convicted of the murder of the slave Thomas; sentenced, to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 6th Dec.

13. David, slave of Lieut. Fleck, convicted of theft; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to 10 years' hard labor in chains. Executed 6th Dec.

1778. June 4. January, slave of J. Smid, convicted of stabbing J. Z. Eelhoff; sentenced to be hanged 18th July.

18. Jan Simons, European, a sailor, convicted of culpable homicide; sentenced to be blindfolded, and the executioner to flourish his sword over his head, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 18th July.

July 9. Ary, slave of D. F. Straus, convicted of stabbing and wounding his manager H. Lubbe; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 18th July.

9. Cupido, slave of D. Malan, convicted of the murder of the slave woman Leonara; sentenced to be broken on a cross with the coup de gras. Executed 18th July.

1779. Feb. 11. Johan Philip Leonhard Scheffer, European, a cooper, in the service of the Company, convicted of stabbing and severely wounding Barend Dykman; sentenced to be scourged and to 10 years' hard labor at Robben Island. Executed 6th March.

25. Hercules, slave of J. Nel, convicted of the murder of the Hottentot girl Roos\*; sentenced to be broken on a cross with the coup de gras. Executed 6th March.

25. 1, The Hottentot Pompoen, 2, the Hottentot Fredrick, 3, Cornelis, slave of M. A. Bergh, convicted of vagrancy and cattle-stealing; sentenced to be scourged, and to 25 years' hard labor at Robben Island. Executed 6th March.

May 6. Ontong, slave of J. Nieuwriet, convicted of attempting to stab P. Engelbrecht and the prisoner's master; sentenced to be placed under the gallows with a rope round his neck, and thereafter to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 15th May.

Dec. 2. Dam, slave of J. Smid, convicted of assault with intent to commit a rape upon his mistress;† sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 11th Dec.

1780. July 20. 1, Onverwagt, slave of P. van der Merwe; 2, Phoenix, slave of J. T. Mullen; 3, Jacob, 4, Charlo, 5, Fortuyn, 6, April, 7, David, 8, Domingo, 9, February, slaves of P. Heynkes; 10, Sara, slave of H. Louw; 11, Apollos, 12, Ram, slaves of W. Coetzee, convicted of desertion and forming a gang, and of the murder of the slave Solomon; sentenced,—Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, to be broken on a cross with the coup de gras; Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, and 12, to be scourged; No. 5 to be branded; Nos. 5, 10, and 12, to twenty-five years' hard labor at Robben Island; Nos. 10, 12, 6, 7, 8, and 11, to be returned to their masters, in chains. Executed 29th July.

Oct. 12. 1, The Hottentot Marthinus, 2, the Hottentot Booy, convicted of the murder of the slaves Jacob and July, and then burning the house in which the bodies were; sentenced,—No. 1 to be broken on a cross, No. 2 to be placed under the gallows with a rope round his neck, and thereafter to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 28th Oct.

12. Sietgoen, slave of J. T. Muller, convicted of attempting to murder his master; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 28th Oct.

12. The Hottentot Wittebooy, convicted of arson, in setting fire to the dwelling-house of Ary J. Joubert, at night; sentenced to be placed under a gallows with a rope round his neck, and thereafter to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 29th Oct.

1781, Jan. 25. 1, Augustus, slave of D. Beukes, 2, February, slave of T. F. Dreyer, convicted of house-breaking and thefts; sentenced, No. 1 to be hanged, No. 2 to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor at Robben Island for life. Executed 1st Feb.

Aug. 2. 1, Pero, slave of J. Smook; 2, Fortuyn, 3, Immamedie, slaves of the Company; 4, Isaac, slave of J. J. Meyer; 5, Jacob, slave of Laubscher, convicted of desertion and thefts; sentenced,—Nos. 1, 2, and 3, to be scourged; Nos. 1 and 2 to be branded; No. 1 to hard labor for life; and Nos. 2 and 3 for five years; Nos. 4 and 5 to be whipped, and to three years' hard labor. Executed 11th Aug.

\* The prisoner had attempted to ravish this girl, and, failing in his purpose, inflicted five different wounds upon her with a knife, of which she must have died immediately.

† The prisoner entered the bed-room of his mistress about 12 o'clock at night.

2. January, slave of the Chinese Teminonko, convicted of assaulting with intent to murder the slave Maloti; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to 15 years' hard labor. Executed 11th Aug.

Oct. 11. Joseph, slave of Barend Hendrik van Rheede van Ooudshoorn, convicted of assaulting with intent to murder the slave Steyn; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor for life. Executed 27th Nov.

Nov. 8. Domingo, slave of J. J. Meyer, convicted of the murder of the slave woman Malati; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 17th Nov.

8. Cupido, slave of S. J. Wied, convicted of assaulting and wounding with intent to murder C. Meyer; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 17th Nov.

8. The Hottentot Cobus Anthony, convicted of stabbing and wounding the Hottentot Else; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor for life. Executed 17th Nov.

Dec. 6. Mercumf, slave of D. Malang, convicted of a rape upon a slave girl, aged one year; sentenced to be hanged. Executed 2d March, 1782.

1782, Jan. 24. The burger Jan Hendrik Pirman, convicted of the murder of George Willem Stoebe, by stabbing (?) him; sentenced to be taken to the place of execution and beheaded. Executed 16th Feb.

April 26. Java, slave of Capt. Van Heyden, convicted of wounding a Bastard Hottentot, and thereby effecting his escape; sentenced, to be scourged, and to hard labor for life. Executed 15th May.

June 6. April, slave of P. Roren, convicted of the murder of the slave woman Rosetta; sentenced to be broken on a cross. Executed 15th June.

6. 1, Marthinus, 2, Piet, 3, Goliath, Hottentots, convicted of robbery and theft; sentenced thé two first prisoners to be scourged, and all three to 15 years' hard labor. Executed 15th June.

Sept. 12. Abraham de Vrees, Hottentot, convicted of culpable homicide, in killing Catryn, his concubine; sentenced to be placed under the gallows, with a rope round his neck, and thereafter to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor for life. Executed 21st Sept.

12. Ontong, slave of P. de Wet, convicted of assaulting his mistress; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor for life. Executed 21st Sept.

12. Slammat, slave of D. Malang, convicted of disobedience to his master, and attempting to draw a knife upon him; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor for life. Executed 21st Sept.

Dec. 19. The Bastard Hottentot, Hans, aged 15 years, convicted of the murder of the slave Slammat; sentenced to be scourged and branded, and to hard labor for life. Executed 13th Jan. 1783.\*

### Extract Resolution of Council.

1781. July 4. The subjoined letter, addressed to the Council by the Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam, under date 20th June last, having been handed round and read by the members,—

“Hon. Sir, &c.—Having received certain intelligence that the Kafirs have again committed some depredations upon the inhabitants of this district residing upon the Frontier; and that, according to the statements of some Hottentots who had come from that quarter, they were only waiting until, in consequence of the existing war, the principal men should have left that country for the Cape, to fall upon the few who might remain, and plunder them; and seeing that the inhabitants of this district, when called out by the Commandant Van Jaarsveld, have not only to travel four or five days' journey before they reach their place of destination but must meanwhile leave their wives, children, and property, exposed to those tribes,—we take the liberty, most humbly, to submit to the judgment of your Excellency and Council, whether it might not be advisable, under present circumstances, to appoint a trusty person, of some character and rank, at Swartkops River, who, if he could not succeed in making peace with those tribes, might at least offer them some resistance.

“Should your Excellency and Council see cause to approve of this suggestion, we take the liberty of proposing Daniel Willem Keune, as appearing to be a man of correct sentiments and some capacity; requesting that, in that case, your Excellency and Council would be pleased to grant to him the same rank and authority as to the Stellenbosch Commandant, or otherwise such as may be deemed expedient, &c. &c.”

It was thereupon thought fit—, upon the proposition of the Governor, to appoint D. W. Keune, Field Commandant, with the rank of Cornet, in the Swellendam District; for whom the Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Court there shall frame proper instructions, to be submitted for the approval of this Council; it is further left to them to adopt such measures against the threatened attack of the Kafirs, as they shall deem suitable to the circumstances of the times.

\* The Abstract of Convictions between the years 1727 and 1834 has been furnished, with the sanction of Government, by Mr. Walter Harding, the Compiler of the Colonial Proclamations.

## Commandant A. van Jarsveld's Report of the Expulsion of the Kafirs.

1781. July 20. The Kafirs having, subsequently to the treaty, again moved in among our people with all their property (*met all het haren*) it became of the most urgent necessity that resistance should be offered to this evidently impending violence (*daags drygende gewelt*.)

I, therefore, assembled a strong Commando, and began to expel the Kafirs on the 23d of May last, at the farm of the burger Erasmus Smit.<sup>(1)</sup> I warned Captain Koba in the most earnest manner to depart with all his people, and also to tell all the other Captains to return to their own country; when he went away, with much reluctance (*met veel tegen*), I prosecuted my journey beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, to the Field Sergeant Cornelis Botma's,<sup>(2)</sup> where having particularly inquired into all the messages from the Kafirs, as also into the molestation they had committed upon the farms by night, with occupying the farms, and taking away from them by force the faithful servants of the inhabitants, I found that the matter had reached the utmost pitch, and that it was very necessary to stop it, either by gentle means or by force.

On the 1st June, I warned the nearest Captains, Jerambam (Jalamba?) Luca and Bazana, in the presence of the whole Commando, that they must remove, and that we must also have a restoration of the stolen cattle, to which they would not even give any answer, but pressed in among us, every one of them having his weapons in his hands; on which I again, as before, ordered them to depart in the name of the Governor, so that friendship might be preserved; and, leaving them peaceably, returned to our camp.

On the 2d, having come to them as before, I found that they had not made the least preparation to depart, and they conducted themselves towards me as before, and said they would not go. On this the interpreter, Karkotie, secretly warned me to be well on my guard, not only because they were a people with whom he was very well acquainted, but also that he had heard them, with his own ears, encouraging each other to push in boldly among us, and pretend to ask for tobacco, when we could do nothing to them lest we should shoot our own men. I reflected upon this, and remarked, with some uneasiness, that the Kafirs kept me surrounded by ten or twelve of their armed men, which I had before thought was that they might listen to what I was saying, when I formed a sudden resolution, and again ordered them for the last time, to remove within two days, otherwise that on my return they must expect a battle. We then retired from them, and thought that they hounded their dogs after us.

On the 6th, went to them for the third time;— and as we approached them, they were again ready to push in among us with their weapons, but were forbidden by me with sharp threats, and I ordered (my men) to keep in the saddle and retire from them; but the Kafirs, following quickly, again pressed in among our men, on which we halted and drew up the Commando in a line, so that we could fire to the rear as well as in front, and let the men dismount; and as I clearly saw, that if we allowed the Kafirs to make the first attack, it could not be otherwise than that many must fall on my side, I hastily collected all the tobacco the men had with them, and having cut it into small bits, I went about twelve paces in front, and threw it to the Kafirs, calling to them to pick it up; they ran out from amongst us, and forgot their plan. I then gave the word to fire, when the said three Captains and all their fencible men were overthrown and slain, and part of their cattle, to the number of 800, taken.

Further,—knowing no other means of preventing the daily threatened violence of the Kafirs, and putting an end to the numberless complaints of the inhabitants, than proceeding in order, if possible, to beat the unreasonable (*onbehoorlyke*) portion of the Kafirs into a proper peace,— on the 7th to the 10th, returned to our camp at the place of W. Prinsloo, and went out again, upon and behind the Boschberg, where I found the other portion of the Kafirs, namely the Captains Coba, Magoti, and Thatthoe; attacked them also, took from them 1030 head of cattle, and informed them through the prisoners, that whenever they fulfilled the promise they had made to His Excellency, and had also given up the cattle, theirs should be restored to them, and the peace should be renewed. In the evening we departed from them, and then the Kafirs came

(1) By the *Wildschut* Book (Vol XIV, fol. 194) it appears that Erasmus Smit held, in 1771, the farm called Sunday River, Camdeboo, bought by D. Cootsee in 1786, and granted to him in freehold in lieu of his former farm, taken as the site of Graaff Reinet. In September 1774, (Ib. Vol XVI, fol. 112) Erasmus Smit took the farm called "Onrust, agter Camdeboo Heemraads River."

(2) C. Botma, Twee Fonteynen, Brak River onder Camdeboo Berg, August 1773 (Ib. XVI—1) C. Botma 1777, Brak Fonteyn, Riet Kloof, Klyne Vis River (XVIII—60) C. Botma, 15th October 1783, Leuwe Fonteyn over Bruyns Hoogte, behind the first ridge of Klyne Vis River (Ib. XXIII—130.)

out of the woods, in great numbers, and called out to us, that as soon as it was dark they would retake their cattle; and followed us, on which I secretly detached a portion of the Commando, and placed them in ambush in the way of the Kafirs; this party repulsed them in the night with the loss of six killed, besides those wounded.

The 11th and 12th; returned to our camp, and set off to Captain Langa who had moved to this side of Bushmans River, towards its mouth (*onder*).

On the 14th, desired him in the name of the Governor, for the preservation of the treaty of peace which had been made, to return peaceably to his own country, and never henceforth to make any pretension to the country on this side of the said River; with which he willingly complied.

On the 15th, went to warn two other Captains, Thiete and Zeka, who also lay on this side, but found on our arrival that they had fled the night before. 16th,—Returned to our camp. 18th,—Went out again up the hills, and found that the upper Kafirs had gone up the Papezans (*Baviaans*?) River, where, standing on the hills, they shouted to us that they would resume the fight, and that they would have no exchange of cattle, but should soon get back their own.

19th,—Went back without doing any thing more, with the view of waiting a little while, to see whether they might not possibly be more favorably (*tot inkeer*) disposed from the loss they had suffered, when we should again offer them peace, and restore all their cattle.

21st,—Gave over all the cattle, with a guard of 24 men, into the charge of the Field Sergeant Cornelis Botma, and dismissed the Commando until the 10th July.

2nd July,—Received intelligence that the Kafirs had carried off all Johannes Rensburg's cattle, and severely wounded the herdsman.

9th,—The Commando arrived again at the farm of C. Botma, being 92 Christians and 40 Hottentots, with guns.

13th,—Went out with the Commando up the Papezans River, and found that the Kafirs had removed, and gone in the direction of over the Fish River, towards the sea.

14th,—Back to the Wagon Drift on the Klyne Fish River.

15th,—Received information that the Kafirs had taken Barent Bower's cattle, and also wounded the herdsman, on which I resolved to attack (*door te breken*).

16th,—Fell in with Captain Thatthoe, at the junction of the Great and Little Fish River, defeated (or killed, *geslagen*) him, with all his fencible men, and captured 1,500 cattle; they wounded 3 of our Hottentots.

17th,—Attacked the Captains Thiete and Zieka, lying at the Thouhie (Kowie?) on this side of Great Fish River, but from the number of forests could kill very few, but we also captured part of their cattle, to the number of 2000, and returned to Cornelis Botma's.

19th,—Dismissed the Commando, as this expedition is so far executed in the time of about two months; I left 12 men on guard to defend the outer posts, in the event of violence or invasion; and having further fully deliberated with the Field Sergeants and Corporals, we adhered to the former determination of the 24th April, which we four Commandants had unanimously agreed on,—namely:—that the still plundering Bushmen cannot be properly beaten, unless the rebellious Kafirs are first forcibly repelled, and kept in their own country.

It was also agreed that the Kafir cattle, as well as those belonging to the inhabitants which we had retaken in the war, should be divided among those inhabitants who are still deprived of theirs, according to the number conscientiously stated,—

1st,—Because the cattle are too few in number, according to the return of those stolen by the Kafirs, and also cannot all be recognized, as the tails and ears of almost all the stolen cattle were cut off.

2nd,—The great poverty and starvation of those who have been deprived of their means of subsistence would assuredly be followed by injurious consequences; to prevent which I thought it best thus in some measure to re-establish them.

3rd,—To compel the Kafirs, by the loss of their cattle, henceforth to remain in their country. The distribution was so made that, as regards the breeding cattle, each got about his number, deducting the 53 which each got as booty upon the Commando of Josua Joubert, which are brought into this account; and each let fall a tenth, to be given in equal portions to those who from first to last served on this Commando.

But with the oxen it fell short so far, that each got, in proportion to his loss, 4 in 10, or about 43 per cent; of all which I have kept an exact account, so that they may be given up, if the distribution be not approved by the Government.

But to restore the cattle formerly taken, according to the order, it is impossible for me to do ; for I cannot obtain any correct return of those among whom the cattle were divided ; but those who have taken upon themselves to do this, will also be able to restore them. And further, in consequence of the thickness of the forests, it is not known how many Kafirs were killed in these battles.

As to the Prinsloos, I have to state that the old man died upon the 7th July ; and his sons tell me that they have got the Governors leave to stay ; they are making no preparation to remove.

The burger Erasmus Smit has shot two Hottentots with a spring gun,—one who had deserted from him, and the other unknown,—because his mill was robbed by night ; he showed me the place, and the marks where the spring gun lay in the mill.

I send a Hottentot named Dikkop, who deserted from Lodewyk Pretorius with a gun, and when his wife stole the gun from him and brought it back, he contrived to procure another gun from one of his master's Hottentots, named Vlaminek, and went on the hill behind Pretorius' house, at which he fired seven shots, the balls fell among the servants, and when Pretorius the same day went away to his other place, stationing another Hottentot to fire upon Dikkop, so as to keep him from the path,—he fired a bullet under the horse on which Pretorius' wife was mounted, and then went back and set fire to the house ; but was at last caught while asleep. I beg that this Hottentot may, at least, be placed on the island ;<sup>(1)</sup> for if such things go on, it will not be possible to oppose the public enemy. The prisoner confessed it himself, and when asked what should be done to him, he said, "hanged or burned ;" when asked why,—he said, because he had burned the house and fired at the people.

Hoping that I have fulfilled your intentions,—

I am, with respect, your obedient servant, and sincere friend,

ADRIAAN VAN JAARVELD, Commandant.

Camdebo, 20th July 1781.

1781. July 20. The following extract is from a verbal account received in March 1836, from A. C. Greyling, then in his 80th year. After a portion of the statement as to the situation of the Kafirs in 1775, cited in a Note p. 9, in Collin's Report. "There was a Commando under Josua Jonbert, (in what year I forget,) which was the first Commando against the Kafirs ; I do not know whether this Commando went in pursuance of orders from Government, but I understood they found the Kafirs between the Keiskamma and the Fish River. I do not know how many cattle were taken, how many Kafirs were killed, or whether the attack was provoked by any thing done by the Kafirs,—but I know the cattle were not divided according to the mode subsequently adopted, but were distributed as booty; each man on Commando got I think, 4 oxen, and 51 breeding cattle. I have reason to remember this fact; my brother bought one mau's share of the booty, paying only 4 skillings for each beast. A butcher's servant had persuaded the farmers that the Kafirs' cattle were suckled by women, which made the meat white, and this notion depreciated their value."

"In 1777 or 1778, when Governor Plettenberg met the Chiefs, the Commando was assembled, and therefore the Kafirs made some promises which they did not perform,

I served on Jaarsveld's Commando in 1780 ; we took about 2,200 cattle from the Kafirs on Naude's Hoek, and killed, I think, 260 Kafirs ; we afterwards took 1,800, and again 1,400. These cattle were distributed according to the claims made for cattle stolen by Kafirs. I do not know whether those claims were satisfied by the number of cattle taken,—my own losses were chiefly by Bushmen."

Spaarmann's published narrative (p. 158) throws some additional light upon the subject. In January 1776, he speaks of farmers removing to Bruintjes Hoogte, to "the happy life of graziers;" he met at Fish River a party of 100 Kafirs, from Koonap, wishing to sell cattle, who were directed to go to the farmers, 3 of whom met them, and by friendly dissuasions, succeeded by threats, induced them to turn back. To show that the fears entertained were not altogether idle, Spaarmann cites a letter written by his former companion Immelman, dated Cape Town, March 25, 1781, who stated that "the Kafirs were then laying waste those districts, that my worthy old host Prinsloo, among others, had his house burned, and lost all his numerous herd except 6 oxen. That the Christiaus lost in all 21,000 cattle, while on the other hand they could not meet with one-third of that number belonging to the Kafirs, who were led by Mazau and Koba." The date of this intelligence was prior to Jaarsveld's Commando.

1781. July 20. A petition for remission of 8 years' arrears of rent, dated September 30, 1789, and signed Jacobus de Wet, alleges, that "In the year 1780 the petitioner was compelled to abandon his farm on Bruins Hoogte, in order to escape the then furious, cruel, and all-destroying Caffers,—when he had the misfortune, out of between 200 and 300 cattle, to save only 45;" after "wandering like exiles" with his family, it is stated that he purchased the *opstal* of a farm at Swarteberg, (for 1,700 guilders); "on arriving at this place, he was instantly visited by a concurrence of calamities, the Bushmen robbed and plundered so fearfully that we were not one moment secure of our lives, still less of our property, and the petitioner was again forced to abandon this place, after sacrificing to the devastating tribe the greater portion of his stock ; and what renders my lot more intolerable is that the few horned cattle which, on my removal from the interior, I left with one Mr. Deppenaar, last year fell into the hands of the said tribe, and I have preserved only three."

1781. July 20. D. Coetzee's detail of the sufferings of his family by Bushmen and Kafir depredations was brought before Council 14th October 1788, and apparently again at Graaff-Reinet, 4th November 1799. "In 1776 the Bushmen took 8

<sup>(1)</sup> *i. e.* Robben Island, whence (Resolution 25th June 1782,) a Hottentot was discharged, as there was no charge against him—but—he had been sent thither by Landdrost Faber in 1772.

# THE RECORD;

OR,

## A SERIES OF OFFICIAL PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE CONDITION AND TREATMENT OF THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

PART V. 1808—1819.]

[No. 1. 1808—1819.

### Journal of a Tour to the North-Eastern Boundary, the Orange River, and the Storm Mountains; by Colonel Collins,<sup>(1)</sup> in 1809.

ON the 23d January I left the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, and accompanied by Mr. Cowdery and Mr. Stockenstrom, son of the landdrost, proceeded to Voor Sneuwberg. This country is favourable for the breed of sheep and horned cattle, especially of the former; but although therefore desirable for the farmer, it is little interesting to the traveller. It consists mostly of rugged mountains, occasionally interrupted by Karroo plains. There are some good farmhouses in this part of the colony; but the most opulent landholders reside in Great Sneuwberg, north-west of this division.

After leaving Voor Sneuwberg, we entered the division of Rhinoceros Berg, and on the evening of the 25th arrived at the Wolve Kop, the residence of the veld commandant Johannes van der Walt, situated on the borders of the districts of Rhinoceros Berg and Sea Cow River, and included in the latter.

(1) The injury attempted against the reputation of Col. Collins, and the mutilated condition in which the more important of his official writings have been printed in the papers selected for the information of Parliament, render it just and necessary to place here the following notice, published, by authority, in the Cape Town *Gazette*, 31st July, 1813, and to distinguish the suppressed passages of his reports, by placing them, as they are here placed, within brackets, and in *italics* :—

“The officers of the 83d Regiment, and the individuals in this settlement, who knew the worth and inestimable qualities of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, will read with sympathy and interest the following just tribute to the memory of that lamented officer, as published in an English newspaper :—

“Died, in Portugal, on the 18th of February, at his station in Gouvea, in the Province of Beira, Richard Collins, aged 38, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 83d Regiment, Colonel in the Portuguese Service, and commanding a brigade in the 7th division of Lord Wellington’s army. In subjoining the few observations which accompany this notice of the death of this most accomplished officer, the writer, who lived in his friendship and intimacy for many years, appeals to the whole British army for the ratification of his opinion; and perhaps the military archives do not record the name of a man who united so many rare qualities, or in whom was found combined such a variety of endowments; a lofty courage, a fortitude almost invincible, a mildness of temper, a modesty of demeanor that conciliated all, but a firmness and perseverance that nothing could shake. His attainments were various: he spoke the German, French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, not only fluently, but eloquently; he was a good draftsman, and well read in the military history of all the great generals who flourished in the last century. He commenced his military career in the West Indies, in the year 1795—6, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie; he concluded a seven years’ service in that country under the present Sir Thomas Picton, K.B. In such a man as Colonel Collins is above described, so gifted by nature, so enriched by culture, with two such personages as his models, it is not difficult to account for the noble and elevated views which were ever present to his mind, and formed the basis of his conduct.

“At the storming of Morne Fortunee, in St. Lucie, under the command of the former, he was struck by a musquet ball in the breast, and was, after lying some hours on the spot, taken up as dead; he was, however, present at the capture of the Island of Trinidad, soon afterwards; remained in the family and confidence of Sir Thomas Picton, during the whole of his government there, and now rests in his memory and lives in his heart. He commanded his regiment at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope; and during a five years’ residence there, no man ever enjoyed a larger share of general esteem and admiration. At the memorable and sanguinary battle of Albuera, his leg was taken off by a cannon ball, and in consequence of a succeeding mortification, his thigh was obliged to be amputated very high up; he languished for some time, but the resources of a mind never to be subdued, turned the balance; his stump healed, and here he gave an instance of heroism never paralleled, perhaps in military annals; he returned to this country in the month of July, 1812, in this mutilated state, and was found again at the head of his brigade, as active as any man in the Peninsula, with a cork leg and thigh, in the beginning of the month of October following. If he offered no other example of professional devotion, and of those two, pre-eminent qualities, fortitude and perseverance, than the extraordinary instance thus recorded, it is one which, whilst the desire of its imitation glows in the bosom of a British soldier, must render an army so composed, invincible either by skill or by numbers. The brigade which he had the honor to command, as a mark of their high opinion of his talents and worth, have agreed to erect a monument to his memory, and whether the inscription on its pedestal be suggested by the heart of tenderness, or dictated by a sense of deserts, the writer of this humble tribute feels assured, that no great portion of exaggeration can take place in recording the virtues, or in describing the genius and abilities, of Lieut. Colonel Richard Collins.”

↳ The publication of these papers—suspended at the date 1690, for the reasons stated, Part I. p. 446, was about to be resumed at that of 1774, when, upon application to the Author of “*Researches in South Africa*,” a prospect has been held out by him of procuring, for insertion, the official authorities,—not to be found elsewhere,—upon which his statements (Vol. 1. p. 41—6) are said to have been founded. The alternative of commencing a new series has, therefore, been preferred to incurring the risk of omitting any important document. (May 17, 1841.)

The landdrost had kindly written to Mr. Van der Walt to apprise him of our approach, and to desire that the necessary preparations might be made for our journey to the borders. It was my wish to proceed with as few attendants as possible; but although the farmers here were then on friendly terms with the Bosjesmen near them, they were apprehensive that some kraals which yet continued ill-disposed, might be induced by our weakness to attempt to steal our oxen in the night. The commandant had therefore ordered 30 armed inhabitants as an escort; and although much indisposed, he insisted upon attending us.

We left the Wolf Kop on the 27th of January, and taking the house of the commandant's son, who is a veld cornet, in our way, we arrived, after travelling about 15 miles, at a place called Carolus Port. We found there a Bosjesman who had a short time before fled to the farmers from his kraal near Zuureberg, in consequence, as he stated, of his wife and children having been murdered by the people belonging to it. He seemed, however, to be perfectly consoled for his misfortunes, by the acquisition of another wife of his own nation who had been taken when a child by a commando.

The country about Rhinoceros Berg abounds with fine pasturage and good water; but this and the neighbouring districts are destitute of wood, and the inhabitants are obliged to use cow dung for fuel.

On the morning of the 28th we proceeded on our journey, and after a ride of two hours stopped to breakfast at a farmer's, named Fenter. Having understood that some Bosjesmen were in the neighbourhood, they were sent for, and a party of 13, mostly women, arrived. They differed in size, some being as small and ugly as those living near Zak River, others as tall as the colonial Hottentots; well made, and with countenances rather prepossessing. We gave them a few presents, and assured them of the protection of government as long as they remained peaceable.

Continuing our route we passed a piece of land which was shortly to be occupied by a farmer named Joubert, and is the last that can be granted on that side within the boundary. It is within half an hour's ride of Governor Van Plettenberg's *baaken*, a stone which yet contains part of the inscription made on it in the year 1778. [*The Commandant told us, that he had been with the Governor's party, and that they had killed thirty sea cows in the river of that name, which is close to the baaken. Many of them were found in it for years afterwards, but they are now seldom met with, except near its junction with the Great River. We found none, but saw a prodigious quantity of game, particularly of spring bucks, on its banks.*] Governor Van Plettenberg was ignorant of the existence of the Great River, although at so short a distance, the view of it being intercepted by intervening hills.

We crossed the country from the *baaken*, and in less than three hours arrived at the house of a farmer named Van den Berg, which we left soon enough to get before dark to the place of a family called Van Sele, who had come to this neighbourhood from the Hantam about two years before, and seemed to be much pleased with their change.

After travelling a couple of hours in the morning of the 29th, we arrived at Groote Fontein. This is a very fine spot, having two large springs of excellent water within a mile or two of each other. It seems extremely well adapted for a missionary institution. We were met here by three Bosjesmen, whose kraal was said to be in the neighbourhood, and we gave them a few trifles.

We passed the boundary in the evening, and encamped on a plain two miles beyond it. [*Here we saw great numbers of antelopes; but our attention was particularly attracted to several troops of gnooks. Three of these animals were shot, but were found much inferior to the representations we had seen of them.*]

The following evening we halted about four or five miles from the Great (Orange) River, near a stream that runs into it from Zuureberg, a mountain a few miles south-east of Groote Fontein. We this day passed a kraal of about 20 Bosjesmen: they seemed much rejoiced at seeing us, and pleased at a few presents which we made them. Many of them followed us and took charge of our sheep and spare teams; a trust often reposed in that people by the farmers, and which they have never been known to abuse. They made a hearty supper on gnook's flesh, which tastes like beef. [*We had had some rain during the night of the 29th, but it scarcely ceased during that of the 30th, and continued so late in the morning of the 31st, that we did not decamp until near midday. The country was so much moistened that the wagons proceeded very slowly, and we contented ourselves this day with reaching Orange River. It is here about 250 or 300 yards in breadth. Its banks are lined with willows and mimosas, the first of which are extremely useful as rafters, &c. to the neighbouring farmers, whom the Landdrost occasionally indulges with permission to cut them.*]

The rains continued during the night of the 31st. On the 1st of February we proceeded on our journey up the river, [*amusing ourselves in shooting at hippopotami, of which we saw a great number. The stream, was, however, too deep, and those animals kept at too great a distance to afford us any favourable shots.*] After about five hours' march we encamped near a small stream called Brakkepoort River, which has its source near Bamboos Berg, and here falls into Orange River. In the night we had another very heavy fall of rain, and learned with concern that this time is the rainy season here; as the intelligence made us aware of the difficulty of proceeding with wagons over a soil so rich as that on the banks of Orange River, and would consequently prevent our seeing as much of this fine country as we expected.

The morning of the 2d brought us a little sunshine; a party of Bosjesmen came to us from the northern bank, attracted by the sight of our wagons, and the hope of obtaining the flesh of sea cow from our party. The great number of these animals found here sufficiently evinces the little expertness of the Bosjesmen in destroying them. Indeed they have much difficulty in obtaining any kind of game; and their joy is pro-

portionably great on the arrival of a shooting party from the colony, certain of procuring a considerable share of the spoil.

The precarious subsistence of these poor people reduces them sometimes to the utmost distress. About five or six years since the country was almost totally unprovided with the roots that compose their usual food, in consequence of the want of rain for several successive seasons. Many of them were then saved from perishing, by the supplies of sheep and game which they received from the farmers. The family of Van der Walt had removed to the neighbourhood of the Governor's *baaken* for a change of pasturage, and there supplied the Bosjesmen in the course of three months with 142 head of large game. They deserve the greatest credit for their kind treatment of that people; having been the first to bring about a reconciliation with them, both in that part of the country where they now reside, and at the Tarka. The latter district they were obliged to quit in consequence of the resentment of the revolted Boors, on their refusal to join them during the disturbances; and the remaining inhabitants being destitute of their firmness, and of their zeal and talents for conciliation, were forced shortly afterwards by the Bosjesmen to abandon their places. The valour of the Van der Walts has not been less conspicuous than their humanity and loyalty; four of them have fallen in defence of the colony.

In the evening we moved a little way up the river. [*The heavens here presented an appearance more beautiful than any I had before seen in this climate; and reminded me of the varied and delightful tints which are usually beheld on the fall of day when approaching the tropic, in the North Atlantic Ocean. This pleasing variety was, however, not again observed, and had been probably occasioned by the change of weather, but the sky at sunset seemed always very beautiful near Orange River.*]

On the 3d we resumed our journey, and in a few hours perceived a stream of about two-thirds the volume of Orange River, discharging itself into it. It comes from the north, and we were told from a considerable distance. The accounts we received respecting it were however far from being satisfactory; and if it had been possible for us to cross Orange River, which was at that time much swollen, we should have endeavoured to ascertain its course for a few miles at least. It falls into Orange River at about 30 miles east-south-east of the junction of that river with the Zuureberg stream. The farmers told us that it had yet received no name, and we took the liberty to give it that of Caledon. A chain of small mountains, scarcely large enough for the passage of the united streams, crosses Orange River immediately below their junction. Between these mountains and the confluence we perceived a Bosjesman kraal, which we hailed from the southern bank. The people declined our invitation to come for tobacco, &c., saying that the passage had been rendered dangerous by the late rains; but it was supposed that their refusal proceeded from apprehension of another nature, for with the assistance of a log of wood they might have crossed the stream as easily as some of their countrymen had done the day before. Some horses were perceived in their kraal, and they no doubt conceived that we had come for the purpose of taking them and of punishing the thieves. The practice of stealing horses, which is as yet unknown among the Bosjesmen of the Kareeberg and the neighbourhood of Zak River, has for some years prevailed among those in the vicinity of Banboos Berg and Zuureberg. They are indeed a much more valuable prize than cattle, as their possession insures them a subsistence, enabling them to overtake the eland, and other wild animals.

We left this place on the 4th, and having sent the wagons in the shortest direction, rode on horseback along the banks of the river, as near to it as we were enabled by the nature of the country, which continued hilly for a few miles. Towards the close of day we stopped at a very fine fountain, near which the river, after several windings, descends from the usual point, of east-south-east. We expected that, not having yet received the tribute of the Caledon's waters, its size would be considerably diminished, and we were therefore surprised not to perceive any material alteration in its appearance. We consequently began to lose the hope we had previously indulged, of being enabled to ascertain the position of its sources before the conclusion of our journey, conceiving our time too limited to allow us to go to a distance so considerable as the greatness of the stream seemed to render necessary for that purpose.

On the 5th we arrived at a place where a periodical stream, which issues from the Storm Mountains to the south, and is called after them, falls into Orange River. It had now a considerable volume of water, but a ford was discovered after ascending its banks four or five miles. [*In a cave close to the river were some drawings made by Bosjesmen. We found there representations of most of the neighbouring animals, but of no strange one. They were executed in a grotesque manner with ochre. Some attempts at resemblances of their own persons were made by those people, but they produced images the most ridiculous that can be conceived, more like apes than human beings.*]

We stopped early on the 6th at the passage discovered through the Storm Berg stream, where we employed ourselves the remaining part of the day in making preparations to proceed further to the eastward, which we determined to do on horseback in consequence of the difficulty we had experienced in moving with wagons.

We crossed the stream on the 7th, being in all 12 armed persons, and proceeded north-east to Orange River.

[*On arriving there we perceived several Hippopotami, occasionally snorting and showing their heads; but we were not more successful in shooting them than before.*]

We were unexpectedly stopped in the evening by a river. Having left the banks of Orange River, in order to go the shortest way to a point where we observed it take a turn, we were more than a mile from it at the moment we fell in with the new stream, and consequently did not see their junction. As no colonist had been here before, and the country was destitute of inhabitants from whom we could learn the name of the river, if it

had any, we honoured it with that of Grey's River. It may be about 35 miles east south-east of the Caledon. The clearness of its waters, and its banks being uncovered to the depth of 20 or 30 feet, convinced us that it was now at its lowest. We however could discover no ford at this place, and therefore determined to ascend its left bank in the hope of finding one. After proceeding about half an hour we found the remains of a Bosjesman's kraal, which, although it had evidently been deserted some months, still showed the marks of horses. Having continued to ascend the river until near sun-set without finding a place to cross it, we mounted a height to observe the surrounding country. We perceived that the Orange, before it receives the Grey, comes from the north of east instead of the south of east, which latter is its general course afterwards, as already observed.

In the afternoon of the 8th we arrived at the foot of Storm Mountains. Keeping on the banks of the river, we entered the kloof through which it issues from the mountains, and which we supposed to be about 20 miles south-east of its mouth, and about 70 east of the boundary of the colony. After proceeding several hours with considerable difficulty we halted on an open spot where the river receives a branch from the south-west, and from the observations we had made on the appearance of the tops of the mountain before entering the kloof, we found that, while in it, we had not gained half a mile in a straight line.

On the 9th we forded the branch, and proceeded up the river. About five or six miles further we found another branch, also flowing into its left bank, where we stopped to refresh ourselves. In the evening we continued our journey, and crossed another rivulet coming from our right. Having, after two or three hours' march, come to a place where it would have been extremely difficult to proceed with horses, we ascended a mountain of the height, we supposed, of nearly 2,000 feet, to observe the country. The edge of the mountains near where we had entered them, bore west about 10 miles. We could see due east and southwest, to the distance of about 20 miles; but discovered nothing except immense ridges succeeding each other. Those over which we saw to the south-west ran in the direction of nearly west and east. Those we perceived in the direction of east trended considerably more to the north, probably following the direction of the coast. We could not see Grey's River much higher than where we were; but as far as we could discover, it comes from the south-east, and probably has its source in the Tambookie mountains. We observed it joined by a fourth branch from the westward. On the summit of the mountain which we ascended were found calcedonies, agates and other curious fossils. The rains which had covered the bed of Orange River had perhaps prevented our discovering in it many of those minerals with which it is said to abound; but we found some along its banks, as well as on those of Grey's River. To the lovers of the sublime, and the students of nature, a tour to the sources of the Orange River, and through the Storm Mountains, must be highly interesting; but they must be also hardy pedestrians who could limit their conveniences to the loading of a pack ox, and who are formed to brave all the vicissitudes of seasons.

We slept below the mountain at a place which bore marks of having been once the residence of Bosjesmen. On the morning of the 10th we set out on our return; and after refreshing ourselves at the spot where we had halted on the night of the 8th, we got out of the mountains by going directly over them, which saved us a tedious march of some hours through the kloof.

Looking back, we perceived smoke at the distance of not more than a mile from where we had just dined, and consequently concluded that there must be Bosjesmen there. Some of the party supposed that the smoke, which was very thick, was a signal to other kraals of strangers being near. We were extremely anxious to speak to these people, from whom we hoped to receive some information respecting the country; it was, however, evident that they did not wish to communicate with us, which was imagined to proceed from their having horses in their possession, for we continually observed the traces of those animals, and no colonist had before been in this part of the country. All hopes of conversing with them were, however, put an end to by a violent thunder storm, which lasted several hours, and the small quantity of provisions we were enabled to bring with us being exhausted. The latter cause, added to the horses being fatigued, and the majority of our party much disinclined to proceed further, prevented our returning to the mouth of Grey's River. It would have been interesting to know how much smaller Orange River is previous to receiving this stream. I am, however, inclined to think, from the little obvious increase made by the addition of Caledon's River, that the junction of Grey's River can add but little to its breadth; and from its appearing to come afterwards more from the north, thereby still avoiding the Storm Mountains, which also take the same direction, it may be presumed that its sources are yet very distant.

On the 11th we joined our wagons, which I had requested the commandant to bring nearer to the Storm Mountains, in order that they might be so much further on their way, and that he might have the greater chance of finding some Bosjesmen before our return. He had been in the place where we found him two days, during which he had sent out small parties in different directions in the mountains in search of those people, but in vain. They conceived, no doubt, that we had come as enemies, and we had no mode of convincing them of the contrary. The Bosjesmen, who had accompanied us from the neighbourhood of the Great River, could not be prevailed on to go in search of the others, who they said were all their enemies. Their refusal, however, might have proceeded from indolence. A kraal had decamped from the spot where we joined our wagons, just before their arrival there, and had retreated with so much precipitation as to abandon a horse alive.

*[Having learnt that some very curious and well executed paintings had been seen a few years before on rocks in the vicinity, a few of us went there on horseback, while the wagons proceeded by the shortest route*

towards Tarka. We were not, however, so fortunate as to find any of the finely finished figures that we had flattered ourselves with the hope of seeing. Indeed, very few remained well or ill executed, and what we saw gave us no very high idea of those that had been obliterated. The boors killed several elands this day. They drove these animals separately, as they would go in the direction of the wagons, and when the poor creatures were so tired as to be no longer able to move, they shot them.]

On the 13th we proceeded on our return to the boundary. The Bosjesmen here separated from us, in order to feast on such parts of the eland's flesh as the farmers left to them, which was so considerable a quantity as to induce them to send for their families to assist in the consumption. We encamped after a march of half a dozen hours. Soon afterwards a tiger was surprised by the party; but although severely wounded, he escaped. It rained very heavily in the evening, and during great part of the night. I have been rather particular in mentioning the rains that fell during this tour, in order to show the difference between the climate at the Cape and near the north-eastern boundary, at this period of the year.

We entered the colony on the 14th, through a very indifferent pass, called Doorn Hoek, which separates, in a little degree, Bamboos Berg from the range that proceeds north to Zuureberg. A party of farmers from Agter Sneuwberg and Tarka had been waiting for us since the preceding day, under Bamboos Berg. One of them immediately claimed the horse before mentioned to have been found at an abandoned Bosjesman's kraal, which he told us had been stolen, with several others, in the month of December preceding.

The country we had just visited is one of the finest I had ever seen. It is bounded on the west by the colony and the Zuureberg stream, on the north by Orange River, on the east by Grey River, and on the south by the Storm Mountains. That part of it lying west of Storm Berg stream is, in general, flat, and composed of a rich vegetable mould, producing what the farmers call sweet grass, in the utmost luxuriance. That part to the eastward is rather hilly and a lighter soil; but the occasional elevation of the land, and the mixture of sour with sweet grass, render it more healthy for horses. The country beyond Orange and Grey Rivers, as far as we could see, is not inferior to that on this side of them.

The Storm Mountains grow out of Bamboos Berg, running in a direction nearly east until watered by Grey River, when they trend gradually towards the north as already mentioned, and are said to continue nearly to Rio de la Goa. They make several projections directly north, of which the first may be considered the range from Bamboos Berg to Zuureberg inclusive. The second runs out at nearly 40 miles east of the first, and edges the Storm Berg stream to the eastward, until within a few miles of Orange River. The third projects a few miles beyond Grey River. The Storm Mountains separate the country we had just visited from that through which Mr. Stockenstrom had passed in his journey to the River Zomo. As far as we could observe, it is impossible to communicate from the one to the other through the mountains by wagons, and must be extremely difficult even with horses. Small plains, abounding with fine water and pasturage, are often found among them, and even the grass that covers their summits is of a superior quality.

It may be proper here to mention, that a very large river is stated to discharge itself into Orange River from the north side, between the Sea Cow River and the road leading from the colony to the Missionary Institution at Klaar Water. The following circumstance affords the probability of its communicating with the Portuguese settlements to the north east. A missionary named Dekok having ascended its banks to a considerable distance, was informed by a party of the natives, that a little further he would find a settlement of white people, dressed like himself, and residing in large houses. The missionary not having been authorized by the colonial government to proceed so far from the boundary, was apprehensive that a communication with Europeans might lead to the discovery of his transgression, and therefore returned. The river produced by the united streams proceeding from the Storm Mountains, is called Black River by the Koranas, and is said to be of less magnitude than the other, which they call Great River, and which may therefore dispute with it the name of Orange River; thus confirming the supposition of Mons. Le Vaillant, although afterwards, I believe, controverted by Mr. Barrow.

The Commandant Van der Walt and his party took leave of us at Bamboos Berg, and the escort provided being still deemed considerably greater than was necessary, the Sneuwberg farmers were dismissed, and we proceeded on the 15th with the veld cornet Potgieter and 10 inhabitants of Tarka, as far as an inhabited place called Flakke Poort. On the 16th we arrived at a periodical stream called Eland's River; and on the 17th we reached Schaap Kraal, the first house that we had seen during three weeks, and the last on that side of the colony.

The want of inhabitants between Doorn Hoek and Schaap Kraal, is occasioned by the deficiency of water at most seasons. In other respects it is a desirable spot for settlements, and the neighbouring farmers often take their cattle to browse upon the rich pasturage it affords. It abounds with almost every species of game.

At Schaap Kraal we had three Bosjesman kraals, consisting altogether of about 70 persons, introduced to us. Two of them had been some months in the neighbourhood, but the third had come in only a few days before. After giving them a few trifles, we endeavoured to prevail on them to go to serve the inhabitants farther in the colony; their numbers being too great for one place. Although they feel much aversion to divide themselves into small parties, or to reside at places where they are unacquainted, yet some of them promised to do as we requested. A few were also prevailed on to proceed in search of a kraal in the neighbouring mountains, the people of which had done considerable injury to the inhabitants, and with whom it was desirable to effect a reconciliation.

Having learned from La Boseagne, the farmer at Schaap Kraal, that there would be no difficulty in moving wagons through the country between Zwart t'Ky and the Caffre mountains, I determined to proceed by that route to Caffreland, and gave directions for assembling the necessary escort as soon as possible.

Winter Berg being at no greater distance than about 20 miles from Sehaap Kraal, and no traveller having visited it, we embraced this opportunity to see it. On the 19th we passed the Twee Tafel Bergen, which are about four miles south east of Schaap Kraal, and here form the boundary; and we encamped a little beyond them. On the 20th we left the wagons, and ascended Winter Berg, which is to the southward of Twee Tafel Bergen, instead of being north of them, as laid down by Mr. Barrow. The day was unfortunately foggy, and just as we arrived at the summit, a heavy fall of rain with thunder came on, and continued till night. We were consequently disappointed in the view we had expected of a vast tract of country, in which it is said that Sneeuwberg, Zuureveldt, and a considerable part of Caffreland are included. The top of the mountain is almost surrounded by a rampart of granite, in which are openings like embrasures, and occasionally presenting pillars of great height, composed of huge rocks, piled on each other with as much order as if it were the work of art. The ensemble has a very imposing appearance.

Winter Berg is said to be at most times buried in clouds, and is therefore subject to a temperature as cold as its name implies. It is destitute of trees and every species of wood adapted for fuel; but a few bamboos were growing on its summit. None of the fossils that abound in the Storm Mountains are found there. It gives rise to the principal source of the Konaba or Kaapna, and to one of those of the Tarka and Zwart t'Ky rivers. The Kat River rises a few miles to the eastward of it, in a mountain, which, together with all those that divide the plains near the Zwart t'Ky from those of Caffraria, may be regarded as a continuation of Winter Berg, the most elevated point in this part of Africa. There is a great quantity and variety of game in this neighbourhood, which is said to be also much frequented by lions. As a week had yet to elapse before the farmers could be assembled, I determined to employ the intervening time in a visit to Zwagers Hoek and Agter Brintjes Hooghte, where circumstances also required my presence. In travelling through Tarka we were agreeably surprised by the good description of inhabitants that had lately ventured on a residence in this twice deserted district. Although only a few months there, they were already comfortably settled and provided with good gardens. The soil here is well adapted for fattening sheep and cattle. The former increased very rapidly, though subject to a fatal disorder.

We found two Bosjesman chiefs, named Lynx and Frolic, at a farm on the road. They had established themselves there a short time before, and had about 200 of their people at this and a neighbouring farm, Lynx had been one of the most noted depredators, and he and his people now relate with exultation to the farmers their former exploits against them. We gave them a few trifles, and prevailed on Lynx to go with a few more to live with a farmer residing more inwards.

We reached the house of the veld cornet of Zwagershoek, after a smart ride of 12 hours from Schaap Kraal. Although this quarter is considerably more elevated than most of the adjoining country, it abounds with excellent pasturage, and the cattle bred there bear as high a price as any in the colony. Its proximity to Caffreland, which has subjected this and the neighbouring districts to so many misfortunes, prevents the building of good houses; but some of the habitations, particularly those situated on the Little Fish River, are provided with gardens well stocked with fruits and vegetables. After remaining there two days, we made a tour round Bosh Berg to Bavian's River. These mountains abound with excellent timber, which supplies most of the materials used in building by the inhabitants of the vicinity and of the northern parts of Graaff-Reinet. The rich and beautiful plains of Agter Brintjes Hooghte, planted with mimosas then in their golden bloom, did not fail to arrest our attention.

We hoped on our return to Sehaap Kraal, to find an increase made to our Bosjesman friends there, but were disappointed. The messengers who had been despatched to the mountains, had returned without finding a kraal they had gone in search of; but the farmers promised that their exertions should be unremitting to prevail on those people to reside among them.

Stellenbosch, July 1809.

### Supplement to the relations of a Journey into the Country of the Bosjesman and Caffre People.

As the foregoing sketches were drawn merely for the use of Government, I have not touched on any subject that has been satisfactorily treated either in publications or reports that have come to my knowledge, and which are equally open to all those whom these matters may concern. For mineralogy and the other branches of natural history, I beg to refer to such notes as may have been made by my companion Mr. Cowdery, who undertook and persevered in the investigation of these interesting objects in a way that does him great honor.

The manners and customs of the Bosjesmen and Caffre people have been so much dwelt upon by various writers, that I could have said little on these points which was not already known. They do not, besides, appear to me to be of equal importance with others that seem to have been hitherto either totally disregarded or superficially treated.

[*Those gentlemen who have written accounts of travels, either for the instruction or entertainment of the public, have perhaps very properly been generally more solicitous to remount to the origin of a people, than to relate events of a more recent date. But the case is widely different with one who has no pretensions to literary attainments, and who is totally unambitious to appear before the public, in the light of an author. My province is not to wield the pen; I have taken it up only at the desire of my superiors, and shall employ it only in considering the particular subjects referred to my investigation.*]

I have been led to think that a great portion of the miseries that have fallen to the lot both of the aborigines and the colonists of Southern Africa since they have had relations with such other, have proceeded from the ignorance of government with respect both to the events that have occurred in the remote districts, and to the existing state of them. When the several governors have wished to make inquiries upon these heads, they have been necessarily obliged to apply either to persons who might suppose themselves qualified to answer, because born at the Cape, although they had perhaps never been within many hundred miles of the possibility of acquiring local knowledge, or else to those who had held situations which must have afforded them opportunities of making personal observations; but who might be led to give erroneous accounts either from that bias which self-interest, connections or enmities will so frequently produce, or from circumstances connected with the measures they had adopted when in office, and the development of which might place their own conduct in no very favourable point of view.

[*The person best calculated to give a candid and impartial view of these subjects, would naturally be one who has not the most distant expectation of having any personal interest in the matters which he details, and who has not to fear that the success of another may tarnish his own reputation. On these foundations I think I may, without arrogance, presume to offer this statement. There is not the slightest cause to suppose that I shall ever entertain any feelings with regard to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, except such as I ought to cherish for every possession of his Majesty; and, as far as I have been connected in the administration of its concerns, the road I had to follow was easy. I had only to obey the orders which I received, and they were not of a nature difficult to execute. It may by some be supposed that there are other requisites to perform this important task, such as, perhaps, the talents necessary to draw just inferences from knowledge acquired, and not only to trace the cause of misfortune, but to point out the means of success. If such reasoning be admitted, I write to no purpose. But I cannot help thinking, that if I am so fortunate as to convey truth to those whom it is most necessary should know it, I shall have done enough. My endeavours will have occasioned much good, without the possibility of causing any mischief. As the opinions which I may venture to advance will not be warped by personal considerations, and as I shall err only from incapacity, there can be no danger of misleading those whose abilities and judgment qualify them for the highest offices of the state. When a subordinate officer submits a plan, the only thing of consequence is the accuracy of the ground, the general can correct every error in the disposition of the troops, and in the choice of the defences.*]

In the report which I had the honour to make upon the state of the northern frontier, I mentioned all that I had learned of the communications that had taken place between the Bosjesmen in that quarter, and the farmers who had first advanced towards them. The imprudence of an individual, more than any dislike arising from original impressions, seems to have occasioned the animosity that unfortunately arose between them.

For the actual commencement of hostility between the aborigines and the colonists of the north-eastern frontier, there does not appear to have been any distinct cause. It is certain that the Bosjesmen were in the undisturbed possession of that part of the country some time after the war had commenced between their brethren, near Zak River, and the neighbouring farmers. The knowledge of these transactions must naturally have excited opinions amongst them unfavourable to the strangers; and perhaps this accounts for the mistrust which they are said to have manifested towards them from the moment of their approach.

It is to be feared that the persons who were first obliged to seek a residence in such a country as Camdeboo, were destitute of the qualifications necessary to remove those unfavourable impressions. Had government been enabled at that period to acquire the information necessary to decide upon the best measures to be adopted, the horrors which have since disgraced the name of christian in those parts might have been prevented. But persons of the probable description of the then inhabitants could not be expected to give any other accounts of their new acquaintance than such as might be dictated by their prejudices or supposed interests. An attempt to draw them into their service having proved unsuccessful, and some losses having been occasioned by their disposition to theft, a people not inferior in natural endowments to any upon the face of the globe were represented to the colonial government as unfit to live. A journey from the Cape was supposed at that time to be too great an undertaking for the purpose of ascertaining any point which concerned only so distant a quarter. The reports received were implicitly believed, and orders were given for unlimited commandos.

The original population of the north-eastern frontier must have been very considerable, if any credit can be attached to the accounts given by the old inhabitants of the exploits of their younger days. I have heard one man, who is represented as an estimable character in other respects, declare, that, within a period of six years, the parties under his orders had either killed or taken 3,200 of these unfortunate creatures; another has stated to me that the actions in which he had been engaged had caused the destruction of 2,700. They had acted thus in compliance with the instructions of a government, which not only violated all the principles of

justice and humanity by this indiscriminate massacre, but even acted in direct opposition to the plainest rules of policy and of common sense, by depriving the colony of the benefit which might have been derived from so useful a people.

The total extinction of the Bosjesmen race is actually stated to have been at one time confidently hoped for; but, fortunately, even such zealous instruments were not able to effect this bloody purpose.

It is but justice to observe, that the first attempt to conciliate this injured people was made under the benign influence of Great Britain. The journey undertaken by Mr. Barrow, at the desire of my Lord Macartney, seems to have opened the eyes of the inhabitants of this district to the criminality of their conduct. They had never before harboured a thought that any government would condemn their proceedings, but, on the contrary, they conceived that their exertions in this unjust cause were the most certain means of recommending them to favour.

The sentiments which I expressed on a former occasion with regard to the opinions of a celebrated author may perhaps appear to have undergone some change; they remain however the same. Had that gentleman confined himself to the district of Graaff-Reinet, which I had not then seen, in observing upon the wanton cruelties that had been committed against the Bosjesmen; and had he simply mentioned instances of misconduct, without degrading the inhabitants of a whole country below the lowest of the human race, I should not have ventured to protest against his decrees; but when he included the farmers of the whole frontier, in the first class, and those of the remaining districts in the other, I could not allow so unfair a judgment to pass unnoticed.

Since the year 1797, several inhabitants of the north-eastern districts appear to have exerted themselves with as much zeal to acquire the friendship of the Bosjesmen, as they had before done to blot them from the creation. They have experienced the most happy results from this line of conduct. Whilst unceasing and indiscriminate warfare existed, no farmer durst venture unarmed from his door; robberies were committed at his very threshold; and his children and servants were murdered in his presence. But since the adoption of different measures, they have experienced a degree of tranquillity which they could never before hope for in the neighbourhood of that people.

Dr. Van der Kemp is, I believe, the only person who has attempted to give a history of the Caffers. His account is annexed to a journal of occurrences during his residence in their country, and contains also, observations on their geography, population, manners and customs; with a grammar and vocabulary of their language. This work has been communicated to the public through the medium of the London Missionary Society. It contains much information upon these interesting topics; and as far as my inquiries and observations have extended, it is as correct as could have been expected in respect to most of them. With regard, however, to population, I am disposed to think that he has been misled; for he rates the number of males in that country at nearly 40,000, which I conceive to be little less than the total amount of all description of inhabitants. The traditions which I have received differ also from those which he has given. I shall beg to submit such accounts as seem to be most generally admitted, and are most probable, without pretending in the least to answer for their accuracy.

Some inquiries have, I believe, been made into the origin of the name of Caffree or Kaffer, which has sometimes been applied generally to the inhabitants of the south-eastern coast of Africa, but which has particularly distinguished those residing between Rio Infante or Great Fish River, and the river Bassee, comprising an extent of something less than 150 miles by 50. Whether this matter has been satisfactorily explained I am not enabled to recollect, or perhaps to judge; but I believe that a mistake has been made in endeavouring to restore the original appellation, which I have understood to be Koza instead of Koussie, as I think it has been written. The reluctance which Europeans appear to have felt in preserving the national names of the countries they have discovered, has operated in regard to what are called the Tambookee people, who are known to their neighbours by the names Temboo and Tenjain. As these denominations are now, however, so universally received, it would be absurd in me to dispute their propriety, and I shall adopt the European terms in the following short account.

The Caffre people were undoubtedly the same as the Tambookee, from whom they have been separated probably by some internal commotion, similar to those which have caused the emigrations which we have recently witnessed.

[The genealogy of their Chiefs has been given to me as follows:—

Togow.

Gonde.

Tzeoo.

Palo.  
Galeka, Hahabee, Langa.

Mandankee.  
Mahota.

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Posterity of Galeka.

Khowta, (Father of Hinsu, Boohoo, &c.)—Odessa.—Walhela, &c.

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Posterity of Hahabee.

Omlao, (Father of Gyka,) Zlambie, Oonooqua, Yaloosa, Tzatla, Sikkoo, Zonie, &c.

*Posterity of Langa.**Malouw, or Kyno, Kama, Tolie, Kaza, Galeba, &c.**Posterity of Mahota.**Jalamba, (Father of Dlodlo,) Olela, Foona, Koba, &c:*

*Kassa, Habana, Gola or Nogola, and most of the other petty independent chiefs, are either sons or grandsons of Mahota. Their people are called Mandankees, from the name of their founder. Hinsa's subjects are, for the same reasons called Galikas, and those of Gyka and Zlambie, Hahabees. It is not so easy to account for the name of Langa's people who are called Barrookas; nor for that of the vassals of Teachoo, who are called Tindees. The last chief is the son of Banquee, and grandson of Kyka, who was probably a son of Tzeeo, but this I did not hear positively asserted, and I understood that it is a doubtful matter among the Kaffers. It is possible that he may be of Ghonaqua origin, for a great portion of his people belong to that nation. His appearance is said to be more that of a Hottentot than of a Kaffer, and he has Hottentot wives.*

*The other chiefs affect to despise Konga, from his not belonging to the chieftain stock. His father Zaka was a cattle holder of Palo, who made him a captain. His people acquired the name of Genookaquas, from some cause which I could not discover.*

*From the period of their separation from the Tambookies until the death of Tzeeo, the Kaffers appear to have resided altogether near the Kyba. I have seen a farmer now in his 95th year, who went with some others, in the year 1738 from Gauritz River, the most distant part of the colony then settled, on a shooting excursion, into Kafferland. Those persons divided into two parties; one of them was under the direction of a man named Heupenaar; who, in consequence of resisting the attempts of the natives to take the iron from his wagons, was murdered with almost all his people: The other party to which this old man belonged, received no injury from them. There were not then any Kaffres residing west of the river Kysee, or, according to the most common name amongst the colonists, the Kyskamma, and some who accompanied the party on their return, took leave of them at that stream, stating it to be the boundary of their country.*

*On the death of Tzeeo, his people were divided between his sons Palo and Mandankee. The former chief repeatedly received visitors from the colony, and has been sometimes mentioned under the name of Pharao. His eldest son, Galeka, inherited the greater part of his vassals, and continued to reside on the banks of the Kyba. He was often engaged in wars with his brother Hahabee, who had proceeded with those vassals that had been bequeathed to him by Tzeeo to the country situated between the Lomo and Witte t' Ky rivers. Galeka was always successful in their encounters, and he has left a high opinion of his conduct and intrepidity among his people.*

*One of Hahabee's sons having been killed on a hunting party by a Tambookee chief, the father attempted to revenge his loss, but was defeated and perished in the waters of the Witte t' Ky. His eldest son, Omlao, having died before him, his second son, Zlambie, assumed the government of his vassals, and the guardianship of Gyka, the infant child of Omlao. Unable to cope with the Tambookees, he brought his people to the country lying between the Kognie (Buffalo River) and the Kyskamma.*

*Mandankee had removed to this neighbourhood shortly after the death of his father, and had been followed some years afterwards by his nephew Langa, who had become possessed of such of Palo's people as had not been left to Galeka, and Hahabee. Mahota had succeeded his father Mandankee, before the arrival of Zlambie, and he and Langa, regardless of the misfortunes which had occasioned the emigration of their relation, immediately showed their dissatisfaction at his intrusion. They fought him frequently, but with so little success, that Mahota was repeatedly compelled to retire into Zureveld; and he was at length killed in an engagement which took place in the year 1780. His son, Jalamba, finding his force unequal to a contest with the Hahabees, retired with his people into Agter Bruintjes Hoogte.]*

*[This] district had been settled about 10 years. In the year 1778, Governor Van Plettenberg having called there on the journey which he made at that time through the colony, he sent the justly esteemed and much lamented Colonel Gordon to request an interview with some of the Kaffre chiefs. The colonel proceeded in search of them as far as the Kyskamma,(1) from whence he conducted a few to the governor, who entered into*

(1) The following evidence upon this point was received by the editor, in the district of Graaff-Reinet, on the 29th March, 1836, before he had obtained access to the official records of the period:—

Dec. 29, 1836. Statement of Abram Carel Greyling:—I am in my 80th year; I am the father of Field Cornet J. C. Greyling, who was killed with Landdrost Stockenstrom in 1811; I came to this district in 1775, and lived on Bruintjes Hooghte; at that time the Kafirs were at the Kyskamma; the Bushmen were the only inhabitants about the mountains of the Kaka and Konap to the Kye, and engaged in constant incursions against the Colonists; I do not believe that any of the Kafirs had then crossed the Fish River. I remember the arrival of Governor Van Plettenberg in 1777 or 1778; we received him with near 200 men; he was escorted by burghers of Swellendam, under Hellegert Muller. He had a meeting with about eight Kafir chiefs. Col. Gordon went to fetch them, he did not go to the Keiskamma for them, for he returned the same day; he only went to Naude's Hoek, near Somerset, where Mr. Hart now lives; the Kafirs had by that time advanced so far. I do not know what passed

an agreement with them, that the Great Fish River should be considered as the boundary between the two countries.<sup>(1)</sup>

The inhabitants reminded Jalamba of the recent treaty, and required his immediate departure. Their remonstrances having been disregarded, a commando was assembled, by which the intruders were expelled, with the loss of Jalamba and a great number of his followers.

His son Dlodloo perished two years afterwards in a similar attempt, which was the last made to fix a kraal in that district.

Dlodloo having died without issue, his uncle Olela succeeded to the command of the Mandankees. He retired with them beyond the Konaba River, where he continued some years.

Soon after Zaka had been promoted to the rank of chief, he proceeded to the neighbourhood of the Beeka River. The Zuureveld was then inhabited by Ghonaqua and other Hottentots, under the command of a Hottentot named Ruiter. This man was a native of Roggeveld, from whence he had been forced to fly, in consequence of a murder which he had committed. By address and superior knowledge, he acquired an easy ascendancy over the minds of this then untutored people. But he is stated to have afterwards maintained his authority by the most sanguinary measures. His country being well stocked with game of every description, Zaka applied for leave to hunt in it, and at first paid for his permission; but wishing to remove from the vicinity of his powerful neighbours Zlambie and Langa, he was induced to try to establish himself on the right bank of the Great Fish River. As a justification of his conduct, he gave out that he had purchased the Zuureveld.

Having understood that his successor founds his claim to that country in a great degree upon this transaction, I thought the subject worth inquiry. The grandchildren of Ruiter are still living; and they declared to me, in common with all the other Hottentots whom I questioned upon this point, that there was not the least truth in the assertion.<sup>(2)</sup>

Incapable of opposing an effectual resistance, Ruiter after some skirmishes and remonstrances, retired by degrees to the Bosjesman River, where he died soon afterwards, foretelling that misfortunes awaited his people.

At the same time that Zaka entered the colony from the eastward, the settlers advanced from the Camtoos River, which, before the year 1778, had been considered as the boundary of the colony. Having induced the people of Kabeang, a Hottentot chief residing at the Sunday River, to enter their service, and afterwards engaged most of them that had belonged to Ruiter, they continued their establishments to the extremity of Zuureveldt.

The kraals and habitations were mixed, and for some years without inconvenience; but in the year 1786, a difference arose between the Caffres and the settlers. The latter called Zlambie to their aid, and he came with nearly 3,000 men. The Genookaques were defeated, and their chief was slain. As the reward of his assistance Zlambie was presented with the cattle of the vanquished Caffres, who were imprudently permitted to continue in the colony.

Deprived of subsistence, the Genookaques under Konga, the successor of Zaka, were reduced to the necessity of plundering the farmers. This produced a new war, which effected their expulsion.

Konga, however, did not remain long beyond the Great Fish River; and Malouw, Kama and Tolie, the sons of Langa, accompanied him on his return, in order to avoid the effects of the resentment of Zlambie, one of whose brothers had been killed by a Hottentot in their service.

The arrival of these Caffres was immediately reported to the landdrost, Mr. Woeke, who took no steps whatever to remove them. [*There is a report still current among the farmers, that a delivery of cattle was made to him by some of those people, as a purchase right to a residence in the district of the Zuureveld. In stating this circumstance, upon which I have heard that the Caffres lay some stress, I cannot allow myself upon such grounds to believe for a moment, that a public officer could be guilty of so great a dereliction of his duty.*] It is, however, certain that by having neglected to notice this invasion, he laid the foundation of all the misfortunes that have since befallen the inhabitants of the eastern districts.

Finding their complaints disregarded, the farmers were induced to enter into a trade with the Caffres, and to receive some of them into their service. Those people at first gave their cattle and labour without knowing its value; but a little experience having opened their eyes on these points, altercations between them and the farmers were the necessary consequence. These contentions grew into enmities; and in the year 1792 the Caffres fell unexpectedly upon the colonists, of whom many were murdered and plundered by them.

Representations of these occurrences having been transmitted to the seat of government, the commissioner

between Governor Plettenberg and the Chiefs, though I remember our drawing up in two lines while they passed between, and the Governor shaking hands with them, having covered his hand with a black silk handkerchief." . . . .

The circumstance I have mentioned as to Governor Plettenberg sending for the Kafir chiefs, is the more impressed on my memory by this fact:—Col. Collins, when on the frontier, questioned me on the subject, and from other information, continued of opinion that Governor Plettenberg had to send to the Kyskamma. I told him that, even to Baviaans' River, was six hours' ride, and that Col. Gordon could not have gone there and returned in the same day, and that at the time in question, the Kafirs were in Naude's Hoek. After returning from Baviaans' River, Col. Collins told me I was correct as to the distance."

(1) *Vide* Resolution 14th November, 1780.

(2) Upon this point the evidence of the Graaff-Reinet papers 1786—93 is decisive.—*Vide* printed List.

general, Mr. Sluyskens, directed the assembling of a commando of farmers in the year 1793 to march against the Caffres.

It would naturally be supposed that previous to the commencement of hostilities, the whole force would have been collected, and some plan of operations arranged between the persons entrusted with the conduct of this campaign. It must therefore appear very extraordinary, that before the arrival of the farmers from Swellendam, those under the command of Mr. Maynier, the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, had commenced hostilities.

One would be also led to suppose that the principal view of this armament would have been the expulsion of the Caffres from the colony. This, however, seems to have been regarded only in a secondary point of view. The farmers had lost a great portion of their cattle, and to regain possession of it seems to have been the first object of Mr. Maynier's attention.

Having defeated them in the Zuureveld, from which they appear to have mostly retired, he was induced to follow them four days' journey beyond the boundary, to the river Kognie, where he attacked the people of Khouwta, mistaking them for those whom he was in search of. Having there received intelligence of the arrival of Mr. Faure, the landdrost of Swellendam, with the party under his orders, he returned from thence to the Great Fish River.

His force was too inconsiderable to allow of his leaving any detachments to cover the Zuureveld during his absence; or perhaps it never entered into his contemplation that they would be required. But the hostile Caffres, who had no inclination for so long a march as that which he had voluntarily imposed upon himself, having allowed him to pass them, had for the most part returned to their former stations.

The whole force having been at length united, the original intention of government was yet to be fulfilled, with the exception of some cattle which had been taken. It may easily be conceived what must have been the opinions and feelings of men brought to such a distance from a country which had no direct connexion with the scene or cause of operations, of men whose concerns were necessarily suffering from their absence, whose wives and children were during this waste of time left at the mercy of the Bosjesmen. They had done every thing that could have been expected from them. They had driven the enemy beyond the limits. But not satisfied with that, they must be dragged to make war upon a people whom they had never heard of, and who had never done a christian harm. After all this, they had the mortification to learn that they were not further advanced than on the day of their arrival.

It is stated that Langa, the principal chief of the hostile Caffres, having fallen into the hands of Zlambie, the latter offered to deliver him up to Mr. Maynier, and that this offer was declined. That government had promised a reward of 10 rix-dollars for each prisoner that should be taken: that several were captured, but were released without the farmers receiving the reward they had expected: that after some feeble and ineffectual attempts against the enemy, the clothing and other necessaries of the farmers destroyed, their horses and cattle worn out, and their hopes and confidence annihilated, they required with clamour that a captain of the Swellendam militia, named Laurens de Jager, should be invested with the command, and that their demand was haughtily refused by Mr. Maynier, who continued to direct this unfortunate war.

At length the two landdrosts esteemed themselves fortunate in obtaining a peace, on terms, as they stated themselves, disadvantageous to the colony. Nothing was mentioned in this treaty about the retreat of the Caffres, who had no sooner restored the stolen cattle than they repented of the act and recommenced their depredations.

A report was made to government by Mr. Maynier in the following year (1794), stating the causes of the late war, the best mode of protecting the colony against the incursions of the Caffres, and of preserving peace with that people. He observes that "the [*excursions*] of the farmers into Caffreland for the purpose of hunting, the trade carried on between them and the Caffres, and the improper treatment which the latter had experienced from the former when in their service, were the principal occasion of the rupture." He then recommends that "several inhabitants should be obliged to keep together in one place; that a stop should be put to all trade between the colonists and Caffres; that the former should be prohibited from going into Caffreland to shoot elephants, unless provided with a permission from the landdrost; and that the latter should be forbidden to enter the colony except when bearing a message from their chiefs to the drostdy, under pain of being considered as traitors, and driven back with force."

Mr. Maynier complained bitterly of the inattention shown to his orders, particularly of the farmers having proceeded without his sanction against the Caffers. Indeed from this moment the authority of government began to decline in the eastern districts, the inhabitants conceiving that as it had not the power to protect, it was unable to punish. Some evil disposed persons at the Cape, as well as in the country, took advantage of these circumstances to propagate revolutionary principles, and Graaff-Reinet became the theatre of anarchy and revolt.<sup>(1)</sup>

Gaika, although not arrived at manhood, had shown himself in the late war, and he then began to wish for

(1) A correct knowledge of the relations with the Kafirs from 1786 to 1795, is only to be obtained from the official papers, which, under the plea afforded by an article of the capitulation of 1795, Commissioner Sluysken removed to Holland, whence they do not appear to have been returned until the cession in 1803. Col. Collins had obtained but an imperfect view of the system of deception, intelligibly pointed at in the commencement of this paper, of which the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet and the first English Government were the victims, and which the most cursory perusal of the concealed papers would have at once dispelled.

the possession of that power to which he conceived his birth and the nomination of Khouwta, the head of his family, had fully entitled him. Zlambie having refused on his demand to resign the reins of government, in the year 1796, a civil war ensued. Zlambie having been defeated, proceeded to beg assistance from Khouwta, who declined interfering. He then retired to his ancient residence near the Zomo, where he endeavoured to win the Tambookces to his interest, but he was again attacked by Gyka, and taken prisoner.

During these disturbances, Yaloosa, a brother of Zlambie, emigrated to Zuureveld, where he waged war against the sons and successors of Langa, and against the Mandankecs, who had likewise proceeded to that quarter. These hostilities were not productive of any material consequences.

In the year 1797, Mr. Bresler, the new landdrost, who the preceding year had been refused admittance at his drostdy, having been favourably received, under the auspices of Mr. Barrow, proceeded with that gentleman into Zuureveld and Caffraria. The independent chiefs promised, on their intercession with Gyka, to return to their own country, and at the request of those gentlemen that chief sent them messengers of peace.

Mr. Bresler also sent to inform them of the success of his application on their behalf, and to require their immediate return to Caffreland. They all declined going, under various pretences; Konga treated the landdrost's messengers in the most insolent manner, and he advanced soon after to the Sunday River, where he endeavoured to form the same connexions with the Hottentots that had previously very much strengthened his party by the accession of a great portion of Ghonaqua people.

One of the Ghonaquas residing with Gyka, and who claims his descent from a chief named Kamakeera, gave me the following account of that unfortunate race. As I have heard of no other attempt at their history, I am induced to repeat what was communicated to me respecting them, although the relation may appear somewhat improbable.

They had resided at first much nearer to the Peninsula, and were yet united under their last great chief, Quama, when the Europeans advanced from the Cape to the interior. Unable to prevent their encroachments, and unwilling to acknowledge their superiority, they removed towards the east; observing, that the country improved as they advanced, they continued their route to the territories of Tzeeo. This chief was as much dissatisfied at their approach as they had been at that of the christians, and unfortunately for them, he had as much the power as the inclination to show his displeasure.

After a considerable loss, both of their people and their cattle, they returned to the neighbourhood of the Great Fish River. Some settled in the fine plains on both banks of that stream. But the others apprehending that the wrath of Tzeeo might pursue them even that far, resolved to seek a less insecure though a more distant retreat.

With that view they proceeded to the north, where the Bosjesmen treated them as unkindly as the Caffres. Driven from the south, the east, and the north, the wanderers bent their last hope on the west. They followed the sun until stopped by the ocean, on whose borders their posterity are known by the name of Namaquas.

During the wars that took place among the descendants of Tzeeo, their brethren were plundered by all parties, and were at length obliged to solicit protection from some of those chiefs. They avoided, however, as long as possible, intermarriage with the Caffres, to whom they are in general by no means attached.

My historian assured me, that those under Gyka were his best soldiers, that they were always placed in the hottest of the fight, but were neglected and ill-treated when no enemy was to be opposed. He added, that they would all have long since left [*his*] country, if they had not feared to lose their cattle in the attempt; that they were, however, determined to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity to carry their intentions into effect, and that although sometimes not well used in the service of the farmers, with whom they had occasionally lived for short periods, they would rather reside with them than remain with the Caffres.

On being asked about the sentiments of the Ghonaquas under Konga, he replied that they were more connected with the Caffres than any of the others residing with that people, and that he did not think they had now any wish to remove from them.

I assured the descendant of Kamakeera that the christians felt deeply for the misfortunes of the Ghonaquas, and would be happy to have the power of alleviating their unhappy lot; that, however, the relations which had so long existed between them and the Caffres would render it improper to allow them to reside in the districts bordering upon the country of that people; and that if any of them should remove within the limits of the colony, it would be necessary for them to proceed to the neighbourhood of the capital.

After the death of Khouwta, who appears to have always been a pacific chief, his people were engaged in a war with Gyka, in consequence of one of them having been murdered by some persons belonging to the latter; and an army was sent to the Kyskamnia under the orders of Welhela, the uncle of Hinsla, who was then a minor.

*[A person engaged in this service gave me the following account of the expedition, by which it would appear that Europeans ought not to give themselves quite so much credit for their improvements in tactics, as they conceive themselves so generally entitled to.]*

*Having proceeded to a certain distance, where they left their wives and children, they continued their march, armed with shields and assegays, and provided only with a few slaughtering cattle. They were headed by an advanced guard, composed of their best troops, and distinguished from the others by bearing*

on either side of the head a plume of the Numidian crane. Having arrived within sight of the enemy, they advanced in irregular columns of divisions; but in consequence of an endeavour to take them in flank, they formed, and after a few discharges, came to close quarters. Several other movements were made by both parties, either to counteract those of the enemy, to take advantage of circumstances, or to afford support where required.]

The battle was for a long time obstinately contested, but at length the advantage appeared to lean so decidedly on the side of the Galékas, that Gyka left the field. The Hahabees conceived that the day was lost; when a panic seized the victors, and they fled in their turn.

[On inquiring the opinion entertained among the Caffres with regard to courage and military conduct, I was told that those qualities were held in the highest estimation; and that a man whose advice or intrepidity should gain any advantage for his country, would obtain applause and rewards from all ranks of people. Conceiving that where valour was so much prized, cowardice must be treated with the utmost severity, I asked how they punished that offence. My surprise was very great when I learnt that among the Galekas no notice whatever is taken of misconduct of that nature; but I was informed that Gyka has always been very strict on that point, although he has more than once been the first to show the examples of pusillanimity. Indeed, his punishments, for every description of crime, are stated to be the most cruel of any used among the Caffres.]

Gyka did not fail to take advantage of his unexpected success. He pursued the fugitives, among whom he made a dreadful slaughter, passed the Kyba, seized on the cattle of the inhabitants, and took Hinsä prisoner.

[What might have been his intention with regard to the young chief, is not known; but it must be remembered that when he had Slambie in his power, under similar circumstances, he generously restored his freedom and possessions. Hinsä was stolen away in the night by some of his faithful veterans, the companions of the victories of his grandfather. A peace was concluded at the river Juguga, and some of the cattle taken from the chiefs was restored. But this war was a severe blow to the superiority of the Galeka Caffres.]

Arrived at the plenitude of power, Gyka became haughty and intractable. It was shortly after these events that Dr. Van der Kemp made an attempt to establish a missionary institution in his territory. The bad success of the endeavours used by that zealous and indefatigable man, affords but a faint hope of a more fortunate result from any future undertaking of a similar nature: sometimes appearing his friend and convert, at others, evincing the greatest suspicion at his proceedings, Gyka obliged him continually to change his abode, and he was finally obliged to abandon the project.

[Mr. Barrow has given so full an account of the arrest of the rebellious boers, in the year 1799; of the insurrection of the Hottentots; of the interview of General Vandeleur with Konga, at the Sunday River; his promise to retire eastward; the attack subsequently made by him on the Brigadier's detachment whilst on his march from Agter Brintjes Hoogte to Algoa Bay; and afterwards on his camp near Bosjesman River, as to render it unnecessary for me to dwell upon these points. Not knowing how to distinguish the disaffected boers from those attached to government, general Vandeleur was apprehensive of trusting any of them with ammunition, or of availing himself of their services against the enemy. The loss of Lieut. Chumney and most of his party, cut off when detached to the coast, followed by the retreat of the general to the bay, in consequence, as I believe, Mr. Barrow states, of his deeming it imprudent to wage an unequal contest with savages, the successful result of which could be favourable to those only who had instigated them to act,—were occurrences which were certainly not calculated to inspire any of the contending parties with a high opinion of British power.]

General Dundas conceiving his presence necessary to restore order, set out for Algoa Bay, but having no local knowledge, and being naturally desirous of acquiring the best information, he wished to be attended by some person well acquainted with the country. Mr. Maynier was recommended to him, and the General appears to have been entirely guided by his advice. His principal object seems to have been to conciliate the Hottentots, who had been leagued with the Caffres, and had committed the most dreadful outrages. After some time, a peace, as it was called, having been concluded, he appointed Mr. Maynier commissioner in the district, and returned to the seat of government.

No sooner were the troops withdrawn, than the Caffres and Hottentots pursued their career of blood, fire and plunder. The people of Konga, Olela, Habana, &c., were the principal of the former and the Stuurmans, although nor originally from this part of the colony, together with one Boosac and some other adventurers, led on the latter.

Mr. Maynier gave no credit to the reports made to him of these transactions, and affirmed that they had no foundation except the fears of the farmers, whom he threatened to punish with the utmost severity if they dared to leave their habitations. The districts of Agter Brintjes Hoogte, Zwarte Ruggens and Winter Hoek, of Bosjesmans, Sunday and Zwart Kops Rivers, were entirely abandoned. Mr. Maynier remained at the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet with a detachment sent for the protection of his district, and he was faintly attacked there by the Boors, who attributed all these disorders to his mal-administration.

Intelligence of these transactions having at length reached the Cape, Mr. Maynier was recalled, and General Dundas was on the point of recommencing hostilities, when he received intelligence of the preliminary treaty by which the colony was restored to Holland. Unwilling, however, to leave the country in the dreadful

state to which it had been reduced, he directed that a commando of farmers should be formed under the commandant Tjard van der Walt, who seems to have possessed the talents and energy suited to the important trust.

Mr. Maynier, whose conduct then occupied the attention of a commission of inquiry, expresses himself in some paragraphs, which his patriotism induces him to annex to his defence, in the following terms :

“As I am too much interested in the welfare of the colony, and am persuaded that by following the plan which seems generally approved, or rather that plan of which every person, whether he is acquainted with the nature of the country or not, is so much in love with, the country will be exposed to total ruin, I therefore beg leave to offer some reflections on this subject.

“The plan of driving the Caffres and Hottentots beyond the Great Fish River, so much favoured by some, I have always disapproved, and maintain, that whoever knows the state of that part of the country where they live, and the immense woods and dens which offer a safe retreat to them, will look upon such plan to be unwise, because greatly difficult to be accomplished, and still more so to confine them there; and cruel on account of the hardships which they must consequently suffer. And I feel the most perfect conviction that peace may be preserved with these creatures by fair means, and with little trouble.”

Van der Walt attacked the enemy with vigour. He had inspired confidence into his own people, and terror into their opponents. The Caffre chiefs held a council of war, and were on the point of retiring, when the commandant was called away to the neighbourhood of the Camtoos River, where a number of insurgents, principally Hottentots, had overrun the country. There a musket ball struck him when penetrating through the woods, and deprived the colony of his useful services.

The veld commandant Botha had been appointed second in command; but although a good and zealous man, he was not looked up to with the same degree of respect as Van der Walt. The other commandants mostly conceived themselves better qualified and more entitled to command; and under various pretences they conducted their parties soon afterwards to their several districts.

The Caffres and Hottentots became more daring by the failure of this expedition. One party under Boossac proceeded to Oliphant's River, where Botha's own people, and some from Winter Hoek under the veld cornet Gabriel Stoltz, happened fortunately to be in readiness to receive them. They were driven back with loss.

Another division, consisting of several hundred, under David Stuurman, after making an unsuccessful attempt on a place in the Lange Kloof, which was defended only by a few persons, crossed the mountains to Plettenberg Bay. The veld cornet, one John Terblantz, treated the intelligence of their approach with contempt, but shamefully abandoned his post the moment of their arrival.

The first farmhouse they came to was occupied by a few brave men, who beat them off. They then continued their route, and unfortunately met with some farmers travelling to the Cape, whom they murdered. The wives and children, however, contrary to their practice on some other occasions, they sent away uninjured, after a demand, as their ransom, of the arms and ammunition of the people who had so well defended themselves, had been rejected. A detachment of them, with Stuurman, then advanced, plundering and burning the deserted habitations as far as Outeniqua Land, where the openness of the country deterred them from proceeding. They were met on their return by Botha and Stoltz, on whose appearance they cast away their arms and retired with precipitation through the woods.

Zlambie for the first time took part against the colonists in this war. He had long been on bad terms with Gyka, and having united his people, he retired through Agter Bruintjes Hoogte to Zuurveld, where he arrived on the eve of these disturbances, in which he became involved.

Notwithstanding the disappointment and displeasure of General Dundas on hearing of the desertion of the commando, he could not, as then circumstanced, adopt any other measures of hostility. As the only means, therefore, of restoring even temporary tranquillity to the colony, he directed a commission of veld commandants and veld cornets to conclude a peace with the Caffres and Hottentots. This was done upon no other condition than that each party should retain possession of the cattle that had fallen into its hands; and this treaty was afterwards confirmed by a similar deputation sent to the Sunday River by the Batavian government.

The Caffres and Hottentots now began to quarrel about their booty, and to rob each other. Boossac was put to death on one of these plundering expeditions by some of Zlambie's people, notwithstanding the recall of the many services which he had rendered them, and his protestations of his entire devotion to the Caffre nation. More than 12 of his followers are reported to have avoided sharing in his fate by being mounted or holding on a single horse.

Olela, chief of the Mandankees, was deprived, soon after these events, of his authority, with the concurrence of most of the other chiefs, in consequence of his restless and marauding disposition. He retired first to the colony, and from thence to the Orange River. At this period Yaloose left Zuureveld and joined Gyka, to whose fortunes he has since remained firmly attached.

Zlambie having taken a fancy about the same time to the lands near the Bosjesmans' River, occupied by some of the kraals of Konga, and the latter having refused to resign them on his demand, his people were driven from them by force.

As soon as General Janssens had made the necessary arrangements at the seat of government, he proceeded on a journey to the interior. To remove the inconvenience occasioned by the unsettled state of the Caffres and Hottentots, appears to have been one of the chief motives of this tour.

On his arrival at Algoa Bay he sent for Klaas Stuurman, and delivered him a brass gorget, on which was engraved the following inscription, which deserves to be preserved :—

Capiteyn Klaas Stuurman  
Vreede en Vriendschap  
Met de Bataavische Republiek  
Den 1ste Maart 1803.

[*Not satisfied with having thus, in some manner, acknowledged the independence of a man who had been born the subject of his sovereign, as a reward for the atrocities that he had principally caused, and the recital of which would render these sheets too voluminous and too disgusting*]; he presented him, for the residence of his family, with a lot of land situated on the Little Camtoos River, within a few miles of the spot where the brave Van der Walt had been, only the year before, mortally wounded by his people; and which borders on one of the most inaccessible parts of the whole colony.

[*Klaas had not long taken possession of his new abode when he was killed on an hunting party by his brother David, as the latter states, by accident, but as is strongly suspected, even by some Hottentots, intentionally; a crime well worthy of a man whose first master died by poison, a few days after this monster had declared publicly that he would not permit him long to live.*]

The governor next proceeded to Sunday River, whence he sent to request an interview with all the Caffre Chiefs within the limits. After waiting five days they were brought to him with much difficulty by the veld cornet Stoltz.

His excellency stated to them the great inconvenience the inhabitants suffered from their intrusion, reminded them of the boundary so long established between the two countries, and signified to them that he expected they would immediately leave the colony, and that if they would not go peaceably he should be under the necessity of using compulsion. They made the old excuse, "the fear of Gyka." He assured them that he should remove that difficulty, and they all promised in that event to retire without delay.

The Governor wished that Gyka should meet him at the Great Fish River, but he declined coming any further than Kat River, from whence an officer's party was sent forward to meet him. He would not at first hear of a reconciliation with the emigrants, but at length he agreed to receive them amicably.

Kongo, Habana, and some other chiefs, kept their engagements, and removed to the Kyskamma; but finding that Zlambie remained undisturbed within the boundary, they returned within a few months.

The war between Great Britain and Holland was soon afterwards declared, and General Janssens could not spare from the Cape the troops which he deemed necessary for the expulsion of the Caffres; but he often declared his intention of having recourse to hostilities, as soon as circumstances would permit them.

In the expectation that the country would have been evacuated, a proclamation had in the meantime been issued, commanding all persons who had formerly occupied lands in Zuureveld, to return to their places, under pain of forfeiture. Some went back in consequence in 1804; but so many murders and robberies were committed that they were forced again to fly in the following year. The same persons have since made two ineffectual attempts to re-establish themselves on their lands.

The Caffres had before seldom ventured to pass the outward places for the purpose of begging; and they used to come even that far in small parties only; but they now began to advance boldly several days' journey with that view, and generally came in strong detachments, and the farmers forgetting the misfortunes they had suffered from that people, imprudently received many of them into their service.

[*About a year after the period of the Cape's reverting to the British government, a tumblee (a concubine) of Gyka having gone to visit her relations in Zuureveld, was detained by one of Zlambie's sons. This conduct was highly resented by the former chief, who, to revenge himself, acted in the same manner with one of his uncle's ladies, who had come to see her friends at the Kyskamma.*]

It would scarcely be expected that a people of such loose morals as the Caffres would have regarded this step of Gyka with much severity. Scarcely, however, was it known among his subjects, than the strongest disapprobation was manifested at his conduct, which they declared that they considered in the light of incest. There is some reason to suppose that his secret enemies had taken hold of this circumstance to inflame the minds of his people, whose affections they had already much alienated by representing his extreme arrogance and his avarice in claiming universal inheritance, which often reduces whole families to the greatest distress.

Rebellion was openly declared, and Gokera, an old soldier, who had always been distinguished by his master for his conduct and valour, headed the malcontents. These were, however, composed of the most distant and least warlike kraals, and their leader having been killed in the first engagement, they would have been obliged to submit, had not two of Gyka's uncles, Tzatla and Sikkoo, who were the principal instigators of the insurrection, joined the party, with their people.

Notwithstanding this accession of strength, the rebels did not yet conceive themselves sufficiently powerful. They sent, therefore, to demand the assistance of Zlambie in punishing the crime of his nephew. The old chief was sick and unable to proceed, but he sent his sons Gweechee and Kossee, with a large force, to the Kyskamma. After a few movements, in which Gyka is stated to have shown some generalship, but, as usual, little courage, he was driven into the mountains, his kraals were destroyed, and his herds captured.

A great number of Gyka's people who were before undecided, conceiving his fortunes entirely ruined, joined the rebels and auxiliaries, and they proceeded altogether towards the Zuureveld. Their march was, however, observed, and a few cattle were recovered. Notwithstanding this supply, a famine ensued, and most of the young children, even of Gyka, Yaloosa, and the other principal chiefs, were actually starved.

A short time previous to this affair Gyka was joined by Foonaa, who had succeeded his brother Olela, in the chief command of the Mandankees. After the conclusion of the campaign, Kyno, chief of the Barrookas, also came to him. Zlambie was apprehensive that their example might be followed by other chiefs, who began to think that Gyka had been severely punished, and to reflect that they were interested equally with him in the question of inheritance. This consideration, perhaps, prevented the victorious chief from endeavouring to reap all the fruits of his success. No further hostilities of any consequence took place, and a favorable opportunity having offered in about a year afterwards, Gyka sent proposals for peace to his uncle, which were immediately accepted.

In the meantime, however, Zonie, a brother of Zlambie, wishing to avoid these contentions, secretly withdrew with about 60 of Zlambie's men, and proceeded to the river Ghamgha. He there attacked and plundered two kraals composed of deserters from various chiefs who had been several years in that neighbourhood, under the command of two brothers named Hendrick and Ogande, or Jacob, common Caffres, belonging to Zlambie. Hendrick was forced to accompany Zonie to Orange River, where he was killed, with about 30 of his people, in an engagement with the Bosjesmen.

Some of the emigrants who had returned to Zuureveld and the Kyskamma, gave the most favourable accounts of the countries they had visited. Habana and his brother Galata, absconded in the year 1808, and several other petty chiefs, both of Zlambie and Gyka's parties, for the most part Mandankees, only waited a favourable opportunity to follow them.]

Olela had come from Orange River some months before, and had collected a great number of Caffres from the service of the inhabitants. With these he endeavoured to compel his brothers Gola and Ootzee, who commanded a kraal that had been several years established in the Zwarteberg Mountains, to proceed with him to Orange River.

Their hostilities attracted the attention of government. Instead of attending to the injunctions given him to remove from the colony, Olela not only persisted in remaining, but became extremely troublesome to the inhabitants and travellers. He was in consequence seized, but escaped to his kraal from the custody of a veld cornet. On the approach however of a force, he retired beyond the northern boundary, and he is supposed to have proceeded with about 40 men to join Zonie.

An ineffectual attempt having been made to establish some of the other kraals near the Cape, all those remaining in the inhabited part of the colony, together with the Caffres and Ghonaquas in the service of the farmers, were removed beyond the Sunday River, and all communication with those nations was cut off, except such as might be occasionally required between their chiefs and the officers of government.

Not content with the protection granted to his family, David Stuurman took measures to increase his strength, and to confirm his independence. He received many Hottentots with whom he had no relationship, and openly resisted the officers of the district in the execution of the orders of the landdrost, with respect to individuals who had broken their contracts. Notwithstanding the prohibition against harbouring Caffres or Ghonaquas, he permitted a whole kraal to remain on his land. It was discovered also that he had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Konga, of which the colony was the object; and he was on the eve of proceeding to join that chief, who had repeatedly urged him to take this step, when the traitor was arrested, and sent with his brother Boshman and two other leaders of the kraal, and of the former insurgents, to the Cape. The remainder of these Hottentots proceeded either to the neighbouring missionary institution of Bethelsdorp, or to take service with the farmers, according to the option given them, and the lands which they had occupied were appropriated to other purposes.

Stellenbosch, July 1809.

MY LORD,

Cape of Good Hope, 6th August 1809.

HAVING had the honour to transmit to your excellency the notes made upon my journey to the eastern borders, and having thereby put you in possession of all the information which I had obtained respecting those quarters, it is unnecessary that I should add any opinions of mine, to enable your excellency to form a judgment upon the steps requisite to be taken for the tranquillity and prosperity of the eastern districts.

[But as the instructions which I have received express your desire upon that head, and I am anxious by the fullest discharge of my duty to merit a continuance of the confidence with which I have hitherto been honoured by your Excellency, I shall leave no point untouched that I conceive may be of consequence towards effecting an object of such great importance.

It has been a subject of much regret to me that the measures which I had to adopt in the execution of my late employment as his Majesty's Commissioner, was such as tended to protract the civilization of a considerable portion of my fellow creatures. This painful feeling is considerably increased by the necessity imposed upon me of recommending a perseverance in a similar line of policy. I should have exulted if on

*this occasion I could in any degree have contributed to the laudable endeavours of those humane persons whose labours have been so worthily employed in rescuing a portion of the original inhabitants of Africa from the miseries of barbarism. But when that pleasure can be indulged only by sacrificing the interests and compromising the safety of one of the best appendages of his Majesty's crown, it becomes a duty to resist such agreeable illusions.*

*I consider as a maxim of the first importance to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, that all intercourse between the settlers and the Caffres should be scrupulously prevented, until the former shall have increased considerably in numbers and are also much more advanced in arts and industry. The efforts of philanthropy may then, I hope, be safely and usefully exerted for the advantage of that people; but they would now, I fear, be productive of great inconvenience and danger.]*

[*In consequence of these opinions formed by much observation and reflection,*] it appears to me that the steps necessary to be taken for the permanent tranquillity of the eastern districts, are to oblige all the Caffres to withdraw to their own country; to oppose insurmountable obstacles to their return to the colony; and to remove every inducement to their continuance near the boundary.

The outline of a history of the Caffres, with which I concluded my observations upon that people, will, I think sufficiently explain the cause of want of success in most of the attempts that have been made for their expulsion from the colony, and I hope may show that it has not been occasioned, as is generally supposed, by the powerful means of resistance possessed by them.

The wars that were at first waged against the Caffres, were carried on exclusively by the settlers, who seem, whenever they have been unsuccessful, to have failed in a great degree from their having considered the recovery of stolen cattle as the principal object of hostility.

In the year 1799, a military force was for the first time opposed to them; but having been unsupported by the farmers and Hottentots, and even impeded by their enmity, its exertions were necessarily unavailing.

[*The talents of the individuals chosen for the conduct of the war in the year 1802, surmounted the difficulties arising from the want of military aid and direction, which circumstances would not let them allow of, but his death reduced things to their natural order, and served to confirm what experience should have long before have taught, that the usual mode of conducting hostilities against the Caffres had considerable imperfections.]*

In some of the despatches which I have had the honour to address to your excellency, I stated my opinions upon the force necessary for the removal of those people, and respecting the manner in which it should be employed.

Your excellency must have observed that I placed much reliance on the exertions of the farmers; and indeed I cannot help thinking, that on this service they would be considerably more useful than regular troops. They are well acquainted with the country; are excellent marksmen; are accustomed to bear fatigues and privations, and are provided with horses fit for all the purposes of irregular cavalry, without being subject to the disadvantages of requiring stabling and dry forage.

Independently of the foregoing considerations, there are other reasons perhaps not less weighty to prefer the farmers to regular troops.

The Caffres are always prepared for war; and it would not only be impossible to spare the military force necessary to guard the frontier at all times against their attacks, but might be inconvenient, as has already happened, even to detach troops on any particular occasion when they might be wanted. The consequences would be, that the inhabitants, who had been accustomed to look up to the military as their greatest support, would lose all confidence when deprived of their assistance; and that the Caffres, no longer opposed by the force which had been principally employed against them, would increase in confidence and enterprise.

If this reasoning is just, the farmers should be made the principal instrument of hostility against that people; but I by no means think that they should be the only one.

The misfortunes that have happened from the want of a chief of the rank and talents necessary to secure respect and obedience, point out the necessity of a military commander. Should operations become shortly necessary, the presence of Major Cuyler, who possesses the activity and local knowledge necessary, for such a task, would obviate this inconvenience.

The principal cause of the little success obtained by our troops on a former occasion, has been already alluded to, but that cause happily exists no longer. The opinions of the inhabitants of the eastern districts have undergone a great change within the last ten years; and the most cordial co-operation may now be expected from them in every undertaking.

The beneficial consequences that are likely to be produced by the enemy perceiving that a good understanding prevails between the governors and the governed, may best be judged of, from the circumstance of a party of 30 dragoons under the orders of Captain Ord, having been enabled during a period of six months to prevent the incursions, I do not say the thefts, of a whole nation, which had for years been accustomed to overrun the country committed to his charge.

The number of troops should, I conceive, be merely what might be deemed sufficient to control the farmers, and perhaps occasionally to animate them by their presence. Dragoons and light infantry appear the most eligible.

Before hostilities are commenced measures should be taken to be enabled to fill up the country from which the Caffres are to be driven, as soon as it is evacuated. By the effect of a proclamation of General Janssens, all those places in Zuurveld are forfeited which had been deserted and have not been re-occupied.

*[Your Excellency has, however, been pleased to direct, that credit should be given for loan-rents of those places up to December 1808, an indulgence that consequently enables the former proprietors to resume possession. Major Cuyler having communicated this order to me, I took upon me to limit its operation as will appear by the copy of a letter to him which is annexed and marked (A). I beg to express my hope that in adopting this step I may have anticipated your Excellency's wishes.]*

The facility with which the Caffres have always entered the colony, may, I think, be principally attributed to the weakness of the population of the eastern frontier. The system of granting farms of such considerable extent, necessary perhaps in some parts of the settlement, is exceedingly impolitic in this particular district. When a line of nearly 100 miles does not present a resistance of more than one-third of that number of inhabitants, it is not to be wondered that little respect should be paid to it. It is only surprising that the settlers should have been enabled so long, to remain in any part of it, in the vicinity of a numerous people, continually endeavouring to encroach upon their possessions.

In re-occupying the country near the mouth of the Great Fish River, I conceive that it should be given out in small portions, equal to the general extent of places held in fee simple, which is, I believe, 120 acres.

*[I do not, however, mean to advise that those places should be granted in perpetuity, because it would be particularly necessary that government should at all times be enabled, immediately, to remove from this neighbourhood, any person who might render himself obnoxious. But I think that the rents of these lands should be so inconsiderable as to be regarded more as an acknowledgement of tenure than as a source of revenue. If such encouragement were not held out, it would be impossible to procure inhabitants for this part of the country, under the dread of exposure to the attacks of savages, and the conviction of being enabled to gain a subsistence only by industrious habits.]*

The country on the right bank of the Great Fish River, from the mouth of that stream to the place where it receives the Little Fish River, would be fully protected by this formidable barrier; but the attention of the Caffres would then be entirely drawn to the district of Agter Brintjes Hoogte, where the farmers occupy loan places of the usual extent, and where they are consequently placed at a distance of three miles from each other.

There appear to be only two ways of meeting this difficulty, which are, either by dispossessing the present occupiers of farms in that quarter, and granting them lands in the same manner as has been proposed for those situated to the south of them, or by extending the boundary. *[Your Excellency would naturally feel much averse to depriving men of possessions which they have held under many disadvantages during a period of 40 years. But independent of this consideration, there are very strong objections to this district being dealt out in small portions. The inhabitants of such inconsiderable lots could find their account only in supplying the graziers and the inhabitants of villages with corn, wine, and vegetables, and perhaps, if encouragement were held out, with such wholesome liquors as beer, cyder, and perry. But]* except the land situated on the Little Fish River, there is none in Agter Brintjes Hoogte adapted to these purposes. Unlike the country bordering on the sea, this district is seldom visited by rains; and although the land affords as fine pasturage as any perhaps in the world, it can be subjected to tillage only by the aid of irrigation.

On inspecting the chart, it would appear that any extension of boundary to the east should be carried at least as far as Kat River. When I first contemplated the subject I was of this opinion; but, from local inquiries, I learned that the land between that stream and the Konaba, although of the first quality, is fit only for pasturage, in consequence of being badly watered, and that it had also the disadvantage of being in many parts covered with underwood.

The country situated between Agter Brintjes Hoogte and the Konaba River abounds in excellent fountains. The soil is good; and the timber growing on the mountains that border it on the north is superior to any within the colony.

The acquisition of this tract would strengthen the frontier, not only by the great number of inhabitants that would be brought together in consequence of the land being granted in small portions, but also by affording the advantage of a shorter line of defence, and the consequent greater facility of communication and support.

The loss of this part of their territory would occasion no inconvenience to the Caffres, for they have not a single hut in its whole extent; and they have always been averse to inhabiting it, on account of its being an open country; a circumstance that would enhance its value as a colonial frontier possession. I do not think that much objection would be made by that people to its occupancy, but they would at all events be easily induced to transfer their right to it for an adequate payment in cattle.

The greatest obstacle towards effecting these arrangements would, I think, arise from the difficulty of acquiring the increased number of inhabitants necessary to fill up the frontier. Supposing the tract near the mouth of Great Fish River, and that proposed to be annexed to the colony, to be altogether about 1,200 square miles, it would require about 6,000 settlers to people it. To look for all these people within the colony were useless; and indeed I conceive it would be very desirable that a proportion of Europeans should be allotted for that purpose. Perhaps the occupying of every third lot would at first be sufficient. One thousand persons could be procured without much expense from Europe; and I should think that the same number

might be provided from the colony. Each former renter of a loan farm of the deserted parts of Zuureveld might, as a compensation for his loss, have one of these lots for himself, and another for such person as he should recommend. But in order to maintain the population, I think it should be an invariable rule that no person should be permitted to hold more than one of these places.

*[From the cold manner in which Gyka received the proposal of a trade, and from other circumstances, that must be obvious, I am induced to think, although at first of different opinion, that much advantage cannot be expected as the result of it. On the other hand I fear that it might be productive of considerable inconvenience, although the Caffres, in general, have a sufficient number of cattle for their subsistence, they could spare very few for commercial purposes, and if in their eagerness to procure trifles, they should part with what might be requisite for their support, they must necessarily supply their consequent wants either at the expence of the Colonists, or of each other; or in the former case, defeating the object of conciliation intended to be gained, in the latter doing injury to the cause of humanity.]*

The most certain means of preserving peace between the Colonists and the Caffres, would be to convince the latter of the superiority of our power, and of our being not less determined than able to punish any aggression on their part.

I do not conceive that this would be so difficult a matter as is generally supposed. The greatest part of the depredations of which the Colonists have complained, have been committed by the people of the petty chiefs; and, I think, that by proper management, ample justice might be done for such acts, even to the extent of hostility, without engaging the greater chiefs in the quarrel.

Next to impressing them with a high opinion of our power and determination, the most effectual method of keeping them quiet, would probably be to make annual presents to their chiefs.

The rules for distributing these presents should, I think, be founded upon the strength of the respective chiefs; their punctuality in sending back people who may have deserted to them from the Colony, and their efforts in preventing the depredations of their vassals. Unless government should wish to interfere in the concerns of the Caffre people, which perhaps may be necessary, even for their own benefit, at a future though remote period, it must be a matter of indifference whether Gyka or Zlambie have the best right to reign, for neither will keep faith longer than it may appear to be his interest.]

In concluding a treaty with the Caffre people, it would be very advisable to stipulate that their kraals should be withdrawn to their ancient territory, which is beyond the Kyskamma, and to require that, although the country situated between this stream and the colonial boundary should be considered and respected as their territory, yet that they should not enter it except for the purpose of hunting.

The continuance of the Caffres within or near the boundary has, I think, been occasioned in a great degree by the facility thereby afforded them to trade, beg and plunder. By the proposed arrangements respecting the frontier, the last inducement for their remaining in the neighbourhood will be removed, for the new inhabitants can have but very few cattle. The 8th, and some more articles of the regulations, which I had the honour to communicate to your Excellency, with my letter of the 23d of last April, were intended to prevent the other inconveniences.

Some severe measures should be taken with respect to persons leaving the colony. I conceive that it would be expedient immediately to issue a proclamation, offering pardon to all his Majesty's subjects who may be now residing among the Caffres or Ghonaquas, provided they return within a certain time, and declaring that it will in future be deemed treasonable to proceed among those people, without the express permission of government; and that any communication with them, or with any refugee residing among them, when in a state of hostility against the colony, will be considered and treated as a capital offence.

*[Konga's people are the most connected with the colonial Hottentots, and would therefore be advisable that this chief were placed at the greatest distance. He belongs properly to Hinsa, who says that he wishes to have him in his neighbourhood, and that he would allow him as much land in his territory as he could require.]*

As the police of the eastern part of the colony is a matter of the greatest importance, and its maintenance would be rendered more difficult by the proposed increase of population, I think that a drostdy should be established farther eastward than Zwartkop River. The neighbourhood of the junction of the two Fish Rivers would seem the most convenient situation, but I could not learn that this part of the country contained an abundant supply of water, and the other requisites for such an establishment. They can, I believe, be procured only near the Kaka Mountains, and on the coast, and the preference should perhaps be given to the latter.

The river Guasowwgha flowing between those of Kowie and Kareegha, is a fine stream, that can cover a quantity of excellent land. It falls into the sea, at a place that affords a good landing, although it has not the advantages of a bay for shipping. If this spot should be chosen for the seat of a provisional jurisdiction, it would perhaps be advisable to reserve for public purposes the whole tract lying between the two neighbouring streams.

The district of Guasowwgha might be conveniently separated from that of Graaff-Reinet by the Kaka Berg Straat, Esterhuysens Poort, and Bosch Berg, and from that of Uitenhagen, by a line drawn south along the western side of Agter Bruintjes Hoogte, to a determined point on Sunday River; perhaps to what is called, I believe, the Upper Ford.]

The foregoing observations have been offered as suggestions for the adoption of a permanent line of policy with regard to the Caffre people. They are, in my mind, the only means that can restore and secure safety and order in the eastern districts.

*[Circumstances must, however, necessarily retard the operation of part of them, and the state of the country imperiously demands that some thing should be immediately done in favour of the district authorities and the inhabitants, even although the measures that may now be adopted must be considered as in general of a temporary nature only, and such as cannot be expected to insure complete protection and tranquillity.]*

*In a letter dated the 29th of last November, I had the honour to communicate to your Excellency my ideas of an arrangement with that view. I then stated that I conceived it necessary to oblige the Caffres to retire beyond the Bosjesmen River; and recommended that a military post should be established in that neighbourhood, to check the incursions of these people, and to communicate with their chiefs. These measures or some others should, I think, be adopted as soon as possible.*

*I mentioned in another despatch, my fears of an improper connexion existing between the Caffres and the members of the institution of Bethelsdorp. Subsequent inquiries and observations had served to strengthen my suspicions, and the late desertion of a Hottentot named Hans Trumpetter, a noted chief of the former insurgents, with several other members, who have since joined the Caffres, and committed several depredations upon the farmers, can leave no doubt upon that subject.]*

On the 6th April I visited this place, accompanied by the landdrosts of Graaff Reynet and Uitenhage.

It consists of a collection of huts, built of straw, reeds, and mud. The church, which also serves as a school-room, is composed of the same materials, the intentions of government having never been finally signified in regard to this institution. The people have built temporary houses only. It was not expected that they should have been so long required, and they have been reduced to a wretched state.

The inhabitants have suffered greatly from the bad quality of the water, and its insufficiency to raise vegetables.

The Hottentots experience also great inconvenience from the want of sufficient pasturage. Their favourite pursuit is the rearing of cattle, of which they have 1,200 head. The missionaries received us with kindness and attention. Dr. Van der Kemp mentioned some points which he wished to have submitted to the consideration of government. I requested that he would commit them to writing, and delivered him memoranda of others upon which I was desirous of receiving information.

We returned on the following day to Bethelsdorp, and had an opportunity of seeing the people at school. Instructions in reading and writing seemed to be much attended to. Persons of all ages and sexes were employed in this study; and some, above the middle age, were learning the alphabet. Dress and personal cleanliness appeared to be but little regarded.

I had the honour of a visit from Dr. Van der Kemp and Mr. Read two days after the former had sent me the first set of papers hereunto annexed, under the title of B., upon which he requested my sentiments.

He had mentioned an idea of proceeding to Madagascar, in the event of government not acceding to his request of being permitted to visit the Tambookee country. I endeavoured to dissuade him from the latter, by pointing out the facility of effecting the former through the means of the ships of war belonging to this station, employed in blockading the Isle of France. I observed also, that as the Tambookees were known to be the same people as the Caffres, and he had favoured the public with a very interesting account of the latter, it would be much more desirable that a person who could combine statistical with missionary views should employ his talents at Madagascar, an island so little known, and which offers so wide a field for every species of inquiry. His thoughts seemed, however, to be bent on a journey to the country of the Tambookees, and that situated north of the Storm Mountains. He repeated, that if disappointed in this view, he would undertake the voyage of Madagascar; but that he might apply to the directors in London to send out persons qualified for such a task.

I then observed, that it was necessary I should apprise him of the inconveniences that occurred to me from his plans, in order that he should enable me to remove any objection that might arise on the part of government. Some refugees had already settled in Hinsas's territory; and if an institution were established near this chief, the inducement to deserters from the colony, proceeding in that direction, would be considerably increased, unless the missionaries would undertake to send back all persons of that description.

The Doctor said, that from the experience afforded by his former visit to Cafferland, he thought it better that the natives should have no reason to suppose that he had any connection with the colonial government, that it would be very inconsistent with his principles to use compulsion, and yet more to deprive a fellow-being of his freedom. Mr. Read having mentioned that these inconveniences had not been experienced from the establishment of a similar institution near Orange River, I begged to remind him that the natives of that country were very different people from the Tambookees and Caffres, and that Dr. Anderson and his brethren were at all times ready to attend to the wishes of the colonial government.

On Dr. Van der Kemp's inquiring my ideas upon his second proposition, I told him that I was not at all prepared to afford him information upon the intentions of government with regard to the Caffres on this side of the Great Fish River, but supposed that its decisions would probably be regulated by the conduct of those people. That an unsuccessful attempt had been made to establish some of them near the Cape, and that

though the present government was extremely desirous to avoid any hostility against savages, yet it had been found necessary to cut off all communication between the colonists and the Caffres, except such as might be necessary between the public officers and their chiefs.

I assured the Doctor that I would submit to government the propriety of establishing orphan institutions; and that I should also beg leave to recommend some measures for the protection of the Hottentots.

I mentioned with regard to the fourth and sixth points, as he had informed me that the major part of the numbers of his institution were connected with the Caffres either by relationship or otherwise, I could not but see much inconvenience from their continuance so near them, and that I should therefore recommend the removal of the institution. He suggested the expediency of appropriating two of the best loan places in the colony for that purpose, remunerating the possessors by others among those abandoned in Zuureveld or elsewhere. I pointed out the Bosjesmen as a people very much in want of the benefits of missionary labours. He said that his thoughts had been employed on that head, and that in addition to the objects which he had already stated, he had in contemplation to propose the establishment of three missions on the northern frontier.

The Doctor having represented the impropriety of his resorting to force to send away Caffres or Ghonaquas who might come to the institution, I assented to his merely giving notice of such visitors to the landdrost in case they should persist in remaining after his orders to the contrary; I also permitted that the individuals of those nations now living at the institution should stay there until government should come to a determination respecting the establishment; and he promised that until then, no more should be admitted. Of [on examining the accompanying returns, it appears that out of more than] 600 persons residing at Bethelsdorp, there are only 66 baptized, and only 43 exercising any useful employment. I cannot, therefore, perceive that the effects produced by the zealous and unremitting labours of Dr. Van der Kemp and his brethren during a period of seven years are such as to promise great benefits from a continuance of this institution even to the members of it. It would be needless to attempt to show that it is of no advantage to others, for the Doctor has not hesitated to acknowledge in an official communication that "the public have no (at least no direct) interest in or benefit from an institution entirely calculated for the happiness of the Hottentots and other heathens within the colony."

On the other hand, independently of the inconvenience and danger occasioned by the connection of the people of this institution with the Caffres, its existence has been the cause of the greatest embarrassment to the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, whose servants leave them on the slightest pretext to repair to Bethelsdorp, thereby depriving them of the means of preserving their Cattle from the [thefts of] Caffres and Bosjesmen. A regulation of General Janssens prohibits the missionaries at Bethelsdorp receiving Hottentots from the service of the farmers, or who had been residing with them during the preceding year; but this is unattended to, as well as another of the same governor, forbidding all instruction in writing without the express permission of government.

[These regulations are contained in the annexed paper C.

My reflections on these subjects have given rise to the following suggestions, which I beg respectfully to offer to your Excellency's consideration.

It appears to me that the Missionary Institutions, for the instruction of Hottentots, should be limited to those already established by the Moravians.

The greatest benefit might be expected from the establishment of a work-house at these institutions, and at each drostdy, for the support of the helpless Hottentots, and for the education and maintenance of the orphans and the abandoned and neglected children of that people. Moral and religious principles might be inculcated at the former by the Missionaries, and at the latter by the District Clergyman. I think, however, that reading and writing should not form any part of their instruction; but a knowledge of all the mechanical arts, except that of a gunsmith should be encouraged, for the purpose of lessening the expences of the institution, and of enabling the members of it to gain a future livelihood by being useful to others. Superintendents should be appointed for these establishments, and Government should be made acquainted with their state from time to time.

This charity might perhaps be extended to the orphans and abandoned children of Caffers, the only way in which the colony can safely introduce and adopt any of that people. Many Caffre children when deprived of their parents are exposed to perish from want, and in the visits of the veld cornets to kraals such persons might be snatched from destruction, and rendered useful to the colony. This is, however, a point of great delicacy; and unless closely watched, might be subject to much abuse. No reward should ever be given for the delivery of such children. The consent of their relations, if they have any, and of the chief of the kraal should be clearly obtained before they are taken away. They should not be permitted to remain in the eastern districts; but might be sent by sea from Algoa Bay to the Cape, as I directed to be done with two orphans that had been abandoned by some of the Caffres whose kraals have lately been removed from the inhabited districts.

In order that the remaining Hottentots may be rendered useful to themselves and to the rest of the community, I conceive that they all should be sent to reside with the inhabitants, except such of them as are in the service of government, or at the missionary or orphan institutions, or as understand trades, which it would be advisable to encourage them to exercise at the several drostdies. Their masters should be obliged to instruct them in the general principles of religion and morality; to treat them well; and to give

wholesome and sufficient food. Much evil is occasioned by masters selling liquors to their servants, in part payment of wages and that practice should be strictly prohibited; but the measure which I conceive of the first importance to the protection of the Hottentot and the improvement of his situation, is a sacred observance of his annual engagement. A Hottentot can now seldom get away at the expiration of his term. If he should happen not to be in debt to his master, which he must have more caution than is characteristic of his race to prevent, he is not allowed to take his children, or he is detained under some frivolous pretence, such as that of cattle having died through his neglect, and he is not permitted to satisfy any demands of this nature otherwise than by personal service.

When these pretences shall be overruled, and a master shall know that he cannot secure the service of his Hottentots otherwise than by attaching them to him, he will feel it his interest to treat them kindly.

Another consequence of being enabled to change their masters annually will be increase of wages. In the distant parts of the colony a male Hottentot receives no more in the year than twelve or fourteen Rix-dollars, which may be paid either in money, clothes, or cattle. A female obtains much less. A great deal is said by the inhabitants of the expence of maintaining the children of these people; but I think, without foundation, for a child can scarcely crawl before it is turned to some purpose. The service of a Hottentot is at least as useful to an individual as it is to the state. In the latter case his wife and children are subsisted, without being of the slightest benefit to the public; and after one-half of his pay is deducted for rations, and perhaps, one-fourth for other purposes, he receives nearly £5 sterling, or thirty Rix-dollars, annually, besides good clothing.

It would be attended with the best effects if the landdrost, deputy landdrost, or two heuraden, were annually to visit each habitation,—inquire the treatment of the Hottentots and slaves,—examine the engagements of the farmer,—and make a detailed report upon oath, respecting all these points to government. The landdrost should make his part of these visits in such a manner as to be enabled to see and report upon every habitation of his district within the period of three years.

Should the proposed regulations be approved and adopted, or others substituted, I conceive it would be advisable that the arrangements concluded on should be communicated as soon as possible to the people at Betheldorp; that the helpless, the orphans, and the neglected children now there, should be established at the Drostdy of Uitenhagen, and that the other members should be directed to determine between proceeding either to Genaden Thal or to Groene Kloof, or to take service with the inhabitants.

I think it should be signified at the same time to the Ghonaquas, Caffres, and Heitemana Hottentots, (Bastard Caffres) now residing at Betheldorp, that they must immediately choose between Caffreland and the Colony. If they prefer the last, they might, I conceive, be permitted to proceed to one of the Moravian establishments, or to the service of the inhabitants, but they ought to be prohibited from residing in the districts of Swellendam, Graaff-Reinet, or Uitenhagen.

The brethren of Betheldorp should then, I think, be advised to suspend their views with regard to the Caffres and Tambookees until a more favourable period; and encouraged to proceed to Madagascar or to the northern frontier; in the last event I conceive that the members of their institution should be confined to Bosjesmen, that they should not be allowed to have more Hottentots, or other description of people, than may be necessary as tradesmen or servants, suppose twenty persons of each sex, that they should be forbidden from employing, or otherwise harbouring Caffres or Gonaquas, or persons being a mixture of, or connected with those nations, and that they should be recommended to direct the attention of their pupils less to literary than to mechanical occupations. Before I conclude my observations upon Hottentots, I hope that I may be permitted to submit a few reflections upon the subject of the Cape Regiment.

It is not for me to judge whether the numbers of that corps be not greater than is necessary even in a military point of view; but I am certain that its high establishment causes very material injury to the cultivation and security of the frontier districts; I beg also to state that I think the mode of recruiting might be changed with considerable advantage, both to the service and to the colony. When an officer now proceeds to the interior for this purpose, he is naturally received with jealousy by the farmers, a sentiment that, whatever appearance there may be to the contrary, must also in some degree be felt by the landdrost; whose consequence is diminished, and authority is lessened, by the presence of a power independent of him.

All possibility of altercation between the officer and the inhabitants should if possible be prevented, as it must necessarily create an aversion to the British arms and Government. This might be done, without the slightest inconvenience, by taxing each district for recruits according to its population in Hottentots. When a levy is required, orders might be transmitted to each landdrost, to recruit his proportion of the number, and to assemble them at the drostdy on a day appointed. An officer might proceed there to inspect, and, if approved, to conduct them to the regiment, where they might undergo a final examination.

The only objection I see to this measure, is the fear of compulsory enlistment, and of consequent desertion. But that would be obviated by rendering the districts responsible for their men, and by obliging them to apprehend the deserters, or to replace them by other recruits.

A corps of four hundred men, if thus recruited, would not fall heavily upon any particular district. It would be kept constantly complete,—would be composed of select men, and its existence would be seen without public dissatisfaction.]

In adverting to our northern neighbours, I feel the sincerest pleasure in being enabled to recommend a more liberal line of policy than that which I think necessary to be observed, for a considerable time at least, towards those of the east. Different from the Caffres and Tambookees, the Bosjesmen are mostly scattered over an immense tract of country, in small parties unconnected with each other. They may therefore be more safely introduced into the colony, collected and instructed in institutions, and dispersed among the inhabitants.

It was very satisfactory to me to observe the anxiety evinced by the farmers of the north eastern districts to preserve peace with that people rather by conciliation than terror. If the object of terminating their depredations has not yet been fully attained, the number and extent of their thefts has at least been considerably lessened in that quarter; and murder, which used formerly to be the constant attendant of robbery with the Bosjesmen, is now seldom heard of in this part of the country.

These beneficial effects have probably been produced, not more by the friendly intercourse that the farmers have endeavoured to establish, than by the restrictions that have been attached to commandos.

Those parties were formerly sent out perhaps months after the robberies were complained of, and were often directed against the body of that people instead of the individuals who were guilty; but the manner in which they are now used seems to me to be just and necessary, and I think must appear so even to the Bosjesmen. When a theft is committed, a few neighbours are hastily collected by the veld cornet, who pursue the thieves by their trace. If they try to escape, they seldom fall by the arms of their pursuers; but if they are obstinate in defending their booty, the farmers use force to recover their property.

The moderation of the latter has, however, been strongly evinced on many [*such*] occasions, notwithstanding the irritation naturally produced by the theft, aggravated perhaps by many of their cattle being mortally wounded in their sight, to prevent their being recovered, at least alive, the farmers have often used these opportunities to bring about a peace, and to induce those people to reside among them.

It must, however, be confessed, that the prohibition to their carrying off women and children has greatly served to damp the ardour for commandos, and has actuated the farmers as much as humanity in their tenderness to the Bosjesmen, a feeling that their great want of servants has also tended to promote.

The report which I formerly had the honour to make, founded on the information that I had received upon the state of those people living beyond the northern boundary, will, I believe, apply equally to those residing near the north-eastern limits. Although differing in some degree in language and appearance, their habits and manners are, in few points dissimilar. They subsist on the same food, use the same arms, and are equally attached to a wandering life; they are alike bound by no authority, and are unconnected by all ties, except those of relationship, and such as tend to secure their individual safety.

My sentiments have been already so fully delivered on the subject of missionary institutions, that convinced as much as ever of their utility, under proper regulations, it remains for me only to point out the situations that seem most eligible for their establishment.

The inhabitants of Hantam and of the Roggeveld suffer most by the depredations of the Bosjesmen, perhaps on account of their great distance from their usual haunts in the Karee Mountains, which prevents the possibility of friendly communications; that should, I conceive, be the first point attended to.

The situation chosen by Mr. Kicherer was found convenient, and the happiest effects were felt during the continuance of his institution, which was abandoned from no cause but pecuniary difficulties. Should any objection arise to the re-occupancy of this spot, the Bloom or Raatel Fontein, at the distance of one or two days' journey east of it, might be chosen, and would perhaps be even preferable, as it is said to afford better water and pasturage. Mr. Kicherer, at whose disposal it seems government had left a large tract, situated between the Riet and Zak Rivers, had permitted an inhabitant named Krieger to take this spot as a temporary residence, in consequence of his friendly disposition towards the Bosjesmen,

The next point deserving attention is Tarka; the mountains east of that district are so extensive and so difficult of access, as to have rendered them a favourite retreat of Bosjesmen. Although, through the encouragement of government, much has of late been done there by the landdrost and the farmers, much remains to be effected, and can, I think, be best effected, by a missionary establishment.

There are many suitable spots a few miles east of Schaap Kraal, among which may be mentioned Haas Fontein and Besuydenhouts Kraal.

The middle of the northern boundary is not much less worthy of notice than its extremities; the inhabitants of Nieuwveld and the Coup are on friendly terms with a few kraals in their neighbourhood, one of which, consisting of nearly 20 families, under the command of a chief named Lessing, I visited with only my companion, Mr. Cowdery, and two more persons. This good understanding protects the farmers from the depredations of those people, and from those of others more distant; but it does not secure the inhabitants of Zwarteberg and the neighbouring districts from their attacks. There are several spots adapted for missions in this quarter; the most eligible perhaps would be an abandoned place called Slange Fontein, one of the sources of Zak River, and formerly the residence of a farmer named Cornelius Jansen.

Should it be deemed expedient to multiply these useful establishments, the Groot Fontein, situated on that part of the boundary nearest to Orange River, and the vicinity of Groot Tafel Berg, west of the Sea Cow River, are favourable points, both from the excellent pasturage and water which they afford, and from the neighbourhood of several kraals of Bosjesmen. This part of the colony, although the most distant from the

capital, is in a more improving state than any that I visited. The tracts stated in Mr. Barrow's chart to have been deserted on account of the attacks of the Bosjesmen Hottentots, are now entirely filled up, and the country is inhabited as far as the limits.

Until the establishment of missions, the most effectual mode of preventing the depredations of the Bosjesmen seem to be the encouragement of the good will now generally prevailing towards them among the inhabitants of the borders.

I stated on a former occasion their [*grcat*] want of gunpowder; the quantity which they are permitted to purchase from the government magazines was increased about that period; but it is still insufficient, and should be at least doubled for the inhabitants of Under Bokkeveld, Hantam, the Roggevelds, Nieuwveld and the Coup, the Sneewbergen, Sea Cow River, Rhinoceros Berg, and Tarka.

The kraals within and close to the colony, which are those only on whose peaceable conduct any reliance can be placed, are subsisted principally by game killed for them by the farmers; and when their ammunition is expended, by sheep. They are also continually obliged to provide them with tobacco and dacha, and occasionally with knives and tinder-boxes.

The Bosjesmen often suffer extreme misery, seldom rob but to satisfy their wants, and afford the fairest hope of becoming in time useful to themselves and to the colony. Humanity and policy therefore combine to prompt the adoption of every measure that can tend to alleviate their unhappy lot, and attach them to the settlers.

The measure of my Lord Macartney for supplying them with sheep, which I formerly noticed, seemed to have nothing in view but to keep them quiet. The expence of these gifts fall entirely upon the inhabitants of the borders, and the manner of distributing them must have created an opinion that they proceeded rather from fear than beneficence.

I think, however, that if the missionary institutions be not established, and in those parts of the frontier where it may not be judged convenient to place them, some means should be had recourse to for supplying the wants of the Bosjesmen, without letting the burden fall, as it now does, on a few individuals only.

It seems to me to be extremely unjust, that the inhabitants of the Cape and its neighbouring districts should not only be freed from the dangers and inconveniences to which those residing near the borders are subjected, but that they also should be exempted from sharing in their expences.

I think then the people of Cape Town, the Cape and Stellenbosch districts, and such parts of the districts of Tulbagh as are not exposed to the incursions of the Bosjesmen, and do not contribute to the defence of the colony against any of its enemies, should pay the expence incurred in endeavouring to conciliate and civilize that unfortunate race, and that a tax should be laid upon them for the supply of tinder-boxes, knives, beads, tobacco, &c., the distribution of which should be entrusted to such persons on the borders as enjoy the confidence of the landdrost.

These marks of kindness should be given to the Bosjesmen less with the appearance of proceeding from apprehension for the evils which they might themselves occasion, than as a reward for services rendered, either by discovering the intentions of the ill-disposed, or by occasionally assisting in the labours of the farmers.

I feel it my duty strongly to point out the necessity of some steps being immediately taken on this subject, as, if the missions are not soon established, or some other means found of subsisting those Bosjesmen who have kraals within or near the boundary, and do not work for the inhabitants, the latter may at length become tired of their importunities, and by refusing to satisfy their demands may be exposed to the unexpected effects of their resentment. The least evil that can be looked for, is their returning to the mountains, and recommencing their former predatory mode of life, which, indeed, I understand has happened lately with some of them.

Notwithstanding the benefits that may be expected from the adoption of the proposed measures, I fear that it will be a considerable time before the plan of engaging the Bosjesmen to serve the inhabitants during registered periods can be conveniently adopted; until long accustomed to the way of living of the colonists, they leave them for some months every year to enjoy a ramble, and to eat locusts, wild roots, and the larvæ of ants.

It would be impolitic, and indeed impossible, to compel them at once to relinquish these habits; and it can only be hoped that the exertions of the farmers on the borders, and the benevolence and justice of a watchful government, may at length vanquish these early propensities, and guide to useful purposes the exercise of those talents with which they have been so liberally gifted by nature.

*[Having now concluded my observations upon those points to which your Excellency was pleased particularly to direct my attention,—I shall endeavour in some measure to comply with that part of my instructions which calls for my opinions generally upon whatever may tend to the advantage of the colony. In undertaking this important task, I beg to observe, that the result of my remarks and inquiries, and the foundation of the reflections which I may have the honour to submit, is a conviction that the slow progress made in general through the interior towards the advantages of the improved state of society, is principally occasioned by the impossibility under existing circumstances of a proper superintendance and controul on the part of Government.]*

*While the remotest part of the Colony is in a flourishing state, and its limits are too confined to afford places for the rapid increase of population, a vast tract of the country has been suffered to lie waste, exposed to the incursions of savages from every quarter and facilitating their inroads upon the cultivated districts. It*

may be worth making an inquiry into the causes of this extraordinary neglect, and an endeavour to discover whether there are any means of removing so great an evil.

Whoever reads the accounts that have been published of travels through the colony of the Cape, must be impressed with ideas of the Great Karoo, similar to those which have been produced on hearing of the desert of Zara; satisfied that the subject would be uninteresting to their readers, it has been no otherwise noticed by authors than by a pretty observation and an appropriate quotation about "boundless wastes." The people most qualified to give a true description of this country conceive themselves, although erroneously, interested to leave it unknown. These are the farmers of the neighbouring districts, those who pass through them, on their journies to the Cape from more remote quarters, and persons employed to bring cattle from the interior, who all contrive to find excellent pasturage for their cattle in many parts of these uninhabited plains. It appears that about twenty years ago, the Coup was tolerably inhabited; but as I stated on a former occasion, a troop of several hundred Bosjesmen having fixed their kraals in the midst of the farmers, they removed from the neighbourhood of these troublesome visitors; considerable inconvenience having been experienced at the Cape from the interruption to the usual supplies of cattle, which were intercepted by these people on their way from the most distant quarters, the Roggeveld and Sneeuwberg farmers were directed to expel them, which they effected after a considerable slaughter.

Few of the deserted places have since been reoccupied; the proprietors having mostly settled in better, or more secure places, and being unwilling to expose themselves to the depredations of a people, the fear of whom, more than the barrenness of the soil, has deterred others from settling there.

A residence of nearly three months in this part of the colony, during which time I visited most parts of it, has enabled me to collect some information upon its natural resources.

The great and little Ghamgha, the Dwygha, and other streams, are lined with excellent pasturage. An ancient order of Government prohibits their banks from being occupied, that the butchers' cattle from Graaff-Reinet may find grass on its way to the Cape. This regulation has prevented any places being granted there in loan, thereby depriving Government of the revenue they would have produced, without answering the end which it had in view. The farmers of the neighbouring districts, as well as wandering boors, have always made use of this land, unless kept away by the fear of Caffres, who from custom, have long looked upon this as their own territory. The veld cornets have also been in the habit of sending their cattle there, and have consequently not deemed it advisable to notice this irregularity in others, more especially, as they knew that sufficient grass was always left for the butchers' herds.

Between these streams, and those of the Zoute and Kareeka Rivers, many places adapted for sheep were formerly occupied, and others might probably be found, if proper search were made. The butchers' cattle might have the privilege of grazing on them, without injury to the proprietors, in the same manner as is now used in the inhabited districts through which they pass; and many conveniences would be afforded to them and to other travellers which they are at present unable to procure in this land of desolation.

Although Karooland is unfavourable for holding water, I am inclined to think that reservoirs might be made here without much expence, and as it seldom happens that a year passes here without rains, the want of this necessary of life could be no longer felt. The upper part of Zout River is not brackish, and it can be brought over the adjoining country; and, perhaps, by making proper dams, this stream might be prevented from joining the Kareeka and poisoning the waters of the Great River.

A great obstacle to success in an endeavour to settle this part of the country would arise from the sickness that generally prevails in the summer season among horses, and which is more felt in the Karoo than in most other parts, a circumstance that used to be taken advantage of by the Bosjesmen, who were, in consequence of it, enabled to carry off their spoil without danger. This difficulty might, however, be overcome by sending the horses at those periods in charge of a few careful persons to the neighbouring mountains, keeping under cover at each place the few necessary to trace stolen cattle. Corn and barley might be drawn from Zwarteberg and from a few places in the Coup.

By connecting the Karoo with the neighbouring districts, a chain would be formed between the extremities of the Colony, materially strengthening the whole. This leads me to say a few words about the adjoining country.]

On the south are the mountains of Zwarteberg. The people there are of the worst description of the whole colony, and consequently require more watching. They are not, however, under any control, except such as arises from written orders, which, at the distance from which they emanate, produce but little effect. The consequence is, that the Hottentots, who have mostly been enticed from the service of travellers in the hope of being plentifully supplied with the wine which some of the farms there produce, are badly fed and are ill-treated; and the regulations of government on other points are not more attended to.

I am far from wishing to impute neglect to a man, under whose firm, though mild, administration the principal part of the district of Graaff-Reinet, so long the scene of anarchy, has been restored to order. No person regrets more than Mr. Stockenstrom the irregular state of this part of the country; and its not having altered under his government is the best proof of the necessity of adopting measures for its improvement, unconnected with his present situation.

Little Roggeveld, the Nieuwveld, and Coup, in the district of Tulbagh; and the Coup and the Nieuwveld

Gebergte, in that of Graaff-Reinet, bound the Karroo on the west and north. I have already stated that the inhabitants of the latter districts now live on friendly terms with the neighbouring Bosjesmen. It is insinuated by the Zwartberg people, whom they do not spare in their turn, that this tranquillity is secured by their not noticing the passage of these plunderers to the districts in their rear. I am, however, rather disposed to attribute their safety to the reasons which I have already given, their vicinity to those people, and the facility it has afforded them, on a long acquaintance, of taking the necessary steps to conciliate them. It cannot be expected that, because they enjoy the benefits of this friendly intercourse, the rest of the colony should be free from the attacks of a people who, unconnected and disunited among themselves, cannot be brought to think that, because they are at peace with one district, they should not rob another. Many valuable places in the Nieuwveld's Gebergte, which were abandoned before this amicable footing was established, might be retaken, and others might also be occupied, both there and at Zak River. The few inhabitants now in that vicinity have monopolized the best part of it. They are as far removed from the Drostdy, and are consequently as independent, as those of Zwartberg, and would probably see the introduction of new settlers, and the establishment of vigorous authority, with equal jealousy.

The opinions I have formed of the people of this part of the country are fully corroborated by those of Mr. Stoekenstrom. Having requested the sentiments of that gentleman, as to the propriety of investing some of them with powers, which I conceived it absolutely necessary to place for a time somewhere in the neighbourhood, in order to secure the tranquillity of the district, he answered my inquiries in the following terms which may also serve to explain the cause of the disorders that prevail in that quarter :

“ Vous m'avez fait trop d'honneur en envoyant à ma lecture et considération les instructions et la lettre projetées. Je ne m'étonne pas que vous passez trop resquer en donnant un pouvoir de cette nature à quelques fermiers du voisinage où vous trouvez. Ils sont là, de la plus basse classe, et j'espère que ceux, ci me vous donne pas un préjugé contre les paysans en général. Le Zwartberg, aussi bien que le Coup, et le Nieuwveld, sont tout à fait séparés des autres districts de Graaff-Reynet par des grande deserts appellés le Carruo. Le plus grand nombre sont des bâtards ; néanmoins je ne eroix pas, que ces gens abuseront de ees pouvoirs, parceque ils ne sont pas trop belligereux, au moins au Swarteberg ; et ils prendront plutôt leurs secours chez leurs voisins, et le landdrost que de prendre les armes pour leur propre sureté.”

If judicious steps were taken, and suffieient eneouragement were held out, I am persuaded that this country would soon wear a very different appearance. [*Here ends the "Extract" given in the Parliamentary Papers.*]

[There are a great many persons in almost every part of the colony in want of places. Some reside with relations, some wander through this and other disregarded tracts. By offering them lands with free rent for a few years according to the nature of the plaees, many, I am inclined to think, would be induced to settle in this neighbourhood. I fear, however, that they would not long remain there unless a drostdy were fixed among them. The salary of the landdrost and subordinate officers, would be amply compensated by the good effects that their presenee would produce both in a political and moral point of view.

The residence of the veld commandant Abraham de Klerk is the best plaee in the Coup, and, indeed, in the traet lying between Cederberg and Sneeuwberg, besides the waters of the Ghamgha, which near this seldom fail, it has the advantage of an abundant fountain, and the land is fit for every purpose. The Commandant has another place adjoining this, and bordering on the mountains ; which is eonvenient for holding cattle.

This spot has the command of the Karoo and Zwartberg. It is well situated for observing the Bosjesmen ; for protecting the communication between Graaff-Reinet and the Cape, and in short it seems to possess every requisite for the seat of a drostdy. The Kareeberg, the seat of those kraals whose depredations have been most felt in the northern districts, is not two days ride from it, and the most eligible plaee for establishing a mission, is not more than one. There is a good road to it from Algoa Bay, which may be reached by a wagon in eight days, one half the time that it requires to proceed from the Nieuweveld to the Cape.

The Districts of Ghamgha might be separated from those of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhagen, by an imaginary line drawn west of great and little Table Mountains, Sneeuwberg and Camdeboo, and passing through Doris Poort on Great River, and about forty miles from De Beer Valleij, to terminate in the Winter Hoek Mountains at the eastern extremity of Baviaans Kloof. The southern line should, I eoneive, include Baviaans Kloof, which has no entrance to the east or south, and should also embraee the Zwartbergen as far as Buffalo River. This boundary would include a great portion of Groot River, where a number of wandering peasants occasionally reside without paying rents, and who should be obliged to take aeknowledged plaees ; a line drawn along Buffalo River, to Koms Berg and Rhinoceros River, and from the junction of the last mentioned stream with the Riet to a determined point on Zak River, would perhaps be a proper division from the district of Tulbagh.

Some springs exist in this part of the colony, which promise to be of infinite serviee in certain disorders. They are situated near the Blood River, one of the sources of the Dwyka ; are said to be of an extreme degree of coldness, and are strongly impregnated with sulphur. An inhabitant of Trada, named Craufurd, now sixty nine years of age, discovered them when hunting about four years ago. He declares that he has since then been twice cured by them, once of a rheumatism, which had not allowed him to sleep during weeks ; and afterwards of the consequences of a wagon having passed over him, which had broken some of his ribs, and hurt him inwardly. He states that he used to warm this bath with heated stones.

It may be conceived that the district of Uitenhagen would be too much reduced by the establishment of the drostries of Guasowgha and Ghamgha, more especially as a considerable portion of the remaining part is at present regarded as uninhabitable, from the scarcity of water there, and the quantity of underwood by which it is covered. The latter reasons seem, however, to me to operate in favour of its diminution, as the attention of the landrost can be more directed to such plans as may lead to its cultivation.

It must be remembered also, that the best bays towards the east are within the limits of Uitenhagen, which must render it a commercial as well as military station, that it is possessed of valuable mines, that from these circumstances the population must increase very considerably, and that the landrost will necessarily be prevented from attending to distant quarters.

The inconvenience which this district would at first suffer from any diminution of its revenues, might be prevented by establishing a reasonable duty on the salt that is taken from the pan at Coogha. The inhabitants of half the colony are now supplied from there, and it is made a beneficial article of trade by many individuals.

The same encouragement that is proposed as an inducement for settling the Karoo, might be held out for the several tracts in this district, whose occupancy may be opposed by woods, mountains, or the want of water. There is a quantity of ungranted lands in the neighbourhood of Zwartkops River, some of which should, I think, be reserved for fisheries and the rest given out in small lots only.

Algoa Bay seems extremely well situated for a commercial intercourse with the Mauritius. Those islands are said to receive their supplies of corn at a very low rate from Surat, but their cattle is brought generally from St. Augustines Bay in Madagascar, at a very high price, not less perhaps than that for which it might be supplied from the Cape. The possession of those important stations would in that case be not less beneficial to this colony than to the empire at large.

But Algoa Bay might become a point of extensive trade independently of foreign relations, for, if manufactures were carried there, they might be exchanged for the produce now brought to the Cape from the districts of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhagen, thereby obviating the great inconvenience that the inhabitants now suffer by their distance from a market, a distance perhaps greater than that of land carriage in any other part of the world. The Kromme River or Content Bay, is, I believe, the most convenient shipping station between Algoa Bay and Plettenberg Bay. There is good spring water close to the landing place, and the produce of the neighbouring country might here be easily exported.

The districts of Zitzikamma and Kromme River are exceedingly unfavorable to cattle, and a great portion of land there is in consequence unoccupied, although some is well watered by rivulets, and the whole is regularly visited by rains. In the first they are subject to a disease, called by the farmers the *teering*, and in the latter to the *lam ziekte*. No remedy has yet been found for the former malady; but it is confidently said that a hand full of salt given inwardly twice in the year, is a certain preventative of the latter. It is, however, scarcely known in the colony, and in the two districts above-mentioned, the only precaution used against these disorders, is frequently to change the cattle from one quarter to the other.

Of the lands yet ungranted in this neighbourhood, some might, perhaps, be hereafter useful to government, if it should be deemed advisable to make Content Bay a station for the exportation of the fine timber growing near Erst River. The remainder might probably be most usefully given out in small lots, a plan that seems to me most advisable for all the ungranted lands of the districts situated on the coast.

The establishment of a drostry in the eastern part of Swellendam is, exclusive of exterior relations, if possible more necessary than on the banks of the Ghamgha. There are many respectable persons now residing there who deplore the evils that exist, and anxiously wish for their removal by a less distant and more efficient controul. The landrost complains that in consequence of connexions or partialities, the most important occurrences are either totally concealed from his knowledge, or else so misrepresented as to render it impossible to form a just opinion upon the merits of any case. Authority is not respected, the laws are disregarded, and the most atrocious crimes have been committed there with impunity.

A great part of this country is almost unknown. The inhabitants of Langekloof have always declared that the quarter of Kouwgha was uninhabitable, in order that no intruders should disturb them in the possession of its pasturage. One person who has held his herds on an excellent lot of land, during twenty years, without paying the loan rent, affected to be greatly surprised lately at a stranger having discovered a mode of making a wagon road to it, and obtaining its loan from government. It would be a great benefit, and worth some sacrifices on the part of the public, to have this tract settled. It is a blank now in the midst of cultivation, and is not resorted to, except by deserters. On the country situated between Plettenberg Bay and Zitsikamma, there was no better information. A few Maroon Hottentots had traversed it some years before I went there, but the white people of either extremity had not gone further than its skirts, which they had occasionally visited for the purpose of hunting or seeking for servants who had absconded.

This tract is, I think, supposed to be too extensive according to Mr. Barrow's chart, and Zitsikamma is not laid down large enough. The distance from Robbe Berg east to Pic Formosa, does not, I conceive, much exceed forty miles. It contains seventeen streams, having mouths to the sea, of which several are of magnitude. They are mostly remarkable, like those on the western side of the bay, for flowing through precipices, but some may be made to serve the purposes of irrigation.

For about twelve miles east of Keurboom River, the country is almost covered with wood. Two large

streams called the Salt and Shipwood Rivers, flowing through this extent, may be entered by boats, the former to a considerable distance. Excellent timber may be found near both, particularly between Shipwood and Kranz (Precipice) River, a few miles to the east; ships cannot, however, ride near them, in so much safety as near Robbeberg. The latter River cannot, I apprehend, be rendered passable for wagons, except by throwing a bridge over it. This could be rendered difficult only by its depth, for its high banks are very near each other in some places, particularly close to its mouth.

About a mile beyond Kranz River, the country opens near the sea, and presents a plain of coppice and sour grasses, exceedingly well watered by the Horce, Swellendam and Dole Rivers, and in some places affording tolerable pasturage for horned cattle. The woods continue under the mountains to a considerable distance farther to the east.

Soon after we had passed the Dole River, we found the former residence of a Marroon slave, a native of Malabar, who had been brought from it to his master, only a few weeks before, in the hope of a reward, by the Caffres whom we were in search of.

The poor fellow had been six years in this unfrequented tract. A companion whose grave we perceived at a distance of several miles beyond his habitation, had for the first few months, cheered his retreat, but he had passed the remainder of this time without the company of a human being. The first hut he had constructed, was concealed in the wood. The second showed that he had built it with more confidence, for it was placed outside, and an undisturbed residence of several years having given him reason to suppose that he might end his days in this peaceful abode, he had begun to build on a large scale, but had only completed half his new mansion, when he was deprived of all his possessions. Whether he supposed the land under large wood better than that naturally without any I cannot say, but he had cleared about two acres, which he had converted into an excellent garden, containing vegetables, tobacco, and fruit-trees, well watered by a fountain which his labour had appropriated to his particular use. The dung of elephants and buffaloes, which are both exceedingly numerous in this quarter, had served him for manure, and a heap of their bones and of those of elands, boschbocks, and other antelopes, of whose skins he had manufactured good clothing, cut according to the European fashion, manifested his success in the chase, or rather his ingenuity in contriving pits and snares to catch these animals. His industry had even extended to the baking of earthenware; and this new Robinson Crusoe had contrived by his own exertions to unite in his solitude almost all the comforts that are enjoyed in civilized and social life. Indolence had certainly had no share in prompting his flight; nor had the fear of punishment been the cause of it; for he had never committed any crime.

Desirous to acquire some information respecting the country which I was about to enter, I sent for this extraordinary man. The fear of his escape, and the weight of his fetters, had made it necessary to bring him in a wagon. Thus chained it was his master's intention to avail himself of his future services; but observing to him that it was possible he might frustrate his vigilance and draw other Marroons to the difficult country which he had lately inhabited. I directed that he should be immediately taken to the Cape, and there changed or otherwise disposed of.

About ten miles beyond this spot, which we called Damon's Fontein, from the name of its late unfortunate possessor, we arrived at the Storm River, whose broad deep bed, full of large loose stones, bears strong marks of winter torrents. Through this a carriage passage would be difficult; and its banks being more distant from each other and its streams more rapid than at Kranz River, a bridge would not there be so easily constructed; but either might, I think, be effected with due labour. This river is almost lined with large timber, but the country beyond it, through which the Mooiy and Eland Rivers meander is again open to Erst River, which is the boundary of Zitsikamma, and which contains some very fine wood about its banks, particularly on its sources at Witte Els and under Pic Formosa. It is not a little extraordinary that the tract just attempted to be slightly described, comprising an extent of fourteen leagues of coast, should have remained in a state of nature in the midst of a country inhabited by Europeans during nearly half a century. Its occupancy would be a public benefit, not only by completing the communication along the coast between the extremities of the colony, but also by preventing Marroons from taking refuge in it, and by the assistance that might thereby be afforded to such navigators as might unfortunately be wrecked on this dangerous coast.

This country should, I conceive, be given out to industrious Europeans or Chinese, who might gain a good livelihood by the cultivation of corn and the felling of wood. The want of animal manure, now pleaded by the farmers on the coast as an excuse for the neglect of the cultivation of corn, would be no obstacle to people who know how to supply a substitute from a mixture of vegetables and the lime of shells.

An object of infinite importance, which might also be attended to here, presents itself in the cultivation of flax and hemp. Circumstances render the supply of these articles from our colonies of the highest concern to the mother country; and if the same encouragements to the growth of this produce was held out to the inhabitants of the Cape, that have stimulated to exertion those of Canada, a much less valuable possession, there is every reason to suppose that they would be attended with at least equal success.

A more favourable opinion than formerly seems to be now entertained of Cape woods; but the price of them is exorbitant. It would not, however, be worth the inconvenience to make any alteration in the mode of procuring the small quantity that is at present brought from Plettenberg Bay; but if circumstances should require timber to be exported from the Cape to England, I am convinced that there might be very considerable

saving from government taking the whole concern into their own hands. The construction of a wharf would then be a work of great utility, and its expence would soon be repaid, by the shipments being made in half the time necessary at present.

The hopes that were entertained of rendering the Knysna navigable, have, I believe, been entirely relinquished, in consequence of a late inspection made by some officers of the navy. Indeed it requires no professional knowledge to perceive that its entrance could not be attempted without the most imminent danger. The tract in Outeniqualand, reserved by government, seems to be the most appropriate situation for the establishment of the drostdy. Its extent is nearly that of four loan places, one called Post Kraal, contains the house and garden of the resident. It is watered by a fine stream called the Quoiaung, issuing from the mountains on its northern skirt. This rivulet might also overflow the adjoining place, called Polish Bosch, for which, I understand, that an application has been made to government by an individual. Between Polish Bosch and Caymans River is Pampoene Kraal, so much celebrated in the travels of Monsieur Le Vaillant. This charming spot is separated from Polish Bosch by a stream called Klein Zwarte River, which falls into Cayman's River. It is now occupied by the persons that are permitted to fell wood in the neighbourhood, who generally cut between Cayman's River and that of Trakete Kouw, an uninhabited tract of less than a mile in length. Another place on the southern side, and adjoining Post Kraal, is called Hooge Kraal; it affords tolerable pasturage, but is badly watered.

If the road between Plettenberg Bay and Outeniqualand were in good order, the distance would not be greater than one day's journey on horseback. Mossel Bay is only twenty miles from it. The latter is known to be the best landing place to the eastward. It must necessarily become a station of considerable importance; but it has one material defect, that is, the scarcity of water. No town could, I fear, be conveniently supplied in abundance with this indispensable article nearer than the point recommended for the seat of a drostdy, which joins to this advantage, that of the valuable timber growing on the skirts of the Post kraal and of Polish Bosch, which has been carefully preserved for the use of government.

The district of Outeniqualand would be bounded by that of Ghamgha on the north, and by the sea on the south. It might be separated from Swellendam by the continuation of Buffalo River and the Gouritz River, and from Uitenhagen by an imaginary line drawn from the eastern extremity of Baviaans Kloof to Pic Formosa.

It would be a great benefit to the country situated between the drostdy of Swellendam and the mountains of Hottentots Holland, if some point could be fixed on within its limits for the exportation of its produce. Although so near the Cape, the country is less improved, and the inhabitants are in more indigent circumstances than in some of the most distant quarters. This may be attributed to the inferiority of the soil, which renders the greatest part of it unfit for the breeding of cattle, and the necessity of cultivating corn, which the inhabitants labour under the disadvantage of being obliged to convey to town over the Houw Hoek and the Kloof.

St. Sebastian's Bay is said to afford good anchorage, but the landing there is very difficult. The shore on the eastern side of Breede River is the worst part of it, and seems to be totally unfit for shipments. The river, from its entrance to a distance of twenty miles up the country, affords a landing at almost every place, and is so broad as to be capable of being navigated by small vessels; but its mouth contracts, forming a curved channel of about three fathoms in depth, thirty yards in breadth, and, perhaps, a thousand in length. On the right bank of the river, close within its entrance, there is a very good landing place, where a boat belonging to a small vessel embarked provisions a few days before my arrival. From the mouth of the river to the point which forms the western side of the bay, the shore is bordered by rocks, over which a boat can, however, pass at high water. About the middle of this line there is a fine fountain, where a French vessel watered many years since. It is the only plentiful fresh water stream in this neighbourhood.

Schoonberg Bay, at Cape Aiguillas, erroneously, I believe, called Struys Bay by Mr. Barrow, who has laid down this part of the country incorrectly in other respects also, has a fine beach and convenient landing place. The anchorage is supposed to be good, but ships would, I fear, be much exposed there from the little elevation of the neighbouring country, and from the reef that has given a name to this point. If it should not be judged advisable to make it a commercial station, it appears to me that it would at least be highly expedient that a lighthouse should be erected there; that measure would probably prevent any more of the unfortunate accidents of which this dangerous point has already been productive, and the protecting hand of Britain would be extended at the utmost extremity of Africa, to all nations employed in the navigation of the Indian ocean.

The following statement of ships that have been lost near Cape Aiguillas, was given to me by some persons who have long resided in the vicinity. The wrecks of several can be discerned there at low water:—

1st. A wreck, nation, &c unknown.

2d. A Portuguese ship, some of the people were saved, and the descendants are now living in the colony.

3d. The Schoonberg, laden with teas; the people were all saved, and proceeded along the shore as far as Bot River, the remotest part of the colony, then inhabited, where a man had just killed an hippopotamus, with which he regaled the sufferers. This vessel gave its name to the bay.

4th. The Edward, an English ship, stranded between Schoonberg and Soetendaal's Valley's (Lake) mouth, which is about five miles east of Schoonberg and Cape Aiguillas. The people and cargo were saved.

5th. A French slave ship, stranded at Schoonberg. The people were saved.

6th. The Nicobar, a Danish vessel, stranded at the mouth of Katal River, a few miles west of Point Aiguillas. Most of the people were drowned.

The above vessels, together with two or three wrecked near Klein River, were lost probably by accident in the night. The Hooker de Meermin was stranded from a different cause.

This vessel belonged to the Dutch East India Company, and was commanded by a man named Muller; she sailed about 40 years ago from the Cape for the island of Madagascar, to exchange copper and merchandise for slaves. Having arrived at her destination, a chief and party of natives were invited on board, and having been lulled to security, were bound and carried off.

The ship having made Cape Point on her return, the captain supposed all danger past, and released his prisoners; they instantly seized the ship and put all their kidnappers to death, except the captain and a few persons whom they spared for the purpose of navigating the vessel back to Madagascar.

The savages knew that they had come from the point where the sun rises, and could not be much deceived during the day respecting the proper course to be taken; but in the night the ship was always steered in a contrary direction. At length they arrived off Point Aiguillas, and the vessel was anchored at Schoenberg; the mate, who was the only person who had any influence over the minds of the late captives, having persuaded them that this country was part of their own, and that they should proceed on their voyage as soon as some repairs were performed to the vessel.

Letters descriptive of their situation were inclosed by the captain in bottles, and committed to the sea, and were both received by some inhabitants who happened to be fishing near the spot. The affair was reported to the landdrost, who assembled a party immediately, and placed them in ambush at a short distance, directing some slaves and Hottentots to light a fire. This was the signal of friendship, and aid requested to be made by the captain, who ran the ship on shore as soon as he observed it. The savages supposing the people they perceived were unconnected with any nation like their base betrayers, swam in a body to the beach, where they testified their joy by dancing and acclamations. Their festivity was not of long duration. Those who did not fall by a discharge of musquetry, or prefer a watery grave to slavery, were again secured.

The author of this infamous transaction, fearing that his conduct in liberating the prisoners, which was done against the advice of his officers, might subject him to punishment when known in Holland, or else unable to bear the stings of conscience, put a period soon afterwards to his criminal existence.

Eyle Kraal River falls into the sea at a few miles east of Kleine River, and opposite the island where the Whale company employ some people to kill seals. Eyle Kraal Bay has the advantage of a fine beach, and of a plentiful supply of fresh water furnished by three springs. A strong gale blew from the N.W. the day that I was there, yet a landing could have been made without difficulty. Its position is convenient for shipping the produce of the country about Kars River, which grows a considerable quantity of corn. The Kars River joins the Zoetendaals Lake at a little distance before the latter discharges itself into the sea. It is, therefore, incorrectly placed in Mr. Barrow's chart, in which the numerous lakes of this part of the colony are totally omitted.

Little Hanglip, about a mile south of Great Hanglip, is the southernmost extremity of the eastern side of False Bay. On its north west side there is a Bay which is protected from the south east winds; an advantage not possessed by any of those of the colony to the east of it. A fine stream of water flowing through a vale that offers a convenient and agreeable site for a town, falls here into the sea. An excellent road may be made to it, with very little trouble from the mouth of Palmiet River, which is ten miles east of Hanglip, instead of being to the north of it, as laid down by Mr. Barrow. Fine timber of various kinds may be procured, though with some difficulty, from the neighbouring mountains. The Peninsula can be seen there from Cape Point to the Devils Head, and presents one of the most magnificent views of Southern Africa.

The only obstacle to the approach of this bay from the interior is opposed by the Palmiet River, which in the winter season is generally impassable near the sea, but this difficulty might be easily removed by building such a bridge as has lately been constructed on the same stream, a few miles higher up. The best point seems to be at about half a mile from the sea, and close under the mountains which border the river from this spot nearly to that where the bridge above-mentioned has been placed.

No inhabitant has yet proceeded completely along the shore, between Hanglip and Hottentots Holland, and I very unwillingly relinquished my intention of taking that route in consequence of the representations made by the boors, of the great difficulty of the undertaking, and of the probability that the Steenbraasen River had been swollen by rains, which had then recently fallen; although I had much reason to suppose that their suggestions arose from indolence.

I had, however, a tolerable view of the feet of the mountains on the eastern side of False Bay, both from Gordon Bay and Hanglip, and am not only convinced that a bridle road might be made with little difficulty along the shore, but am also inclined to think that with the labour which has lately been employed on the road to Simon's Town, a passage for wagons might also be effected.

Koogel Bay is on the northern side of Great Hanglip. It was there that the Colebrook was wrecked, after she had struck on the rock to which she bequeathed her name. The Steenbraasen River on its northern side, would, I believe, easily admit of a bridge close to the mountains. The point between Koogel and Gordon Bays could be turned very easily. The construction of the bridge and the removal of some detached rocks,

would constitute the whole work necessary for making a passage that would open a communication by land between the seat of government and the eastern district situated on the coast, without the necessity of crossing the formidable barriers that now intervene.

Any commercial depot established between the Breede River and the peninsula, must necessarily become an important military station. Hanglip Bay seems to me susceptible of being very strongly fortified; points project on each side where batteries could be conveniently constructed, producing a destructive cross and raking fire, and protected against an attack from boats by dangerous ridges, which, however, do not extend to the middle of the bay. A slight elevation crosses the bay, which would perfectly cover magazines and store-houses from the cannonade of shipping. Between this elevation and the usual high water mark, there is a sand bank of a few hundred yards in breadth, which, I believe, may be covered at spring tide, but which might be built upon if a wall were constructed to keep out the sea. Flat bottomed boats might now pass through it, and ascend the stream to a considerable distance.

In addition to the advantages that would be experienced by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country from the establishment of a depot at Hanglip, other benefits would result from such a measure. It lays directly opposite to Simon's Bay, where shipping could be abundantly supplied from it in a few hours with many things at a reasonable rate, which cannot now be procured there without much difficulty nor without paying an exorbitant price.

I know of nothing to discourage this project, except a heavy swell which was observable on the day that I saw this bay, although there was not a breath of wind.

As a compensation for the loss that Swellendam would sustain by the formation of the district of Outeniqua, the country beyond the mountains, now under the drostdy of Stellenbosch, might be ceded to it. It must, however, be confessed, that Swellendam would lose in revenue by this change. The deficit might, however, be supplied in the manner proposed for Uitenhagen, by imposing a tax on the salt taken from the pan near Cape Aiguillas. It is larger than that at Coogha, and has constantly produced salt during the remembrance of the inhabitants now residing near it until the last year, when the extraordinary heavy rains entirely overflowed it. The water still prevents all access to its produce, but might, I think, be easily removed the next dry season.

That part of the district of Stellenbosch which is situated within the mountains might be annexed to the Cape district, which would, perhaps, be best divided from that of Swellendam by the Palmiet River.

The civil duties at Simon's Town would not take up much of the Commandant's time, and might easily be executed with the assistance of a table of instructions, and a permanent clerk, understanding both languages; the deputy fiscal, now there, might act in the same capacity, or in that of deputy landdrost, or in both at Stellenbosch, and might also superintend the petty affairs occurring at the Paarl and at Hottentots Holland.

The new divisions of districts being made, I conceive that it would be advisable to appoint a surveyor to each of them, and a surveyor-general to the whole colony. A considerable part of the expences of this establishment might be defrayed from the profits of surveying estates, which, I think, should all be accurately measured, and numbered, whether granted in property or in loan. Copies of these surveys and district charts, made by the surveyors in their leisure hours, both having explanatory notes affixed to them, would soon place government in possession of the fullest information upon the topography of the colony, a desideratum at present.

The repair of roads should, I conceive, be also under the direction of the surveyor's department, and the distances should be laid down by miles, to put an end to the absurd practice of measuring by hours.

The repair of the Kloof should, I think, be superintended by them also. They ought all to be contracted for in the same manner as is done for that of Hottentots Holland; but the contract should be a government, not a district concern. The discovery of Caledon Kloof and of Nieuwe Berg has much facilitated the communication of wagons from the eastern districts. An attention to Mostaard's Hoek and Fransche Hoek, would be equally beneficial to those of the north.

The authority of government, and consequently the tranquillity of the interior, depend greatly upon the quick dispatch of orders proceeding from the Cape, and of reports transmitted to it. The establishment of a regular and expeditious post is absolutely necessary to effect this important end. I presumed on a former occasion, to address your Excellency on this subject. Since then I have attended more closely to it, and beg to refer to the annexed document (D) for a detail of any ideas on that point, and of the steps that I have taken to facilitate the execution of such measures as your Excellency may think expedient to adopt respecting it.

Although the maintenance of order, and the improvement of the colony, would doubtless be much promoted by multiplying the drostdies, and by facilitating and expediting the communications between the districts and the seat of government, yet these essential objects cannot, I fear, be perfectly secured until the veld cornets are placed on a different footing. At present their situation is not otherwise desirable than as it may afford them opportunities of favouring their friends or of oppressing their enemies. An active, firm, and impartial man, is ill remunerated for his trouble and expences, more especially in the distant quarters, by the remission of the oppaaf fees and of the rent of one farm. He can now have no other reward for his exertions, except in the esteem of his neighbours and in the consciousness of having done his duty; sentiments of little weight in a country almost totally destitute of public spirit.

The cultivation of the colony would be much improved by establishing an agricultural school at one of the drostdies, where the most opulent farmers of the remote districts should be obliged to send a proportion

of their children for instruction. The number of public schools, now established in England, affords a great means of improvement to the inhabitants of the interior. The directors might be requested to send out annually a certain number of persons duly qualified from each institution. Their passage might be found in transports, or store ships. A short time would be required to learn the rudiments of the Dutch language at the Cape, which would necessarily call for some public disbursements; but the teachers would be enabled afterwards, to earn a comfortable livelihood by instructing the children of the farmers, and the rising generation would all be Englishmen.

If some reflections on the preservation of game may be permitted to find a place amongst the important points that form the subject of this report, I should be induced to recommend an attention to the subject. From the want of some regulations on this head, the powerful buffalo, the majestic elephant, the wonderful hippopotamus, all harmless animals, if unmolested, and the herds of beautiful antelopes, that formerly adorned the districts nearest to the seat of government, have been almost entirely destroyed by a few poachers. It would, perhaps, be only necessary strictly to enjoin the several landdrosts to issue such orders in each particular veld cornetship as might prevent the extinction of any species now remaining, and as might tend to re-introduce the others.

Ten buffaloes were seen about a year ago between the Gouritz and Caffre Kuil Rivers. A noted poacher had shot five of them, and in order to destroy the remainder, he only waited for the return of rains, which would enable him to discover their trace. When I passed through that district, I gave orders against killing any of them, or of a few hartebeests, that were also there, until permission should be obtained from the landdrost, under a penalty of fifty rix-dollars; and I also issued similar directions for the preservation of the few bonte bucks remaining near Soetendaals Lake, where one person has destroyed more than all the other inhabitants.

Although this memoir has been swollen to so great a mass, I am induced to advert to one more topic, which appears to me to be of infinite consequence.

I think that until the colony is completely inhabited as far as the present limits, no extension of boundary should be made, except from political motives. When the Caffres shall find it impossible to make any impression on the increased population proposed for the country near the Konaba and Great Fish Rivers, they may turn their attention towards the thinly inhabited district of Tarka. It may, therefore, be advisable to cover that point by a similar barrier, giving out in small lots the tract laying between the Kaffer and Storm mountains, called by Dr. van der Kemp, the country of the Abbatoana Bosjesmen. This measure would also be necessary for the protection of the missionary institution recommended to be established in that quarter. The habitations should not, however, I conceive, be carried further than the Zwarte T'ky Poort.

An extension is anxiously looked for by the inhabitants of the north-eastern frontier; and Mr. Stockenstrom thinks that it might with propriety be made as far as Orange River. I feel the sincerest respect for the opinions of that gentleman; but on this point, I must beg to differ from him. The inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet can now procure the wood afforded by the willows growing on that river by applying for the necessary permission, and I do not see what benefit they should derive from its possession, otherwise, except by the occupaney of land, which they can find by turning in another direction. The country on the left bank of the Sea Cow River, to the distance of twenty or thirty miles, is of a superior quality.

As soon as the tract now within the limits is tolerably occupied, I think that no time should be lost in gaining ground towards the Karee mountains. I beg to repeat my opinion, that the most successful mode of conciliating and civilizing the Bosjesmen, is to get near them. The Karee Berg should be embraced as soon as possible, and the colony should be extended to a direct line drawn from the junction of the Fish and Zak Rivers, to the hills commencing about the Elands Berg, which continue in a sweep, between the present boundary and Orange River to Zuureberg. This measure would also render the colonial possessions more compact, and the communications more easy. The next extension of boundary, which, however, cannot be necessary until a very remote period, will naturally bring the colony to Orange River.

I cannot conclude these observations without expressing my apprehension, that in the numerous despatches which I have had the honor to address to your Excellency, and perhaps in this report, [I may have touched on some points?] that I ought not to have noticed, and dwelt more upon others than was either necessary or proper. If I should unfortunately have thus transgressed, I hope your Excellency will attribute my errors to the true causes, a wish to be instrumental as far as possible in doing good, and a degree of warmth inseparable from every subject in which I take a real interest. A soldier from the age of fifteen; one half of my existence has not afforded me leisure to learn even the elements of a profession to which I am ardently attached. It would therefore be extreme presumption to suppose myself capable of directing affairs of a nature entirely foreign to my studies and pursuits. I am far from entertaining such a feeling; but, I confess that I am happy in the consciousness of having exerted myself to the utmost to acquire such information as might facilitate the execution of your Excellency's plans for the benefit of the colony over which you preside. If it should appear that my humble endeavours have in any degree been successful, the recollection will ever be one of the most pleasing of my life; convinced that my feeble powers could not have been more usefully directed to the service of my sovereign and my country.

I have the honor to remain, my Lord,

With high respect, your Excellency's faithful and obedient Servant,

(Signed,)

R. COLLINS.]

Collins' Report on the Bosjesmen. [*Omitted in the Parl. Papers.*]

MY LORD,—Conceiving that the object of your Excellency's instructions might be greatly promoted by a personal communication with some part of the Bosjesmen nation, on arriving at the Hantam, I engaged as an interpreter, a Bastard Hottentot, named Jan Tites, who speaks one of the dialects of their language, and had been visited only a few days before by one of their chiefs named Rouman. Having made the necessary preparations for the journey, we left the house of Christiaan Bias, the most remote on that side of the colony, on the 25th April, [1808] and on the evening of the 27th, we arrived at the drift, or ford, on the Zak River, about twelve miles above its junction with the Fish River, and thirty from Rouman's Kraal, which I intended to visit; but the country appearing too dry for the oxen to proceed, I sent the interpreter on horseback to invite the people to come to us, an invitation they had frequently accepted from such farmers as used to avail themselves of their assistance on shooting parties. He returned next day with the unexpected intelligence that he had not found any person at the kraal, and said he supposed that the inhabitants of it had gone further to the interior in search of game and water, of which he had observed their late residence had become almost destitute. Two Bosjesmen families were stated to reside separately at the distance also of about a day's journey; but as it was thought that the same causes which had occasioned the departure of Rouman's people, might also have induced them to move, as the other kraals of that part of the country were said to be mostly hostile, and at a considerable distance; as the country was excessively dry, and our horses and cattle much out of condition, it was deemed advisable to return, without proceeding any further, to the Hantam, where I gave Tites a few presents for the two Bosjesmen families above-mentioned, and for his friend Rouman, desiring that he would endeavour by persuasion to bring him to Cape Town, where I told him they should both be well treated.

I still hoped that access might be obtained to some part of that nation, from Roggeveld, but was informed there, that the only kraal situated near that district, was one commanded by an old man named Platje, which had removed about a month before, probably until the return of rain, to a place better supplied with water. This intelligence put an end to all my expectations; and as I understood that the veld cornet, Mr. Jacobus Nell, kept up a friendly communication with such of the Bosjesmen as lived peaceably, I left presents with him for them, requesting that when he delivered them, he would encourage any of their chiefs who might wish to go to Cape Town, to proceed there, by assuring them that they should be well received and presented to your Excellency, who was desirous of giving them marks of favour and protection.

Having thus failed in my endeavours to obtain an opportunity of forming a judgment of the state and disposition of that people from personal observation, I can only convey to your Excellency the most satisfactory accounts I have received respecting them, from the most intelligent and respectable men I have met with who had visited their country. In communicating this information, as well as my ideas on the other points to which my attention has been directed, I shall adhere to the mode adopted by your Excellency, viz:—The extent of the misunderstanding which prevails between the farmers and the Bosjesmen; the probable cause, or causes, which have occasioned it; and the line of conduct best suited to remedy the evil.

On comparing the complaints of the injuries sustained by the farmers with their accounts of the numbers, hostility, enterprise, and activity of the Bosjesmen, it seems astonishing that they should have suffered so little from their attacks; yet it is said that the depredations committed by them last year, which appear to have been accurately stated in the several reports transmitted to government, considerably exceed those of former years, which is attributed, in some degree, to their knowledge of the great mortality then prevailing among the farmers' horses in consequence of the extraordinary dryness of the season.

They usually make their incursions in autumn, at which time the horses are sickly, or at least in bad condition, and unable on that account, as well as from the want of water, to pursue them with vigour. They generally conceal themselves behind rocks or bushes, as near as possible to the cattle; and if the Hottentots, who guard them, should fall asleep, which frequently happens in consequence of being overcome by the heat of fires or the immoderate use of dacha, they approach them softly and murder them. If no opportunity is afforded them in the field, they lay in wait towards the close of day, for the return of the herds to the farm houses, and having dispatched the herdsmen, drive away their prey, favored by the night. To enable them to do this the more speedily, they are said to carry with them the skins of lions, by the scent of which the cattle imagine those animals to be in pursuit of them. The farmers follow them by the trace, called in Dutch, *spoor*, which they can easily distinguish, even by the moonlight, and after a lapse of several days. If the Bosjesmen perceive themselves in danger of being overtaken, they wound with spears, or poisoned arrows, as many of the cattle as time will admit of, and endeavour to effect their escape. If they succeed in bringing their plunder to the kraal, they feast and riot until it is consumed, which is effected in a very short time, as they waste the greatest part of it; frequently abandoning numbers of sheep and cattle to birds of prey, (which constantly attend them on such occasions,) after having made them serve as targets for their children. Their dread of horses is so great that a few horsemen will defeat almost any number in a plain; but when posted on heights, they defend themselves with great obstinacy; and they have never been known to demand quarter in any situation. They never drive away horses, but frequently kill them on mountains, where they are sent to avoid the sickness that afflicts them periodically on the plains. This is said to have occurred some weeks since, in the district of

the Koup, where there is reported to be at this moment a hostile kraal, three men of which were lately killed by the farmers in the act of plundering. That quarter had been free from the incursions of this people since about 18 years, when two hordes, amounting to more than a thousand persons, entered it, and committed such devastations as would have obliged the settlers to abandon it if the government had not authorized a general commando against them, which after killing a great number, drove the remainder into their own country.

The supposition that the enmity of the Bosjesmen was originally occasioned by their resentment at being foreed by the colonists to quit the territory of their ancestors, seems unfounded, as it appears that they have always resided in the country they now inhabit since the Cape has been possessed by Europeans. In the course of my journey, I have seen several persons who remember the events of more than half a century. They relate that the colonists began to settle in this part of the country about sixty years ago, when they found it inhabited by Hottentots, who readily entered their service. The Bosjesmen resided at that time beyond the Zak River, with the exception of a few kraals that lived a little on this side of it, for the convenience of exchanging skins for the tobacco of the Hottentots, who procured that article from the colonists in Bokkeveld, south of the Karroo. They were then in the habit of plundering the Namaquas, a timid people, possessing cattle and residing about the Kamies Berg, but with the exception of one kraal, which however, did but little injury, they were on the most friendly terms with the farmers, who might send their cattle to any distance without danger from that people, by whom any that occasionally straggled among them were brought back to their owners. This tranquillity after having continued many years, was unfortunately interrupted by an event similar to that which gave rise to the Trojan war.

A servant of the late Mr. Van Reenen, of the Hantam, having carried off the wife of a Bosjesman murdered by him; some settlers having assembled proceeded to the kraal to which he belonged; and required that he should be delivered up to them; their demand being refused, they attacked the kraal, and put several persons to death, about the same time some Hottentots left the service of the farmers, and joined the Bosjesmen, to whom they gave the example of robbing them, which they soon followed, and which has continued in a greater or less degree since that period, not unfrequently attended by murder.

Of the existing causes of hostility the most obvious, on the part of the Bosjesmen, is their power of procuring, by plundering the farmers, such articles of subsistence as they do not possess in their own country. To this may perhaps be added the habit they have acquired of making these incursions, which give them employment when game becomes scarce, and afford them opportunities of distinguishing themselves by exploits that may obtain the applause of their little society, and ultimately raise them to the head of it; for it is said that on the death of the chief of a kraal the bravest generally obtains the command of it; an honour, however, that confers but little authority on him, except on their expeditions, which he is therefore naturally inclined to multiply. It does not appear that they are actuated by any particular animosity to the colonists in these incursions, for their object seems to be plunder, not murder, which latter has seldom been committed, except when necessary to promote the former. It is remarkable also, that when they come to any part of the country from which the farmers have absented themselves, which often occurs perhaps for months, and to the distance of several days' journey, taking with them their families and flocks, for the purpose of obtaining a greater supply of water, or a milder climate; although these savages enter their dwellings and have the power of committing all imaginable mischief with impunity, they seldom do any other damage than burning the chairs and tables, to warm themselves, which, in a country almost destitute of fuel, cannot be regarded as a very wanton or malicious act.

I have already mentioned their plundering the Namaquas, from whom they found such feeble resistance, as to induce them to continue their visits, with little intermission, while their cattle lasted. They also attempted to rob the Caffres and Boshuanas, but they experienced from them such determined opposition, that they have since given them but little trouble. Thus they seem to have attacked the several districts and habitations indiscriminately, consulting only their convenience or knowledge of the means of defence, which latter they easily obtain in their friendly visits. Whatever blame may be attributed to the colonists or to the original cause of the unfortunate misunderstanding that exists between them and the Bosjesmen, I observed nothing in them that indicated that implacable hatred which they are so generally supposed to feel for that people. They have frequent intercourse with some of the kraals, whose inhabitants often come to their habitations, and receive from them presents of sheep and tobacco. Many of them have Bosjesmen in their service, whom they treat humanely, and who serve them faithfully. It cannot be considered extraordinary that when any of that people kill their shepherds and steal their cattle, they should wish to follow them to recover their property and revenge the murder of their servants. Cruelty is unfortunately too often the attendant even of those wars in which the individuals engaged are uninfluenced by any personal consideration; it would not therefore be surprising that instances of it were found on these occasions. But I am much distressed to believe that the accounts given of them are exaggerated; as they have been principally received from a late traveller, who, from some unaccountable cause, seems to have exerted all his ingenuity to exhibit the African farmers in the most unfavourable point of view, and whose representations of their treatment of the aborigines, having been conveyed through the medium of eloquent declamation and specious philanthropy, seem to have been implicitly received and regarded as incontrovertible, although his statements respecting them are extremely incorrect, as I have known from many particulars that have fallen under my observation. It is, however, to

be feared that women are sometimes put to death in these expeditions ; and it cannot be doubted that the farmers bring away a number of children.

With respect to the idea that the extension of the boundary from the Riet to the Zak Rivers, may have increased the wants of the Bosjesmen, and consequently excited an additional degree of resentment in their minds, that circumstance will not, perhaps, be considered as a cause of their hostility, if it is true that the majority of that people have always resided in the country north of the latter river, which is stated to be much better than that to the south of it : there are likewise some strong objections to the former boundary. It runs near mountains, in which the Bosjesmen can act with great advantage ; but before they can arrive with their plunder, at the new one, they must pass through a plain of considerable extent, in which the chances are in favour of their being overtaken and attacked with almost a certainty of success. It is also to be apprehended, that by withdrawing the boundary from the Zak to the Riet River, the farmers would be deprived of the advantage they derive from the water and pasturage they procure at the former, in seasons when they cannot find them elsewhere, without rendering the Bosjesmen any service, except that of facilitating their attacks, or producing any other effects on their minds, than a supposition that the act must be the consequence of fear ; conscious of their having broken the last treaty when the new boundary was agreed to by them.

Feeling my inadequacy to so difficult a task as that of pointing out the means of terminating evils that existed during so considerable a period, I enter on this part of my report with the utmost diffidence. Anxious, however, to appear as far as possible deserving of the confidence which your Excellency has reposed in me, I have used every endeavour to discover the mode of effecting a purpose so desirable, and, hoping for indulgence, I shall attempt to state the result of my investigation and reflections.

I am inclined to think that no measures can put an end to the depredations of the Bosjesmen except such as are directed to the root of the evil ; and that before any reliance can be placed on them, a change must be effected in their habits and manners, which can only be the work of time, aided by the zealous and indefatigable exertions of some intelligent individuals, supported and encouraged by the bounty and guardian care of a beneficent government.

It would be worthy the greatness of the British empire to rescue this unfortunate race from the deplorable state of barbarism to which they have been so long condemned. The late Earl of Macartney seemed sensible of the glory attached to such an undertaking, and shortly after his arrival in the colony, enacted the humane regulations which I had the honour to receive with your Excellency's instructions. It may be deemed presumptuous in me to differ from a person of his eminent ability, yet, I cannot help thinking that his Lordship's plan for the civilization and pacification of the Bosjesmen nation, must have been formed on a total misconception of the character of that people. It was not to be expected that such multitudes of savages of the fiercest disposition, dispersed through such a vast extent of country, in no part of which they have a settled residence, and from which they plunder their neighbours in every direction, without the idea of any law, divine, or human, without any connection among themselves, except such as arises from the ties of parental or conjugal affection, and even without the least knowledge of the manner of cultivating corn, or rearing cattle, should at once become tractable, abandon their roving and predatory mode of life, allow themselves to be confined between the Zak River and the Karee Mountains, acquire a knowledge of the art of agriculture or the precautions for preserving and increasing herds and flocks, feel all the advantages of permanent establishments and social intercourse, and consider themselves under the protection and authority of the British government.

Of the numerous missionaries who have exercised their divine calling in Southern Africa, few have gained the reward which their devotion to so sacred a cause entitled them to expect. For this failure many reasons have been assigned ; but it is more to my purpose, as well as more pleasing, to direct my inquiries to those whose labours have been crowned with success. The institution of the Moravians, at Grace Dale, or Baviaans Kloof, within the colony, first offers itself to my attention. As I hoped that by seeing it I should be greatly assisted in forming a judgment on the subject of my instructions, I called there on my return to Cape Town, and received, from the worthy men who direct the mission, all the information I could desire. It seems that an attempt was made by the same society to establish it, in the year 1736 ; but the person then at the head of it having been obliged to return to Europe, and the Dutch East India Company having objected to its continuance, the design was relinquished. Permission to establish it having been obtained in 1792, three of the missionaries now there arrived at the place, where they found no marks of the labours of their predecessor except a pear tree, now in the centre of their garden. They had to clear the land, to erect buildings and to collect inhabitants ; a small Hottentot kraal happened to be placed in the neighbourhood, which served as the foundation of their village. The news of their arrival having spread through the colony, Hottentots flocked to them from the most distant parts of it, although much discouraged by their masters. Each family had a piece of land allotted to it, sufficient for a house and garden. A few of them have been instructed in the art of making knives, in which they acquired a considerable degree of perfection. The others find sufficient employment among the farmers, to enable them if industrious, with the productions of their little gardens, to live very comfortably ; some keep their houses and persons very neat and clean, while it must be confessed that others do not appear to have made much progress in that respect ; and indeed the missionaries say that

they experience great difficulty in teaching them to vanquish their natural indolence and want of cleanliness. The precepts of the brethren are inculcated in the mildest manner. The severest punishment they inflict is debarring the culprit from appearing during a certain time at church, where service is performed repeatedly every day, and which their disciples have great pleasure in attending, particularly on Sundays. They do not seem less anxious to render them useful in this life, than to direct their attention to a life hereafter. In order to be baptised, the wish must first be expressed by the candidate, and he is not admitted to the communion until a considerable time afterwards. The number of Hottentots at Graee Dale, is about eight hundred, of whom nearly three-fourths are christians. They were formerly more numerous, but nearly a hundred men, most of whom had families, were recruited from thence for the Cape Regiment.

Although great praise is due to men who have done so much for the cause of christianity and humanity, yet it must be allowed that the difficulties the Hernhuters had to overcome, were not equal to those that were encountered by the missionaries who fixed themselves in the midst of savages, that had not the most distant idea of civilization. It is said that Mr. Anderson, an English missionary, has collected in the course of five years several hundred families from the different nations by which he is surrounded, at a place situated about two days' journey beyond the Orange River. Each family has its house and garden, and the greatest regularity and industry are said to prevail among them. I have not been able to collect much information upon the steps by which he has made so rapid a progress, which I regret extremely, as I conceive it might be particularly adapted to the subject of my report.

The good effects arising from these two establishments, afford a just ground to hope that an application of the same means to the present purpose would produce consequences equally beneficial; but if the efforts of a few individuals left entirely to their own guidance, have been so advantageous, what might not be expected from the exertions of those who should know that they are constantly observed by a watchful government. Without intending in the least degree to question the divine motives by which the missionaries are actuated, it may be reasonably presumed that the consideration of human rewards and punishments must greatly tend to influence their conduct, and act as an additional spur to their industry.

The northern boundary of the colony seems to admit of three divisions. In the first may be included Kamies Berg, Under Bokkeveld, the Hantam, and the Roggevelds; in the second, Nieuwveld and the Koup; in the third, Rhinoceros Berg, Sneeuwberg, and Tarka. In each of these divisions, I think, there should be such an establishment. Two or three missionaries at each station, superintended by a couple of the most respectable and intelligent inhabitants of the division, might answer the purposes of direction and instruction. It would, perhaps, be proper that the landdrosts should be directed occasionally, to inspect and report upon the state of the institutions at the first and last places; but the second, placed between two districts, should be independent of both, although subject, as well as the others, to an annual visit from the seat of government. This plan, would, I think, create a degree of emulation in the several establishments that would produce the happiest results.

The appointment of superintendents of the missions, is a matter of great consequence. The Bosjesmen are well acquainted with the individual character of the farmers in their neighbourhood; of whom such only should be selected as they fear, respect, and confide in. Those who appeared to me best qualified for the purpose in the districts through which I have travelled, are Mr. Jacob Louw, the elder, of Under Bokkeveld, and Mr. Jacobus Nel, of Under Roggeveld. They are both conveniently situated to superintend the western mission. The former might make arrangements for collecting a proportion of sheep and cattle to be supplied for the use of their mission, by the inhabitants of Kamies Berg, Under Bokkeveld, and the Hantam; the latter that of the Roggevelds; a subject that I shall shortly observe on more fully. I beg leave also to mention, that I have heard of a farmer named Klerk, an inhabitant of the Koup, whose family employ a great number of Bosjesmen in their service. He might, perhaps, be a fit person to act as a superintendent of the central mission, for which, I should imagine, a second might easily be procured, as well as two more for the eastern mission. Greater attention should, if possible, be directed to the selection of missionaries and superintendents for the middle institution than the others; not being under the inspection of a landdrost.

I have already mentioned several friendly kraals situated near that part of the country which I have visited, and I have been told that others are to be found on the borders of the Koup and of Sneeuwberg, where they frequently engage in the service of the farmers. I should hope they might be induced to join the establishments, of which they would serve as the foundation. Their captains should be permitted to retain their rank, and be allowed some trifling pay, which might be procured by placing them on the strength of the Cape Regiment.

The expence of cattle and sheep would be cheerfully defrayed by the farmers of the districts on the borders, who would rejoice at any plan tending to rid them of the depredations of the Bosjesmen, and procure them servants. The subscriptions might be settled, as already observed, by the superintendents, according to the stock of each farmer, and for that purpose they should be invested with the necessary authority. By proper regulations these institutions might be enabled hereafter to support themselves, but I see no mode of raising the sums necessary to establish them, unless they are supplied by government or the societies to which the missionaries belong. However willing the Hernhuters might be to contribute their personal exertions, I think they would be averse to incur any pecuniary responsibility in this undertaking, as it was not without consider-

able hesitation, they commenced the institution at Groene Kloof; owing, I believe, to the difficulty of communicating with Germany, in consequence of the war, which they fear also may have rendered their constituents less able to afford the means of support.

When the means of commencing these institutions are provided, there should be at each mission a depot of such things as the Bosjesmen may wish for, which should be given to them only in exchange for skins, mats, ostrich feathers, ivory, or other articles, among which may be mentioned some curious stones that are found at the Orange River. Ostrich eggs should never be purchased, in order to encourage the increase of those birds. This commerce would not only serve to give the Bosjesmen employment in their own country, but also to familiarize them with the missions, which they would thereby be the more inclined to join. It would assist to defray the expences of the institutions, an object that would also be greatly promoted by instructing the rising generation in mechanical arts, as the farmers also might then be supplied with many things, that they must procure, with considerable inconvenience, from Cape Town. This has been too little attended to at Grace Dale, and is the principal cause of the great expence of that establishment, which according to its present plan can never support itself, having no revenue except 3 or 400 dollars annually, produced by the knife manufactory. The most economical mode of procuring tradesmen, would be to get them from the army. They would also serve to maintain the police of the missions, and to defend them against the hostile Bosjesmen, and would be consequently employed in the line of their duty. If they conduct themselves satisfactorily, on their regiments being ordered from the colony, they should be transferred to others, which might give substitutes for them. Married men would be preferable, as their wives might be useful in instructing the girls in needlework, housekeeping, and other occupations.

As the population of the missions increases, the superfluous inhabitants might be gradually introduced into the colony, where their labour is much wanted, and particularly in the grazing districts, in which the difficulty of procuring Hottentots, who are there preferred to slaves, is very great. Their introduction would be promoted by the humane manner in which the farmers treat their servants, at least, in the districts that I have visited, where they are paid by a determined quantity of clothes, by food for themselves and families, and a certain number of sheep and cattle annually. This observation may appear extraordinary to those who have been led to entertain opinions of a contrary nature on this subject, opinions that the writings of the celebrated traveller, already alluded to, have served, more than the demerits of the farmers, to produce. I conceive that gentleman justly entitled to the esteem and gratitude of the public, for many just observations and valuable communications concerning Southern Africa, but in almost every thing that respects the farmers, and particularly what relates to the manner in which they treat their servants, I think he has shown the most unjustifiable prejudice, as I invariably observed them behave in the kindest manner to the Hottentots, who show them an attachment that was strongly marked by some circumstances that occurred on my late journey, an attachment not a little extraordinary, as in the service of the farmers on the borders of the colony, they are exposed to suffer, not only the severest hardships from excessive fatigue and inclemency of weather, but also the most imminent dangers from the Bosjesmen and beasts of prey.

The practice of subscribing sheep and cattle for the Bosjesmen, except for those belonging to the missions, should be put an end to. It tends to make them suppose that the colonists fear them; and besides, it would be impossible to supply all their nation with a sufficient number for its consumption, even were they careful of them, which they are not; and by giving them to those on the borders, such as are more distant are induced to come nearer, and consequently increase the evil.

I think the Bosjesmen should not be allowed to have any communication with the colony, except through the missions. The farmers are naturally averse to their visits, as they come merely for the purpose of discovering where they can rob with the greatest facility; and, at all events, it is a tax which falls on those who are least able to support it; their poverty forcing them to settle in the remotest part of the colony.

In return for the sheep and cattle supplied to the missions, I think the farmers should be furnished with an increased allowance of ammunition at the price paid by government. The expenditure of powder is very considerable in that part of the country, occasioned by the necessity of arming the shepherds in all weathers, to be prepared against the attacks of the Bosjesmen and lions, and of placing trap guns for beasts of prey, &c. It might also, perhaps, be advisable to supply each farmer with the means of sending up rockets in the event of night attacks from the Bosjesmen as a signal for their neighbours to repair to their assistance.

There should be some regulations made as to the manner of repelling the attacks of the Bosjesmen. I think that when the habitations of the farmers are attacked, or their cattle stolen by them, they might be permitted to follow them as far as the borders of the colony, and put the robbers to immediate death. But they should not be allowed to proceed further without a reference to authority which might be vested in the superintendents of missions, one of whom should take charge of such parties, and be held responsible for bringing all those to punishment who should do any injury to any person whatever, except to the men of the kraal where the cattle may be found. But this is a point of considerable delicacy, and requires the coolest deliberation. It appears to me, however, that no measures can be successful in putting an end to the depredations of the Bosjesmen, unless that people are convinced that the farmers possess the power of repelling their attacks, and that the government is as much determined to punish those who conduct themselves improperly, as to protect those who are peaceable.

The obstacles that exist within the colony to the establishment of the mission, being surmounted, a communication should be effected with the different Bosjesmen kraals, to whom the nature of these institutions should be announced, as well as the regulations it may be thought advisable to adopt respecting their intercourse with the colony. Interpreters may be easily procured among the farmers and their servants, in Roggeveld particularly, where the families of the Fishers and the Coetzees speak their language, and are personally acquainted with a great number of them. The number of kraals is not known to the colonists, and probably not even to themselves. They have no intercourse with each other, except when they happen to meet at a fountain, which, as well as game, is often the subject of bloody contentions among them. It would, therefore, be in vain to expect any general responsibility from that people; but although this disunion and want of reciprocal dependence may prevent any permanent peace with them, it is certainly a very fortunate circumstance for the colonists on the borders, when at war with them, as they could not possibly resist the efforts of such multitudes if united, and ably directed against them. Of the hostile kraals situated near the Karee Mountains, that commanded by Goddard is represented to be the most numerous and most formidable. It was with him that a peace was concluded a few years since at the Zak River, by the landdrost of Tulbagh, which was broken by the people of that chief, before the landdrost had time to reach his drostdy. His son having been killed last year in one of the attacks on the farmers, that event is said to have rendered him more cautious, and to have induced him to express a wish, lately to Mr. Edwards, a missionary with the Boshuanas (who saw him on his way from the Orange River to Cape Town) to make peace with the colony. There are three more hostile kraals in that neighbourhood, one commanded by Moses, another by three chiefs named Rouland, Abraham, and Cobus, and the third by Schneiachshen; the last has done the most injury, having, among other atrocious acts, perpetrated the horrid and wanton murder committed on the persons of three women and five children last year, at the house of Christiaan Bras, a man who, although extremely poor, is stated to have invariably received with kindness all Bosjesmen who have come to him in a friendly manner, and who was then at the Fish River, at the distance of a day's journey from his habitation, with his male servants and cattle.

I shall now beg leave to conclude this report, which I fear may have been extended to a length that has unnecessarily trespassed on your Excellency's time and patience. I do not flatter myself that I have pointed out the best measures that can be adopted for obtaining the object which your Excellency has in view, but I shall consider my time well employed if I have had the good fortune to offer any suggestion that may be found conducive to a purpose so essentially calculated to promote the interests of humanity, the prosperity of the colony, and the honor and advantage of the British nation.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

His Excellency the Right Honorable Earl of Caledon.

R. COLLINS.

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### Col. Collins' Notes made on a journey to the southern branches of the River T'Ky, and through Kaffraria. [*Omitted in the Parl. Papers.*]

Our party had been agreeably augmented at Zwagers Hoek, by the presence of the landdrost Mr. Stockenstrom, and on our return to Schaapkraal, we found nearly thirty farmers from Agter Sneeuwberg and Tarka under their veldecornets Van Eerde and Potgieter, ready to accompany us. Having made the necessary preparations for so long a tour, on the 3rd of March, we again passed the boundary, and proceeded about ten miles to a branch of the Zwarte T'Ky, called Bezuidenhouts River, whose source is in Winterberg. The second day's journey brought us about six miles further, to a place called Eland's Kraal, situated near a fountain, and periodical stream. On the third day we proceeded about the same distance to Ox Kraal, a spot on the eastern bank of a clear and constant rivulet. These places had acquired their respective names from the missionary Dr. van der Kemp, and his party, who came about seven or eight years since from Gaika's country to Ox Kraal, where they staid several months. They then went to Schaap Kraal, the neighbourhood of which was at that time uninhabited except by Bosjesmen. From this place Dr. van der Kemp was brought away, at his solicitation, by a party sent for the purpose from the colony. The others, among whom were Coenraad de Buys, one of the former turbulent characters of the eastern districts, and Coenraad Besuidenhout, who had fled from the colony for a case of manslaughter, returned to the T'Ky, and some of them proceeded even beyond the country of the Tambookees. With the exception, however, of two persons, a deserter from the British service, and a colonist, they had all returned to the colony on a pardon granted by the Batavian government. The son of Besuidenhout was our guide, and we hoped by his means to discover the retreat of the exiles, and to induce them to return.

On the 6th we passed a rivulet, a mile or two from that where we had slept the preceding night, and which joins it at a short distance. We called it the Granite River, from its bed being mostly composed of that stone. This is a constant and fine stream; it rises in the mountain that throws out Kat River in a contrary direction.

At the distance of about twelve miles from where we saw this stream, it meets Besuidenhout's River, and

two streams flowing southerly from Storm Mountains. Their junction takes place near a poort, or passage through the mountains, and constitutes the Zwarte T'Ky River, which flows in the direction of E.S.E., directly contrary to the course of Orange River. We encamped at the entrance of a pass about two miles from Granite River, and called it Gnoo's Poort, from having killed two of those animals there.

The country between Schaap Kraal and this place, is composed of a mixture of hills and dales, it greatly resembles Agter Bruintjes Hoogte, but is better watered.

On the 7th we proceeded through Gnoo's Poort, and having travelled nine hours, rounding the hills, in which time we did not gain above a dozen miles in a straight direction, we stopped at another pass called Prinsloo's Poort, where we found water, and a few mimosas, the first trees we had seen this day. Two bontebucks of the smaller species were killed, and a great number of gnoos, quaghas, and hartebeests were seen.

On the 8th we crossed another small stream, called Thorn River, about a mile from where we had encamped the preceding day, and at the end of a winding march of five hours, we found a large stream called Thomas River, from an English deserter named Thomas Bentley, one of the party above-mentioned, who had been wounded there by a Bosjesman. These streams fall at no great distance into the Zwarte T'Ky through its southern bank, near the spot where it receives, through the opposite bank, the Witte T'Ky, a stream of magnitude which issues from the Storm Mountains, and whose junction with it forms the T'Ky River.

The country we had traversed the last two days, consists of smooth hills, thickly covered by a hard sour grass, and is much inferior to that situated between it and the colony; on our left were the mountains that border the T'Ky; on our right those that give rise to the Kyskamma and Kognie (Buffalo) Rivers.

The country through which Mr. Stockenstrom travelled, and upon which he reported last year, contains the northern branches of the river T'Ky, which are produced by the Bamboes and Storm Mountains. That gentleman proceeded to the distance of a few miles east of the Zomo, which is a more considerable stream than the Witte T'Ky, and which also flows from the Storm Mountains. He informed me that the country is varied like that through which we had just passed, and that the most fertile part of it is near the Witte T'Ky.

On the 9th we ascended a high point called Duyvels Kop, having, on our right, one yet higher; they may be considered as the end of the Kaffer Mountains, properly so called; and are, I think, about seventy miles in a straight line S.E. of Schaap Kraal. The view from Duyvels Kop to the eastward is very beautiful. Although the soil is inferior to that of the golden plains near Grey, Caledon, and Orange Rivers, yet the variety of grounds, the scattered mimosas that adorn the hills, and the more valuable yellow, and other woods, that are crowded together in the clefts and glens, render this country much more interesting. This day's journey took seven hours, and we stopped at a spot called Besuidenhout's Kraal, at about twenty miles N.E. of which, the Zomo, whose source cannot be distant from that of Grey's River, joins the T'Ky. The united streams flow in a direction nearly south to the sea. The river produced by their junction is still known among the colonists by the name of T'Ky, but is called Kyba by the Kaffers residing on its banks.

We were surprised on the following morning by the appearance of six Kaffers. They told us that they were proceeding from Gyka; whom they had left the day before, to Opato, whom they expected to reach the next day. This is the Tambookie Chief whom Mr. Stockenstrom found unexpectedly a few miles east of the Zomo, where it appears that he usually resides. The messengers informed us that the object of their journey was to exchange copper chains for cattle. This barter is conducted in a very gallant manner. The messengers deliver the compliments of their Chiefs, and throw the chains round the necks of the favorite ladies. They ask nothing in return, but when they choose to terminate their visit, which was this time to last a week or ten days, they are presented with the supposed value of their gifts. The amount seems, however, to be perfectly well understood by both parties; for they said that they should receive a cow for each chain. Three of these Kaffers were at Opato's, for the same purpose, at the time of Mr. Stockenstrom's visit to that Chief above 18 months before.

After a march of three hours, we passed the Kamboosie. This is a rivulet which flows from the end of the Kaffer Mountains, east to the Kyba. It may be regarded as the continuation of the line of demarcation between Kaffraria and the country of the Bosjesmen, of which the part to the west is formed by the mountains in which it has its source. We encamped at three hours' march S.E. of the Kamboosie.

The next day we proceeded more eastwardly. Many parts of the country were observed in flames, which had been lighted by the Kaffers to clear the land of the old grass, in order to attract wild animals to the young shoots, which soon succeed. At the end of five hours we stopped at the edge of an immense chasm. Its depth must be nearly two hundred feet, and its sides are lined with schistus, and a variety of woods. From the bank on which we encamped, a stream of water falls into it, from which circumstance we gave it the name of Water Fall.

As we were now within a few miles of the Kyba, on the opposite bank of which the Kaffers live, with whom the refugees that we were in search of were said to reside, messengers were, on the 12th, sent forward to Hinsa, their principal chief, to inform him of the ostensible object of our journey, and to request his permission to proceed. In the meantime we moved on eastwardly, to the river, where we arrived after a ride of two hours, at a ford whose bottom was composed of large stones, over which the water rolled with considerable rapidity. The river seemed to be, above and below the ford, about 100 yards in breadth. The heights by

which it is bordered are so steep and rugged, that it was deemed inadvisable to bring the wagons any further, more especially as the distance that we intended to proceed was inconsiderable. They were consequently conducted back to the place where we had slept the preceding night, to which we also returned.

Wishing to employ the time necessary to receive Hinsas answer, in visiting the mouth of the river, we set out for that purpose, but were forced to return before we had lost sight of our wagons, in consequence of Mr. Cowdery's having unfortunately fallen from his horse, and dislocated his shoulder.

The messengers returned on the 14th, with an invitation from Hinsas to proceed, and with four guides to conduct us to his residence.

On the 15th we left our camp on horseback, to the number of twelve persons, and in three hours arrived at a ford, a few miles lower than that we had before seen. The approach to it was exceedingly picturesque. On the opposite bank, between precipices of schistus, almost concealed by trees or shrubs, is an opening, where well wooded elevations cross each other, and gradually rise in succession. In the midst of it is seated a Kaffer village, on whose skirts were browsing numbers of cattle, extended to the adjoining hills. A clear rivulet serpentines through them, and joins the Kyba. The weather was as fine as possible, and its calmness communicated to the waters, had tempted four hippopotami to show their heads above the surface. A shot from one of the farmer's large muskets interrupted the contemplation of this interesting scene. The ball struck one of these huge animals directly on the forehead, at the distance of thirty paces, but it served only to alarm him and his companions, and to drive them to a place of security.

Having crossed the river and ascended the heights, we perceived below us a small river called the Gooa, which is lost in the Kyba, at about half a mile above the ford. A little farther it is divided into two streams, forming a charming island of about a mile in circumference, which contained a few huts and some cattle. Continuing our route, we passed through several villages, at one of which we stopped to procure *mazee*, or curdled milk. We were followed by a multitude of both sexes until our arrival, after a three hours' ride from the ford, at the residence of Bookoo, a brother of Hinsas, and his principal chief. His place consisted of three or four huts, standing near a wood and rivulet, which generally determine the site of kraals. He was seated on a mat, his side towards us, and having a few men also seated before him. After waiting a few minutes, during which he remained motionless, we approached him, and inquired whether Bookoo could be spoken with? He then rose, and entered into conversation with us, by asking the nature of our journey? He appeared to be about twenty-four years of age; his countenance was rendered interesting by a good-humoured smile and a very fine set of teeth; his figure was tall and elegant, but as well as his face, was rendered more like that of a Hottentot than of a Kaffer, by being all over smeared with ochre. He wore no useful article of dress, except a kaross, made of a leopard skin, which was suspended on his neck, and covered one shoulder; one wrist was surrounded by copper wire, some beads hung from one ear, and others adorned an ankle.

We presented him some trifles, which occupied his attention for more than an hour. In the meantime we retired to rest ourselves at a little distance, where we were joined by his two wives, their gouvernante, and two attendants. Their dress consisted of a thin skin tied round the head as a handkerchief, from which projected a copper peak in the form of a comb; a skin of greater strength was wound about the body, with much neatness, but with so much modesty, as, by its weight, necessarily to depress the breasts at an early period. Beads and other ornaments were worn by them, much in the same manner as by the men. The ladies were extremely cheerful, but on the approach of Bookoo, his wives retired to their huts.

The chief stretched himself near us, on the grass, and after making some observations on the presents, told us that a hut had been prepared for our residence, and that he had ordered a bullock to be killed for our use. We asked him many questions, among which was one inquiring the comparative rank of Hinsas and Gyka; he said that Hinsas was the first of the Kaman Kozas (Kaffer people) and added with uplifted hands, "he is so great, that when Gyka, Zlambie, or any of the other chiefs want fat, they send to him for it." He informed us that he (Bookoo) and Gyka sometimes visited, but that the latter and Hinsas had not yet paid their respects to each other. Some jealousy may perhaps, exist about rank between them, for it appears that when there is superiority, there is also an etiquette to be attended to.

Hinsas often comes to Bookoo, either to see or to consult him, but the latter never goes to the former, except when sent for. Although very ready to answer our inquiries upon other points, Bookoo declined giving any information upon political matters, which he said were entirely under the direction of Hinsas and his council. We endeavoured to learn his ideas of a supreme being, and a future state. It was obvious that he had never before heard any mention of them, and he treated these subjects with so much levity, that we immediately discontinued the conversation respecting them. At night we retired to a hut made in the form of a bee-hive, about 14 feet in diameter, and 7 in height at the centre. It was supported by four posts, and had one aperture just large enough to admit a person stooping. We lighted a fire in the middle of it, and were soon favored with the company of many Kaffers of both sexes, who remained with us to a late hour, devouring the beef, which our arrival had fortunately procured for them, and which they did not give us the trouble of tasting.

We took leave of Bookoo early in the morning and ascended a hill, where we found one of his half brothers, named Osampa, seated on the ground in front of his hut, with his family standing behind him. He begged something, and having given him a few beads, we left him, and proceeded, nearly S.E. through a country rather more rugged than that west of the Kyba, but rendered more pleasing by being inhabited and cultivated.

We passed several kraals, at all of which we saw Kaffer or Indian corn, and, at some, plantations of tobacco and pumpkins. The stem of the Kaffer corn is sucked by the natives, in the same manner as the sugar cane by the Negroes of the West India Islands. The juice is not much less delicious, and would probably yield tolerable sugar.

After a ride of six hours we arrived at Hinsas's residence, which like that of Bookoo, consisted only of the huts necessary for the accommodation of his family, and a spare one for strangers. That of the chief was larger and neater than any we had yet seen. Hinsas was not at home, but his mother received us with a hearty shake of the hand, a mode of salutation which she acknowledged to have learnt from previous visitors. This lady was one of the widows of Khouwta the father of Hinsas, and sister of Odaba, late chief of the Tambookie nation. We saw two more good-natured looking sister widows, but our attention was most engaged by the young queen, the daughter of Kamboose also a Tambookie chief. Her handsome appearance was rendered more interesting by the attention with which she nursed an infant child.

If she appear equally amiable in the eyes of her husband, it is perhaps only through custom that a couple of tumbies, the name here given to concubines, are attached to his household.

Having taken some milk, which, according to their custom, was tasted by the person who brought it to us, a few of us set out for the residence of the exiles. The ride to it resembled a progress through the finest English park, which, indeed, was the appearance of all the country we had seen east of the Kyba. This spot was, however, rendered particularly interesting by a view of the sea, to which we were descending. The distance being greater than we had expected, we did not reach the strand until near dark, when we arrived at a collection of huts, some built in the colonial, others in the Kaffer style. The first person that we saw was a white man, whose only covering was a ragged jacket, and pair of breeches. He seemed much alarmed, and spoke in Dutch; but his accent soon discovered that he belonged to another country. We told him that we had not come to do him harm, but on the contrary, to offer his Majesty's pardon to him, and the other refugees in Kaffer Land; provided they would return, without delay, to the colony. This declaration restored the use of his mother tongue, and seemed to dispel his fears. He returned thanks in English, for the favour; and the history he told us of himself, is as follows:—

His name is Henry MacDaniel; he was born in the county of Clare, where his father is an innkeeper, was irregularly enlisted early in last war, embarked for foreign service, was captured, kept four years in a French prison, for which time he has not received any pay, was exchanged and sent out again with some recruits for the Cape, from whence he deserted a few months after his arrival. He evaded telling us his regiment, but added, that he had lived some time with the farmers near Zwartekops River, had gone from thence to Kafferland, in the hope of finding a passage to Ireland, had resided several months in Gykas's territory, and had been nearly a year with one Loghenberg, a young Dutch farmer, and a few Hottentots and slaves, at the place where we found him; he said that Hinsas had treated them with great kindness, and lent them some milch cows, which, with the addition of fish, and a sea cow occasionally shot in the neighbouring rivers, insured them a subsistence. He further informed us, that they had had another companion, who was known to them only by the name of Peter, but whom they conceived to be a deserter from the late Batavian garrison; that he had quarrelled with, and left them, and, by the last accounts they had received of him, was residing near the Bassee, at the kraal of Welhela, the uncle of Hinsas, from whence they did not think he would be induced to remove, as he wore the kaross and lived in every respect like a Kaffer.

The shore here was lined with breakers, upon which the sea dashed with great violence. MacDaniel stated, that he was well acquainted with the coast, from the colony to the Bassee, in which there is no good landing place except at the Beeka.

We supped on the usual fare of these people, which we pressed our Kaffer guide to partake of; this he however declined, saying that his countrymen never eat any kind of fish, and that they drink the milk only of their own kraal. He, however, took share of our couch, which consisted of straw laid on the floor of the Irishman's hut, on which the fatigue occasioned by our long ride, enabled us to sleep very soundly, notwithstanding the noise of the ocean.

The next morning we found, to our no small surprise, that the whole party had decamped. A couple of persons were sent to look for them on the hills, but they returned without finding them. One of the slaves, however, came and told us that they were lurking in the woods, at a short distance, and I sent him with a few lines, written with a pencil, assuring them of what they had been told the preceding evening; stating the obvious pacific nature of our visit, as we were only five persons, and all unarmed, and giving them the choice of returning with or after us to the colony. A Kaffer then came from them to say that they wished to see Bezuidenhout (who had accompanied us) to learn the truth from him. He went, followed by the landdrost, but they found only Loghenberg, who told them that they had been alarmed by our coming so late, and by their old acquaintance, Bezuidenhout, having never quitted us to speak alone with them. He assured them that he should come to us at Hinsas's in the course of the day, provided he could find the Irishman, who had gone off with their horses. The Hottentots then came down to us, they were all women, who were living with the whites or slaves, by whom they mostly had children. On our return to Hinsas's, we were told that he had come home that morning: about fifty men were seated before his hut; he was not among them, but he soon came out, and approached and spoke to them in a very affable manner; they addressed him without rising, by

a salutation, consisting of the words "*Aan Hinsu*," the Kaffer manner of saluting a chief, the only person with whom they use that ceremony. He then came up to me and took me rather awkwardly by the hand; I thanked him for having sent us guides, said that I hoped he had no objection to the exiles returning to the colony, requested that he would send to Graaff-Reinet any that might persist in remaining, as well as all others who might hereafter come in a similar manner into his territory, and promised him that the trouble should be amply recompensed; he replied that he must consult his advisers before he could give me an answer. I then retired, and sent him a present in the name, and as a token of the friendship, of the great chief of the christians; and he let me know that an ox should be slaughtered for the party.

Hinsa has not the slightest natural resemblance to Bookoo, and they are rendered still more unlike by the former's not using ochre, thereby preserving his dark colour. His person is tall and stout, his eyes are large, but directed to every thing except to the person to whom he is speaking, and his whole manner indicated an absent and fidgetty disposition; his dress did not differ from that of his vassals; he is younger than Bookoo, but it was settled at his mother's marriage, that her children should succeed to the government in preference to those of the other wives, a circumstance that in no way disturbs the harmony of the brothers.

The number of the ladies had been increased by some visitors since the preceding day; they all came and sat by us except the young queen, and kept us in conversation until joined by Hinsu. Half extended on the grass, reclining on one of his veterans and favorites, and holding by a string a dog, which seemed to possess an equal share in his regard, the chief desired our interpreter to say, that the exiles had come into his country, as had been practised by other persons from the colony, to whom his territory was always open. They had pleaded great distress, and he had done every thing in his power to relieve them; he was not aware that they had left their own country without the permission of their chief, whose wishes on this point he should be happy to attend to in future; he further promised to send a messenger to them early the next morning, to inform them that he would not object to their return, and to recommend their immediate departure.

I had been informed by one of the party which had first proceeded (I believe about the year 1780) in search of the people of the *Grosvenor*, Indiaman, that the dead bodies of several had been found at a place between the Kyba and Bassee Rivers, and that circumstances had given strong reasons to suppose that these unfortunate people had been murdered by the natives. I, therefore, earnestly requested Hinsu to afford protection to all persons who might hereafter be wrecked upon his coast, and to assist them in proceeding to the colony; assuring him that such kindness would be liberally rewarded. He immediately assured me that every assistance should be given to such persons, if stranded near his residence; but that Gyka must be spoken to for whatever might happen near him.

The ladies continued present during this conversation, and seemed to take a great interest in it. A broil from the bullock that had just been killed was handed to each of the royal party. The scarcity of such food probably heightened its zest, for they devoured it with a voracity truly plebeian. The delicate hands of the ladies were a little sullied in consequence of the deficiency of table utensils, but their purity was quickly restored by a careful application of cowdung. This repast must be considered as a luncheon. At their regular meals, which are twice in the day, and consist mostly of a mixture of milk and corn, the whole kraal is assembled, but the men and women eat separately; where there is a chief he has a distinct basket, in which none but those he invites can dip their spoons. We took advantage of this opportunity and of every other afforded during our short stay, to attain as much information as possible respecting this people and their neighbours. Except the interruptions occasioned by their fondness for dress, and trifles, we found the greatest attention and readiness on their part, to satisfy our curiosity. Although they sometimes gave rise to mirth, not the least dissatisfaction was ever expressed or suspicion evinced at our numerous inquiries; they would sometimes question us in return, and among the customs that excited their surprise, the ladies seemed to think it most extraordinary, that in our country women should generally pay for their husbands, instead of the men paying for their wives, as is the Kaffer practice.

Not many years since, Hinsu's people resided on the right bank of the Kyba, where traces of his kraals still exist. An unsuccessful war with Gyka forced him to abandon that country; which he now uses only for the purpose of hunting. I asked him whether he would object to Gyka or Zlambie removing to it, he answered without the slightest hesitation, that if either should come there, he would risk every thing to drive him back immediately, certain that sooner or later a war must be the consequence of his vicinity. On making the same inquiry with regard to Konga, he replied that it would afford him great pleasure to have that chief near him; as he was properly one of his own people, and they were on the most friendly terms; but added, that he thought the others would not allow him to pass them unmolested. Hinsu, and those about him, seemed particularly to dislike Gyka.

The country now occupied by Hinsu's people, is situated near the sea, between the Kyba and the Bassee, rivers of equal magnitude, and distant about forty miles from each other. In addition to the Gooa, the branch of the Kyba already mentioned, several more small streams serpentine through this fine tract, among which the Koho at a short distance east of Hinsu's residence, which is situated in the middle of his territory, and the Juguga, a few miles beyond the Koho, are most deserving of notice.

As the Kaffers are themselves unacquainted with their population, it is impossible for a stranger to know it. We guessed, however, that this tribe might consist altogether of about ten thousand souls. They are all

under the absolute controul of Hinsa, but divided among a number of subordinate chiefs. Of these the principal are Bookoo, already noticed; two uncles of Hinsa, named Welhela and Odessa, and his cousin Ootelanie, Osampa, Onopesle, Oovookonie, Oobonie, Ofadana, Oonamba, and Omalache.

It is not less difficult to form an estimate of the numbers of their cattle, than respecting their population; I think it however probable that they may exceed twenty thousand. None but oxen had their horns turned in the Kaffer fashion, cattle of the mixed European breed having colonial marks, had been observed by us in the different kraals; two horses belonging to Hinsa were also seen with those of the refugees. I mentioned to that chief, that, as his people conducted themselves so properly, he was probably not aware that the Kaffers near the colony acted sometimes very differently, and that I had reason to think that the cattle stolen by them from the farmers, were often sent to more distant kraals, to be exchanged for others, in order that the proprietors should not be enabled to discover them. I begged he would therefore direct his people not to receive any but Kaffer cattle in exchange; this he promised, but as on the one hand, he and his people would thereby be deprived of some advantageous bargains, while he has nothing to fear, or expect on the other hand, I am apprehensive that this trade, so injurious to the colony, will be continued.

Some connoisseurs prefer the Kaffer breed of cattle to the colonial. It is remarkable that the latter should also be excelled by that of the Namaqua people. The Kaffers, however, prefer the colonial cattle to their own; the attachment of the farmers to the long horned race will protract any improvement in the breed.

We had understood that the nearest Tambookee kraal was only a day's journey from that of Hinsa, and had, therefore, intended to visit it; but having learnt from him, and others, that it would require two days to reach it, and our horses being much fatigued, we relinquished the idea, the more readily as we were favoured with the following account of that people.

Opato, chief of the Tambookee kraal a little east of the Zomo, has already been mentioned. It would appear that he has not been long in that part of the country. He acknowledged to Mr. Stockenstrom, that it does not belong to him, that he had never passed the Zomo, and that he had come so near it only because he had found the place uninhabited; he, however, confessed at the same time, that he was on such bad terms with his king, as to render it dangerous for his people to go to his residence; but offered to provide guides to the next chief. This cause might have operated as powerfully as the one he himself assigned, for his removal so far westward. The Zomo is said to be about forty miles from the Bassee, and about the same distance from the sea. The kraal which we had intended to visit, is commanded by a chief named Wakyna. It is situated about N.E. and, as already stated, at two short days' journey from Hinsa's residence, and is on this side of the Bassee, but close to it. Near it, on the opposite bank of that river, is the residence of Oovoosanee, chief of the Tambookee, or rather, according to their own appellation, of the Tembo, or Tenjain nation.

Being a minor, the government is under the direction of his uncle Ochacho. A few days' journey farther is the chief Kamboosee, whose daughter is married to Hinsa, and whose people are sometimes called Mambookees, and at a considerable distance from him beyond a great river called the Omsinfooboo, is a tribe called Manduanas, under a chief named Ofooboo; until far beyond the Bassee, the Tambookees do not live near the sea. Their subjection to one chief is probably more nominal than real, for they are said frequently to make war on each other, and have been repeatedly reconciled through the mediation of Hinsa, and of his father, with whom they have always been at peace, and whose people and theirs often mix on hunting parties, and have otherwise constant intercourse. The Manduanas are represented as the most warlike tribe.

The Tambookees are said to be in every respect the same people as the Kaffers, except that they approach rather more to the appearance of the negro, which is probably occasioned by their being farther removed from the Ghonaquas and other Hottentots. Some change is also said to be found in the language, from Kamboosee's people inclusive to the northward. It is not more easy to form a judgment of their numbers than of those of the Kaffers. Like the latter their strength has been probably overrated. It is supposed that most of Opato's people had assembled to see the wagons, as they had never before beheld any, and they did not exceed one hundred and fifty men. The united kraals of the Tambookee people do not probably exceed a few thousand souls.

The trade carried on between Gyka and the southern kraals has already been noticed; those more to the north, are said to receive iron and copper from a people beyond them, probably from those of Rio de la Goa, who are occasionally provided with those articles by ships of various nations, in exchange for gold dust, ivory, and provisions.

Some time after the departure of Hinsa's messenger to the refugees, Bezuidenhout was again dispatched to know their intentions, and was directed to meet us at our camp. Shortly afterwards [a messenger?] sent to them by Hinsa, returned, and informed us that he had been at their kraal, from whence they had all gone away, and taken off the cattle and moveables.

After presenting the ladies, and members of the council with some trifles, on the 18th we took leave of Hinsa; he was kind enough again to provide us with guides, whom we directed to conduct us to the mouth of the Kyba, in the way to the wagons.

The country through which we passed on our return, is similar to that we had before seen, well wooded, well watered, extremely beautiful and capable of producing most of the conveniences and luxuries of life. Several kraals, consisting of from two to fifteen huts were seen, from which the people issued on our approach,

crying "passela incosee" (pray give me, Sir) and many of them followed us for miles, repeating these words. Keeping for some time within sight of the sea, we arrived in the evening at a kraal where we found an assemblage of more than two hundred head of cattle, but not a human being; after waiting some time, a boy of about eight years of age crept out of the bushes, and came up to one of the guides whose voice he had recognized; his master resided at the distance of two or three miles, and this little creature had every night the charge of the herds, which indeed are so well trained in this country, as to be capable of taking care of themselves; this incident is sufficient to show the security of person and property under Hinsas's government; it does not, however, proceed from severity in punishing crimes, for no person has ever been condemned by him to suffer capital punishment.

We proceeded on early the next morning, and when we thought we should arrive at the mouth of the river, we perceived the village near the ford, which we had crossed some days before, the guides had misunderstood us, or rather, affected to have done so; thus twice disappointed in this attempt, we gave it up entirely.

We found Bezuidenhout on the other side of the ford, which he had been enabled to reach before us by travelling all night. The exiles were preparing to come to see us at Hinsas's, when he arrived at their residence, and although he told them, that we intended to set off the same morning, they came there immediately in the hope of finding us; Hinsas told them publicly, that the road would be open to them whenever they might wish to return to the colony. His messenger had not, however, gone to their place, and the story of their flight with their cattle and moveables was consequently an invention, if not of the chief, probably of his council.

McDaniel and Loghenberg desired Bezuidenhout to assure me that they should return as soon as a Hottentot servant, who was then confined by sickness, was sufficiently recovered to be enabled to undertake the journey; but the slaves having mentioned that they were apprehensive of again exposing themselves to the cruelty they stated that they had previously experienced from their masters, I wrote a second note, directing that the whole party should report themselves to the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, on their return to the colony, and promising that if any instance of bad treatment could be proved by the slaves against their masters, they should be sold to others; but limiting the period of their return to six weeks. During our absence from the encampment, it had been daily visited by Kaffers belonging to Zlambie, Gyka, and Hinsas, who were passing from one country to the other, generally with cattle. The people who had not accompanied us, had employed themselves in shooting hippopotami in the Kyba. As these extraordinary creatures are generally found in the deepest parts of rivers, there is seldom an opportunity afforded of shooting them, otherwise than through the head, which it has already appeared is not every where vulnerable; when mortally wounded, they sink, and sometimes do not appear on the surface for a day or two afterwards. The farmers had killed thirteen, but had got only nine, of which we procured two heads.

The skins were manufactured into sambocks, and the flesh was cut off while the animals were in the water, for their immense bulk would have rendered it extremely difficult to draw them out. The meat gave employment for several days to the oxen, not only of the boers, but likewise of the neighbouring Kaffers, who are as fond of it as the Bosjesmen, and have not less difficulty in procuring it.

A small kraal of the latter people commanded by one Windvogel, came likewise to receive their share; this man lived formerly nearer to the colony, and committed great depredations on the farmers; but Lynx and some more of his associates having deserted him, he retired to a greater distance, and now lives, according to his statement, under the protection of Hinsas, at about midway between the confluence of the Zomo and Kyba rivers and the sea.

We left our station at Water Fall on the 20th, and encamped again at that which we had occupied on the 11th. The next morning messengers were dispatched to Gyka, to request permission to proceed to his residence, and we proceeded during two hours along the road we had come from Tarka. The Devil's Head bore N.W., about twenty miles from us, and we could perceive the high chain of mountains of which it is the termination, running in a direction of nearly west. A lower range lies between them and the sea, and running for some distance more southwardly, obliged us to turn off to the left, in order to arrive at Gyka's residence.

After proceeding about three hours longer, we arrived at a place called Buy's Kraal, remarkable for a number of woody kloofs meeting there, and producing a stream, which, after running a few miles, receives another, and then under the name of Kahoona, proceeds to the sea. We were employed nearly four hours on the morning of the 21st in crossing a succession of hills and hollows, more wooded than any part of the country we had yet seen. We were repeatedly stopped during a considerable time to make passages for the wagons; but this delay was amply compensated by the view of a fine, though deserted country. The road opened afterwards during a couple of hours, but on arriving at the first branch of the Kognie (called by the colonists Buffalo) river, we again came among bushes, very thickly planted, and rendered still more difficult by a quantity of underwood; having forced our way to the second branch, which is about half a mile farther, near the third branch, and not far from a deserted kraal. The following morning we crossed the third branch, and a mile farther, a fourth one. Understanding that their junction took place at a little distance, we left the wagons to see it, and after penetrating through the bushes, we found a stream of only a dozen yards in breadth, which, however, is said to widen to thirty or forty before it falls into the sea. Having again got into the wagon track, we continued to proceed about W.S.W. along the feet of the lower mountains (which are thickly covered with

various kinds of trees) through a country rather open ; but which, from its extreme ruggedness, is exceedingly unpleasant to ride over. On our way we crossed the Guacovi, a small stream near which we saw another abandoned kraal. Our wagons travelled this day about six hours, exclusive of the necessary halts to prepare passages through the rivulets and kloofs. We stopped for the night at a pass, a little south of which Gyka lived before he was deserted by Zlambie, who, prior to that event, occupied the country we had this day traversed.

The messengers that had been sent to Gyka, met us here, and informed us that the farmers who had been directed to come from Agter Bruintjes Hoogte and Zwagers Hoek to accompany us to Zuureveld, had been two days waiting near his residence. We continued our route on the 24th, and in order to save a day's journey, determined to cross part of the mountains. In three hours' time we arrived at the Kysee, better known to the colonists by the name of Kyskamma, here a small stream, but afterwards one of the most considerable of Kafferland. From thence we were obliged to open a way through a country never before passed by wagons ; and in the evening we joined our new party at a place appointed by Gyka for their encampment, and about a mile from his kraal.

The next day our former party set out for Baviaan's River, where they expected to arrive in three days, and from whence it would require as many more, to reach their respective homes.

Having sent to inform Gyka of our arrival, he let us know that he should wait on us as soon as joined by his uncle Jaloosa, whom he had sent for.

About midday his approach was announced. He was in the centre of an irregular line of about an hundred men, who advanced with a slow pace and halted at thirty yards from our encampment. Having gone to meet him, he came forward with his interpreter and another person, whom we afterwards learnt was his brother-in-law. The remainder of his retinue, and those persons who had come to us before his arrival, seated themselves at a respectful distance. Some compliments were exchanged in which he bore his part without embarrassment or affectation. The presents were then produced, and I delivered them to him as a mark of the friendship and approbation of the great chief of the christians. His figure is well proportioned, his countenance manly and intelligent. Although without any article whatever of dress, except a tiger skin and a necklace, he had hitherto appeared with dignity, but on perceiving the trifles, the chief was forgotten. He called a few favorites to share in his delight, which was manifested in a loud laugh at every new object that presented itself. Having concluded the inspection, he inquired whether I had not brought him clothes, I told him that I had understood he had received a suit at Major Cuyler's last visit ; but on his observing that the holes in his caross pleaded for another, I promised to send him one.

We then retired to a tent, which was soon filled by his chiefs and confidential people, he said that he had been long expecting me, had learnt that I had been with Hinsa, and hoped I had brought good news, both from him and from the colony. I replied, that the object of my journey to Hinsa was to claim some persons belonging to the colony, and that I had also to request of him, that he would give up any persons of that description who might be in his territory, that in addition to the assurance of friendship which I had already conveyed to him, I had to say that it was wished that none of his people should go to the colony, unless sent with a token by him on business ; as the multitudes that had been in the habit of visiting it, for the purpose of begging, and sometimes of stealing, had become so great a nuisance to the inhabitants, as to be any longer insupportable.

He replied, that he was not aware of any refugees being in his kraals, but that the veld cornets might make inquiries on that head. He was sorry it had been found necessary to interrupt the intercourse of his people with the colonists, but hoped that he himself might be regarded as an exception, and that in consequence of the losses he had sustained in his late war with Zlambie, he had intended to go round the farms to complete the number of cattle necessary to pay for a Tambookie wife, whom he expected, the daughter of Ochacho. On inquiring the number he required for that purpose, he said twenty ; I then told him, that the more elevated his station, the more necessary was it for him to give the example of propriety ; that there would be no objection to his proceeding with a few men to either of the neighbouring landdrosts, or even to the Cape, but that he could not be permitted to beg from the inhabitants ; that they should, however, receive him with hospitality on his way, and that, as a further mark of the interest my great chief took in his happiness, if his visit were made directly to the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, he should receive the number of cattle he had stated.

I then said, that I had been further directed to inform him, that as soon as the differences between the Kaffer people were terminated, and they were all peaceably residing as formerly beyond the Great Fish River, it was the intention of the colonial government to give directions for their being annually supplied with such things as they might want in exchange for cattle and ivory, and I pointed out the great advantage they would derive from afterwards sending those things to more distant countries.

Gyka's whole stock of cattle is said to be reduced to ten cows, and a very few oxen. This may account for his receiving my last communication with seeming indifference. He merely observed, that if the trade were not opened until the removal of the Kaffers to their own country, unless the colony would undertake the task of expelling them, he was apprehensive that he should not live to enjoy its benefits.

I inquired why he had changed his residence from the place where he used to live at the time when he

obtained the sovereignty? He seemed surprised at the question, but answered, that the whole country from the Kyba to the colony, as well as the country of the Bosjesmen, belonged to him. He, however, acknowledged Hinsa to be his superior chief. I asked whether Konga belonged to him or to Hinsa? He replied, to whichever he may reside with. I said I had been told that Konga wished to take his people to Hinsa's country, but was afraid to pass through his (Gyka's) territory. He assured me, that there was not the least truth in the report, as he and Konga had never had the slightest difference.

He remained with us until evening; having received a couple of sheep for himself, and one for each of his chiefs. We also sent him dinner, and complied with his numerous requisitions for wine and brandy. He offered to kill a bullock for our use, which we begged to decline, in consequence of his having so few. We wished to see his residence, and told him that we should return his visit the next morning. He made no objection, and we were therefore surprised at his appearing with a few attendants in our camp, soon after sunrise. He said his wife would soon follow, and requested that she might also have a present; she came shortly after, with four attendants, two of them Tumbees, and one the wife of Sonslo, a son of Zlambie, who had lately come over with only one attendant. We gave the queen a few presents for herself, and some for Gyka's mother, who, he said, had some time before gone on a visit to her relations among the Tambookees, but who, as we afterwards learnt, had left him secretly, in consequence of his repeated refusal to permit her to return to her own country. The wife seemed to be on the best terms with the mistresses, although they probably enjoyed the advantages resulting from a superiority in personal charms. Gyka had had two other wives, one of them is dead; and the other having been detected in adultery with a man, who was punished with death by Gyka's own hand for it, escaped to her family among Hinsa's people, who were obliged to pay double the number of cattle given for her in marriage, before she was permitted to take another husband.

Although adultery is regarded in such a serious light, when the honor of a chief is concerned, yet when committed by persons of an inferior station, it is seldom punished otherwise than by fine or the separation of the parties. The crime is only on the side of the female, for a married man is merely expected to avoid intercourse with the wife, or acknowledged mistress of another.

The payment of cattle constitutes marriage. When a man wishes to take a lawful wife, he sends a certain number to the father; if the proposal should be rejected, the cattle are immediately returned; but if the parents are favorably disposed towards the suitor, they are received. The bride is seldom given up, however, until the number she is estimated at are delivered, and the lover must send from time to time, until the father's cupidity is satisfied. This, however, is not suffered to be carried beyond bounds. A chief seldom marries the daughter of a vassal, but generally purchases wives from the Tambookees, for each of which he pays perhaps from thirty to fifty cows; a common man seldom pays more than eight or ten, and always marries a fellow subject; wives in this, as I believe in all uncivilized countries, are treated more like slaves by their husbands.

Some chiefs send their daughters to procure husbands among the Tambookees, the latter people are said to be not at all anxious to obtain this honor; yet it is considered as a national affair not only to provide a suitable match for such a visitor, but also to oblige the unexpected bridegroom to send a certain number of cattle to the father, in proportion to the greatness of the lady's suite. Cattle are never given for a Tumbee, but her father or brother is supplied with assagays by her keeper. Chastity is no virtue among the Kaffers; the wife is often forced to be not only the purveyor, but even the witness of her husband's pleasures. A girl is scarcely arrived at the age of puberty, when her parents may see her torn from their fireside by any ruffian who may happen to take a fancy to her, and who may thrust her the next moment from his door, without any other consequence than in the event of pregnancy, when he must choose between marriage or pecuniary reparation.

A young woman generally goes the round of her village before the protection of a husband is afforded her against such embraces as she is unwilling to admit. The daughters only of chiefs are exempted from this rule, and they prostitute themselves only in compliance with their inclinations.

We were much surprised by the appearance of several youths whitened with chalk. On inquiring the cause of this extraordinary custom, we were told that they had lately been circumcised, and that they were to be thus distinguished until cured; they seemed to be about the age of from twelve to fifteen years.

The camp was soon crowded with Kaffers, and after some time Gyka requested another conference. He began by saying that as Jaloosa, who had been prevented attending the preceding day, was now present, he would open himself more fully. After inquiring whether my visit had no other motive than what I had mentioned, he said that he was in daily expectation of a renewal of hostilities with his old enemies, and wished to know whether he might hope for co-operation from the colony, in forcing them over the boundary. I replied that government had been informed that those people preferred the country east of the Great Fish River to their present abode, and that they were prevented returning to it in consequence only of an apprehension of receiving ill-treatment from him. That these fears were occasioned by the tyranny which was stated to have caused the desertion of Zlambie, and by his subsequent conduct to Haabana, and others, who had trusted to the promises he had made to general Janssens of receiving them with kindness. He acknowledged to have taken some of Haabana's cattle, after his return to the Kyskamma; but said, that it had been done in consequence of his having learnt that the chief had secretly sent a great number of them in small parties to Zuureveld, and that he meant himself shortly to follow. He added that he was unfortunate in being disliked by most of the Kaffers, and enumerated many causes for which he said he was blameless. Among others, he

stated that, when a child, the great Khouwta had visited his uncle Zlambie; and had inquired for the son of the late chief Omlao. That having been pointed out, a rich chain was placed around his neck, investing him with the sovereignty of his father's territories; that having arrived at manhood, he had been obliged to assert his rights by force of arms; that he had subdued and captured Zlambie, had unbound his fetters and restored a great proportion of his vassals; but that advantage had been taken of this generosity to excite an insurrection among his people, on pretence of his taking possession of the cattle of deceased rich subjects, as had ever been, and still continues the practice of all the Kaffer chiefs, even of Zlambie himself; he concluded by saying that the fear of him was only a pretext, and that the Kaffers would never leave the Colony, unless forced to do so.

I inquired whether there was any truth in a report which stated that he intended to retire more to the eastward? He replied that his enemies wished to drive him there, but that he had been born and appointed to govern the country where he now resided, and that he would rather lose his life than the possession of it.

I recommended that he should use every means to regain the affections and confidence of his people, and that he should receive with particular kindness all those who might return to him from the colony, stating my conviction of his shortly experiencing the most beneficial results from such a mode of proceeding.

While Gyka was present, he exclusively carried on the conversation. A servant having come into the tent to say that his handkerchief had been found under the kaross of a Kaffer, Gyka went out, but took no other notice of the transaction than desiring the servant to take more care of his things, and ordering his people away from the wagons. While he was absent, Jaloosa asked whether after a couple of years had elapsed, and the Kaffers were quiet, they might not again visit the farmers? I replied that we should see what could then be done; but I could assure him, at all events, that it was the particular wish of the colonial government to treat all the Kaffers as kindly as possible.

On Gyka's return, I observed I supposed he was aware that authority had been given to shoot such Kaffers as might be detected in the act of stealing, and could not be made prisoners. He said that he was not, and having mentioned the subject to his chiefs, observed it would be better that the culprits should be taken. I assured him that it should be done, if possible, but that otherwise they would be shot. Nothing more was said upon the subject.

Gyka was well qualified to give information about his nation; but he seemed to receive my questions with suspicion, and his people evinced a degree of caution in replying to them very different from what I had experienced from those of Hinsa. On making the same inquiries of different persons relative to their population, &c., different answers were given, and it was consequently found impossible to form any just estimate on those points. I shall, however, give the most probable accounts I received.

Gyka's people now inhabit a few square miles, comprising the sources of the Kyskamma, one of which is the Aha, the rivulet where he himself resides. With the exception of this small portion of land, and two or three straggling huts near the Kat River, the whole tract of country from the Kyba to the Great Fish River, containing an area of about one hundred miles by fifty, is said to be totally uninhabited.

The number of his vassals was much reduced by the desertion of Zlambie, but suffered a greater diminution by another insurrection of his people, immediately followed by the late war with his uncle, who then acquired a very considerable accession to his strength. In addition to what may be denominated his personal vassals, Gyka was joined about five years ago by Jaloosa, and since then by two more principal chiefs, Foona, with his brothers or nephews Botma, Anguela, Diepa, Kom, and Koobashie, who came to Gyka just before the termination of his late war, and Kyno formerly known by the name of Maloo, who had joined him with his brothers Galeba, and Kaza, since its termination.

I shall submit the statements given to me of the respective strength of these chiefs without answering for their accuracy.

	Gyka,	-	-	-	-	-	900
	Jaloosa, (he has a brother named Guibee, residing with him)						200
	Kyno,	-	-	-	-	-	200
	Foona,	-	-	-	-	-	70
Under Foona,	{ Botma,	-	-	-	-	-	40
	{ Anguela,	-	-	-	-	-	30
	{ Oovongo,	-	-	-	-	-	40

The last chief is a cousin of Gyka, and together with Fezla, the eldest son of Jaloosa, to whom he is much attached, resides at his own kraal.

There are many other chieftains under Gyka, some of whom may have from one to ten vassals each, while others have none whatever, except perhaps a servant lent by a relation, from whom they sometimes gain a subsistence by assisting in the care of his cattle. I have heard the names of Bookoo, Anesoa, Boolanie, Onchaba, Shoosho, Joko, Kozana, Bontzee. Their numbers may complete Gyka's whole force to about fifteen hundred men.

Most of Foona's cattle had escaped the enemy, but the people of this chief only, and those of Kyno, who is said to be a great marauder, have much cattle. Gyka and Jaloosa were left completely destitute, and several of their children are stated to have perished of want. The latter has since obtained some cattle from the Zureveld chiefs, according to the custom of the Kaffers on the conclusion of hostilities, but Gyka dis-

dained to relieve his distresses by begging from such bitter enemies, although he is often forced to solicit relief from his own subjects.

In the evening my interpreter came to say that Gyka had told him "he wished to strengthen his friendship with the christians, and to come nearer to the colony. That the favors which they had almost exclusively bestowed on him, had made every Kaffer his enemy. That he could not trust even his interpreter, and therefore wished to converse through mine on these subjects."

I desired he should be informed that I was ready to attend to him, and he came shortly afterwards into my tent, but with his own interpreter, and to speak about trifles. On the morning of the 27th, as we were preparing to depart, Gyka came on horseback to ask for a small present which I had promised to give him before we took leave. He was exceedingly importunate for many things that I could not possibly supply him with, among which were horses and fire arms. It was amusing to observe the earnestness with which he dwelt on a promise that he stated had been made to him by Coenraad de Buys, when an exile in his country, of bestowing his daughter on him in marriage when arrived at maturity. He had already made this circumstance known to me by a messenger whom he had sent to Swager's Hoek. I told him that it was now impossible that his wishes could be gratified, as I understood the lady had already given her hand to another, an inhabitant of the colony. This intelligence was very unwelcome to him. He said he had been deceived, that his was a prior claim, that they had been betrothed, and he even insinuated that she ought to be compelled to fulfil her first engagement.

The veld cornets had recovered some stolen cattle, a few of which had been sent over by the Zuureveld Kaffers; but they had heard of a lot of fifteen which they had been disappointed in obtaining. Having mentioned this circumstance to Gyka, he said that they must settle that business with Jaloosa, in one of whose kraals the cattle were stated to have been seen. His answer having been reported to me, I told him that the christians had always regarded him as having absolute control over all the chieftains residing near him, and adverting to the event just mentioned, I requested that he would inform me whether we were to apply to him or to them on such occasions. He replied that it was not with the Kaffers as with the christians, that if he should send to a chief on the subject of stolen cattle, it would be supposed that he meant to do him harm, and that it would be better if the veld cornets were themselves to speak to Jaloosa. Having inquired the punishment for theft, and whether it was on all occasions inflicted by his order, he answered that there was no other than fine, and that the penalty was always levied by the culprit's own chief. I observed that Zlambie was known to have punished this crime with death; he calmly asked whether the people of Zlambie's chieftains had since abstained from stealing? I admitted that they had not, but mentioned that they had probably stolen less than if such misconduct had not been severely noticed. He said I was much mistaken, for that the subordinate chief must feel hurt at such an incident, and would encourage his people to steal the more, without Zlambie being able to prevent it. He promised to use his best endeavours on all occasions for the recovery of cattle stolen by his people from the christians, and also to collect whatever slaves and Hotentots there might be in his territory, and either to send them to the colony, or to give them over to the first veld cornet that might come to his kraals.

Having dispatched a veld cornet to Jaloosa, we took a friendly leave of Gyka, and proceeded on our journey. It had been our intention to proceed to Zuureveld by the mouth of the Great Fish River, and on that account the farmers from Agter Bruimtes Hoogte had been ordered to meet us at Gyka's residence. But we now understood that in consequence of long disuse the roads had become bad, and that the journey would be lengthened two days by going that route. By taking the inhabited part of the colony in our way, a chance was also afforded of receiving dispatches that had been long expected, and which it was supposed might materially concern our future proceedings.

In two hours and a half we arrived at the Comee, a branch of the Kyskamma. It is an inconsiderable stream, but of such high banks as to delay us a long time, to put double teams to the wagons.

While we were waiting for their passage, a Ghonaqua arrived with two Kaffers from Gyka, they informed us that some Kaffers had come from Zuureveld immediately after our departure, and had stated that Zlambie's people were all getting together, apprehending an attack from the colony in conjunction with Gyka. They were directed to recommend that we should not trust ourselves among Kaffers, whom he knew better than we, or that we should at least make a considerable addition to our force. He had further desired them to say, that he should send immediate notice of any hostility, that he might learn to be intended against the colony by the Kaffers of the Zuureveld.

Gyka had expressed his fears on this head very strongly the evening before our departure, but I conceive that his advice and remonstrances were the effect of his jealousy at the honor and advantage which Zlambie would derive from our visit. I desired the messengers to thank their chief for his friendly intimation; but to say at the same time that I could not suppose that Zlambie would injure men who went to him in an amicable manner, more especially as he must know that such conduct would cause the entire destruction of him and his people.

The Ghonaqua informed us that there was a considerable number of his nation residing in Kaffer kraals, and that there were three distinct kraals of them, in all about thirty men, situated a little lower on the Comee, who were mostly Anguela's people. He added that Gyka had expressed his intention to place them at the

Kat River, as soon as perfect tranquillity were restored among the Kaffers, in order to inform him of the approach of strangers, and to forward messages to and from the colony.

The poor Gona pleaded with all the gestures of theatrical representation, to be exempted from the prohibition against the intruders into the colony. He had never stolen from the christians, nor in any way injured them; but he had sometimes gone among them to beg a dog, which he valued more than an ox. His eloquence obtained a sheep and a few beads, together with a promise that if he would bring Gyka's next message to the colony, he should be provided with one of his favorite animals, and he left us perfectly contented.

We continued our journey through a country interspersed with mimosas, having larger thorns than those we had seen to the eastward, and consequently growing on a soil producing sweeter grass. In two hours more, we encamped at a rivulet called the Monkkyro, where we perceived a few Kaffer huts. They had been occupied by a family, by which they had been deserted on the approach of the farmers who had come to meet us.

In the evening, the veld cornet who had been sent to Jaloosa returned. That chief had dispatched a person in search of the Kaffer who had given information respecting the stolen cattle; but who could not be found. Jaloosa promised that, when apprehended, he should be punished with death, if he would not discover them. The veld cornet not trusting, however, to this assurance, went to Gyka, to request that he would take care that proper search were made, and the cattle sent to the colony. This Gyka declined, saying, that if the cattle were found, Jaloosa would himself send them to the proprietor. The next day we proceeded on towards Kat River, where we arrived in two hours. Its breadth is here from fifteen to twenty yards, but it is said to increase on its approach to the Great Fish River, where it finds a very rugged country. From Kat River we arrived in two hours at Kookooaha, the dry bed of a periodical stream, and in two hours more, we reached another called Koroomo, which falls into the Konaba, and then contained some water. Besides mimosas, the country which we had traversed this day, contains a quantity of other small woods. There were several fine yellow-wood trees growing on the banks of the Koroomo.

We had been proceeding nearly W.S.W. in the direction of the mountains, or rather of a line drawn along their projections, since we left the Aha rivulet. On the 29th, after proceeding nearly due west for three hours and a half, we arrived at the Konaba River. It was more rapid and rather broader than the Kat River; but we were told that the mouth of the other is of greater magnitude than that of the latter.

We could hence perceive Winterberg towering above the Kaffer mountains. Two sources of the Konaba are produced by it; another source called the Kowie, comes from the continuation of the Kaffer mountains more westwardly; and a fourth is produced from what is called the Kat River mountain, which was also visible above the others. These sources, of which the two produced by Winterberg are said to be the principal, and to flow most directly, join at the southern side of the Kaffer mountains, which are here covered with the most valuable timber.

In four hours we arrived at the Kaka River, which comes from the mountain of that name, and falls into the Konaba. Two hours afterwards we reached Plattehuis, a place so called from a small hut erected there about twenty years since, when the farmers of Agter Brintjes Hoogte were permitted to remain there during an extraordinary dry season.

The next day we turned more to the south; and after marching six hours, we arrived on the highest part of the hills, on the left bank of the Great Fish River. Towards the rear we overlooked the country that we had traversed this and the preceding day, consisting of extensive plains, rich in pasturage, but unadorned by arboreous plants. In our front was a double range of mountains, called Zuureberg and Rietberg, which concealed the Zuureveld from our view.

We now began to descend the slope to the river, which we reached after a march of two hours through bushes. Some rain had fallen the day before, and the river was much swollen. This added much to the difficulty that the large loose stones which line its bottom must always oppose to a passage. The river might be here about thirty yards in breadth, and was thickly lined with willows. On the opposite bank we found a deserted farm, situated at the distance of about two hours' ride from the junction of the two Fish rivers.

We were now approaching the Zuureveld, and it became necessary to consider the mode of proceeding through it. Some of the Kaffers residing in that district had lately been heard to use very threatening expressions, and the colonists seemed mostly to entertain the same ideas as Gyka had expressed respecting the treatment we might experience from them. I felt it my duty, therefore, to place as few people as possible in the power of those savages, and requesting my companions would go round with the wagons, prepared to proceed myself on horseback.

Two Kaffers had been some days waiting for us at Agter Brintjes Hoogte. They said that they had been sent by Zlambie to inquire the cause of the warlike preparations which he understood that the colonists were making against him. They informed us, amongst other things, that Zlambie and Kassa were on bad terms in consequence of the latter's robbing the christians. One of these messengers bore a breastplate as a badge of office.

On the 1st of April, I left the wagons accompanied by twenty men, the farmers not caring to go with a less number. In an hour we arrived at the little Fish River, where eleven families of the farmers who had lately left the Zuureveld, were collected together under their veld cornet; having other divisions above and below the stream. I advised them to return to their places, telling them that I should stipulate with

Zlambie to prevent their tranquillity being in future disturbed. They seemed much averse to going back, none more so than the veld cornet, who had some time before written a letter, declaring his conviction that I should expose myself to the greatest danger by going to that part of the country.

After passing through a bushy country to Commandakka, we arrived at the Zoute Kloof, about eight miles from the little Fish River. Twelve miles further we passed the Zwarte Water. We afterwards crossed the Zuurberg, which was here perfectly smooth and naked, but is in many other parts extremely rough and wooded. We halted at the distance of about twenty miles from Zwarte Water, at a place called Zoetendaals Fontein, where we stopped for the night.

In the course of this day, we had seen a few small parties of hunting Kaffers, but no kraal. In the night some passed us with cattle, which they said they were taking to Gyka's own country. The next morning we sent on a messenger to apprise Zlambie of our intended visit, and following slowly, we met some Kaffers on their march; the women shared the labour of carrying the baggage with the oxen, which had mats and other things affixed to their horns; this party was commanded by Gweeshee, the eldest son of Zlambie, he seemed to be about twenty five years of age, he had an active form, and prepossessing manners. He told us that part of his father's people were moving to Assagay Bosch, for a short time, to change pasturage, and to hunt; and that he commanded the advanced guard.

After a ride of two hours, we arrived at Zlambie's residence, which was about 15 miles from the sea. He happened then to be absent at another place, nearer the sea, but was expected back every moment.

Having dispatched a messenger to expedite his return, we retired to a bunch of trees, at about a quarter of a mile from the kraal, where we were soon after joined by such of the male part of Zlambie's family, as were in the village. Among them were his brothers, Tzatta and Sikkoo, and his sons Kossee, Malleava, and Mahala. The young men were very well looking; and both they, and their uncles seemed to have something in their appearance that distinguished them from the lower order, although their dress was similar. They appeared to have a great relish for our coffee, which they permitted us to boil in one of their iron pots; and a few trifles, which we distributed among them, were not less acceptable. In return they gave us some milk, and a good deal of their conversation. Although sensible that any inquiries I might make in this quarter must excite mistrust, yet a knowledge of the strength, population, rank, and connexions of this people, seemed of so much consequence, that I determined, at every risk, to acquire it. Even the best informed among the farmers have very erroneous notions on those points, and the only way to obtain anything approaching to a correct idea respecting them, was to hear what they should say both of themselves and of each other: to these means I always resorted. But even this mode of calculating must leave considerable uncertainty.

The Kaffers count only by their fingers; find it difficult to add hundreds, and are totally confused when you speak to them of thousands; the women and children they never take into account, and if one inquires the number of their cattle, all their names must be repeated before they will venture to give an answer.

In forming an opinion respecting the numbers of Zlambie's people, the same difficulty, of course, arises as with regard to those of the other Kaffer Chiefs. There cannot, however, be a doubt that he is at this moment, the most powerful as well as the richest among them, and I think that his force, exclusive of the people of his petty chiefs, may be reasonably computed at three thousand men.

Tzatta and Sikkoo are said to have each nearly one hundred men. Beside these, and Jaloosa and Guibee before-mentioned, Zlambie has two brothers, named Mazee and Zonie. The former resides with him, the latter is said to have taken away sixty of his men, with women and children, when he proceeded to Orange River about three years ago.

Oonoqua is a full brother of Zlambie, and of the father of Gyka, he is stated to command about two hundred men; and he resided at that time under the south side of Rietberg.

Kama, a brother of Kyno, lived with another brother, named Kamanga, on the banks of a fine stream called the Bokenax, between Zlambie's sea kraal and Bosjesmans River. They are said to have also about two hundred men. Their brother Tolic has thirty or forty, and his kraal is near the mouth of the Sunday River. He is represented as one of the best disposed of his nation; and during the several wars that have occurred, he has never hesitated to trust himself among the colonists when other chiefs could not be persuaded to have personal communication.

Tchachoo and his uncle Apaza live close to Kama and Kamanga, and they have nearly the same number of men.

Kassa and his brother Ponga reside between the Rietberg and the Zuureberg; and may have about sixty men. Jeganie and his son Dlaqua are with him. Their numbers may be twenty. Ootie, a brother of Habaana, has also re-enforced him with eight or ten. These kraals have done more injury to the farmers within the last year, than has been occasioned by those of all the other chiefs during the same period.

Habaana, and the sons Goze and Bellee have forty men; Galata, with his brother Moodanie, and his son Doobooka, have about thirty. They reside together on that part of the Sunday River nearest to the Winterhoek, and since their return from the Coup, have committed a few thefts, which are mostly attributed to Galata. Gola, sometimes called Nogola, having inherited no vassals, most of the people that he had at the Ghamka, have left him since their return to the neighbourhood of their legitimate chiefs. He has now but ten men remaining, with whom he has proceeded, by permission, to Olella's kraal, at Orange River, to bring

away his wife and children. His half brother Ootzee, who was known by the name of Klaas Meyer, at Zwarteberg, has a few more than that number. He is, I believe, generally about the Rietberg or the Sunday River.

The kraal where we paid our respects to Zlambie, was a temporary residence only, and it had no appearance of cultivation in its neighbourhood. The other, which was situated about midway between the Sunday and Bosjesman's Rivers, having long been his abode during the greatest part of the year, was said to be well provided with gardens.

In the afternoon we walked up to the kraal, which consisted of a few huts, built very carelessly. Gweechee had returned, having left his people at their destination. His good-natured smile contrasted very much with the sombre looks of the old people sitting around him; who eyed us with suspicion, and whispered to each other, at every question, however trivial. A complaint was made to the young chief, by a man who had been cut in the head by another, and the delinquent was sentenced to pay an ox to the sufferer.

At sunset we received a visit from Maveechee, the third son of Zlambie. The had been with his father, who he told us, was coming after him as expeditiously as a lameness to which he is subject would allow. This youth has the advantage even of his brothers in his appearance, although, as it is said, he never smiles; in that respect differing from his father, whose conversation, except on subjects of a very serious nature, is stated to be a succession of laughter.

Maveechee stated that Zlambie had desired him to express his great regret at having no cattle fit to slaughter. This was to be considered as an excuse for his not observing the usual Kaffer hospitality. I told him that it was of no consequence, as our party had brought a sufficiency of provisions.

In about two hours afterwards we were told that Zlambie had arrived. I sent the veld cornet (now veld commandant) Stoltz, who had been my messenger on all occasions during the Kaffer journey, to invite the chief to our fire. This was declined. I then went forward with Stoltz and my interpreter, and found him seated in the midst of a great number of his people, bearing a forest of uplifted spears at the edge of the kraal, in which a much greater number was known to be in waiting.

The moon was full, but obscured by clouds; and its partial light served only to increase the solemnity of this interview.

Zlambie rose on my approach, and presented his hand. The following is the substance of our conversation :  
*Commissioner.* I have long intended to come to you, and hope you are well.

*Zlambie.* I am very glad to see you, and thank you for your inquiries.

*C.* I saw your messengers the day before yesterday, and am happy to assure you that, so far from making warlike preparations against you, the christians wish to preserve the ancient friendship that has subsisted between you and them, and to do you all the good in their power. As a proof of what I say, I have brought you these presents from their great chief.

*Z.* I am much obliged to your great chief; but I beg to know what messengers you allude to.

*C.* Those sent by you a few days since to Bruintjes Hoogte, to inquire into the cause of our making commandoes against you.

*Z.* Have you brought them with you?

*C.* No, they had not horses; and we could not wait for them.

*Z.* I have sent no messengers to the colony for a considerable time, except a few weeks since, when I dispatched some to the farmers who have withdrawn from this neighbourhood, to request to know the cause of that proceeding.

*C.* This is very extraordinary. One of them had a badge of office.

*Z.* He had not received it from me.

*C.* I intended to complain to you on the subject of the farmers you mention. Those people could no longer bear the vexations they daily experienced from wandering Kaffers. I have, however, desired them to return to their places, but I expect that you will exert your authority to prevent their being again molested.

*Z.* I learnt their retreat with much concern. At the time I happened to be hunting near them, and apprehending it might be supposed that I was the cause of their removal, I immediately came back to my kraal. Their return will afford me much satisfaction, and I shall use my best endeavours to prevent their sustaining any injury from my people.

*C.* The best mode will be, to permit none of your people to come among the inhabitants, except when sent by you on business, with the cane given you by the landdrost. The practice of begging from the colonists is attended with so much inconvenience, that orders have been given against its continuance.

*Z.* I hope when I go among the farmers they will have orders to give me cattle.

*C.* When you may wish to visit the landdrost, he will be rejoiced to see you; but you cannot be permitted to beg from the inhabitants.

*Z.* Where are you come from now?

*C.* From Gyka, Hinsas, and the Bosjesmen.

*Z.* What business took you to Hinsas?

*C.* To claim some persons belonging to the colony.

*Z.* Did you get them?

C. They promised soon to follow me; and Hinsa engaged to send them if they should persist in remaining; as also any other persons of that description, whether christians, slaves, or Hottentots, who might afterwards come into his territory.

Z. What took you to Gyka?

C. A desire to renew the friendship that the christians wish to maintain with all the Kaffers; as well as to speak to him about stolen cattle and deserters, and to apprise him that we could not any longer permit his people to rove among the inhabitants.

Z. Did you obtain what you wanted?

C. We obtained some cattle, and a promise that the deserters should be collected and sent to the colony.

Z. Have all my people been sent away from the colony?

C. Yes, except a few that have contrived to loiter in Camdeboo, but who are now on their way down; and the small kraal under Ogande, who stated that he had your permission to remain in the colony, and who has been allowed to settle near the Cape.

Z. Did he say that he had my permission?

C. Yes.

Z. Indeed!

C. Some of the chieftains that are subordinate to you have been very troublesome to the farmers. There is, in particular, one named Kassa, who is continually stealing from them. I wish you would order him to leave Zuureberg, and to come near you.

Z. What am I to do if he should refuse to obey me?

C. You must best know what you should do with disobedient vassals.

Z. In this case I should do nothing.

C. Is not Kassa under your control?

Z. He used formerly to live near me.

C. What am I to do if his people should continue to steal?

Z. Follow the traces to the kraal, demand the cattle, and if refused, come to me.

C. The farmers have gone to his kraal. On many occasions they have obtained nothing; in none more than a small proportion of the theft; he takes care to conceal the stolen cattle, until he has an opportunity to send it to other kraals; and I know that the greatest part of it is sent beyond the Fish River.

Z. How do you know it?

C. When I was at Gyka's, I received some from his brother Kom, who acknowledged that it had come from him. It is useless to take any trouble on this subject, unless you will afford your assistance. I shall send this veld cornet to you, with a party to go through the different kraals, if you will let proper persons go with him.

Z. If too strong a party should come, the people will run away, conceiving it to be a commando.

C. I shall send no more than one person from each place where cattle has been stolen. Where can the party find you in a month?

Z. At the Kowie river.

C. I also wish, that at the same time, all Hottentots and slaves should be given up.

Z. I dont know of any persons of that description.

C. I have heard of some being in the kraals near the sea, and one has been seen in this kraal.

Z. There is none that I know of.

V. C. *Stoltz*. I spoke to one this morning. He informed me that he belongs to Adriaan Louw.

Z. That one ought now to be regarded as a Kaffer, for he has been with me since his childhood. I gave permission some time since, to two of my people to take a walk to the colony. A farmer made them a present of a sheep, which they killed on their way home; while they were eating it, another farmer approached and deliberately shot one of them dead on the spot. What am I to do in such a case?

C. What is the name of the farmer?

Z. The surviving one knows it.

C. Where is he?

Z. He lives in one of my kraals, but is not now here.

C. Send him to make his complaint to the landdrost; or else when the veld cornet comes, let him be produced. If he can prove the accusation the farmer shall be severally punished; I am however inclined to think that the sheep was stolen. At all events you can see, by this unfortunate incident, the necessity of preventing your people from coming among the inhabitants.

Z. Some time afterwards I sent two men to the bay; they met some farmers, who without making the least inquiry, or even allowing them to approach, began to fire at them; they took to flight, and one was drowned in the Sunday River, which happened to be much swollen. What am I to do in such a case?

C. Who are the farmers?

Z. They are not known.

C. I cannot believe that any person could act so wantonly, there must have been some provocation; I am extremely sorry at any rate that the poor man should have lost his life; but this is an additional proof of the

necessity of your people discontinuing the practice of proceeding to the habitations: and you should strictly forbid their doing so on any account, except when sent by you to the landdrost with some mark to distinguish them.

Z. Are there large round beads in this parcel?

C. Yes, and there is also a present for your wife.

Z. It will make her very happy.

C. Having learnt that Gyka was in the habit of robbing all such Kaffers as went from this side of the Great Fish River to live near him, I strongly recommended him to desist from such an improper proceeding.

Z. Who told you so?

C. The Kaffers sent away from the interior.

Z. It is Kyno who has stolen their cattle.

C. Then I have been misinformed. Indeed Gyka said that there was no truth in the report; and promised to receive all such persons in the most friendly manner.

Z. Where are your wagons?

C. They are gone by the best road; and, if you have nothing further to say, I should wish to go immediately to meet them.

Z. Will you not stay until to-morrow, when we can see each other, and become better acquainted?

C. I am sorry that I cannot, I have lost all this day in waiting for you, and besides, in this warm weather, the best time to travel is during the night.

Z. Then I have nothing more to say, except to return thanks again for these presents; and to assure you that although I cannot pretend to recollect your features, I shall ever retain a grateful sense of your kindness.

Some loose beads remained in my pockets, which I divided among Zlambie's people. The old man was highly entertained at their eagerness in scrambling for them.

We had been twice obliged to cross the Bosjesmans River in order to reach Zlambie's summer kraal, which was seated on its left bank. This stream had then scarcely any current, and in many parts it becomes dry at certain seasons. Having passed it a third time, we rode about four hours through an open country, having on our right the Riet Berg, which the increased brightness of the moon enabled us clearly to distinguish. This ridge runs parallel to the Zuure Berg from which it is separated by a rugged vale of two or three miles in breadth; a favourite residence of Kaffers, particularly of the minor chiefs. After more than another hour, which we employed in penetrating the thickets near Sunday River, we arrived on the banks of that muddy stream, about twenty miles above its mouth, where we remained until daylight.

We then ascended its left bank during one hour, when we crossed it with some difficulty in consequence of rains having raised it; and after continuing on its right bank during another hour, we arrived at Konga's Kraals.

We were received by his uncle Kokatie and his two youngest wives, one the daughter of the late Khouwta, the other of Tcachoo. Neither of these ladies had any claim to beauty, but we had every reason to be satisfied with their civility as far as they had the power of showing it.

The former was much rejoiced to learn that we had been in her country, and we were pleased to observe that she appeared as much delighted at the accounts we gave of her brother Hinsas's health, as at the presents which we made her. The other had much the appearance of a Hottentot, to which nation we understood her mother had belonged. Her brother or half-brother Tianee, was the most promising pupil of Doctor Van der Kemp. He writes the Dutch language extremely well, and translates from it into his own tongue, of which the doctor has composed a grammar. He has a good taste for drawing, and I think I heard for poetry; and he had begun to study the English language; when the father was obliged to order him to his kraal, although as reluctantly as the son returned to it. The neighbouring Kaffers learnt his new habits with as much displeasure as his family had seen them with satisfaction. They repeatedly expressed their surprise at his having been permitted to approach manhood, without having submitted to the usual initiation; and, at length, they threatened to destroy Tcachoo and all his people, if the ceremony were not immediately observed. The youth left Bethelsdorp for the purpose of being circumcised, and it is feared that he will not be permitted to return.

Kokatie told us that Konga had gone a few days before to visit his oldest wives at Kooba, where his principal kraals were situated close to those of Zlambie, Tcachoo, and Kama. I had never before heard that he had people so near the sea; and had I known that he was there when I quitted Zlambie's kraal, I might have seen him, by turning out of my road to the left, as much as I had done to the right for that purpose. We were told that he brought his corn from the sea kraals, which are placed in a country well watered by the Bokenax and Kooba rivulets; and it was added that he resided himself at the Sunday River, merely for the sake of his cattle. This reason might have some weight in determining his choice, for the neighbourhood of Bokenax has, for a few years past, been very fatal to the cattle of Zlambie and of the other Kaffer chiefs, who had resided there during that period. But I am induced to think that Konga has also had other motives for remaining so near the habitations, particularly as we were also told that he persisted in remaining at his former residence at the Koga, between the Sunday and Zwartkops Rivers for two years, although a great mortality had prevailed there during all that time among his cattle, which had been considerably diminished in consequence of it.

His stock was also stated to have suffered recently by the marriage of one of his sons with a daughter of Zlambie. Twenty had been paid to the father-in-law on the wedding, ten had been lately demanded and taken away, it was feared, in short, that the requisitions would never cease.

Konga has three sons; Opato, Koba, and Mama, and the second is he who has had the expensive honor of obtaining the fair hand of Zlambie's daughter. They were all stated to be at the sea side with their father; as well as his brothers Lelao and Golana, sometimes called Jegec; and his cousins Chonga and Guazoo.

It might naturally be supposed, that this double connexion of the families, would secure a sincere and lasting friendship between them. Such, however, is not the case. Zlambie and Konga hate each other, and the most trifling circumstances give rise to their quarrels. The latter is now extremely displeased at some sarcasms of the former, upon his large belly. We ought not, however, to wonder that this should be considered in so serious a light by a Kaffer chief, when an occurrence so exactly similar once kindled the flames of war, between the two greatest powers of Europe.

But Konga, although perhaps not less irritable, is less brave than William, and Zlambie may long crack his jokes upon his awkward form, before he will expose himself to be crushed by a force so superior.

A great proportion of Konga's people are Ghonaquas. Some Hottentots are also said to be intermixed with them. He is stated, by most accounts, to have upwards of a thousand men, of whom about two hundred belonged to Konga. His other relations have only a few servants.

Konga's people were very anxious to know what I had to say to him. I told them I should inform himself if he would come in a few days to the drostdy. I was much inclined to think that his absence was feigned; for I should probably have heard of him at Zlambie's, had he been at the time in the neighbourhood; some circumstances afterwards tended to strengthen this idea.

Suspicion, and consequently the difficulty of acquiring information, seemed to increase in proportion as we approached to the colony. Kokatie appeared almost a simpleton; and on receiving a few trifles answered without hesitation, but the others, particularly the Ghonaquas, seemed to think our questions extraordinary; and at length led the old man away from us.

We perceived the only traces of a Rhinoceros that I had yet seen, in our way to the drostdy, where we arrived late in the evening of the 3rd, after a ride of five hours from Konga's kraal.

The next day I endeavoured to find out whether any circumstance had occurred between the colonists and the Kaffers, that could give a colour for the complaint made by the Kaffer to Zlambie, respecting the treatment that he and his companion had met with when sent by him to the bay. I was told that two Kaffers having been detected in the act of stealing cattle out of a kraal, had been fired at, and that one of them had been wounded and had died at the Sunday River.

The veld commandant Stoltz having collected the party to search for stolen cattle, returned to Zlambie, and related the above circumstances, which appeared to satisfy him.

He told that chief that he had been directed to see the man who had complained that his companion had been shot by one farmer when eating the sheep that had been given to them by another. Zlambie observed that it was not necessary, as he was not quite certain whether the sheep might not have been stolen. He is said to have appeared much pleased with these explanations, and with the late visit he had received.

The commandant having again perceived the slave already alluded to, made another demand of him, but was again refused. He then coolly observed that Zlambie might certainly keep him if he pleased; but that he was as valuable to his master as a hundred head of cattle would be to him; and that it would remain for the Governor to see that justice were done for the loss sustained. In a few minutes the slave was given up, and he was sent to his master, one Stoffel Lombard, from whom he had deserted about three years before; and who has lost ten others in consequence of his vicinity to the Kaffers, and I fear in a great degree by unnecessary severity.

Zlambie entered spontaneously into a conversation upon his situation. He declared he felt much concern at circumstances having obliged him to continue so long in a country upon which he had no claim; and mentioned (to repeat his words) that he should see about his own, but that he must first see Gyka.

He gave the men requested of him to the commandant, and sent orders by them to the subordinate chiefs, not only to give up all stolen cattle in their possession, but also under pain of being attacked by him, to bring their people near his, over the Bosjesman River. His commands have not been obeyed either in the one instance or in the other. Only three head of cattle were recovered, and the endeavour to obtain even so few, had very nearly cost Stoltz his life. The several petty chiefs have mostly remained in their former positions, or have made but a trifling change.

Oonoqua is the only one that I hear has joined Zlambie. Konga had signified to Major Cuyler, that he and that chief had agreed to retire beyond Bosjesman River, and he stated his intention to do so immediately, in order that no part of the robberies so frequently committed, should be attributed to his people. But he has removed only to the mouth of the Sunday River, where he is as conveniently situated as ever for his intrigues and depredations; and Kassa and his gang, perched on the Zureberg, continue hovering over their unfortunate prey, in what are called the Bosjesman's River and Agter Brintjes Hoogte Districts, which impunity leads them to attack more openly, from day to day, and which they will not cease to devour as long as there is a particle remaining.

I had sent a remembrance by the commandant to Haabana, who asked him whether we expected that the christians whom we had been in search of at the Kyba, would return. Having replied in the affirmative, he told him that a person who had lately seen them, had arrived a few days before, and assured him that they had no such intention.

This intelligence has since been confirmed by Gyka, who has proceeded to Graaff-Reinet to receive the cattle that were promised to him at the period of my visit to the Aha. He told Captain Ord, at Baviaan's River, that those people would certainly not return, and that they were extremely useful to Hinsa in many respects, particularly in procuring horses and other things which that chief receives from the colony.

Stellenbosch, July, 1809.

## APPENDIX.

*(The Papers referred to pp. 18 and 20, A and B, have not been found. A translation of the Charter of Bethelsdorp referred to under the letter C, which had been communicated to the editor, had so many irremediable defects, that it has been struck out after it was in print, and will appear under its proper date, 1804, in a more intelligible shape. A few papers explanatory of more important parts of the Reports have been added from the ample materials furnished by the correspondence of Landdrosts Stockenstrom and Cuyler.)*

Uitenhage, 6th April, 1809.

Sir,—The Kaffer chief Zlambie having promised to use his utmost exertions to prevent a repetition of the vexations to which the inhabitants of the Zuureveld and Bosjesman River districts have been subjected by wandering Kaffers, I have to request that you will recommend to those people to return without delay to their several places.

The veld cornets Delpert and Basson having declared their determination not to return to their districts while the Kaffers should continue in their neighbourhood, I have deemed it necessary to nominate to the important stations they have occupied, persons better qualified to inspire confidence in the inhabitants committed to their charge. You will be pleased to transmit for their guidance, and that of the other veld cornets and inhabitants under your orders, the following regulations, together with such additional instructions as you may judge calculated to promote the welfare of your district.

1st. Kaffers or Ghonaquas are not to be fired at except in self-defence, unless under the immediate direction of the landdrost, or of some other officer duly authorised by government, to exercise his judgment respecting the expediency of proceeding to that extremity on other occasions.

2d. Except when led by a veld cornet, or an assistant veld cornet, who has been appointed by the landdrost, no inhabitant is to follow stolen cattle to a greater distance than one hour's ride beyond the last inhabited place; and whenever he may have followed them to that, or a shorter distance, he is instantly to report his having done so to the veld cornet for the information of the landdrost.

3d. Six mounted farmers to be warned by each veld cornet, and assistant veld cornet to be in readiness to apprehend wandering Kaffers and Ghonaquas, and to follow the trace of cattle that may be reported to have been stolen from any inhabitant. Two of them will patrol daily, and immediately report any Kaffer traces they may have seen to the veld cornet or assistant.

4th. The veld cornet, or assistant veld cornet, is to follow the trace of the stolen cattle; and, unless he can recover it in the way, is to proceed as far as the kraal, where he is to apply in a friendly manner to the chief, to find out and give up the stolen cattle, and to punish the thieves. Should the chief refuse his assistance, the veld cornet is to go through his herds, and endeavour to discover and bring away the stolen cattle, with coolness, firmness, and forbearance; this mode will be generally found successful; but should the chief interpose force, the veld cornet is to proceed to his superior chief, if he has one, to seek redress. Whether the cattle be brought away or not, a minute detail of the whole proceeding is to be sent without delay to the landdrost.

5th. Whatever Kaffer or Ghonaqua may come to the colony with the distinguishing mark of a chief, is to be furnished with provisions, treated with kindness, and sent to the nearest veld cornet, who will forward him without delay to the landdrost, or such person as may be authorised by him to inquire into the motive of his visit.

6th. The several inhabitants are to give immediate information of every wandering Kaffer or Ghonaqua they may have observed, or of their trace, to the nearest veld cornet, or his assistant, who is to endeavour to apprehend them, and take them to the landdrost, or other officer, as mentioned in the preceding article. Such persons are to be confined for three days, and then conducted beyond the last habitation. They must not be otherwise ill-treated, and are to be furnished with provisions. When the same person is taken up a second time, the landdrost will increase his punishment; and when apprehended after the commission of murder, or other serious outrage, the offender will be reported by the landdrost to government, unless his chief shall make ample atonement for his offence.

7th. Should Kaffers or Ghonaquas come to restore slaves, Hottentots, or stolen cattle to any inhabitant, he is to take them to the veld cornet, or assistant, who will conduct them immediately to the landdrost, or officer duly authorised by him to inquire into the circumstances of the theft, and determine the compensation that should be made to those people for their trouble, which must always be made in sheep.

8th. The inhabitants are not, upon any account, to employ Kaffers or Ghonaquas, or to hold communication with them. Whatever inhabitant shall be convicted of proceeding to a Kaffer or Ghonaqua kraal, except when with a veld cornet, or assistant on duty, or of having in any way traded with any person belonging to those nations, or of authorising them to come to his place, or to remain at it one hour without reporting the circumstance, will be subjected to a fine of five hundred rix-dollars, or to such part of it as the landdrost may judge proper to levy, according to the nature and degree of the offence.

9th. The assistant veld cornet is always to be nominated by the landdrost, and will be exempted from the oppaaf duties, and regulations for cattle, horses, &c. for the public service.

10. The inhabitants will always be prepared to obey such orders as they may receive from the veld cornet, or his assistant, for the defence of the district, or any particular habitation belonging to it. He will adopt the best measures that time and circumstances will permit, for the protection of the inhabitants on any unexpected attack, instantly reporting such an event to the nearest officer authorised to give him support.

You will be pleased, Sir, to send, without delay, to each chief, the distinguishing mark prepared for him, apprising him that it is not to be transferred to another chief, and that no messenger will be acknowledged who is unprovided with it.

I should have adverted to Hottentots and slaves, who may be reported to have taken refuge in Kaffer or Ghonaqua kraals. Rewards should be offered, and every endeavour used to recover them; and when brought back, steps must be taken to remove them beyond Swellendam. It is yet of greater consequence to prevent whites and bastards remaining among that people. It only remains for me to impress upon your mind, the wish of government, and the expediency of cultivating a good understanding with all the Kaffer chiefs, as far as the restrictions to which it has been found necessary to subject them and their people, can possibly permit. It is particularly necessary that they should be immediately made acquainted with the cause of any act of violence, that it may unfortunately be necessary to have recourse to against any of their people, and that ample justice should be done whenever aggressions may be proved by them against an inhabitant.

I have the honor to remain, Sir,

Your very faithful, humble servant,

Major CUYLER, Landdrost, &c. &c. Uitenhage.

(Signed)

R. COLLINS.

PS. It appearing that some Bastards and Hottentots have returned to Kafferland in consequence of having Kaffers or Ghonaqua wives who had been commanded to leave the colony, it is permitted that women of those nations, who are now the wives of Bastards or Hottentots, should reside in the colony; but they are not to remain in the districts of Graaff-Reinet, or Uitenhage, and such connexions are in future prohibited.

(Signed)

R. COLLINS.

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No copy of Col. Collins' letter (to Landdrost Cuyler) of the 8th April, has been found in the Colonial Office. The following note of its contents was made by the editor from the original at Uitenhage:—

From observations made in different parts of your district, I am inclined to attribute in a great degree to the neglect and indolence of your farmers, the losses they sustain by the thefts of the Kaffers. I beg you will, therefore, direct a due compliance with the following orders:—

1st. Good kraals to be constructed, as near as possible to the dwelling house. 2d. The horses, cattle, and sheep are to be brought into the kraals before sunset, when the two first are to be counted. 3d. A watch to be kept all night near the kraals. 4th. A white person mounted to attend the cattle while grazing, or at least to visit the herds frequently during the day. 5th. The initials of the proprietors are to be marked with a hot iron on the outside of the hoofs of the horses, on the quarter of young cattle, and on the horns of old cattle.

These regulations are mostly founded on experience of the good effects resulting from their observance in other divisions of the Colony, more especially in the northern parts of the district of Graaff-Reinet.

Drostdy of Uitenhage, 10th April, 1809.

Sir,—Having had the honour to consult you on most of the points forming the subject of the instructions contained in my letters of the 6th and 8th instant to Major Cuyler, of which you have obtained copies; and having adopted some of them at your own suggestion, it was with considerable surprise and concern that I heard the declaration which you have publicly made to me “that they have been formed more from a wish to obtain the approbation of the Governor, than from my own opinions; that you hoped I should state to His Excellency what I had seen; that the regulations might cause a change for a month, but that the thieving of the Kaffers would be afterwards increased; and that they would produce no effect on the inhabitants, at least, of Graaff-Reinet.”

In the execution of the duty in which I have been engaged for these six months, I have always endeavoured to obtain the opinions of the several landdrosts, and feel particularly indebted to you for the information and good advice which your experience has enabled you to give, and which you have, at all times, been ready to communicate. I had flattered myself that our observations had produced a perfect coincidence in our opinions, and that, in the statements which I may have the honor to make to government, I should convey your sentiments as much as my own.

But as it appears that I have deceived myself on this head, I should feel much indebted to you for your opinion, in writing, on the subject of the letters above mentioned, in order that the Governor may be enabled by the consideration of them, the better to judge whether the measures which I have adopted are deserving His Excellency's sanction, and what further steps it may be necessary to take.

I have the honor to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

R. COLLINS.

A. STOCKENSTROM, Esq., Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet.

[No reply to this letter of Col. Collins has as yet been found; but the following papers seem to convey a fair view of the sentiments of Landdrost Stockenstrom, Sen.]

The following is a translation of an unsigned Dutch document entitled "Private Questions, for information sake, put to the Landdrost at Graaff-Reinet, respecting the Kaffers," and doquetted by the late Colonial Secretary Bird, as "put to the late Landdrost Stockenstrom, in 1810, by the late Fiscal Ryneveld."—

1. Should it be determined upon to remove all the Kaffers beyond the Fish River, what is your opinion as to the best means of keeping them there?

When the Kaffers are driven over the boundaries, an agreement must be made with them that they are not to establish any kraals within a certain distance; that is to say, inland, not beyond Kat River, and below, towards the coast, not beyond the Biga or Beeka River. Not to recognise more than one chief, with whom the peace must be concluded, sustained by the promise of annual presents if they keep quiet. The Zuurveld being fully inhabited, and the frontiers being guarded in the first instance (as I believe government intends) by means of the Cape Regiment as well against inroads, as private communication with the colonists; an established order that all Kaffer men entering may be shot dead; with leave to the Kaffers to act as they please towards all such colonists as may cross the boundary, except those acting under public authority, whether as bearers of presents, on missions to the chief, or for stolen cattle, or deserted slaves and Hottentots.

2. Should the present measures not be entirely successful, and should it be necessary to suffer the Kaffers to remain some time longer on this side, what is to be done, as far as the circumstance will permit, to check robbery and theft, and to secure the property of the colonists?

This must not take place: the commandoes must be kept up by reliefs until they are out: if we give them time to draw breath, they will never quit the country.

In order, meanwhile, to put an end to stealing, and as most of the stolen cattle, except those slaughtered, are taken over, we must be prepared and permitted to pursue the plunder, with detachments of 50 or 60 men, to such kraal beyond the boundary as it may be conveyed to, and to retake it by force, by shooting such kraal; making an immediate communication to Gyka of the reasons for the measure. This will not have been done twice or thrice before thieving will cease.

3. In what districts are the most exposed farms?

In Graaff-Reinet, in the districts of Buffels Hoek, Tarka, Baviaans River, and Zwagers Hoek.

In Uitenhage, in those of Bruintjes Hoogte, Bosjesmaus River, Zuurveld and Swartkops River.

4. Are there no means of forming patrols of the burger militia to mount guard, were it even the whole year round, in the districts where the Kaffers are most troublesome with stealing and robbing, and thus to assist in protecting the inhabitants?

As far as Graaff-Reinet is concerned, I have had this done by inhabitants of the other and remoter districts; we have even occasionally assisted Bruintjes Hoogte; but Uitenhage is not sufficiently peopled at present; the inhabitants are also very careless about herding their cattle, and ill-supplied with servants, because, the murdering of slaves by the Kaffers, and their desertion to the latter, makes the inhabitants reluctant to provide themselves with slaves; and the Hottentots also play the rogue, partly from fear of being murdered, partly from their own caprice. Exemplary punishments must be established for desertion in the districts where it occurs.

5. In such an event, of what number of men should such separate patrols consist?

If no military remain, they will be very necessary in Uitenhage, as it borders on Kafferland from Boschberg to the sea; but if the examples before mentioned are put in force against the kraals of the thieves, the stealing will cease of itself.

6. Supposing that such patrols were occasionally changed, would it not be enough to relieve them every quarter?

The Graaff-Reinet patrols were relieved monthly, and it might continue so; but should it be necessary to order people from the upper districts to the assistance of Uitenhage, it would be best that the drostries of George, Swellendam, Tulbagh, and Stellenbosch, each kept guard for three months.

7. Should not and might not such guards be formed from a particular class, as young unmarried men who reside with others, idlers, &c.?

It will be difficult to collect so many unmarried men and idlers, at least in Graaff-Reinet; besides, idlers are not suited for that kind of employment.

8. How many of this class do you suppose that the district of Graaff-Reinet could furnish quarterly?—Very few.

9. How many Uitenhage?—In my opinion but few.

10. How many do you suppose in the other districts? I do not know.

11. If recourse were had to other districts, besides Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage, should not these districts furnish, and the others receive some slight remuneration from the districts for whose special protection the patrols are commanded? [and]

12. Should not these expences be met by imposing an extra tax upon the sheep and cattle, at the annual opgaaf?

11 and 12. This was positively refused by Lord Caledon, and it cost me about Rds. 250 last year. It would however, be fair, if the government will not pay this trivial expence, that the district in which they were employed should do so, namely, Uitenhage, for, in Graaff-Reinet it will not apply, if the inhabitants have but the privilege of a sufficient supply of gunpowder. A slight increase of the annual opgaaf would suffice to meet this expence.

13. Where should the chief stations of these patrols be fixed, and of what number of men should they consist?

The patrols will not require head quarters, like the Cape regiment and other troops. Graaff-Reinet, Bruintjes Hoogte, and Uitenhage, should each have a chief station.

If what is proposed in the 1st and 2d articles, and at the end of the 4th, is carried into execution, the patrols or guards will cease as a matter of course.

#### *Extract of a Letter from Landdrost Stockenstrom to the Earl of Caledon.*

August, 1810. I trust your Excellency will permit me to submit some general observations upon the frontier districts, which though they do not apply to the whole of this district, have much connection with some parts of it; and which, when compared by your Excellency with information already obtained, may enable your Excellency to judge of what may be justly said in favor of the inhabitants, and against them, especially as regards their present state.

When the Kaffers reside on the further side of the Fish River, they have more difficulties to contend with in stealing, as they have to drive the plunder a greater distance, and through a more open country, and they are consequently more readily discovered and overtaken; so that there is in that case a possibility of living in a certain kind of amity with them.

In the Zuurveld, the case is different. Neither peace nor friendship can subsist between the inhabitants and the Kaffers while both inhabit the same country; and the residence of the latter in the colony is highly prejudicial to the inhabitants who live on and beyond Brintjes Hoogte, along the Sunday, the Riet and the Vogel Rivers, and as far as Buffels Hoek.

The causes of this are interwoven in the character of the Kaffer, in that of the Colonist, and in the nature of the country. The Kaffers are naturally insatiable beggars and thieves. All domestic and agricultural labour being performed by the women, and the cattle being herded by the boys, the men have nothing to do but to hunt and to wander about among the colonists.

Not satisfied with staying a single day at one farm, they often remain several days, insisting upon having victuals furnished to them, and watching their opportunity to carry off something for their journey into the bargain. It often happens that one of the party makes off with some booty, while the rest remain to prevent suspicion. Sometimes the thieves, when afraid of being discovered, restore the booty themselves, pretending that they have recovered it from others, and demanding ample recompence for their trouble.

The bushes and thickets generally prevent detection until they have reached one of the kraals; to prevent the traces being followed, they do not leave the booty there, but take it away to some more distant kraal, or to the deep ravines, until they are able to exchange it beyond the Key, or to the Tambookies, and thus entirely conceal it.

The traces are not to be followed by the searchers after they have reached the first kraal, for they are obliterated by those of the cattle belonging to that kraal.

The inhabitants losing their property by these practices, sometimes to the extent of reducing them to poverty, are no longer so liberal in bestowing food; at least, they do not give it in such a friendly way, but often accompanied with bitter reproaches and threats.

The Kaffers, long accustomed to this kind of reception, and remarking that these threats are never carried into execution, treat the farmers with contempt, and often exhibit actual violence; but [alarm them?] chiefly by indirect messages through individual Kaffers, Ghonas, or Hottentots, that in the long nights they will attack the farmers, and commit robbery and murder.

The colonists are credulous and timorous, and have not as yet recovered from the dread produced by former events; and thus they dare not maintain their ground in that rugged country, through the long nights.

When it is considered that of late years that district has been insufficiently peopled, (I believe that it does not contain more than forty to fifty fencible men,) that these assembling on one place, would overburden that place, and render it difficult to find means of subsistence, but in no degree prevent depredations; that even were it possible so to do, the cattle, and particularly the sheep, would perish from being too close together, and thus cause an equal loss; that at that season of the year it is necessary, on account of the lambing, if any increase be expected, to keep the sheep divided into many flocks, which would be impracticable were the farmers to collect on one place; that there is also a scarcity of trustworthy herds capable of defending themselves, and finally, that there is so little union among the inhabitants, and so many disputes. When all these things are considered, it is really no matter of surprise that at that time of year they take refuge in an open country, where by day every thing may be under the eye, and, if stolen in the night but not discovered until daybreak, where they have still hopes of overtaking the thieves before they reach the thickets.

In this hope, though often deceived by it, the inhabitants pass their time with less care and anxiety by day, and they value a good night's rest.

The retreat of the inhabitants of the Zuurveld has, however, this year obliged those of the nearer districts to remove also.

Thus on Brintjes Hoogte and beyond it they do not move, as they untruly allege, because they must fly from the Kaffers. It is true that in proportion as the inhabitants retire the Kaffers approach; there is not, however, the least reason to think that the latter intend to commence open hostilities. That the colonists who live furthest off are more plagued by begging and thieving than the others is certain, and it is because those require to be most on their guard that no one is disposed to be the outermost. They are wrong in not staying on their farms to sow corn, and, where they have gardens, to cultivate them; but the removal of their cattle is necessary, for the whole country beyond being dry, and producing no food for the cattle of the Zuurvelders, nor for those of the inhabitants who reside between Bosjesmans and Brakke Rivers, these have moved up to the Hoogte and Fish River, where the pasture was by no means superabundant, and they have so eaten it down, that nothing remains for the cattle; and some of the inhabitants of the Hoogte are obliged, besides, to remove their cattle annually in consequence of the cold.

The removal of stock should, however, be so managed, that no farm may remain unoccupied or uncultivated. It is true they have but few servants, but the people I have sent from this quarter to keep guard there, would readily assist them in ploughing and sowing, more particularly as few Kaffers or none have been seen there since the guards were placed. Many who prefer attending their cattle, to working for their bread, would also wish to be freed from the burden of provisioning the guards; nor dare I conceal that some erroneous conceptions of the protection afforded them by government, because the plan of operations is not exactly according to their own way of thinking, have brought about unfounded alarms; little to be wondered at among people so ignorant in every respect, but which will, I trust, soon disappear.

Such, my Lord, is a view of the case, drawn, I will presume to say, from the life (*naar waarheid*). Matters are so situated, that no change for the better is likely to occur for some months; but unless some precautions are adopted by government, we may expect a change for the worse.

I would, therefore, venture to suggest that your Excellency should order, by proclamation, and under penalty of forfeiture of their lands, that those who have left their farms shall return to them; and that those intending to quit their farms shall remain on them; allowing them, however, for the preservation of their cattle, and especially of their sheep, to graze their stock elsewhere for some months longer, in places where they may be kept without injuring others, and on condition of keeping guard in such situations as may be requisite for the security of the district, under certain specified penalties.

I think that the inhabitants of Zuurveld will be obliged to return in September, when the grass and water in the Caroo begins to fail; otherwise they should be compelled to do so, or others invited to occupy their farms; provided that it could be found possible to assist each farm with a small guard, recommending them not to be too penurious in giving victuals to Kaffer visitors. In this way, and by giving presents on the part of government now and then to the several chiefs, and in particular to Zlambie, it might be ascertained, whether there may not be a possibility of continuing to inhabit that country in a manner in some degree endurable, and of remaining on this footing, until the government come at length to the resolution of confining the Kaffers within their own limits. Meanwhile it is my opinion that we should not absolutely prohibit their wandering visits (*kuyeren*) as in their opinion this prohibition is the reverse of a sign of amity. Particular kraals that might not discontinue their aggressions (*veel kwaad*) must be subjected to a proportionate correction. But, above all, we must hold out no threats, if we do not intend to execute them, for I consider this the great cause of their boldness, as they fancy us afraid or unable to punish them according to their deserts.....

Algoa Bay, September 26, 1807.

Sir,—I have the honor to inform you, that since my last report to you, of the 20th July, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, the Kaffer Captain Congo, was here on a visit on the 7th ult., accompanied with 29 men and 11 women. I had much conversation with him about the thieving of the Kaffers, &c., and of Zlambie's going against Gaika. He said, that when he first came to live at the place he at present resides, near the Bushman's River, that the country was very quiet, but that, now his people are mixed with Zlambie's, there is no getting at the thieves, and that he disapproves of Zlambie's going against Gaika, as it may also bring him in the dispute, and that he himself wishes to live peaceably with the Dutchmen and the English; I told him of many of his people that were lying in among the inhabitants, and requested that he would call them in, to which he promised he would, and left me next morning, seemingly well pleased with his visit.

Some few days after Congo had left me, I received complaints from several of the inhabitants of numbers of Congo's Kaffers, with vast herds of cattle, were lying on their places, destroying their grass to the great injury of their cattle, &c. Upon receiving these reports, I immediately despatched a messenger to Congo, with a request to call in his people. The messenger returned, after having been to Congo's usual place of residence, but had missed the chief, who had come the under road with all his own cattle, and had joined his people who were lying between the Van Staades and the Gamtoos Rivers, and along the Van Staades Hills. On this information I rode over to the place where Congo was lying, and expressed my surprise to see him there with his people, after the promises he had made me a few days before; he made several excuses for his conduct, first, that he wanted carosses for his children, and that he came there to hunt the Bush Buck to get their skins; and next, that he did not think his cattle safe at his old place, while the dispute lasted between Zlambie and Gaika. I requested he would immediately remove and take his people with him, to which he requested seven days' stay in Landman's Bush, for himself and a few of his people to hunt, and that the larger part of his men and cattle, he would send off the next morning; to this I agreed, and he held his promise good, so far as that the next morning the major part of his people and cattle broke up and proceeded homewards, and he himself came again to see me on the 22d inst., on his way home, when he made a complaint against Tunis Botha, an inhabitant near this, who, as he said, struck one of his Kaffers about a year ago. I sent for Botha and found the complaint frivolous, on which he went away; he had 11 or 12 kraals, and about 4,000 head of cattle lying in the vicinity of Van Staades River, and I am sorry to report, that on their way home they have driven many of the inhabitants' cattle with theirs, some of which have been regained, but many are yet missing.

The messenger whom I sent to Congo, as above mentioned, saw Captain Zlambie, who with his commando were just returned to his old residence from his attack against Gaika, that Gaika is stated to have retreated from his kraal on being attacked, leaving many of his cattle behind, which were taken by Zlambie's two sons; Zlambie being sick was not with his party at the time of the attack; that two brothers of Zlambie (Marcassu and Seacow) who were officers with Gaika, have left the latter and come over to the former, and they have brought many of Gaika's Kaffers with them. Zlambie informed my messenger that he would not go against Gaika again, and that if Gaika would make peace, he would, and from all the information the messenger could collect, he is induced to believe Gaika (who had returned to his old residence), will remain King of the Kaffers.

A. BARNARD, Esq., Colonial Secretary.

(Signed) I have, &amp;c.

J. G. CUYLER, &amp;c.

Graaff-Reinet, October 19, 1808.

Sir,—In a former report relative to the Kaffers who had marched inland, I took the liberty of acquainting you, per postscript, that I was labouring under an intermitting fever; it since then has so greatly increased that three weeks afterwards I was obliged to keep my bed.

In the height of my illness, which was about the beginning of the current month, I was honoured with a visit from Lt. Col. Graham and Major Turner, but, for the reason mentioned, I was deprived of having much conversation with them. On the 6th inst. the fever left me, and I have been since mending, but am still so weak and thin that I am yet obliged to keep my bed a good deal.

As there is consequently little prospect this year, of my being able to accompany Major Cuyler on a commission to the Kaffers, agreeable to His Excellency's desire, be it permitted to me to suggest my opinion on the subject, which I request you will communicate to His Excellency for his consideration.

Although I have never seen any one of the Kaffer chiefs standing in any connexion with the colony, yet the customs and manners of that nation are mostly all known to me, having endeavored, since acting here in the capacity of landdrost, to collect all the information I could on that head.

I am, therefore, bold to assure that it will be impossible ever to discover the exact number of each horde (kraal) much less their provision of cattle, for exclusive of their always wandering about, it is also their custom to divide themselves into separate small hordes, and to keep their cattle always hid; this practice is now even more constant, as they are afraid of being surprised and plundered by Gaika, as they in their turn do to him.

With regard to the repeated visits to Gaika, I consider them superfluous, perhaps even disadvantageous; when Governor Janssens went personally and paid him a visit, and on all the visits paid him by Captain Alberti, and on the late occasion when Major Cuyler had an interview with him, he testifies his esteem and friendship towards government, but notwithstanding, persists in government sending back all the Kaffers who have fled to the opposite bank of the Fish River; this was promised to him by said governor, provided he, Gyka, would not seek an opportunity to take his revenge of them, (which he did, but with some hesitation); these were the measures adopted by the governor, preferring amicable to hostile, but failing in their success, His Excellency assured him that he would be compelled [to employ?] by forcible means. On his return to this side, His Excellency summoned all the Kaffer chiefs, who came to him with the exception only of Congo, who declined any interview whatever.

These chiefs, Zlambie however who made many objectionable and difficulties excepted, there promised to go over the river and submit themselves to Gaika. Many of them immediately did so, but they shortly after returned, under pretence of Zlambie and Congo having remained on this side of the river, and being divided, and they, therefore, thinking themselves not bound to keep their word.

Soon after this, Governor Janssens declared to me, both verbally and in writing, his intention of bringing these strolling Kaffers, who had thus treated his friendly endeavors with contempt, to their duty, by dint of arms; but a rupture with the crown of England again taking place, His Excellency altered his plan, and by the repeated journeys of Captain Alberti, wished to bring about a ppace among the Kaffers themselves, and then again between them and the inhabitants.

Under the present government the latter has been the plan hitherto acted upon, and I believe that at present, the Kaffers

being scattered almost throughout the whole country, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to drive them back, so that Gaika will also be deceived in his expectations.

The Kaffers have a great opinion of themselves, and by the constant negotiations of peace, they are infinitely strengthened in this conceit, imagining that we are afraid to use violence with them. Gaika might therefore, perhaps, conceive the idea while retained, as it were, by visits, presents, and promises, himself to create disturbances in the colony, when at the same time they [the visits, &c. ?] are, as I have already observed, of no avail. I rather think the Kaffers who have strolled out of their boundaries are not so numerous as it is generally supposed; their numbers appear greater because they are scattered among the bushes; but were there even some thousands of them, they would not have it in their power to injure us of themselves, as their assagais are in no equality to our firearms, when a platoon or running fire is kept up against them, it being their custom after firing to ruu stoorn [i.e. to charge]. I say of themselves, because during the disturbances under the former English government, the Kaffers were courageously assisted by some rebellious Hottentots, who with their firearms made the conflict much more dangerous.

The safest, but at the same time the most difficult, method of expelling the Kaffers from the colony, would, in my opinion, be that of establishing peace and harmony between Gaika and Zlambie. Could this be effected, the others would certainly join them on the opposite shore, Congo perhaps excepted, but he might then easily be compelled.

The difficulty of this task is easily comprehended, it being well known that Zlambie was entrusted with the government by Gaika's father during the minority of the latter, and that the former afterwards refused giving it up altogether; this occasioned a dispute between the two, and in a battle which they fought Zlambie was defeated and taken prisoner. Gaika detained him as a state prisoner for a couple of years; but out of magnanimity, or perhaps in consequence of placing too great confidence in himself, or in his followers, he offered to set his uncle Zlambie at liberty again, on his promising to remain peaceable and quiet. This, however, only lasted until Zlambie had gained a few followers, when he took up his abode in this colony, and has ever since lived in discord with his nephew.

Congo with his horde is, it is said, at present in the Lange Kloof between the places belonging to Ignatius and Stephanus Ferreira: this was formerly the spot he used to frequent. It is also reported that a party of his people is gone to Lettenberg's Bay. The Kaffers who were first at the Swarteberg and the Gamka, and still in that neighbourhood, at a place called the Drift, are, according to accounts, 53 in number. Of those who last marched, a party, they say, are strolling about, both sides of the Zwarteburg; but the most of them left it and are partly at the Gamka, while others have pursued their course up the Nieuveld, towards and to the opposite shore of the Zak River.

With regard to the wandering Kaffers, they still continue to steal cattle when an opportunity offers, say what one will; they do not conceive that government disapproves this wandering about; their excuse is that some of their countrymen being in the service of the inhabitants it must be permitted for them to visit their friends, the more as they are at peace with us; for the rest they point to their ears, meaning to say they are deaf to any representations of that nature; others again have told us, that they intend going to the Cape to know from the Governor himself, whether any of his orders prohibited them from strolling about as friends.

I have no manner of doubt but some troops of Kaffers will proceed to the Cape, if they are not already arrived. Although I dare not presume to offer my advice to His Excellency in that case, yet I dare assert, that if the first who arrive receive presents from government, and are permitted according to their usual custom, to go round to the inhabitants begging, they will every moment be wanting to go up to town.

I, lastly, think it my duty to make one proposition:—General Craig, if I am not mistaken, (for the papers of this drostdy have been mostly all lost under the different magistrates) [?] issued a very salutary proclamation, shortly before this colony was ceded to the Batavian Republic, prohibiting any inhabitant whatever, on pain of forfeiting Rds. 500, to keep a Kaffer in his service. On representations being made, probably by Kaffers who were afraid to return to their country, or perhaps with a view of satisfying the inhabitants who were then in a state of fermentation, the said proclamation was in so far modified by a subsequent one, that such Kaffers as had remained quietly with the inhabitants, long before and during the troubles which had of late years prevailed between the Kaffer nation and the inhabitants under the government of the E. I. Company, orphans, and such as might have been boru during their residence with the inhabitants, were declared not included among the number. This occasioned the former proclamation to be entirely cluded, and the farmers not foreseeing, or not willing to foresee, the consequences, wanting Hottentots, and themselves not accustomed to take care of their own cattle, have from time to time made more and more use of the services of the passing Kaffers. Were this not the case that people would certainly not wander about so unceasingly; and in my opinion, the first proclamation ought to be again enforced without the smallest restriction [remission?].

C. BIRD, Esq., Acting Colonial Secretary.

(Signed)

I have, &c.

A. STOCKENSTROM.

[This last paper is given as in the official translation of the time. In those translations the meaning of the writer is frequently mistaken, and justice is rarely done to his sentiments or diction.

Numerous other papers confirming or correcting the views taken in the reports of Col. Collins, might be included in this Appendix; but as it is still possible that this publication may be continued, they may be, in that case, best estimated in their due order and connection.

Almost nothing is at present known to the public of the causes which led to the expulsion of the Kaffer tribes from the colony in 1811. In the report of the "Select Committee on Aborigines," they are all summed up in the sentence,—“disputes were continually occurring;” and, so defective was the evidence upon the subject, that the Committee seem to have regarded that important measure as an act of territorial aggression on the part of the Colony.]

↳ Col. Colliu's Reports have been here unavoidably misplaced, in consequence of the difficulties which had to be overcome before the "official authorities" alluded to in a note p. 1, were recovered. The just order of these reports is 1st,—that commencing at p. 33, the date of which is 30th May 1808. 2d. The Journal here placed first. 3d. The Notes of a Journey through Kaffraria, p. 38. 4th. The "Supplement," p. 6; all of which are dated July 1809; and 5th. The concluding Report, p. 16, dated 6th August 1809.





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