THE STORY OF RYK TULBAGH*

Chapter 1

Ryk Tulbagh was appointed Governor of the Dutch East India Company's station at the Cape on 22nd February 1751, and the ceremony of his taking office as such was performed on April 15th.

He was a man who had worked his way up in the service of the Company at the Cape, and the last but one of a series of Cape officials who became Governors. He had been Secunde for twelve years when he succeeded his brother-in-law Hendrik Swellengrebel who, on tendering his resignation, requested the Company's Directorate, the 'Seventeen', to appoint Ryk Tulbagh in his place.

Tulbagh was hardly seventeen years old when he reached the Cape in 1716, apprenticed to the Company for five years. The Governor then was Mauritz de Chavonnes. He observed what a sensible and industrious young man Ryk was, and how courteous. He was a student, too, so that at the age of nineteen he found himself promoted to the position of assistant secretary in the Secretariat, the office of the Secretary to the Council of Policy — the Council which governed the Cape station — with the Governor as Chairman, under the orders of the Seventeen. In 1722 he became chief clerk, and three years later Secretary to the Council himself. In September 1728 he was promoted to membership of the Council (thus enabling him to vote), the rank of Junior Merchant, and a seat on the High Court of Justice. Followed, in 1732, the rank of Merchant. In April 1739 the Seventeen appointed him Secunde and Senior Merchant, a position which also created him President of the High Court of Justice.

The title 'Merchant' needs some explanation. It did not always indicate the bearer's employment in trade. It was also an indication of rank. For instance, the Secunde, the Fiscal (Public Prosecutor), and the officer commanding the garrison ranked as 'Upper Merchants', and junior garrison and ships' officers, doctors and surgeons, ranked as 'Junior Merchants'. Four senior merchants actually dealt with official correspondence; with the Company's purchase and sale of goods, and with the management of the Company's warehouses, granaries, and mills.

* (This essay completes a trio in which the writer tells the story of the three most creative men in charge of the station at the Cape of Good Hope during the rule of the Dutch East India Company. The first, Johan van Riebeeck, arrived upon an agricultural barren shore, and left a provisioned harbourage for the Company's fleets, with the first colonists settled upon their farms along the Liesbeeck River. The second, Simon van der Stel, set the wine industry upon its feet, and spent the rest of his life in the country, to set a standard of living for the prosperous landowner, and the results of whose vision and love of beauty remain with us still. The third, Ryk Tulbagh, arrived at the Cape as a very young man, intelligent, industrious, and rose in the Company's service from clerk to Governor, with an understanding of the people and the country that only such a training could provide. His selfless service endured until he died in office, when the Company's decline was already foreshadowed.)

Any number of Junior Merchants served as clerks and book-keepers and assistants in the Company's offices. The three Upper Merchants and the four Senior Merchants were all members of the Council of Policy, grouped as "Assessors", which not only meant that they were in a position to deliberate upon the Company's financial concerns, but also at this period of time an assessor indicated one who in action shared a position or rank.

Tulbagh was to be Governor for twenty years. Coming into office with over thirty years' experience of Cape affairs, and with people of every rank of life, and at that with an exceptionally well-balanced disposition, he understood very well the difficulties he would have to face, and was prepared for them. In October 1753 he lost his wife, Elizabeth Swellengrebel, "after", the Journal of the time tells us, "a lingering illness". Her funeral procession and ceremony in the Mother Church was an elaborate and stately affair. Tulbagh did not marry again, and they had no children. He concentrated all his interests on his people, and he became for them 'Father Tulbagh'.

One of his problems was the expansion of the colony by men with or without leave. Graziers and elephant hunters in defiance of repeated proclamations spread over the land, escaping the duty of paying taxes, and disturbing Hottentots and Bushmen by forcing them to barter cattle and sheep, and by using their grazing and water-holes. The Bushmen were most concerned with their shooting game, for that was their own preoccupation. They did not run stock. Enterprising burghers, whether or not they had applied for a grant or loan of the land they were using, were grazing in every direction, and the Council of Policy was hard put to it to keep pace with them. When Tulbagh became governor the official boundary in the North West was the Oliphants River descending to its tributary the Dwyka. In the East the Great Brak River, flowing into Mossel Bay, had been declared the boundary in 1734 by the Governor de la Fontaine. He had also set up the Company's V.O.C. beacon on the shores of Mossel Bay. Tulbagh had accompanied him on this tour. Five or six burgers were already farming in the neighbourhood when this was done. The first of them had been granted land in 1729.

In February 1732 the Governor de la Fontaine proclaimed Directorate permission to establish a new law of land tenure. Its object was to check this gypsy inclination, and to encourage the poorer but intelligent and industrious farmers who had little security of tenure under the existing arrangement, whereby they paid to the Company for farms on lease a modest rental, yearly or half-yearly, the Company reserving the right to appropriate the loaned land. The new tenure was entitled 'quit-rent'. It gave the holder security of possession for fifteen years, after which period the Company reserved the right to appropriate it on payment for what buildings the outgoing tenant had erected, and for outlay on cultivation. Two days after the first proclamation, a further one reminded the burghers of the cost to the Company of

running the Cape station, and of how the Company had extraordinarily benefited them without their having recompensed the Company by paying taxes worthy the name, so the Political Council had decided that for quit-rent grants the rental would be doubled, from 12 Rixdollars to 24.

Tulbagh inherited a further improvement on quit-rent land tenure established in 1743. In this year, during the visit of the outward-bound Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, Baron van Imhoff, when Swellengrebel was Governor at the Cape, they discussed with concern the problem of expansion. Imhoff had made a short tour of the country, which left him with unsatisfactory impressions. Many families were still living like gypsies. Obviously, the existing arrangement was insufficiently encouraging. Security was still lacking. After fifteen years of labour the Company's right to expel a tenant bereft him of something which hard cash did not compensate. He may have hired more than one farm, which an increasing number of men were able to do, especially stock breeders who needed alternate grazing, but the opportunity to build up a permanent home unthreatened by disturbance was obvious. We have Imhoffs' decisions in his report to Tulbagh: "I do not hesitate to empower Your Excellency to convert on the application of the present occupiers, all the remaining loan farms, about 400 in number, into freehold farms, provided that the size of each farm be as above. (sixty morgen), that the present annual rental of 24 rixdollars imposed by resolution on the 28th February 1732, remains, and that in the case of the more valuable farms, in addition to the above annual rental, a consideration, to be assessed by reliable persons, be paid to the Company. It has, however, appeared to me that many of the inhabitants might not be able to afford such a consideration, and indeed to some of them it was a hardship when the rent was increased from 12 to 24 rixdollars. In such cases you, as honest and faithful ministers, must use your discretion and be considerate."

Imhoff also realised that it was impossible for the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to control adequately the enormous area eastward, which still formed part of his district. He therefore created a new district south of the Swartbergen, bounded on the west by the lower Breede River, and on the east "to Mossel River and beyond, or to where the power of the Honourable Company ends". (A fatally vague demarkation.) In October 1746 the site for a village on the banks of the Breede River was surveyed, and a year later it was named, by Imhoff's order, *Swellendam*, after the Governor and his wife whose maiden name was Ten Damme. The village was quietly rising up when Tulbagh, who had shared in all this discussion, became Governor. In 1757 he had a ferry established over the river to ease transport difficulties.

Another result of Imhoff's visit from which Swellengrebel's successor profited was the establishment of two more churches. At the time there were only two churches in the country districts — in the village of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. Imhoff ordered that two more churches should be established to serve the farmers and graziers in the Zwartland

— the middle distance between Table Bay and Saldanha Bay — and in the Roodezand (Land of Waveren), which would also serve people in the Bokkeveld. (Not until 1804 was a village and magistracy established in the Land of Waveren, when it was named Tulbagh. The Zwartland village was founded later still, in 1829 when the British Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, named it Malmesbury in honour of his father-in-law, the Earl of Malmesbury.

With the two churches in mind it is interesting to remember in passing that the first mission to the colony had come and gone between 1738 en 1744. The missionaries were German, led by one Georg Schmidt, followers of the Moravian creed. By a Resolution in Council in July 1737 they were permitted in the following year to establish their mission to the Hottentots on the Breede River at Baviaans Kloof, near the Company's outpost Ziekenhuis on the Zonder End River, which like other outposts was in charge of a garrison petty officer and a handful of rankers and slaves.

The Council laid certain restrictions upon the missionaries denying them the right to form a separate congregation outside the control of the Dutch Reformed Church Council, or to perform the ceremony of baptism or any other ceremony of dedication. The Council was very firm on this. Georg Schmidt soon found himself also up against the ill-will of the farmers within reach of the mission. Not only did they suspect any creed but their own of being heretical, but also were intolerant of missionary influence upon the Hottentots as undermining their own control, even of firing the Hottentot with notions of independence, and a claim to evaluate their own labour on the farms. Schmidt struggled on for five years, submitting to the restrictions upon his labours. Then he received from the London Missionary Society his certificate or ordination, and took upon himself the baptism of his converts. This resulted in his being obliged to resign his mission and return to Germany. The Church Council ruled that in future minister only of their own Church should practice in the colony. This rule was to be overcome later on. The Moravians themselves returned to their mission in 1792, and made a name for themselves by establishing a service both devoted and practical.

II

In 1752, on April 8th, the centenary year of the Company's founding the Cape station was celebrated. A solemn service took place in the Dutch Reformed Church; salvoes of guns rang out from the Castle and the batteries, and from the ships anchored in the bay. The festivities concluded with a great banquet to which Governor Tulbagh invited the leading Government officials, the senior officers of the garrison, and of the Dutch, English, French and Danish ships in the bay, and the principal burghers.

In this year, too, Tulbagh decided in Council to send out a carefully instructed expedition from the Castle eastward and into Kaffirland.

His intention was to discover exactly what was going on at the farthest eastward extent of the colony, and to make official and friendly contact with the tribesmen over the Great Fish River. He knew that burghers for a long time had been trespassing into Kaffirland. Far from confining themselves to the district of Swellendam, they had taken every advantage of its vague eastern terminal, and had crossed one river after the other until, not without disaster, they had contacted the Bantu. Most of these adventures, he had heard, were planned in the village of Swellendam.

He appointed as commander of the expedition Ensign August Friedrich Beutler, with thirty-seven garrison men, the superintendent of the Company's garden in Cape Town, and the manager of the Rustenburg garden at Rondebosch, who were to report upon the quality of the soil, plants and forestry; the surveyor Carel David Wentzel, instructed to set up the Company's beacon V.O.C. farther along the coast, which was done at the mouth of the Keurbooms River, following in to the bay named by Tulbagh's successor Plettenberg Bay; and on the shores of Algoa Bay. A body of armed Hottentots supplemented the garrison men. The baggage train numbered eleven waggons with their superintendent, twenty-five drivers and "voorlopers", a blacksmith and a wheelwright. One of the waggons carried a boat. A surgeon from the Company's hospital, and a marine officer capable of making astronomical observations useful to the determination of latitude and longitude, completed the official party. Two burghers and more Hottentots joined the procession as it went along. No such cavalcade had set out to explore since Simon van der Stel's expedition northwestward, on the hunt for copper, reached the 'Copper Mountain' where Springbok stands today.

The expedition set out from the Castle on the last day of February 1752, and returned to the Cape early November — just eight months on the job. As it was of first importance we must follow it up. Beutler reported that on the earlier part of the journey he had travelled along the well-known coastal route until he turned nothwards and scrambled, with some danger and anxiety, through the pass in the Langebergen — Attaquas Kloof, near the present Robinson's Pass. It took him three days, and brought the party down into the valley between the Langebergen and the Zwartbergen.

On the banks of the Gouritz River they came upon a stranded French sailor, and learned from him that a French fleet of three ships had been sent from the island of Mauritius to explore the coast of Africa in search of a place for a French settlement. In Algoa Bay an officer and six men in a boat from the flagship had been ordered to land. The Frenchmen in the boat came to grief. The boat was swamped. Their ship sailed away without attempting rescue. Why — none knows. Had there been indiscipline? Beutler directed the sailor to the Landdrost of Swellendam with a letter, so that he might be safely sent to the Cape.

The expedition travelled on through the valley to its end; found burghers grazing beyond the Gamtoos River, crossed the Great Fish River, and the Keiskamma, which was regarded as the borderline between the

Hottentots and the Kaffirs. Actually, in this area of the country a race existed called Gonaquas, half-bred Hottentot and Kaffir.

On they went over the Buffels River — today East London stands at its mouth. Here all the Hottentots deserted, terrified of the danger of a Kaffir attack; a few Gonaquas who had joined the party remained. The expedition was now in the country where in 1736 the burgher elephant hunter Hermanus Hübner, leading an unauthorised expedition aided by armed Hottentots, met his death with four others. Beutler and his company were more fortunate. They crossed the Kei River, which brought them into the Transkei, and carried on towards Tembuland.

Beutler sent messages forward carrying the presents which Tulbagh had ordered for presentation to Kaffir chiefs. Farther on, they were not so fortunate with Chief Palo of the Khosas. (It was in Palo's kraal that Hübner had been stabbed.) He evaded audience with Beutler, and no kaffir would consent to guide the party to his kraal; nor would they provide the expedition with fresh oxen. Beutler called a council of his senior men. It was decided to turn back. Man and beast were exhausted. On their return they passed through Bushman country and saw many rock paintings. Down to the coast again they captured a runaway slave. While they rested on a farm, well on the way home, the Landdrost of Swellendam forwarded a letter to Beutler from Governor Tulbagh requesting him to look for a bay on the coast. (Actually, the Knysna lagoon.) So Beutler sent the main body of the expedition on, and with his surveyor and a few other horsemen to accompany him, looked for the bay. They stopped short at the two meers (or vleis) of the little Zwart River overflow, and decided that whoever reported a bay must have mistaken the vleis for it, so they followed after the rest.

Beutler had nothing to report to the Governor which, as we have seen, intrepid burgher hunters and cattle barterers could not have told him. The truth was that while Europeans were trekking towards the Bantu in the East, the Bantu who, through a long period of time had been moving southward from northern Africa, were slowly heading westward, ever in the search of fresh grazing for their cattle, or fleeing from stronger tribes among themselves. So it was, that sooner or later the clash was bound to come between them and the European trekker and hunter moving eastward.

III

By this time trekkers had already found their way from the Land of Waveren, from the Bokkeveld, and from the Swellendam district, into the Great Karoo between the Roggeveld and Nieuwveld ranges and the Zwartbergen country, still nominally under Stellenbosch jurisdiction. They found themselves among Bushmen who resested the intrusion into their hunting grounds and watering-places. In 1654 they robbed the trekkers of their stock and put them to flight. The Stellenbosch and Drakenstein militia council (krygsraad) sent out a commando under six corporals, with armed Hottentot auxiliaries. The engagement was not

very successful, for although bows and arrows were hardly a match for mounted men, and the lang distance bullet, they succeeded in killing one farmer and two Hottentots. Sixty of themselves were killed, but the main body made their customary escape to their mountain hiding-places. Only a handful of the stolen cattle was recovered. In the Bokkeveld during the same year another robbery took place, tackled by the three robbed farmers and their Hottentots who successfully recovered the bulk of the stolen stock. Four years later a determined force of some two hundred Bushmen raided the Roggeveld grazing, and drove off several hundred head of cattle. The militia commandant was slightly wounded — the only casualty — and all the stock was recovered.

So it went on. The farmers became so enraged that there were those among them who would shoot a Bushman on sight, and, after battle which destroyed both Bushmen asd Bushwomen, would carry off their children to work on their farms. In 1760 Tulbagh granted land to these trekkers, but Bushmen continued at intervals, to renew attacks. In 1763 another farmer lost his life, and a knegt. The knegt was managing a cattle-run on the Zak River for Jacob van Reenen, a well-to-do farmer in the Swellendam district. The Zak River, rising on the northern slopes of the Nieuwveld Mountains, created a still farther expansion.

The eventual outcome of all this was the formation, in the time of the Governor Cornelis Jacob van der Graaff, of a new district, instituting its own landdrost, militia and burgher council. This was determined in Council in December 1785. Like Swellendam, the name was derived from that of the Governor and his wife. Her maiden name was Reinet.

In Tulbagh's time the most striking geographical event was the emergence of the Great River, the Gariep, into reality. (After his time in 1779 Captain Robert Gordon was to name it after the Prince of Orange.)

The first expedition to be reported had no ceremony about it. In July-November 1760 Jacobus Coetsé, a grazier in the Piquetbergen country who also held a licence as an elephant hunter, taking only himself and a dozen Hottentots with a couple of waggons, crossed the river at a ford which the Hottentots called Gūdoos — sheeps' path, and which Europeans came to call Goodhouse. It was a journey typical of the casual enterprise for which the Afrikaner made himself known. Coetsé carried on and found himself among the 'great' Namaquas as distinct from the 'little' Namaquas south of the river. At first they were not pleased to see him, but he could talk Namaqua and made friends, with one man especially who remained with him. This Namaqua told him the story which Simon van der Stel heard on his journey to Namaqualand in 1685 — the story of a rich land farther on, and of a tawny-skinned, long haired, linen-clad people. Coetsé reached a point a little north of Warmbad, and found a natural spring of warm water there. He also shot on the way two elephants and encountered a giraffe which he described as "a sort of camel".

Coetsé could neither write nor read, but he thought that his experience was interesting enough to report to the Governor. Taking the Great Namaqua with him he went down to the Cape and told his story to the Secretary of the Council of Policy. The Secretary believed Coetsé to be the first European to cross the river, but this was not so. More than one party of burghers had crossed it on the quiet.

Coetsé had grown up in the Stellenbosch district, where his story soon spread abroad, and aroused considerable interest. A well-to-do farmer, Burgher Councillor, and Captain of a cavalry company in the Burgher Militia, Captain Hendrik Hop (under whom Cotsé had once served), organised with Cotsé a body of burghers to follow up Coetsé's exploration, with the special object of discovering the "supposed civilised people" of whom the Great Namaquas appeared to be aware. Hop appealed to the Governor for permission to go forward with his scheme. His party, he said, could equip itself, except for some extra guns and ammunition. On 30th June 1761 the matter was discussed with enthusiasm in Council. It was decided to send with the expedition the Company's surveyor, Carl Friedrich Brink, and the superintendent of the Company's gardens, Johan Andreas Auge, "to collect all strange plants and shrubs"; and to provide them with three of the Company's waggons. One waggon would carry a boat. Extra arms also went into these waggons, presents for the Namaqua headmen, a medicine-chest and a smelting-oven for the burgher surgeon of the party, Carel Christoffel Rykvoet. Ryvoet was also something of a geologist, and at the Copper mountains would examine the excavations of Van der Stel's miners.

The Governor's 'Instructions', extracted from the minutes of the Political Council, were read to the assembled travellers from the 'kat' of the Castle (The roofed entrance stoep of the Governor's house.) The minutes included a copy of the report on Van der Stel's expedition, and of Coetsé's 'relation'.

Hop arranged that the first objective should be a camp at Koekenaap on the northern bank of the lower Oliphants River, where the complete body of the expedition would be awaited to assemble. This was achieved by 12th August. It numbered 17 Europeans and 68 "half-caste Hottentots", with fifteen waggons all told.

The expedition set forth on Sunday 16th. Hop divided his people into two companies, to follow two different routes on the way to the Great River, in order to profit by a wider examination of the country. They met at the river on 18th September. About a hundred Namaquas attended them there, seeking protection against Bushman attacks, and a safe crossing over the river. Unfortunately, Coetsé's Great Namaqua guide and companion was drowned in the crossing.

We cannot go here into a detailed relation of the expedition's trials. (The whole story will be found in Volumes 15 and 28 of the Van Riebeeck Society, with en excellent map in Volume 28.) The Namaquas had told Coetsé that the nation he sought existed about sixteen days' travel northward from the river. They found water scarce or non-existant,

and the way stony and difficult. The waggons cracked up, and the draught oxen became exhausted. Hop sent Coetsé and other burgers ahead to scout for water, and to examine the proposed route. They also sought guides. One kraal of Namaquas when asked for guides refused to supply them unless the burghers first helped them to defeat their Bushmen attackers. None of them "had ever seen" the Briquas.

The expedition continued its gruelling way to a point nearly twenty-two miles past Coetsé's farthest point in 1760. Brink's map marks this site — Keerom (turn back) — today Grundorn. While groups of scouting burghers were coming and going, the rest of them, convinced that to return was the only safe resolution, approached Captain Hop. On the 5th December he assembled them all, and disclosed the adverse reports he had received from his scouts, and two days later he broke camp and they headed for home. They arrived at the Cape 27 April 1762.

They failed in their principle objective, but Brink's able report made the expedition worth while, and it resulted is further settlement in Namaqualand. He quoted Rykvoet's conclusions upon the prospect of copper mining, which repeated Van der Stel's — not enough fuel for smelting on a large scale, and the difficulties of transport insurmountable. It would cost more to mine than the profit they would ever get out of it.

As for the Briquas whom, no doubt, the reader would like to track down, official information about them awaited the first missionaries to Bechuanaland in 1801, where they were established near the kraal of the Chief Moelehaban, the site of whose capital is now called Kuruman; and the report of a Government Commission October 1801--April 1802. 1800 was a year of drought, and because by that time the stock of the Hottentots nearer the Cape, and even Namaqualanders', had seriously diminished owing to determined European bartering, and appropriation of grazing lands, it was decided to make contact with the Bechuanas. The advice of the Field Cornet of the Middle Roggeveld, and of the burgher Jacob van Rennen (whose father we found in Tulbagh's time in possession of grazing on the Zak River), was sought by the Governor-in-Council. There was no doubt that, as in earlier days, well-to-do and enterprising burghers had a good deal of private information about the country.

Chapter II

The second problem Tulbagh had to face was the recurrent complaint of the 'Seventeen' that the colony's revenue, which the Council of Policy extracted from the burghers and from foreign ships, did not cover the cost of running the Cape station. (It would seem that the Seventeen did not take into consideration the fact that the Company's occupation of the Cape saved its paying vast sums to French or English East India Company occupants. The Cape station was unique in its importance as a halfway house to the Eastern Mecca of trade.)

Besides rental for farms and grazing lands, and taxes upon produce, the Company made money by selling to the Cape community imported goods from Holland and the East, such as coal, timber, iron, nails, rice, sugar, clothing, furniture and furnishing materials; furniture, too, from China, beautifully made, and Persian carpets. We hear of the latter as early as Willem Adriaan van der Stel's time. (Ships other than the Company's brought treasures too.)

Auctions, initiated in April 1679, still prevailed for the sale of monopolies, liquor especially, and to become butchers, bakers, millers and so on, which brought in capital sums for the Company. The lessee of a monopoly was obliged to retail at the Company's dictated price, so that the holder might not undersell the Company nor exploit the public. We read of complaints that the price is too low for such and such a commodity to give the lessee a fair profit.

The Company also made money by debasing the value of the coinage. For instance, the guilder worth 20 cents in the Netherlands rated as 16 cents in the Company's territories overseas. The farmers were paid 16 stuivers (cents) worth for their produce. There was juggling with weight too. The Netherlands muid (bag) weighed 175 lbs; the farmer had to deliver some ten pounds more to the bag.

The Governor-General van Imhoff had gone thoroughly into the subject of revenue as a matter uppermost in the Company's mind. Its fortune was beginning to decline. (Tulbagh, as Secunde then, heard all about it.) The Company's servants complained of their poor pay. Something would have to be done about it. Senior men could not keep up the position they held, or make adequate provision for their families. Apparently Imhoff judged their complaints to be justified. Nothing could be less probable than the Seventeen's raising their salaries, so he instituted the doubtful arrangement whereby the Company's senior servants, from the Governor downwards, should receive rakes-off on the Company's business dealings with the burghers. For instance, when the farmer was paid for grain at the rate of 16c the 4c which made up the just guilder went to the official in charge of the graineries. The Governor received a rake-off on every cask of wine sold to the Company.

In the hope of curbing smuggling, Imhoff also arranged that produce was not to be left on the farmers' hand. The Company must either buy it, or leave the farmer free to dispose of it in his own way. But nothing stopped smuggling. The Company's levy of export duty was partly to blame. Men risked the threat of savage punishment to get something better than the least possible price which the Company paid for produce. (Elephant hunters were threatened with death if they sold "even a single tusk" of ivory to anyone but the Company. This edict in Tulbagh's time still prevailed.) Long ago, a little guard-house had been built at the mouth of the Salt River where the ship's boats came in, so that a Watch might be posted there. The Watch at the Castle was also ordered to keep an eye open for smugglers, and the petty officers

in the ships themselves were threatened by proclamation with dire consequences if they failed to report what they saw and heard of smuggling.

In spite of the Company's restrictions a very well-to-do class of burgher had come into being by Tulbagh's time. There were farmers whose several farms and grazing lands were in charge of able knegts or sons, and who lived in their own houses in Cape Town, visiting their farms at important seasons of the year. In their houses in town they took in ships' officers and other visitors of good standing as paying guests, and they traded. Indeed, the saying went that all the Capetonians were hucksters! The Company allowed ships' officers, and to a lesser extent the sailors, to import goods into the Cape and to sell them there to the public. No one was allowed to open a shop, but the word went round when certain commodities were for sale in a private house. Not only the well-to-do had this advantage. There were artisans who also ran a domestic business in imported goods, managed as a rule by their wives. It was also possible to order goods from Holland, giving commission to the officer engaged for the project.

Auction sales, popular events, took place for the sale of a deceased person's property, sales which included the sale of the personal belongings of deceased ships' people. With a permit from the Governor a ship's officer could also hold an auction of the goods he had brought with him for sale.

II

In December 1750, a few weeks before Tulbagh took office as Governor, the Council of Policy, having consulted the landdrosts and the burgher councillors, passed a Resolution upon a proposal from the Seventeen to encourage immigration. The idea was to increase the population of the Cape Colony so that the Company might be rid of any engagement in agricultural pursuits, of garrison bartering expeditions, and of the cattle-posts dotted about the country to receive stock brought in by the Hottentot 'captains', and by farmers too far away to drive their own stock to the Cape. Burghers and landdrosts were in emphatic agreement against the idea of immigration. As things were, no more people could make a living. "Immigration", they declared, "would only add to the poverty that exists." Until they were given free trade they saw no prospect for their children. Until they were allowed to sell their produce at their own prices, to import and export goods as they themselves thought fit, and were left entirely free to build up businesses in their own way, immigration was "impossible". They spoke for the generality of colonists, and it was quite true. Resentment against what the burghers considered to be the Company's avarice had existed from Van Riebeeck's time. (They were never under the Company's rule to attain their desire. Freedom of trade awaited the proclamation 7-10-1795 of the British Command.)

Thus Tulbagh was obliged to carry on in the old way. Even Imhoff's decree that produce was not to be left on the farmers' hands appears to have gone by the board, for we find in the Council's proclamation 11-3-1756 that the Company had so many trek oxen on hand that until further notice no more would be taken in lieu of rent; and in January 1759 the Company declined for the present to take more salted meat for the ships.

On the other hand, in August 1762, we have a proclamation complaining that not enough wine is reaching the Castle. (Cape wine had now become the most profitable export from the Cape.) Something "sinister", the proclamation read, must be goining on, and if the wine farmer did not immediately send the wine required, the Company's officials would seize it. The threat had the desired effect.

What was happening at this particular moment was the presence of an English fleet anchored in Table Bay. It was towards the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) during which the English and French navies were battling against one another in Indian waters. The something sinister was smuggling of course. Nor were the farmers the only culprits. Tulbagh had discovered several years before a little trick in which Company's servants indulged. The sender labelled a package as a "present", which allowed it to pass as not being a business export, but the receiver in the Netherlands paid the sender for it, and got it cheaper than the Company would have supplied it. Tulbagh had proclaimed then that no Company's servant of whatever class might send wine to the Netherlands as presents. However, when it came to smuggling, defiance of trade regulations so destructive of local enterprise revealed inexhaustible ingenuity. In telling stories of it, Mentzel remarked: "I might give illustration of some methods which these smugglers adopt, but I shall desist, lest I might interfere with the small earnings of some otherwise worthy fellows."

In March of the following year, after peace had been declared, another French fleet anchored, commanded by Captain Surville. A proclamation, as for the former fleets, warned the colonists not to board foreign ships without a permit; threatened people who hid deserters, and reminded the visitors that all soldiers and sailors were to be off the streets when the curfew went at nine p.m. For himself, Surville requested that his order to his crews should be respected by the townsmen.

In December 1764, Lord Clive, the hero of the struggle in India, anchored outward-bound for India, and spent the period of his visit, until January 12th, as guest of Governor Tulbagh in the garden guest-house.

III

Talking of ships reminds us of Tulbagh's share in forwarding the use of False Bay for shipping during the dangerous winter months when the north-west wind could be very dangerous. For instance, in 1737 (when Tulbagh ranked as a Merchant) seven ships of the Company's

reurn fleet in Table Bay dragged their anchors and were wrecked. In 1743 the Baron van Imhoff ordered that Simon's Bay, officially created a 'port of call' the previous year, and a sergeant installed as postholder, should be properly equipped for its rôle. Governor Swellengrebel therefore established a garrison, and erected a large, long building to serve as barracks, workshops, warehouses and so on. There was also a sick-bay of sorts. Both Company's ships and foreign ships (the latter regarded with some uneasiness) used False Bay, but in 1753 the Seventeen informed Tulbagh that in future the Company's fleets would use the False Bay anchorage during the months May-August inclusive, and that adequate provision should be made to meet the fleets' requirements afloat and ashore.

Tulbagh set about it, and gradually the place took shape. He reconditioned the garrison and workshops, built warehouses, a slaughter-house, bakery, and several dwelling-houses, one destined for the officer in charge, or 'Resident' as he was to be entitled. In 1761, on the death of the last sergeant postholder, Lieutenant Jan Frederik Kirsten took office as Resident. He came to spend only the winter months there, and, having acquired in his son's name the property of Alphen in Constantia, lived there for the summer months when the activity at Simon's Town (as it was called under orders left by Imhoff) closed down. In 1760-65 a good hospital was in building on the hill-side, and in 1768 the port was given a final flourish with a stone pier.

In 1755-6 Tulbagh also built stables at the Muizenberg post, and established a cavalry guard, so that any attempt on the part of an enemy to land at Kalk Bay could be promtly dealth with. (Muizenberg was named after Captain Muys of the garrison who as a sergeant in 1744 was stationed there, and it was so-called at that time and again in 1755.)

The ceremony of a fleet's or a single ship's arrival and departure was even more strictly observed in these days with the inncrease of foreign ships. The picturesque signals on Lion's Head and the Rump remain as in older pictures of Table Bay, and the Company's ships carry the secret signals which are renewed every year. On the bastion Catzenellenbogen stand the flagmast "thick as a man's thigh", Mentzel tells us, and up went the flag after the Castle guns had saluted a ship, or the foremost of a fleet. Foreign ships as they entered the bay saluted the Castle with the number of shots which described their importance. It had to be an odd number, and the Castle replied with two less. At 8 p.m. when foreign ships were in the bay, the Castle fired a signal when the guard was posted. Company's fleets if commanded by an Admiral saluted the Castle with 21 shots, and with less shots according to the Commander's rank. There was order, too, in which the ships of the fleet approached anchorage. If a ship on her own, out of sheer delight in a safe arrival let off a *feu de joie*, the Castle did not respond.

Tulbagh was meticulous in his observance of conventional hospitality to the Commanders, and to distinguished visitors whom they brought ashore. On of the great social occasions of the year was the Governor's

farewell dinner in February to the officers of the return fleet, and to any distinguished traveller sailing home in the fleet. Distinguished visitors to the Cape had long contributed to the interest of ships' arrival, and by the time Tulbagh became Governor the number and variety was steadily increasing. In April 1751, a few weeks after he had taken office, the French astronomer Abbé Nicolaus Louis de la Caillé landed with introductions from the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, and from the Prince of Orange. He came to make a sidereal chart of the southern skies, and to measure an arc of the meridian. Tulbagh arranged for a temporary building to be set up in the courtyard of Mrs. Jacob De Witt's house in Zee (Strand) Street, where Caillg lodged, to serve as an observatory, and where over a period of nearly two years he managed to compile a very fine array of statistics, charting ten thousand stars — literally putting the southern skies on the map. He did all this with a telescope only half an inch in diameter and 28 inches long. On the two hundredth anniversary of his visit, Dr. David Evans of the Royal Observatory at the Cape, published an article in the Cape Times 19-4-1951, which gives us all this ready information. On April 27th 1761 two English astronomers, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, outward-bound for Bencolen to observe the transit of Venus there, decided to make their observations at the Cape, because their ship arrived in Table Bay later than they had expected, and the transit was timed at Bencolen for 6th June. Tulbagh paid them every attention, and they remained until October 3rd.

No less than four circumnavigators anchored in Table Bay during Tulbagh's time, all out to explore the Pacific, and to settle the question whether the land which came to be called Australia was surrounded by water, or whether it was part of a great southern continent extending to the south pole. Captain Samuel Wallis R.N. sailing in *Dolphin* refitted at the Cape, homeward-bound early in 1768. Captain Philip Carteret, R.N., in the sloop *Swallow,* was anchored in Table Bay from 28-11-1768—6-1-1769. We hear of him from Captain John Splinter Stavorinus of the Dutch East India Compan's vessel *Snoek,* who, on his way to the Dutch East Indies, had anchored ten days before Carteret. Stavorinus made several voyages, and, having reached the rank of Rear Admiral in the service of the States General of the Netherlands, published three entertaining volumes of his experiences. Wallis and Carteret had been commissioned to sail in company, and left Spithead together in August 1766, but in the course of a tempestuous passage through the Magellan Straits lost one another.

The third circumnaviagtor was Chevalier De Bougainville commanding the ships *Boudeuse* and *Étoile,* which had sailed from Europe in November 1766, and anchored at the Cape 9 January 1769, three days after Carteret left. He sailed 17 January, with the idea of over-hauling Carteret and extracting from him what information he could. Carteret's *Swallow* was by this time sadly belieing her name, and Bougainville, although eleven days behind, caught her up in his sounder ship just beyond

the island of Ascension. He sent up his French flag, and hailed him by name, not a little to Carteret's astonishment. Presently one of the officers of the French ship entered his ship's boat and called upon Carteret, with the idea of bringing back information about the south-seas tactfully extracted. He had no success. Staverinus could have warned him. He wrote of *Swallow's* captain and crew at the Cape: "They kept the object of their voyage a profound secret." Bougainville was however happy to inform Carteret that Captain Wallis in *Dolphin* had safely preceded homeward. Each had believed the other to have been wrecked.

The fourth circumnavigator was the greatest of them all: James Cook, on his first voyage round the world — 1768-1771. He was one of the many whose genius arose none knew from whence. He was the son of a farm-labourer whose employer sent the bright boy to school. When the Seven Years War broke out he went for a sailor. What interested him, was methematics and astronomical science. In was indeed the prime concern at the time of every navigator in Europe. Though for many years an exact time-keeper had been on the way, and rewards offered for it by kings and councils since early in the century, it had not yet been achieved. John Hadley produced the sextant in 1731, and the finest attempt at what, in 1805, was to be called a chronometer, began in 1735 at the hands of a hardly literate watchmaker, John Harrison, who in 1761 brought his time-keeper to near perfection. Cook was dependent upon the more or less uncertain calculations which navigators, not yet benefiting by Harrison's academic success, still practised, but he got out of them the utmost certainty possible. (Stavorinus, by the way, in his third volume, gives a description of how the Dutch used the compass.) Cook had made an impression upon the Royal Society by his observations upon the eclipse of the sun, and he had taught himself to chart. Experts in astronomy and navigation were also bent upon viewing the transit of Venus, which had been calculated to take place 3-3-1799. In May 1768 Cook was promoted in the Royal Navy to First Lieutenant, and commissioned to command *Endeavour Bark* (the 'Bark' added to distinguish her from the other *Endeavour),* in order to observe the transit of Venus from the Pacific, and thereafter to explore the ocean for the 'Southern Continent'. It was arranged that a young man of private means, Joseph Banks, a botanist and a Fellow of the Royal Society should accompany him. *Endeavour Bark* sailed from Plymouth 26-8-1768.

The part of Cook's brilliant performance which engages us here is his contact, on his homeward passage, with Batavia and the Cape. He anchored at Batavia 10-10-1770. His ship was in bad shape, but her company without a case of sickness. Only four or five had suffered a touch of scurvy — a remarkable record. They had been two years and three months at sea. Cook had made every possible arrangement to avoid this scourge of ocean travel, not only by carrying every anti-scorbutic known at the time, but also by organising a strict attention

to diet. We hear, too, that he ordered his crew to dance the hornpipe as a tonic excercise. We hear of his visit to Batavia from Stavorinus who had anchored there 2nd July, and was apponited Commodore to command the Company's return fleet. Cook anchored just in time to experience a violent storm, which badly damaged another ship at anchor. Unfortunately, having avoided the worst ills of the sea, his crew was struck with malaria and dysentery. Twenty-four men died, including his surgeon. He sailed 26th December for the Cape. Seven more men succumbed on the way. He anchored in Table Bay 15-3-1771, and remained at anchor until 14th April in order to give the remainder of his crew time to recover, and to repair his ship.

There was a circumnavigation in the 1760's, earlier than these four, which sailed from England 2 June 1764, refitted at Batavia, and sailed from there early in December 1765, but rounded the Cape without anchoring. This was Captain the Honbl. John Byron, R.N., second son of the fourth Lord Byron, and grandfather of the poet. He commanded *Dolphin* which later fell to Wallis's command. His consort was the sloop *Tamar* commanded by Captain Mouat, R.N. It was not Byron's first experience of circumnavigation. He had accompanied Commodore (subsequently Admiral) George Anson R.N. 1741-1744, not in a scientific expedition but during the course of remarkable adventures in fighting Spain at sea.

J. C. Beaglehole, Ph.D., in his book *The Exploration of the Pacific* has printed excellent maps of all the above voyages.

M. Whiting Spilhaus.

(To be continued)

AANKONDIGING

Die redaksie wens graag die aandag daarop te vestig dat aangesien nommers 58 en 59 van *Historia Junior* as een uitgawe in Junie verskyn het, daar nie saam met hierdie uitgawe van *Historia* 'n *Historia Junior* gepubliseer word nie. Die volgende uitgawe van *Historia Junior* sal weer in Desember verskyn.