

Some company men and callers at the Cape



Few company servants at the Cape of Good Hope in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have left an enduring record of their careers. The soldiers, sailors and artisans of the garrison carried out their duties, kept out of trouble for the most part and before their departure for other stations or for the homeland were no more than names on the general muster roll. A few, as we have seen, remained to join the small burgher colony; some emerge briefly from obscurity in connection with their duties as hired hands on the farms; others occasionally achieved an unwelcome immortality for misdemeanours which caused their names to be registered in official documents.

The majority of company employees from the governor downwards were of Dutch Calvinist background, but the manpower requirements of an extensive trading enterprise were considerable and men of many nationalities and of other shades of religious belief were to be found in

its service.¹ French speakers were by no means uncommon at the Cape and although perhaps the largest contingent came originally from the southern Netherlands, many had been born in France or Switzerland. To attempt a complete list would be a difficult task, but the names of a few of the rank and file will serve to illustrate the many regions of French speech which provided the Dutch East India Company with men to serve in its southern African outpost.

Surnames are not always an accurate guide to the home language of company employees from Flanders in particular, but among those from the southern Netherlands at the Cape in the early eighteenth century who were probably French-speaking were the soldiers Jean Rombout from Malines, Louis Claude of Ath in Hainaut, Gilles de Marly and Pierre (Pieter) Carré of Brussels, Arnaud Friese of Liège, Jean and Michel Thibaut of Bruges, Simon Baljé (*sic*) of Tournai, Joseph Lusson of Antwerp and Jacques Bourgeois, whose place of origin was almost certainly Dottignies, near the modern French frontier east of Tourcoing.² Others from this part of Europe included the smith Lambert Launier from Liège, the Brussels cutler Jean-Baptiste Marchal, the drummer from the same city Charles Dujardin, an Ostend sailor Antoine Faille and the masons of 1728: Reynier Danbat from Namur, Cyprien Delvoie of Tubize and Pierre (Pieter) Latenelle of Saint-Gilles, probably Saint-Gilles-lès-Bruxelles.³ An earlier company employee later to move to Batavia was the master tanner Jean du Pré of Tournai, who reached the Cape on May 20, 1671 aboard the *Ternate*. His namesake Pierre of Namur, a soldier, was numbered among the criminal element after 1725, as was Guillaume Chavin of Brussels more than twenty years later. A convict Thomas d'Autrepon of Verviers succeeded in escaping from the hospital in 1740. Other prisoners were Joseph Mariton of Mons and Pieter (Pierre) Wibbo, doubtless Wibaut, of Tournai, both sentenced to relatively short terms in 1728, and Jean Baptiste of Bruges, who was sent to Batavia on the *Huijs ten Donk* in 1731 after the expiration of his year's sentence. Wibaut was perhaps connected with a family mentioned in an earlier chapter.⁴

From Switzerland in 1693 were Jacques Levett(e) and Jean Orle of Lausanne, both soldiers.⁵ Swiss members of the garrison between 1710 and 1727 included Antoine Roux, Arie Chaparel and Antoine Porret from Geneva, and Jean Restou and Jean-Georges Dubois of Neuchâtel.⁶

Frenchmen in the service of the Dutch East India Company came from many parts of the kingdom, although the problem of identifying them

by name and locality is sometimes made difficult by transliteration and translation in the records. There were Dutchmen resident in France, but it would seem likely that the corporal of 1702, Nicolaas van den Heuvel of Montpellier in Languedoc was in fact Nicolas Dumont⁷ and that the wagoner Jan van Daalen of Normandy was a Jean Duval.⁸ Some at the Cape lurked behind daaldisguises, but care must be taken. A soldier doubtless enjoying a rest from his duties in hospital in 1733 seems to have called himself "Aimable Loisir", but in that year he signed as Amable Lusy when taken on as a servant by the burgher André Mellet. He was apparently from Riom in Auvergne, or Rion in south-western France.⁹

From western and north-western France in the first half of the eighteenth century came the corporal Pierre Nicolas of La Rochelle, his namesake Antoine of the same town and a sailor Mathieu Gatier of Saint-Malo in Brittany. Antoine Nicolas worked on the battery as a prisoner for six months in 1744.¹⁰ The cook to governor Chavonnes in 1718 was Isaac Fristeau of Orleans,¹¹ while the gunner Joseph Arsan-deau, employed as a teacher in the country districts between 1734 and 1736 was probably from Les Sables-d'Olonne on the Vendée coast.¹² Many years before, in 1697, a soldier Pierre de Lormel of Dieppe, on the point of departure, was required to settle an outstanding debt to the minister Pierre Simond on arrival in the United Provinces. The money was to be paid either to an Amsterdam merchant Nathanaël Gautier, or to the French pastor at Gouda, Salomon Bernard.¹³ This minister provides another link with Simond's homeland, for in happier times he had served the congregation at Venterol in Dauphiné, near his Cape colleague's birthplace.¹⁴

A convict working on the battery was Jacob le Sueur, sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment in 1744. Le Sueur was a native of the province of Berry. Soldiers from Languedoc at the Cape included Antoine Campenon of Montpellier and Pierre Meyer of Nîmes, while the company brewer André Carbonnel was also from this province.¹⁵ Emmanuel Melgard, who worked as a prisoner on the Cape battery for six months in 1740, was possibly from Castelnaudary; the soldier Jean de Camau of Toulouse acted as schoolmaster to the children of the settler Pierre Jaubert (Joubert) in 1706.¹⁶

Two sailors at least from Marseilles in Provence served at the Cape, Antoine Godefroy and Michel Pascal;¹⁷ the burgher Jacques de Savoye employed a soldier Martin Nicolas of Nice on contract.¹⁸ Nice was not then a part of France. Another of Savoye's contract workers was Pieter

Olivier (Pietro Olivieri, perhaps) from Moncalieri near Turin.¹⁹ From Dauphiné came the drummer Antoine Gouvé and the soldier Joseph Latour. The wagoner Jean-Baptiste Nicolaï hailed from Lyons and the soldier Jean Marchal from Besançon in Franche-Comté.²⁰

Among soldiers on the muster-roll from Paris after 1720 were Philippe de Soul(l)y, Louis Pelleux, Jean-Baptiste Pierre and Jacob Donat. Soul(l)y arrived in 1724 as a sick man from Batavia, Pierre laboured for eighteen months on the battery after sentence in 1736 and Donat, then a drummer, had originally been deported from Batavia in 1731 for attempted suicide.²¹ The craftsman Joseph Lépine was a native of Champagne and the blacksmith Claude Valentin was from Lorraine.²² Picardy, and French Flanders and Hainaut were well represented. Among the company employees who worked for the minister Pierre Simond was a soldier Jean Troullat of Valenciennes, loaned on contract from 1694 to 1696.²³ From Péronne on the Somme came the soldier of 1704, Jean Leys, while the soldier Charles le Roux and the wainwright Jean-François Gadinne were from Lille. François Ed(o)uard of Dunkirk, who worked on the battery, received a life sentence in 1731, but ran away within four years. The Cape attracted him, however, and he came back in 1736 as a cook on the *Noordwolfsbergen*, only to be recaptured and returned to his labours in chains.²⁴ On the military establishment in 1747 was Jean-Mathieu Oin of Abbeville,²⁵ while Calais was the home of the sailor Jacob Durand and the soldiers Jan (Jean) Bastiaan and Marc Pilart.²⁶ The registers of the Guines temple list Pilarts before the revocation.²⁷ Finally the gardener of 1685, Pierre Couchet from Amiens, may be considered here. He had formerly worked in the gardens designed by Le Nôtre at Saint-Cloud, home of Louis XIV's brother Philippe, duke of Orleans.²⁸

These are but a few of the French-speaking employees of junior rank in the company's service at the Cape in the later seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth century. Their presence, together with those from the United Provinces and Germany, as well as from such other parts of Europe as Scandinavia, Spain and the Italian states, gives some idea of the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Cape from the earliest days of settlement. Of others a little more may be said before turning to officials of higher rank in the company's service.

One of the first Frenchmen to come to the Cape was Jonas de la Guerre of Havre-de-Grâce (Le Havre) in Normandy, who arrived as a cadet on the *Salmander* in 1653. He went to Batavia in 1658, but returned in 1662 as a corporal on the *Malacca*. During his turn of duty at the Cape

he had shown himself a man of resource and it was as a result of his skill with the gun and his good knowledge of the Cape hinterland that he was promoted sergeant in 1663 and was chosen later in that year to lead an expedition into the land of the Namaquas.²⁹

In the year of La Guerre's first arrival at the Cape four Frenchmen left on an island in Saldanha Bay as a punishment by the captain of a French ship were taken into company service. Martin Cordier of Abbeville and Nicolas Raine were enrolled on November 17, 1653 as gunners; Daniel Mulot of Dieppe and Louis Raine were accepted as ordinary seamen. Ten years later Jean Casseur of Saint-Denis reached the Cape as a soldier. In 1664 he was engaged upon agricultural work in the company's grain store, but was sentenced in February 1665 to three years in chains for attempting to abscond with stolen money.³⁰

Another soldier in the service of the Dutch East India Company who found himself in difficulties with the authorities was Jean Fort of Nuits-Saint-Georges, north-east of Beaune in Burgundy. Fort, fearing reprisals for illegal dealings in livestock, absconded on December 1, 1670 and lay low until an opportunity presented itself for him to get aboard a French ship in the harbour. He was, however, apprehended and brought back on shore, although he later escaped before sentence could be passed on him.³¹ In 1689 the authorities had reason to be grateful to a French-speaking soldier, Jean de la Motte, for revealing a conspiracy involving French prisoners then held at the Cape, together with a compatriot in the garrison.³²

In 1698 a soldier Isaac Currée (Curie, perhaps) from Paris made a brief appearance at the Cape before being sent on to Batavia. A watchmaker by trade he had sailed from the United Provinces on the *Gent* and had been retained on the orders of Simon van der Stel. This arbitrary action was not to the liking of the Batavian authorities, who resented the loss of a skilled artisan intended for the garrison there.³³

Another Parisian, Philippe-Thomas Pillart, was on the Cape muster roll as a soldier in 1701.³⁴ He had seen service with the company in the Moluccas and reached the Cape aboard the *Overrijp* in 1700. In that year he was accused of seeking to desert to the English company. The unsigned and undated letter attributed to him asked quaintly "sy lia moyent de randre serviece a messieur(s) les anglais" and was written by "un garsont quy a servy la Compagny au landaise quators ans".³⁵ Pillart denied authorship, but is significant that he joined the Walloon church in Amsterdam on December 4, 1686, bringing an attestation from The Hague, where he had abjured the Catholic faith on Septem-

ber 24 of that year.³⁶ Fourteen years' service with the Dutch East India Company, as mentioned in the letter, would accord with these facts.

A Calvinist from Bazoches-en-Dunois was the Cape insurrectionist Etienne Barbier. A sergeant in the company's service in 1738, he defected and took refuge with a widow Cellier in the Drakenstein valley before placing himself at the head of a band of farmers embittered at what they considered harsh treatment from government. Arrested by the authorities, Barbier was tried, found guilty of a number of crimes, including sedition, and executed on November 14, 1739.³⁷

There were French Calvinists with London connections in the Dutch service and others employed by the British company, or serving on naval vessels. The clerk Jacques Courton of London reached the Cape as a cadet aboard the Dutch East Indiaman, the *Spiering*, in March 1716, while François d'Abbadie, captain of the British vessel, the *Nep-tune*, which lost two anchors in Table Bay in 1742, was doubtless of French birth or descent.³⁸

The colonial struggle between Britain and Spain which began in 1739 merged into a European contest for the Austrian succession and a further indecisive tussle for supremacy in the Americas and India between Britain and France, with the United Provinces playing an auxiliary rôle on the British side. It was during the war that a French-speaking soldier, Jacob le Fort of Dieppe, joined the Cape garrison from the ship *Huijs te Foreest*. Early in 1744 Le Fort had been in French military service at the house of the governor of the port of Dunkirk and had overheard a conversation at a dinner party at which the guests had included the brilliant military commander Maurice de Saxe and the Stuart Pretender Charles Edward. Also present was a naval captain from Flushing in French pay who spoke of the Walcheren defences as well as of the possibility of taking the settlement at the Cape, the importance of which the captain fully appreciated as he had previously been employed by the Dutch East India Company. There was no mention in the deposition Le Fort made at the Cape on the conversation of Stuart plans for an uprising in Britain and the dinner party clearly took place after the cancellation of the invasion scheduled for 1744. French interest in Dutch defences was, however, of immediate concern and the Cape authorities took due note of Le Fort's communication.³⁹

One French exile in England was detained at the Cape through no fault of his own. The great storm of June 1722 caused the destruction of all ten British and Dutch ships then lying in Table Bay with heavy loss of

life and property. On the London East Indiaman the *Nightingale* was an army sergeant Jacob de Banc. Although he lost practically all his possessions, he managed to swim naked to the shore with a shirt, his watch and seven *écus* tied round his waist. He then had to walk a considerable distance to the settlement in high wind and rain. On June 25, 1722 he wrote to England requesting assistance for his family and announced his intention of returning to London by the first available ship.⁴⁰ The births of several children to Jacob and Marie-Elisabeth de Banc (née Hayer) are recorded in the registers of the French church of Hungerford Market in London,⁴¹ served by the refugee minister Philippe Jouneau from Barbezieux in the Angoumois.⁴² Other children were born at Fort St George in India.

Frenchmen signed on as soldiers and sailors on many Dutch East Indiamen from an early date and one at least, Thomas Senge of Marseilles, died at the Cape on such a voyage in August 1662. A soldier on the *Hoff van Zeelandt*, he was among several suffering from scurvy who were unable to continue the journey to Batavia.⁴³ The chief mate of the *Buijenskercke* in 1666 was Michel Cardan of Dieppe,⁴⁴ while the *Wapen van Rotterdam*, on her maiden voyage from the United Provinces two years later, lost a couple of French-speaking crew members before reaching the Cape. One stabbed the other to death in a fight and the survivor was thrown overboard with the body of his victim.⁴⁵

The persecution of Calvinists in France brought more refugees from that country to the service of the Dutch East India Company and several sailed on vessels of the outward-bound fleet of 1688 associated with the arrival of the earliest parties of French-speaking refugees at the Cape. It is widely held that the first vessel carrying refugees to make a South African landfall was the *Voorschooten* of Delft, which was compelled to put into Saldanha Bay on April 13, 1688 and later transferred her French passengers to the Cape aboard the coaster *Jupiter*. In the meantime, on April 25, the Zeeland East Indiaman *Oosterland* had brought more colonists direct to Table Bay.⁴⁶ But were these groups the first to reach the Cape? There is some evidence to support Franken's suggestion that they were not.⁴⁷

The Hoorn chamber sent out fourteen French-speaking refugees at this time. Were they not aboard the *Honsholredijk* of that port, which anchored in the Cape roadstead on April 11, 1688?⁴⁸ Company records, alas, are silent on the question and the registers of the Hoorn Walloon church, presided over by Philippe le Noir from Blain in Brittany, north-west of Nantes, have not been preserved. Hoorn was one of the first

Dutch towns to offer special concessions to French Calvinist refugees after the revocation.⁴⁹

Again, were all the fifteen refugees from Amsterdam aboard the *Borsenburg*, which did not arrive until May 12? Did some perhaps sail with Hendrik Pop on the *Langewijk*, which anchored on April 19, or on the *Java*, which reached the Cape with the *Honsholredijk*?⁵⁰ There were other Frenchmen aboard both the *Langewijk* and the *Java*. On the former was a former Rouen merchant Jacob Pelgrom and French speakers of lower rank included a sailor Jacques Gouduin of Oloron (Oléron, perhaps) and a soldier David Couil from Dauphiné. The *Java* was the flagship of the fleet, carrying the senior merchant Balthasar Coyett of Formosa, and it was to this vessel that Simon van der Stel went to offer assistance to the refugees then arriving. Several of her complement were French, among them the soldier Daniel Chavin from Saintonge and the sailor Pierre Carpentier of La Rochelle. Her captain, Jan Gerritsz., came from Bordeaux.⁵¹ He may have been Dutch, although his name could equally be a French one in northern disguise.

Frenchmen continued to sail on Dutch ships round the Cape and we can do no more than mention a few of them here. Aboard the *Vaderland Getrouw*, which had a stormy passage from Galle in Ceylon to the Cape early in 1713, was a soldier from Calais, Isaac Pancier. Another soldier, Henri de Baussai of La Rochelle, reduced from the rank of ensign and repatriated from Ceylon aboard the *Loosdregt* for insubordination, made an unsuccessful application at the Cape in March 1716 to be allowed to plead his cause in Batavia.⁵² Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, a deserter from the *Padmos* who spoke little Dutch, was apprehended in the Swellendam district in 1747, while the engineer and surveyor from Artois on the *Herstelling*, Jean-François Masson, married Gezina Kock at the Cape in April 1732 before continuing his voyage to Batavia. He had to change ship as the *Herstelling* was diverted to Madagascar for slaves.⁵³ Among boatswains and boatswain's mates on outward-bound East Indiamen between 1733 and 1751 were David Gossier of Dieppe, Jean-Baptiste Dugué of Bayonne, Elie Gusto (*sic*) of La Rochelle and one who signed his name in a Dutch form, Jacob Montenaar of Marseilles. To these may be added Paul Messon of Brussels, steward on the *Prattenburg* in 1733, and Isaïe Bessièrre of Lausanne, gunnery officer of the *Huijs te Reijnsburg* in 1741. Jean Belliveau of the *Herstelder*, which brought Van Imhoff to the Cape in 1743, was from Rochefort in Saintonge and spoke Dutch imperfectly. He took an active part in the surveys which formed the basis of the governor general's report on the settlement.⁵⁴

No stranger to the Cape was Louis de la Croix, or as he called himself in Batavia, Louis Lacourt. An army sergeant and staff cook, he was aboard the return ship *Zandenburg* which called at the Cape in January 1710 with governor general Joan van Hoorn aboard.⁵⁵ La Croix was again in Batavia in 1714 and on November 27 of that year wrote to Steven Faber (Etienne Fabre, perhaps), chief superintendent of the hospital at the Cape. La Croix wanted Faber to sell his slave Alexander van Balij for him, as he was finding him expensive to keep and felt that Alexander had been completely spoiled during his master's recent absence in Bengal. He was, as La Croix put it, "un garson (*sic*) qui ne cherche que pour ses put(a)ins", but his wenching apart, had much to commend him. He was a skilled carpenter and La Croix was taking the liberty of sending him to Faber with the tools of his trade, placing him in the care of Hedding van Nooij, captain of the East Indiaman *Doornik*. La Croix did not expect a fortune for Alexander – an aum of red muscadel, perhaps, "et sil Reste quelque argent vous pouves (*sic*) me lenvoyer en duc(c)atons ou en vin selon vostre propre volonté". In appreciation of the favour he hoped Faber would do him he sent with Van Nooij small presents, including a piece of gold-fringed muslin.

Payment, however, was not made and La Croix gave Jan de Heij, captain of the vessel *Huijs ter Leede*, a power of attorney to act for him at the Cape. The result was that Alexander was returned to his master in Batavia. Faber, a native of Idstein in Hesse, was in any case on the point of leaving for Europe. His request for repatriation was granted on March 3, 1716.⁵⁶

The La Croix case is valuable in the light it throws on contacts between the Cape and Batavia, as well as in the context of slavery in the company period. The letter sent to Faber is also revealing. It is fluent, obviously written by a practised hand and suggests that the writer was a man of intelligence and some education. La Croix had clearly fallen on hard times. He speaks of "la mauvaise fortune que j'ay Rencontrez (*sic*)", making a return to Europe out of the question. La Croix does not elaborate, but he adds that the situation "m'a faict a moitié fou". Moreover, in assuring Faber that he will always do any service the latter might ask of him, he concludes: "Quoique j'aye perdu la pluspart de mon bien ny l'honneur ou (*sic*) le courage n'est (pas) perdu".⁵⁷ It would be instructive to know more about the man and his background. La Croix is a surname common in the Guines registers of the reformed church.⁵⁸

A French Calvinist who reached the Cape in unusual circumstances was

Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac de Laujardière, scion of a Guyenne family later to command a regiment in the army of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia. Born on November 1, 1672, Chenu was only thirteen years of age when he sailed on the *Saint-Joseph* from Bordeaux on March 22, 1686 for Madeira, where he was to embark on another ship for the United Provinces in order to rejoin his brother Jacques in Brandenburg. Plans were, however, made in Madeira to convert him to Catholicism, or to repatriate him to France. Chenu therefore decided to escape, taking passage as a cabin-boy on October 4, 1686 aboard an English vessel sailing from London to the Indies.

The voyage was a hazardous one. Soon after leaving Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands the ship was attacked by pirates and the captain killed. As a result of faulty navigation the vessel failed to sight the Cape and landfall was made on the coast beyond it. Chenu and seven companions were sent ashore to reconnoitre, but his comrades were killed by tribesmen through a tragic misunderstanding. After spending many months in the wilds, Guillaume Chenu was at last rescued by the crew of the *Centaurus* and brought to Table Bay in February 1688. There he signed on for three years as a sailor aboard the locally based galliot, the *Noord*. He was thus present at the Cape when many of the French refugees arrived from Europe.

Chenu sailed on this ship in company with Pierre Simond's brother-in-law Louis de Bérault in October 1688 to search for survivors along the south-east coast from the *Stavenisse*, wrecked off Natal, and to explore Delagoa Bay. He returned in February 1689 and shortly afterwards took part in a naval action in Table Bay. Through the intercession of his family, however, he was released from service with the Dutch and left for Europe on the *Spierdijk* in June 1689. While waiting for the return fleet to sail he lodged with Simon van der Stel, to whose kindness he was later to pay high tribute.⁵⁹ Another Chenu served with the Dutch East India Company in these years. When the Amsterdam yacht the *Sillida* reached the Cape from Europe in April 1688 she reported that she had been accosted on February 12 by two French ships looking for Calvinist refugees. One such sailor was removed from the Dutch vessel. His name is given as Guillaume Chenu(t) d'Arore (perhaps Arove, near the Pyrenees).⁶⁰

Henri du Quesne's ill-starred scheme to found a new Eden for Calvinist refugees in the Mascarenes falls largely outside the scope of this study, but the expedition which landed a handful of settlers for a brief period on Rodriguez has its place in the history of the Cape in the late

seventeenth century and of the Frenchmen associated with the colony. Of the quarrelsome party of ten which reached Table Bay from Texel in January 1691 aboard Antoine Valleau's *Hirondelle*, three at length returned there in February 1698 on their way back to Europe from Batavia: the author François Leguat from Bresse in Burgundy, later to settle in England, Paul Benelle, son of a Metz merchant, and Jacques de la Case, also a merchant's son from Nérac and a former officer in the Brandenburg army. The *Hirondelle* certainly made her presence felt at the Cape in 1691. A cannon-ball had accidentally been left in one of the guns when she fired the customary salute on arrival and the shot struck the castle wall. Nor was this all. The intending settlers and the ship's pilot, Pierre Thomas of La Tremblade, south of La Rochelle, accused Valleau of being a renegade whose sympathies still lay with the French; Valleau in turn, with the support of most of his men, described the colonists aboard as blackguards.⁶¹ The Cape authorities had to pour oil on these troubled waters and the quarrelsome nature of passengers and crew seemed to the Dutch to be yet another example of that contentious spirit already observed among the French-speaking settlers at the Cape.⁶²

One of the sailors on the *Hirondelle* was Jean de Seine, twenty-five years of age in 1695, who is described as coming from Grisons. It has generally been accepted that he was therefore from that part of Switzerland adjoining the republic of Venice. He described himself as an Italian, however, and it is possible that his place of origin was Grisol, the modern Crissolo, in the marquisate of Saluzzo in Savoy. This Alpine region on the French border was the home of many Calvinists. Seine was among those left on Rodriguez, but he deserted to the Cape, where he was allowed to live with the colonist Pierre Rochefort.⁶³

One day in 1695 he was discussing the possibility of a French landing with the settlers Jacques Labat, Pierre Meyer and Pierre Vivier. Seine was the typical mercenary, prepared to work for the devil if there were money in it, and his attitude to a French invasion was one of "vive le plus fort". The Dutch authorities, not unnaturally in time of war, took no lenient view of this seditious talk and sentenced Seine to be scourged and banished in chains for ten years. After an escape from custody and recapture, he was sent to serve an extended sentence on the island of Mauritius. There he escaped again and with others tried to reach the French on the island of Bourbon (Réunion) in a stolen boat. A storm drove them back to Mauritius, where Jean de Seine was shot by the pursuing party. His companions were captured and sent to the Cape for trial. The commander on Mauritius, Roelof Deodati from Dordrecht,

of an Italian family with German connections, was later censured for having Seine shot out of hand.⁶⁴

One of his companions in crime was a soldier Christophe Planque (Planck), sometimes described as from Brussels, but evidently a Frenchman from Rheims in Champagne. His story is closely connected with that of Seine and is also associated with the Du Quesne expedition, since he came to the Cape on the *Swarte Leeuw*. This ship, originally the *Droite*, had been intended to accompany the *Hirondelle*, but Du Quesne had been forced to limit the scope of his scheme and had sold the ship to the Dutch East India Company which transferred her under her new name to the Cape station.⁶⁵

Planque deserted early in 1695, was harboured for some weeks by Pierre Rousseau, was apprehended and sentenced to hard labour in chains, but escaped from the hospital where he lay sick. He again went into the interior and found shelter with the settler Mathieu Amiel, living in his kitchen. He met another deserter there, Jan Pieter from "Coupet", perhaps Jean Pierre from Coupetz, south of Châlons-sur-Marne in Champagne. Pieter (Pierre), also a soldier, had jumped ship in April 1695, when the *Gent* lay at anchor in Table Bay. There followed a tale of illegal trade with the Khoikhoi and double-dealing with colonists not averse to lending the fugitives a little assistance. In the course of his illegal activities Planque met Jean de Seine, similarly engaged and on the run. Planque was captured and sentenced to hard labour on Mauritius. After the attempted escape to Bourbon he was condemned to death.⁶⁶

This account of desertion and vagrancy points to a considerable degree of lawlessness on the outer confines of the Cape settlement in which members of the farming community, including some of the French speakers, were clearly implicated. In addition to Rousseau and Amiel, the names of Pierre Grange, André Pellanchon, Jean Jourdan and Pierre Jourdan enter the picture of barter with the indigenous inhabitants. The Jourdans mentioned here were probably those from Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque in Provence. Another who was involved was Jan Jurgen, or Jan de Switzer, who was sentenced to hard labour for life on Mauritius. Pierre Rousseau, in whose house Planque was first arrested, was well aware that the latter was a deserter and compounded his fault by offering bribes to hush the matter up. As a result he was sentenced to a flogging, confiscation of his goods and "3 Jaren in de kettingh". Was the punishment carried out in full? Perhaps not. Jurgen, despite his sentence, was quietly released on Mauritius to earn his own living.⁶⁷

The Cape was both a port of call for ships carrying undesirables back to Europe from the east and a prison for wrongdoers sent there from Ceylon and Batavia. In the first category was Antoine-Nicolas Tarin of Paris, an elderly soldier in Ceylon, who was compulsorily repatriated as a sailor for dereliction of duty in 1741. Sentenced to five years in chains at the Cape was the soldier Jean-Baptiste Espligant (Esplegent) of Antwerp. A deserter from both the French and Dutch services, he was set to work on the battery after disembarking from the *Ouwerkerk* in 1740 when she arrived from Batavia. The sailor Philippe Minné of Ghent was sent to the Cape in 1740 on the *Westhoven* as a common malefactor after service in the Carnatic. He was sentenced to death in 1747 for homosexuality. Bertram (Bertrand) de Merre of Villeneuve, a soldier in Ceylon, was sentenced to thirty-five years on Robben Island for stealing company property. He escaped from detention, however, when the *Crabbendijk* anchored in Table Bay in 1751 and does not appear to have been recaptured.⁶⁸

In 1715 there occurred a flight by sea involving three continents. The chief mate François Desnoyers had, as reported by Châteauneuf, French envoy at The Hague, first seen the Indies in 1701, when he was sent to Pondicherry. He later sailed in a small vessel for the Maldivé Islands, but the ship had failed to find an anchorage and had made for Ceylon, where Desnoyers was arrested for attempting to smuggle cinnamon. The ship, it would seem, had been confiscated and Desnoyers sent to the Cape as a branded prisoner. He succeeded in escaping from the hospital and was taken aboard a French vessel which sailed in March 1715 for Europe. When she touched at Todos-os-Santos Bay in Brazil, Desnoyers transferred to the Danish East Indiaman *Salvator Mundi*, travelling aboard her to Tranquebar and doubtless lying low when the ship called at the Cape in November 1715. He then made his way to Pondicherry and eventually to Bengal. The full story of his movements was not known at the Cape until 1718, but he had by that time presented the French authorities with a detailed plan on how best to break through the Cape defences and make themselves masters of the settlement. His memorandum, however, was not acted upon as France and the United Provinces were then at peace.⁶⁹

We have so far only discussed in this chapter soldiers and seamen of French language, birth or extraction, and these mainly in the lowest ranks. There were, however, several with a French language background on the Dutch company's shore establishments at the Cape and elsewhere, from modest clerks to those holding high office in the administration. Among officials who touched at the Cape on journeys

to further destinations were Abraham Patras of Grenoble, governor general of the Indies from 1735 to 1737, who came out as a soldier on the *Hobre* in 1690, and the baron Isaac de l'Ostal de Saint-Martin, born in Béarn in 1629 and commander-in-chief of the company's forces. He was aboard the *Goudensteijn* of the return fleet of 1683 and was also at the Cape on the *Bantam* two years later. Elie Guillot from Bordeaux also travelled to the east on the *Standvastigheid* in 1714 and rose to become governor of Coromandel in 1733. Guillot had relatives in London and a brother Jacob who was an Amsterdam druggist.⁷⁰

One company employee who sailed for the Cape and Batavia in 1736 as a clerk on the *Rithem* deserves at least a passing mention. Hieronimus Franciscus de Hauteperne de la Tour de Louvain reached Middelburg from Holland in July 1735. His claim to be of ancient French royal lineage, the adversities he had suffered and his apparent detestation of the Catholic religion evidently impressed the Zeeland directors, who offered him employment. After the *Rithem* had sailed, however, it became clear that La Tour was a plausible rogue and certainly no sincere convert to the reformed faith. The Batavian authorities were warned to keep an eye on this undeserving recipient of Zeeland's generosity.⁷¹

Lieutenant Jan Baptist Dubertin, clearly of French extraction, had a brief connection with the Cape which, through the influence of the commissioner and councillor-in-ordinary Rijckloff van Goens the younger, took him to a seat on the council of policy. He arrived from Ceylon on the *Sumatra* in 1680, intending to return to Europe, but stayed on. Appointed port captain in 1684, he was soon afterwards found guilty of dishonesty and banished to Mauritius on the yacht *Westerwijck*. There he was ill-used by the officer in charge, Isaak Johannes Lamotius, but succeeded in getting away to the United Provinces.⁷²

Another man with Cape connections was Jacques de Bucquoi, who became director at Surat in 1680. The son of Daniel de Bucquoi, a merchant in the Moluccas, and his wife Marie Auxbrebis, he was doubtless related to the soldier Jakob de Bucquoi, born in Amsterdam in 1693, who was appointed surveyor and cartographer at the new trading post established on Delagoa Bay on December 10, 1720.⁷³ Bucquois from France had settled at Lüneburg, south-east of Hamburg, after the revocation although the name is encountered as early as 1677 at 's-Hertogenbosch, when a Hubert de Bucquoi arrived there from London.⁷⁴ Jakob de Bucquoi was taken captive by the pirates George

Taylor and the Frenchman from Calais, Jean la Buse (Olivier le Vasseur), when they withdrew with the captured *Caab* hooker after their successful attack on the Delagoa Bay settlement in 1722. Bucquoi was later to publish his further adventures.⁷⁵ Delagoa Bay was then commanded by the French speaker Jean Michel; also on the garrison staff were the soldier from Paris, Louis le Fèvre, and the engineer Samuel Augier.⁷⁶ There is another connection between the Surat director, Jacques de Bucquoi, and the Cape. His mother Marie Auxbrebis became the wife of the Dresden-born Cape commander Zacharias Wagenaer and her daughter Marie de Bucquoi lived with them in the settlement. Marie Auxbrebis died at the Cape on June 14, 1666.⁷⁷

There were, however, family ties with the French-speaking world among Cape commanders and governors from the very beginning of European settlement. Jan van Riebeeck's first wife Maria de la Queillerie was descended on her father's side from an old Picardy family whose origins can be traced to the fourteenth century. Her grandfather Chrétien de la Queillerie, a Walloon clergyman born probably in Celles, south-east of Courtrai, married Marie Polle. The Cape commander's wife was also descended from French speakers on her mother's side. Her father Abraham, born in Dordrecht, married Marie du Bois of the same town, the daughter of a soldier Noé de Bois and his wife Agnèle de Vallée.⁷⁸ Abraham van Riebeeck, son of the first commander and future governor general of the Dutch East Indies, spent part of his boyhood in Rotterdam with his mother's youngest brother Abraham de la Queillerie.⁷⁹

Wagenaer's successor as commander in 1666, Cornelis van Quaelbergh, dismissed within two years, remarried after his departure. His second wife was Henriette Chastelain of La Rochelle.⁸⁰ Simon van der Stel's wife Johanna Jacoba Six did not accompany him to the Cape when he was chosen as commander in 1678. A member of an influential Amsterdam family, she was doubtless descended from emigrants from Picardy or Flanders, where the name is not uncommon.⁸¹ The administrator Samuel Elsevier, appointed by Van der Stel in 1697, had been married to Anna Maria Six de Chantelier, who died at the Cape in 1689 when the family was on the way back to Europe from the east. Elsevier's third wife of 1703, Maria Wasteau, was evidently of French language descent.⁸² The administrator Joan Cornelis d'Ableing, acting governor after Willem Adriaen van der Stel's fall from grace in 1707, was also related to the Six family. Born in Haarlem in 1663, he could trace his ancestry to the French-speaking Tournai region of Hainaut in the southern Netherlands. His first wife was Louise Soury.⁸³

The Chavonnes family which played a notable part in the history of the Cape settlement in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was of noble French origin. Joachim Pasque(s), marquis of Chavonnes, fled from France to the northern Netherlands after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572. There his son Pierre married Jeanne de Savorin. Their youngest son Mauritz (Maurice) Pasques de Chavonnes, born at The Hague in 1654, served as governor of the Cape of Good Hope from 1714 to 1724. In 1689 he married Baltasarina Kien, daughter of Rochus (Rocques) Kien and Maria van Beaumont. Baltasarina had been admitted a member of the Walloon church of The Hague on July 1, 1685. The son of the Cape governor, Pieter Rocques Pasques de Chavonnes, born in Bergen-op-Zoom in 1697, began his career with the Dutch East India Company at the Cape as an ensign and became director general of India in 1743. The governor's nephew Dominique Marius Pasques de Chavonnes, murdered in the Dutch East Indies in 1718, was appointed captain of the Cape garrison in 1713. The son of Dominique Pasques de Chavonnes and Maria Lamy, he followed in his father's footsteps, for the elder Dominique had commanded the Cape garrison from 1686 to 1689. It has been suggested that the Cape governor had in part a Catholic background and in this connection the abjuration of a Marie de Chavonnes is noted in the records of the Walloon church at The Hague on January 7, 1680.⁸⁴

The administrator Jan de la Fontaine, Cape governor in 1737 and acting governor for two periods after 1724, was born in Amsterdam in 1684, the son of Jacques de la Fontaine and Barbara van der Burgh.⁸⁵ The La Fontaines were a noted Calvinist family and several members were associated with the Walloon church of Amsterdam, including the Philippe de la Fontaine whose generosity assisted Jacques de Savoye's mother-in-law.⁸⁶ The name Maria van Beaumont has appeared in the history of the Chavonnes family. The Cape fiscal appointed in 1711, Cornelis van Beaumont, was born in Breda in 1690. The surname was perhaps originally "de" Beaumont, since at the baptism of a sister Isabelle in the Walloon church at Breda, the father is described as Corneille de Beaumont, an infantry major married to Catherine (de) Becker.⁸⁷ The Beaumonts were an old Dordrecht family, evidently of Huguenot origin.

The names of several officials of rather lower rank in the company's administration at the Cape suggest a French language background. Those of two – Poulle and Thibault – are linked in the registers of the Walloon church of Naarden near Amsterdam, where the death of Louise Thibau(l)t, wife of the church deacon François Poulle, is re-

corded on May 12, 1671.⁸⁸ Abraham Poulle of Amsterdam came to the Cape from Batavia and was secretary to the council of justice in 1707. Three years later he returned to the east in company service.⁸⁹ François Poulle of The Hague reached the Cape in 1708 as a soldier after a long voyage via Brazil on the *Generale Vrede*. He became clerk to the fiscal in 1717.⁹⁰ Daniel Thibault of Amsterdam, secretary to the council of justice and junior merchant, arrived at the Cape in 1705. A Daniel Thibault and his wife Elisabeth Miget were living in Amsterdam in 1690.⁹¹ The clerk Jacques Chapelou of Amsterdam reached the Cape in 1712.⁹²

From the French side of the modern border between France and Belgium came Josephus de Grandpreez of Valenciennes, the son of Noël-Joseph de Grandpreez and his wife Bernardine Mousson de la Grenieurie. A cultivated man and fluent in Dutch, which he spoke with a marked French accent, Grandpreez was always in demand as a translator. He arrived on the *Linschoten* in 1720 as a soldier and was appointed to the Cape secretariat two years later, rising to become a merchant and secretary to the council of policy. The governor, Hendrik Swellengrebel, found him a bumptious man, whose conceits caused frequent offence. Swellengrebel also disapproved of the way in which he tried to enlist the support of his brother-in-law, Daniël Nolthenius, the Cape commissioner of 1748, in his unsuccessful attempt to become deputy governor.⁹³ Pierre Mazot, long in military service, was appointed secretary for Stellenbosch and Drakenstein on May 11, 1729.⁹⁴ His place of origin is given as Clermont and his surname suggests that he was from that locality north of Grenoble in Dauphiné, or perhaps from Clermont-l'Hérault in Languedoc.

Pieter (Pierre) la Fon of Amsterdam, who died in 1749, was book-keeper in the company's butchery and useful to the authorities for his knowledge of English. A few years before his death he married Catharine Louisa, daughter of the butcher Gijsbert le Fèvre. La Fon's mother Madeleine Braine, or Brun, perhaps, was living in Amsterdam in 1748, but was born in Bordeaux.⁹⁵ The clerk Rodolphe le Camus of Geneva reached the Cape in 1735 as a corporal aboard the *Petronella Alida*. The son of Jean le Camus and Marie-Madeleine Guainier, he asked to return to the Indies in 1737 with his former military rank, sailing in that year to Ceylon.⁹⁶

A company employee who served at the Cape as a book-keeper was Daniel Rousselet-Brousson, who married the widow Maria Anna Grové there in 1744. He took part in the Madagascar slave-trade and is

known to have spoken Malay, presumably the Bazaar Malay which was the lingua franca of Chinese throughout the Indies. Born in Amsterdam, Rousselet-Brousson was the son of a merchant Jean Rousselet and, from the records of the Walloon church in that city, of his wife Madeleine Brousson, to whom a daughter Jeanne Rousselet was born in March 1717.⁹⁷ The place of origin of the Rousselet family has not been positively identified, although the name is to be found in such localities as Crouy, near Soissons in the Ile-de-France, at Châlons-sur-Marne in Champagne and at Chef-Boutonne in Poitou. Esaïe Rousselet from the Crouy region became the first mayor of the Huguenot township of Friedrichsdorf in Hesse-Nassau in 1687.⁹⁸ It seems very likely that Madeleine Brousson was a member of the family of that name who were merchants at Nîmes with connections in Marseilles. This hypothesis suggests a link with the Calvinist martyr, the lawyer Claude Brousson of Nîmes. There was a Jean Brousson, merchant druggist, living with his wife Catherine de Gamon in Marseilles in 1672. Ten years later the marriage of a Pierre Brousson of that city took place. He was the son of Jean Bousson of Nîmes and Marie de Meyniac. Furthermore a Jean Brousson, merchant of Nîmes, abjured in Marseilles after the revocation.⁹⁹

The evidence for a southern origin of the Broussons of Amsterdam is strong. The names of two of the children of Daniel Brousson of that city are given in 1690 as Claude Brousson and Jeanne Broussonne, the latter surname in the contemporary feminine form used in the south of France. Jeanne was probably godmother to Jeanne Rousselet in 1717.¹⁰⁰ It is interesting too to see the use of the hyphenated surname of the Netherlands by Daniel Rousselet-Brousson. In the eighteenth century descendants of French refugees in Europe, as at the Cape, also followed the new custom of married women assuming the surnames of their husbands. Rousselets and Broussons in the United Provinces were not confined to Amsterdam; both names appear in the records of Bergen-op-Zoom in the early eighteenth century. There were also Broussons in Germany. A David Brousson of Marsillargues in Languedoc moved from Magdeburg to Berlin before the close of the seventeenth century.¹⁰¹

Of French background was the junior merchant Jean d'Ailly of Amsterdam who came to the Cape as a cadet on the *Generale Vrede* in 1708. He was joined later by his wife Johanna, daughter of David de Potter and Susanna d'Ailly. The couple were living in Haarlem in 1705. Also on the *Generale Vrede* was Johannes Godefridus d'Ailly, pastor at the Cape. Another member of this Amsterdam family, David d'Ailly, came

to the Cape in 1713 on the same vessel and, like Jean, rose to the position of junior merchant. A niece of the Cape minister, Sara Maria d'Ailly, whose father-in-law was a Lieutenant N. Cercheau, spent some time with her uncle at the Cape before returning to Europe on the *Meijnden* in 1721. She would seem to have become the wife of Courtonne de Brossa(e)rt, mentioned in the previous chapter. Her mother's name is given in 1742 as Catharina le Ménager. An expression of pride in French ancestry is found in the request for a farm made by the great-grandson of Jean d'Ailly, Jan Benjamin, in 1803, during the rule at the Cape of the Batavian republic. He speaks of the persecution and flight of his family from France and of the loyal service of those at the Cape to the land which gave them shelter.¹⁰²

Mention has been made of the hospital superintendent Faber. The superintendent in 1710 was Jean-Baptiste Poignes, clearly of French language background.¹⁰³ Among the medical staff at the Cape was François Guiteau (Guto), who came out as a junior surgeon on the *Nederland* in 1699 and was promoted to senior surgeon on the shore establishment in 1710. Guiteau was born in Poitou about the year 1672 and emigrated to the United Provinces in his youth, living in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁴ There was a François Guit(e)au in that city in 1691, married to Marthe Guidon. The godmother at the baptism of their child Marc in June of that year was Susanne Guit(e)au. At Rotterdam in 1693 lived Pierre Guiteau and his wife Marguerite Piaux.¹⁰⁵

Renaud-Berthault de Saint-Jean, chief surgeon at the Cape, where he retired, was born after the revocation to Marie Doné at Sancerre in Berry, north-east of Bourges, the provincial capital. Saint-Jean settled in Amsterdam and in 1712 sailed to Batavia in the *Unie* as junior surgeon. In 1717 he set up in the United Provinces as a merchant perfumer, but two years later reached the Cape as a junior surgeon aboard the *Meijnden*, transferring to the hospital service ashore. On March 12, 1720 he was granted permission to bring out his wife Anne Fourdrinier and their son Renaud-Berthault, born in Amsterdam and later to become a book-keeper with the company. On the death of Anne Fourdrinier, Saint-Jean married Marthe, daughter of Durand Soullier, in December 1721. His mother was still living at Sancerre in 1726.¹⁰⁶

Anne Fourdrinier of Leyden was perhaps connected with the Dieppe refugees of that name, although there were also Calvinist Fourdriniers in south-western Picardy. The surname is not uncommon in the Wal-

loon church registers of Amsterdam and Leyden,¹⁰⁷ and Fourdriniers from Dieppe were associated with the textile industry of Enkhuizen.¹⁰⁸

Frenchmen were occasional passengers on Dutch vessels. One who proved troublesome reached the winter anchorage of the mid-eighteenth century in Simon's Bay aboard the *Arnestijn* in 1747. Jean-Thomas-François Villejosselin de la Motte of Saint-Malo took passage on this ship from Bengal after visiting India "pour une affaire d'honneur". Despite his protestations of innocence on arrival at the Cape and complaints of "cruauté sans pareilles", it would seem that it was his pugnacious manner and expressed contempt for his hosts which led them to put him in irons and, until the ship's surgeon intervened on health grounds, in chains as well. He was transferred to the *Polanen* to continue his voyage to Europe.¹⁰⁹

These then were some of the men and women of French birth, descent or speech who formed part of the military or civil establishment at the Cape before the middle of the eighteenth century, together with some others whose contact with the settlement was of a more transient nature. There remains another important group, the callers aboard ships sailing to and from France and the southern Netherlands. Again, in a long period of contact, we can do no more than isolate a few of the more significant visitors, with particular emphasis upon those of the late seventeenth century, when the bulk of the French-speaking colonists reached the Cape.

French interest in the southern African coast long preceded the arrival of the Dutch and continued well into the eighteenth century, despite the development of bases in Madagascar and the Mascarenes. Desnoyer's plans of 1716 were not the only ones of their kind submitted to the French naval authorities on the Cape and its approaches; some extracts from the logs of British vessels even found their way into French hands¹¹⁰ and, where possible, on the spot surveys were made, with particular attention to Saldanha Bay. Etienne de Flacourt of Orleans published the first reliable account of the bay area in 1658. Sent out to Madagascar by an early French East India Company, he spent twelve days there in October 1648 on his outward voyage from La Rochelle in the *Saint-Laurent* and three weeks in March 1655 on his way back to France in the *Ours*.¹¹¹

Colbert's initiative led to the founding of a new company in 1664¹¹² and renewed interest in the possibilities of Saldanha Bay as an anchorage. From December 1666, when officers aboard the *Saumacque* planted a pillar with the royal arms on the shore there, until the outbreak of the

Dutch War in 1672, the French maintained a tenuous right of possession, contested by the Dutch.¹¹³

French vessels were early visitors to the little settlement on Table Bay. When the *Maréchale* from Nantes put into the anchorage with three consorts in March 1656, the presence of so many foreigners caused no small anxiety. The *Maréchale* was back twelve months later with survivors from the Dutch galliot the *Tulp*, lost off Madagascar. Some aboard the stricken vessel, among them Robert la Grieve of Hesdin in Artois, elected to remain with the French on that island.¹¹⁴ The *Maréchale* returned to the Cape in May 1660, under the command of a Calvinist from La Rochelle, Simon Véron, whose crew numbered many co-religionists from that port. The vessel was, however, wrecked in heavy weather in the bay and some of those aboard her spent several months at the Cape, many of the crew being placed on the pay-roll of the Dutch company. Among those on the *Maréchale* were Pierre Gelton, a lieutenant intended to set up a trading station on Madagascar, and several missionaries including the Lazarist prefect apostolic Nicolas Etienne, later to suffer martyrdom on Madagascar. During his long stay, Etienne became a close friend of the Van Riebeecks, but was not permitted to compromise the official Calvinism of the settlement by celebrating Mass ashore. He was repatriated in 1661 on the *Malacca* with the Lazarist surgeon Philippe Patte, also to die with him on Madagascar.¹¹⁵

December 1666 saw the arrival of the new French company's fleet from La Rochelle, bringing François Lopis de Montdevergue on the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* to his command as lieutenant general on Madagascar. This was a colonizing and commercial expedition of considerable size, designed to establish the French presence throughout the Far East. Aboard the *Saint-Charles* of the fleet was the merchant François Caron, a Calvinist from Brussels who had previously served the Dutch company in Japan. His son of the same name had touched at the Cape six years earlier on the *Musquaetboom* on a voyage to Batavia and a career in the church at Amboyna. Commander Van Quaelbergh entertained the Frenchmen royally, but the banquet he enjoyed aboard the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* cost him his post when the Lords Seventeen got to hear of it. Montdevergue was also interested in Saldanha Bay and it was he who sent the *Saumacque* party there to annex it. The viceroy was to see the Cape again when he called there aboard the *Marie* on his return voyage to France.¹¹⁶

The arrival in the second half of 1670 of Louis XIV's so-called Persian

squadron from Rochefort under Jacob Blanquet de la Haye caused trouble both at Saldanha Bay and at the Cape settlement. The Dutch resented the reassertion of French rights at Saldanha Bay and there were also problems with French deserters and angry exchanges over protocol concerning the royal ship the *Julle*, on which Caron was to lose his life off Lisbon in 1673. Vessels of the French company from Port-Louis at the mouth of the Lorient roadstead had joined the royal squadron. One was the *Phénix*, which called at the Cape for assistance on November 8, 1670, having lost more than half those aboard on the voyage and with so many sick that she was unable to furl her sails. No sooner had she arrived than a heavy storm blew up in Table Bay which caused so much damage that she could not sail until January 2, 1671.¹¹⁷ This was the vessel on which Jean Fort tried to escape.

Fort hoped to join the staff of the vicar apostolic of Tonkin and titular bishop of Heliopolis, François Pallu of Tours, returning on the *Phénix* to those missionary endeavours in the Far East which were allied to the French drive for commercial and political advantage in that region. A man of sound learning and wide experience, responsible for Catholic missions over an extensive area of China and a promoter of the *Société des Missions étrangères*, he seems to have made a good impression on the Cape commander Pieter Hackius.¹¹⁸ Pallu shows himself in his correspondence to be a man of broad vision. He spoke highly of La Clide, Calvinist captain of the royal ship the *Indienne*, in Table Bay at that time, and also commended the Dutch at the Cape to whom those aboard the *Phénix* owed their lives. Pallu entertained Hackius and his principal officers on board, but considering this civility insufficient recompense, sent the commander "un petit chandelier d'argent à deux branches et trois autres pieces fort curieuses de la valeur de cent escus ou environ".¹¹⁹

Several French vessels called in 1671, among them the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* from Port-Louis, bringing out the Lyons merchant Barthélemy Blot to join Caron at Surat. The ship, destined to join the squadron of the previous year, anchored in Table Bay on July 7, but adverse weather prevented Blot from setting foot on shore. Once again the problem of deserters came to the fore. Two men hid themselves on land and reappeared after their ship had sailed. Arrangements had, however, been made to place them in confinement until the arrival of another French ship.¹²⁰

The Dutch War of 1672-1678 necessarily brought contact between French and Dutch at the Cape to an end; it also resulted in a major

disaster to France in the dispersal and destruction of the 1670 squadron. Among the losses were the *Phénix*, taken by the Dutch off Trincomalee in Ceylon on May 31, 1672 without a shot being fired, and the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, captured in port there in July of that year, some hours before the French base in Trincomalee Bay, established in the previous March, capitulated to the forces of the Dutch East India Company.¹²¹

The interval of peace before the outbreak of the War of the League of Augsburg in 1688 brought more French ships to the Cape. The *Soleil d'Orient*, which sailed from Port-Louis for Surat and Bantam on February 1, 1679, called in May. The voyage marked a return to eastern commerce by a French company which had been too fearful of losses to send out more vessels. The *Soleil d'Orient* sprang a leak shortly after leaving Table Bay and had to return for repairs. It was an ill omen. On her return voyage in 1681 with ambassadors from the Siamese court to that of Louis XIV she foundered off the Madagascar coast.¹²² Siamese envoys seem to have been particularly vulnerable. Others were marooned at the Cape in 1686 when the Portuguese vessel *Nossa Senhora dos Milagres* was wrecked near Cape Agulhas.¹²³

This period inaugurated a new approach by France in the Far East: the cultivation of relations with Siam. It was given considerable impetus by the arrival in France of Siamese mandarins in 1684, sent to enquire about the missing ambassadors to the French court, and was a major concern of Colbert's East India Company, reconstituted by his son Seignelay on March 3, 1685. On the day the new company came into being two royal vessels sailed from Brest to make the first official contacts in what it was hoped would prove a fruitful relationship between France and Siam and to extend French influence in the Chinese empire. The ships were L'Aulnay de Vaudricourt's *Oyseau* and the *Maligne*, commanded by harbour lieutenant Joyeux.¹²⁴

On the *Oyseau* were the emissaries from Siam and the recently appointed ambassador to that country, Alexandre de Chaumont-Quitry, a convert from Calvinism born near Magny in the Ile-de-France. With him was his deputy, the Parisian François-Timoléon de Choisy, abbé and reformed transvestite, who took holy orders before leaving the Far East. Among Chaumont's retinue was a naval lieutenant Claude de Forbin from Gardanne, near Marseilles, who had seen considerable fighting on land and sea and had been a witness at Louis XIV's secret marriage to Madame de Maintenon in 1684.¹²⁵

There was also a scientific aim to this expedition, and a religious one. Aboard the *Oyseau* were several missionaries and possible recruits for

that service, and six priests of the Company of Jesus, five of whom would travel on into China. Their selection owed much to the enthusiasm of Louis XIV and his confessor La Chaize, as well as to the desire for reinforcements in China expressed by the veteran Jesuit missionary and astronomer there, Ferdinand Verbiest from Flanders.¹²⁶

The Jesuits on the *Oyseau* were accomplished scholars and were supplied with memoranda and astronomical instruments by the *Académie royale des Sciences* in Paris. They were designated mathematicians to the king in the Indies and China before setting out on the voyage.¹²⁷ As superior was Jean de Fontaney,¹²⁸ a forty-two year old professor of mathematics at the famous Jesuit Collège de Clermont in the capital, re-named Louis le Grand in 1682. Fontaney was a Breton from the diocese of Saint-Pol-de-Léon, perhaps from Le Conquet on the Atlantic coast. The others, all Louis le Grand men, were Choisy's "fort joli petit homme" Claude de Visdelou,¹²⁹ another Breton from Trébray, south-east of Saint-Brieuc, Jean-François Gerbillon from Verdun-sur-Meuse, Louis-Daniel le Comte of Bordeaux, Joachim Bouvet, brilliant student in mathematics and astronomy at the Jesuit college of La Flèche, whose family came from Conlie in Maine, and finally Guy Tachard, a native of Marthon in the Angoumois, who had been to the Antilles with the military and naval expedition led by Jean d'Estrées in 1676. Choisy was greatly impressed by the Jesuits and particularly praised Visdelou's abilities and the preaching of Fontaney and Le Comte.¹³⁰

Tachard does not appear to have been given a specific scientific task and was not destined to travel to China, but the others made themselves responsible for enquiries in particular fields of study in that country, in addition to their spiritual activities. The programme bears witness to the new spirit of scientific enquiry in late seventeenth-century Europe. The history of the China mission need not concern us here, but three points are not without relevance in Cape history. In the first place it was Fontaney who was the acknowledged expert in astronomical science. He had already published scientific findings and had worked with the great astronomers of the age, Jean Picard, the elder Cassini and the Dane, Roemer, as well as with the geometrist Philippe de la Hire. It is clearly Fontaney, rather than Tachard, who must be considered the father of Cape astronomy.¹³¹ Secondly, the activities of the Jesuits in the Far East greatly stimulated an interest in things oriental in Europe and in the acquisition of *chinoiserie*, examples of which found their way into the homes of burghers and officials at the Cape of Good Hope.¹³² Finally, it was through the encouragement of Joachim Bouvet that France inaugurated in 1698 a direct challenge to the English monopoly

of the China trade, a venture which again brought the French into contact with the Cape settlement.¹³³

The non-Jesuit missionaries and prospective missionaries on the *Oyseau* included Bénigne Vachet of Dijon, no stranger to the mission field and in charge of the returning Siamese emissaries,¹³⁴ Jean Basset and François de Langlade du Chayla. Basset, with whom Choisy discussed theology on the voyage to the Cape,¹³⁵ was born in Lyons and studied at the Saint-Sulpice seminary in Paris. Ordained priest after his arrival in the east in 1686, he served the *Missions étrangères* in China.¹³⁶ Du Chayla did not long remain in the Far East and after his return to France in June 1686 was active in his native Gévaudan as a missionary among former Calvinists. In 1687 he founded a seminary at Saint-Germain-de-Calberte to train priests in this field. He was killed by insurgent Calvinists in 1702 at Le Pont-de-Montvert, home of the Gauch family, in the action which precipitated the Camisard insurrection, having first refused an offer of clemency if he would abjure Catholicism.¹³⁷

The *Oyseau* and her consort anchored in Table Bay on May 31, 1685, remaining there until June 7.¹³⁸ The published accounts of Chaumont, Choisy, Forbin and Tachard, all of whom were to see the Cape again, throw interesting light on the contemporary scene at the settlement.¹³⁹ Le Comte, who revisited the Cape in 1693 aboard a Danish ship, was later to point out how easy it would be to break through the local defences.¹⁴⁰ The Dutch authorities regarded the Jesuits in particular as a political and spiritual threat.¹⁴¹ They were, however, recognised as men of culture and were politely received by Simon van der Stel, as well as by the commissioner general Van Reede and the French-born commander Saint-Martin, both then on their way to the east. The presence of cultivated society at the Cape was evidently a surprise to the French visitors.¹⁴²

The main purpose of the Jesuits at the Cape was to make astronomical observations, with special reference to a closer determination of longitude at that point. For this purpose a lodge in the company's garden was placed at their disposal. The beauty of the garden greatly impressed the French. It was there that they met Couchet, the gardener who had learned his trade at Saint-Cloud. Couchet, to whom they gave a letter addressed to missionary directors in Paris, was later sent away from the Cape as a security risk. The same fate overtook another friend the French made there, the artist and apothecary Heinrich Claudius of Breslau, who knew something of the Cape interior at first hand.¹⁴³

Tachard provides evidence of the many Catholics at the Cape, among them Frenchmen and Flemings. Although burghers and company servants were not permitted to hear Mass on shipboard, nor could the sacrament be brought on shore, the Jesuits gave what spiritual comfort they could to those who sought it.¹⁴⁴ Their impact on Protestants was limited to conversions among the *Oyseau's* crew. Two Calvinist sailors abjured before Fontaney on the voyage to the Cape. Choisy says of them: "ils estoient bien prédestinez, car si on l'avoit sceu on ne les auroit pas embarquez".¹⁴⁵

The full story of the embassy to Siam lies outside the scope of this study. Tachard, with others of the original party, including Chaumont, Choisy, Vachet and Du Chayla, embarked on the *Oyseau* for France on December 22, 1685, bringing new Siamese emissaries and proposals for further French economic and political penetration of that country. The Jesuits were to be allowed to advance their scientific studies there and to build a church and college. The *Oyseau*, again accompanied by the *Maligne*, touched at the Cape from March 13 to March 26, 1686 and Tachard was promised the use of the lodge in the garden for an observatory when he returned with another party of Jesuit scholars. The two French ships reached home on June 18, 1686.¹⁴⁶

Before returning to French contacts with Siam, the visit of another French vessel in September 1685 may be briefly mentioned. This was the *Royale*, bound from Port-Louis for Surat, with Pilavoine, the new director at Surat aboard, bringing out the news of the reconstruction of the French company. Pilavoine was to replace the Parisian François Martin, appointed to administer the company's affairs on the Coromandel coast, in Bengal and in Siam. Travelling to Surat with Pilavoine was Martin's wife Marie Cuperly, daughter of a *maitresse harengère* and herself a market fish-wife. With her was her second daughter Marie.¹⁴⁷

There was a strong suspicion at the Cape that several slaves and criminals had taken refuge on the *Royale*; one of the former had certainly sought permission to go aboard her in order to attend Mass, a request refused by the German captain of the garrison, Jeronimus Cruse of Bielefeld. Pilavoine, then staying ashore because of ill-health, was approached by the Cape authorities to order the return of any fugitives. It was pointed out to him that after the *Oyseau* and the *Maligne* had sailed for the east, deserters had been rounded up and taken to the vessels, then outside the bay, "met een expres vaartuigh". Courtesy demanded reciprocal action by the present visitors. Desertion, in both directions, was ever a problem at the Cape. Three absentees from the

French vessel the *Saint-Antoine*, which called at the Cape in April 1685 on a return voyage from Surat to Port-Louis, had also been caught by the Dutch.¹⁴⁸

The enthusiasm of Tachard for the Siamese adventure communicated itself to Louis XIV, to Seignelay and to the directors of the French East India Company. Two official envoys were designated to return with the Siamese ambassadors and a considerable expedition was assembled at Brest, including a military force under Desfarges and a missionary contingent of which the largest part was a group of fifteen Jesuits, again described as mathematicians to the king.¹⁴⁹ Tachard was in charge of this party, which included such eminent scholars as Abraham le Royer from Domfront in Normandy, Jean-Venant Bouchet, future pioneer of missionary work in the Carnatic who hailed from Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou, the elderly and delicate Jean Richaud of Bordeaux, Louis Rochette of Lyons, author of a text-book on astral navigation, and Charles-François Dolu, scion of a distinguished family from Alsace connected with the Hapsburgs and Montmorencys. Several others, as well as Tachard himself, were later to fall temporarily into Dutch hands. They included Marcel le Blanc, professor of rhetoric in his native Dijon, Claude de Bèze from Nevers, botanist and teacher of grammar in Orleans, and Patrice Comilh of Bordeaux, whose teaching fields included rhetoric and the humanities.¹⁵⁰

The Jesuits were distributed on various vessels in the fleet,¹⁵¹ Tachard, Bèze, Le Blanc and Comilh sailing on the *Gaillard*, the flagship commanded by Vaudricourt. General Desfarges also embarked on this ship, as did the abbé and vicar apostolic Artus de Lionne of the *Missions étrangères*, later to serve in China. Lionne, whose family origins lay in Dauphiné, was a son of Hugues de Lionne, Mazarin's successor in the foreign affairs department of state.¹⁵²

The *Oyseau* also sailed with this fleet, carrying the French and Siamese envoys. One of the former was a political nominee, Simon de la Loubère of Toulouse; the second was a director of the French East India Company responsible for trade negotiations, Claude Céberet du Boullay. The *Oyseau* was commanded on this occasion by Abraham du Quesne-Guiton, cousin of Henri du Quesne of the *Hirondelle* expedition and grandson of the Calvinist mayor of La Rochelle, Jean Guiton. The *Maligne* accompanied the fleet as far as the Cape; the other vessels destined for the east were the *Loire*, the *Normande* and the *Dromadaire*.¹⁵³

The fleet sailed on March 1, 1687, the *Loire*, commanded by Joyeux,

reaching Table Bay on June 9, two days ahead of the other vessels.¹⁵⁴ Their appearance impressed the Dutch authorities, who described them as "alle klokke en wel gemonteerde Schepen". They brought many sick, however, and although the commander and council of policy took special precautions in view of the military nature of the expedition, the French sought only relaxation and the restoration of health. The Jesuits again carried out observations from their makeshift observatory, Fathers Le Banc and Bèze climbed Table Mountain, Desfarges hunted and Simon van der Stel treated officers and ecclesiastics alike with his customary courtesy.¹⁵⁵ One Stellenbosch burgher, Jean Saint-Jean of Bordeaux, fell foul of the law by imbibing too freely with two French sergeants and paying an unauthorized visit to the *Dromadaire*.¹⁵⁶

The *Gaillard* and her companions, briefly delayed by calms, raised anchor on June 27, 1687 for a long voyage to Batavia which caused many deaths in the fleet, including that of Father Rochette.¹⁵⁷ An extended period of rest in the Dutch eastern capital would have been welcome, but the French received no cordial greeting. Although Tachard insisted that Calvinists in France had been treated by the king "avec toutes sortes d'égards, et de témoignages de bonté", the Batavian authorities looked with disfavour upon these representatives of the nation which had revoked the Edict of Nantes.¹⁵⁸ The fleet therefore sailed for Siam on September 7. There, despite the signing of a commercial treaty, undercurrents of opposition to the French soon began to manifest themselves, the first signs of the palace revolution of May 1688 which wrecked French hopes.¹⁵⁹

Tachard, however, left before the disaster, still supremely optimistic of a happy outcome to French intervention. With La Loubère, three new Siamese envoys and five young princes to be educated at the Collège Louis le Grand, he embarked for France on the *Gaillard*, which sailed on January 3, 1688, in company with the *Loire* and the *Dromadaire*. All three vessels touched at the Cape, the *Gaillard* and the *Loire* anchoring on April 21, two days after the departure of the *Oyseau*, which was returning to France with Céberet and Forbin aboard.¹⁶⁰

The French ships remained at the Cape until May 1 and it is from Tachard's account of his second voyage to the east and back that we have a glimpse of the arrival of some of his fellow-countrymen as refugees from religious persecution. When due allowance is made for the nationality and religious convictions of the Jesuit observer, there is still reason to accept Tachard's comment that some at least of the French settlers he met were homesick, unhappy and dissatisfied with

their lot.¹⁶¹ The Jesuits of the Siamese expedition of 1687 had already been in contact with the effects of the revocation. There were certainly secret Calvinists and former members of the reformed faith, now reluctant *Nouveaux Catholiques*, among the soldiers and sailors in the fleet. Before the *Dromadaire* reached the Cape on the outward voyage, the Jesuits had secured at least one full conversion and the belated abjuration of another who had fallen sick with scurvy.¹⁶² Some members of the order were later to regard the method adopted to extirpate heresy in France as a model to be followed in combating non-Christian religious practices in Pondicherry, an attitude which lost them much support there.¹⁶³

Tachard, who returned to the east and did much to promote educational advance in India before his death at Chandernagore in 1712, was regarded with considerable suspicion by the Dutch. He took an active part in the defence of Pondicherry in 1693 and after its surrender was repatriated to Europe for a period in a vessel of the Dutch East India Company which touched at the Cape in 1694.¹⁶⁴ His captors were later to express fears that he might have taken special note of weaknesses in the Cape defences.¹⁶⁵

Continuing Dutch mistrust of French Catholic missionaries may be seen in the instructions from Batavia in 1706 regarding the surveillance in Table Bay of five of these "finely sharpened blades" who were being sent back to Europe from the Far East.¹⁶⁶ The Franciscans François Drion and Jacques Hartel, and the Jesuits Gilbert Bordes from Auvergne, Michel Pernet of Boulogne-sur-mer and Jacques de Prémilly from Poitou had been travelling on the English ship the *Charleton*, outward-bound from London, when they were held as prisoners-of-war in Batavia. They were repatriated on separate ships.¹⁶⁷ More than a quarter of a century later a Jesuit priest, Claude-François Loppin, on his way to the China mission aboard the *Duc de Chartres*, lodged in 1739 with a French refugee at the Cape, where he and two companions said Mass in secret during Holy week. Their host was clearly not in their confidence.¹⁶⁸

Guy Tachard long continued to promote efforts to secure a French presence in Siam,¹⁶⁹ but his expectations of final success were not shared by all. Forbin was unenthusiastic;¹⁷⁰ so too was L'Estrille, captain of the warship *Oriflamme*, sent out from Brest to support the Siam mission of 1687, but destined to take part in the evacuation of French troops there and ultimately to go down off the coast of Brittany on February 27, 1691. The *Oriflamme* anchored in Table Bay on May 18,

1688 and her captain presented Simon van der Stel with a portrait of Louis XIV engraved on a golden medallion. Although the Lords Seventeen were displeased that the commander should have accepted the gift, it was richly deserved as some recognition of Van der Stel's unfailing kindness to foreign callers in time of peace. L'Estrille, doubtless of Huguenot origin, announced that he would not be averse to settling at the Cape if ever he should leave the French service.¹⁷¹

While the political situation in Siam was deteriorating, so too was that in Europe and in November 1688 France declared war on the United Provinces. The *Normande* of the Siam squadron had remained in the east and reached Pondicherry early in 1689. Another French vessel, the *Coche*, had sailed from Port-Louis on March 12, 1688 and after visiting Siamese waters, had brought the news of revolt in Siam to the French agent in Pondicherry, François Martin, in January 1689. These two ships were freighted with goods from the Coromandel coast and Bengal and sailed for home on February 16, with instructions to leave word at the Cape for an anticipated French squadron that it should not go to Siam, but should proceed instead to Pondicherry. The instructions were to prove their undoing, for news of the European conflict reached the Cape before the captains of the French ships got to hear of it.¹⁷² The French castaway Guillaume Chenu was involved in the action which followed

The *Normande* sailed unsuspectingly into Table Bay on April 26, 1689 and was promptly seized, her captain, Courcelles, and the ship's company being taken prisoner. The prize remained at anchor in the bay, French flag and mast-head pennants flying, to act as a decoy. This manoeuvre at first deceived the *Coche* when she entered the roads on the evening of May 5. Her captain, Armagnan, grew suspicious, however, and began to prepare for action, with the result that all the ships in harbour opened fire on her. The captain of the *Coche* was killed and the survivors of the fight surrendered to join their compatriots already in captivity.¹⁷³

The *Normande*, renamed the *Goede Hoop*, was consigned to the company's Zeeland chamber. She had a short life as a Dutch East India-man. Driven on shore in Table Bay by a severe gale in June 1692 she became a total wreck.¹⁷⁴ The *Coche*, rechristened the *Africa*, was sent to Amsterdam. Those aboard the French ships were divided into two groups and sent to Europe and Batavia.¹⁷⁵ They included a number of men who had sailed with the Siam fleet of 1687. One was a captain in the Siam regiment, Sainte-Marie, who asked to be included in the

Batavia contingent as he faced a manslaughter charge in France;¹⁷⁶ another was the Jesuit Marcel le Blanc who had sailed for Siam in 1687 with another member of his order, Father Colusson, and has left us a lively picture of the action in Table Bay. He returned to Europe in a party which included Courcelles of the *Normande*, who died on the voyage.¹⁷⁷ Le Blanc was imprisoned in Middelburg until March 1690, returning afterwards to the teaching profession in Dijon before sailing again for the Far East to meet his death at Mozambique Island in May 1693 after a shipboard accident in heavy weather.¹⁷⁸

The retention of large numbers of prisoners at the Cape was not in the best interests of company administration. That there were potentially disloyal elements in the garrison is indicated by the conspiracy involving some of those aboard the French ships revealed by the soldier Jean de la Motte.¹⁷⁹

The brief period of peace after 1697 saw a resumption of visits by French ships at the Cape. Pondicherry was restored to France in 1699 and the French trading company slowly began to regain lost ground.¹⁸⁰ On January 19, 1698 the East Indiamen *Phélypeaux* and the *Etoile d'Orient* sailed for Bengal from Port-Louis. They anchored in Table Bay in April, where John Dorrill of the homeward-bound English vessel the *Charles II* saw them. They were his "2 french Ships, which was formerly the *Seymore* (*Seymour*) and *Success*, who brings out the Joyful news of peace over all Europe".¹⁸¹

In June 1698 the *Amphitrite* called at the Cape with four other French ships bound for the Indies. The *Amphitrite's* destination was Canton and her voyage followed the suggestions of the Jesuit Bouvet for the inauguration of a direct French commercial link with China. Bouvet sailed on her with a party of Jesuit recruits for the China mission.¹⁸² The names of three of these visitors to the Cape are worthy of note: the sculptor, architect and painter Charles de Belleville from Rouen, a fellow-Norman and sinologist of distinction, Joseph-Henri-Marie de Prémare of Cherbourg, and Dominique Parrenin from Franche-Comté, linguist and cartographer.¹⁸³ The arrival of this French fleet sparked off another attempted escape by company servants and one by a Frenchman among the visitors.¹⁸⁴ A contemporary account of the voyage of the *Amphitrite* mentions the presence at the Cape of French Calvinist refugees, although they are described rather inaccurately as for the most part peasants from Languedoc and Gascony.¹⁸⁵

The *Phélypeaux*, in the company of a new vessel, the *Perle d'Orient*, called at the Cape in 1700 on a voyage from Port-Louis to Pondicherry.

There they met the *Agréable* and the *Mutine* frigate, royal ships taking reinforcements to the east from Brest. There was a noticeable cooling in relations with the Dutch and extra precautions were taken in view of the large contingent present. Even the sick were not allowed permanently on shore and the French ships had to call at Johanna in the Comoros in order to restore those on board to full health.¹⁸⁶

European peace was short-lived and the Spanish succession struggle broke out in 1702, a war which again adversely affected the French position in the Indies. The French trading company declined sadly and by the end of the war the eastern commerce of that nation was largely a monopoly of Saint-Malo shipping interests.¹⁸⁷

Contacts with the Cape were resumed in 1713, when the *Mercure* and the *Jason* of the royal Guymont du Coudray squadron arrived from Cadiz at the end of September. The voyage had originally been planned in 1711 as a privateering and trading venture and the chief beneficiaries were to be a Parisian merchant Louis Bille and his associates, with the French company taking a 10% cut.¹⁸⁸ The peace treaty between France and the United Provinces was, however, signed in April 1713 and the expedition no longer had a warlike objective. The *Mercure*, with the third ship of the squadron, the *Vénus*, touched at the Cape on January 29, 1715 on the return voyage from Bengal and Pondicherry. It was on the *Mercure* that the prisoner François Desnoyers made his escape to Brazil. With these ships in 1715 was the *Saint-Louis*, returning to France after circumnavigating the globe on another voyage which had begun during the late war with enemy shipping and commerce as its twin objectives.¹⁸⁹ Saint-Malo's share in the eastern trade is reflected in the visits to the Cape in April 1715 and March 1716 of the *Comte d'Amelot* on the China run.¹⁹⁰

The amalgamation of all French trading companies into a single *Compagnie des Indes* in 1719 was followed by a period of reorganization and the development of new bases after Mauritius, abandoned by the Dutch, had been taken over by France in 1715 and rechristened the Ile de France.¹⁹¹ A decision not to use the Cape in ordinary circumstances had been foreshadowed more than twenty-five years before when the *Oriflamme* called there.¹⁹² The captain of the *Bourbon*, Magon de la Villebague of a noted Saint-Malo mercantile family, made it clear when he called at the Cape in January 1724 that his visit was entirely against orders, but forced upon him by circumstances. After encountering a hurricane in the Mascarenes his ship was unseaworthy and he needed to replace unserviceable pumps and defective rigging. The Cape author-

ities were, however, then forbidden to provide equipment for foreign vessels which might be required by Dutch East Indiamen and his request was turned down.¹⁹³ Food and water, on the other hand, were available to the sick of all nations. Refreshment was therefore supplied in 1725 and 1726 to the *Minerve* and the *Saint-Louis*, both under the command of the Breton Jean-Baptiste-Ives Garnier du Fougeray, in March 1728 to Jonchée de la Goletrie's *Mars* and in February 1747 to Baudran de la Mettrie, senior captain of the Nantes privateers *Apollon* and *Anglesea*, the latter originally a British fifth rate. These two naval craft on loan to private interests had been on convoy duty to the Ile de France (Mauritius) where, it was claimed, a swarm of locusts had led to food shortages. La Mettrie was hesitant to call at the Cape in view of the close relations between Britain and the United Provinces during the Anglo-French war of 1744-1748, although it was suggested that the Frenchmen were more interested in British shipping in the vicinity than in obtaining water and provisions.¹⁹⁴

There was a decline in the number of foreign callers at the Cape between 1725 and 1741, but there were few years in which no French vessel put into Table Bay in our period. A visitor in March 1739 was the *Marie*, commanded by Jean-Baptiste-Charles Bouvet de Lozier of a Breton family with a long seafaring tradition. Awarded the cross of Saint-Louis for skilful tactics against the British in the Indian Ocean in 1748, he later became governor of Bourbon. This voyage off Antarctica gave Bouvet Island its name. The *Saint-Géran* was at the Cape in January 1740. Wrecked with heavy loss of life off the Ile de France in August 1744 her fate was to provide a later visitor to southern Africa, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, with the background to the most poignant episode in his novel *Paul et Virginie*. The destruction off Cape Agulhas in January 1750 of Guillaume de la Buttefrérot's returning company ship the *Centaure* brought several hundred stranded French crew members and passengers to the settlement. Among them was a servant, Charles Porlé de Montigny, who was injured in one of those drunken brawls not infrequent in the port township. Other arrivals in 1750 were Captain l'Obry's *Achille*, in recent years the most powerful vessel in La Bourdonnais's striking force in eastern waters, and the *Villeflix*, carrying the distinguished Jesuit scholar, Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot of Toulon. The botanist and administrator, Pierre Poivre of Lyons, brought slips of exotic plants to the Ile de France from the Cape on the *Montaran* in 1749. The provisioning of the Ile de France and Bourbon from Cape sources was also an objective of some French visitors.

Finally, the Abbé Nicolas-Louis de la Caille from Rumigny in Cham-

pagne, who was to spend almost two years at the Cape in the pursuit of his astronomical observations, arrived in April 1751 aboard the *Glorieux*, captained by J.-B.-Nicolas-Denis d'Après de Mannevillette of Havre-de-Grâce, author of the *Neptune oriental* and the foremost marine cartographer of his age. The captain, who as a lieutenant on the China run had visited the Cape as early as 1737 aboard the *Prince de Conti*, was again in South African waters early in 1752. In command of the *Treize Cantons*, he sailed from the Ile de France with a brig, the *Nécessaire*, to undertake a coastal reconnaissance which gave rise at the Cape to fears of a French occupation. Several men from the *Nécessaire* were accidentally marooned on shore at Algoa Bay in February 1752 and two survivors, an officer Jacques-Thomas Perrot and a boatswain François Rubion, were saved by August Friedrich Beutler's party, then exploring the eastern Cape border. The *Treize Cantons* and her consort reached Table Bay before the rescue.¹⁹⁵ It may be added, in connection with French visitors, that foreigners were welcome to the burghers, who enjoyed a permitted trade with them and also derived profit from the boarding-house business.¹⁹⁶

The slave-trade flourished in the eighteenth century and although British ships dominated it, the French were not inactive. Robert-Richard de la Marre's *Saint-Albin* of Havre-de-Grâce called at the Cape in July 1722, bound for the Mascarenes and probably intending to purchase slaves in the course of her voyage. She had discharged a similar cargo two years earlier at Cap-Français (Cap-Haïtien) on Hispaniola in the Antilles.¹⁹⁷ Another slaver, and possibly also an interloper, was the *Comte de Toulouse* of Dunkirk, bound for Madagascar and thus far from her authorized run from the Guinea coast to the French West Indies. She visited the Cape in 1722. Her captain was an Irishman, Edmund Burke, and the ship was built in Britain. There was, moreover, a strong suspicion that the *Comte de Toulouse* was trading on behalf of Flemish commercial interests and had been freighted at Ostend. The captain was given the benefit of the doubt, however, in order to avoid "alle moeijeljkheeden met de Croon van Vrankrijk". It is nevertheless known that Burke enjoyed good relations with the European pirates who then infested Madagascar and caused serious difficulties on the ocean trade routes. Commerce with them was popular with the captains of many unauthorized ships.¹⁹⁸

These interlopers were vessels outside the control of the accepted mercantile interests: the crown of Portugal and the national trading companies of the United Provinces, Britain, France and Denmark. The problem of unauthorized trade took a new turn after the close of the

War of the Spanish Succession when commercial interests in what was then the Austrian Netherlands began to look to the formation of a Flemish company to trade in the east under Austrian protection. Pioneer voyages began in 1715, financed in part by foreign capital, using ships built abroad and employing a large number of expatriates, often with considerable experience in eastern markets.¹⁹⁹ Not surprisingly, the appearance of these newcomers on the trade routes was looked on with hostility by the national monopolies. As the British president at Fort William (Calcutta), Samuel Teake, told the London company in 1718, he would be angry indeed if he should “ever ketch (*sic*) any of them tempering (*sic*) with people so directly against the Comp^s Interest”.²⁰⁰

The brief history of the Ostend traders and of the company which was formed in 1723 to combine their activities is not without interest in the history of French contacts with the Cape, since many of those associated with these voyages were from France, or were French speakers from the southern Netherlands. The first of these vessels to call at the Cape was the sixteen-gun *Charles*, which left Ostend in March 1715 to trade on the eastern coast of Africa and at Goa and Malabar. Commanded by Matthijs Guerrebrants, she anchored in Table Bay in June 1716 with a cargo of pepper and other goods which was discharged at Cadiz and Gibraltar. The captain's request for assistance and refreshment was grudgingly granted by the Cape authorities.²⁰¹

Attitudes had hardened when the next Ostender reached Table Bay in March 1718 after a successful pioneer voyage to Borneo and China. The ship was the *Empereur* and her captain was obliged to leave the harbour immediately.²⁰² It is interesting to note that it was information from the log of this vessel which enabled the English astronomer Halley to confirm the inaccuracy of the measurement of Cape longitude made by Fontaney and his Jesuit companions in 1685.²⁰³

A third independent Ostend trader reached the Cape later in 1718 after a visit to India which had resulted in the founding of a factory on the Coromandel coast. This ship, the *Charles VI*, formerly the English *Griffin*, had been equipped by a consortium headed by an Englishman, Thomas Ray, and a Frenchman from Saint-Malo, Gollet de la Merveille. The command had been entrusted to La Merveille's son Godefroid. The *Charles VI*, like the *Empereur*, was told to leave port without delay, but Godefroid de la Merveille was not a man to be easily discouraged. After sheltering for some weeks in Saldanha Bay under French colours, he again entered Table Bay on Christmas Eve 1718, hoping to enlist the support of one or other of the foreign ships then at anchor

there. In this he failed, but the gunfire from the *Ostender* and a visiting Frenchman, the *Grand Danycan*, which shattered the peace on successive nights in January 1719, suggests collusion between fellow-countrymen to irritate the local authorities.²⁰⁴ The French vessel, commanded by François Chauvet de Maget des Illetes, was bound from Madagascar for Saint-Malo and it has been established that there was some sympathy for the newcomers among French captains and crews, whatever the official attitude of the French government towards Ostend traders might have been.²⁰⁵

These visits to the Cape by Ostenders not only indicate that the Dutch did not welcome them, but also point to the problems encountered by the interlopers in finding a suitable refreshment station, particularly on the homeward run.²⁰⁶ They also show how vulnerable the Cape was when large numbers of foreign vessels lay at anchor there and the Dutch fleets were absent. The Flemish traders were evidently regarded locally as the gay adventurers of the southern seas. They certainly carried away a few deserters and were seen in some quarters as providing a possible way of escape for Cape wives dissatisfied with married life.²⁰⁷

The creation of an official Ostend East India Company in 1723 was greatly resented, particularly in Britain and the United Provinces. Political manoeuvres led to the suspension of trade by the company in 1727 and to its abolition four years later. Two ships were permitted to sail to the east to wind up the company's affairs and one of them, the *Concorde*, commanded by Jacob Larmes, called at the Cape in March 1734 to effect repairs after her voyage from Bengal.²⁰⁸

It will be seen from this survey that the Cape was more than a home for a handful of French-speaking burghers, but was defended and administered by a garrison staff which included at various times a not inconsiderable number of French speakers. The Cape settlement was moreover a link in the chain of trading empire and the French were, from the earliest period, no strangers to it. Their early political aspirations in the region largely faded, but new alignments among European powers in the eighteenth century were ultimately to bring them to the Cape in force.²⁰⁹ These later developments, however, do not concern us here.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER TEN

1. For a Catholic from Saxony in company service in 1689, named as Lode-wijck Liebrecht, see CJ 291, Criminele processtukken, 1689: May 27, p.355 (CA). He was questioned in connection with contacts with French officers held at the Cape.
2. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen, 1701-1715: 1701, p. 10; 1702, p. 39; 1703, p. 55; 1704, p. 81; 1710, p. 161; 1712, p. 219; 1714, p. 261; 1715, p. 294; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen, 1727-1739: 1731, p. 34; VC 103, Monsterrol, 1705: pp. 876; 882 (CA). Names here and elsewhere have been corrected from the original entries, where clearly in error.
3. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1704, p. 66; 1710, p. 167; 1712, p. 206; VC 103, Monsterrol: p. 863; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1728, p. 7; VC 41, Generale monsterrollen, 1716-1725: 1723, p. 18 (CA).
4. CJ 666, Minuut criminele processtukken, 1740: July 14, pp. 402-406; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen, 1728-1795: pp. 4-5; 33-34; 48-49; 171-172; 368-369; 471 (CA); J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Bydraes tot die Afrikaanse kultuur en taalgeskiedenis', III, TWK, VI, 1927-1928, pp. 199-201; DU PREEZ, 'Eerste du Preez-gesin', *Familia*, IX, 2, 1972, p. 36; DU PREEZ, *Her-koms van die du Preez-familie*, p. 10.
5. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 97.
6. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1710-1711, p. 183; 1715, p. 290; VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: 1718, p. 27; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1727, p. 38; 1728, p. 30.
7. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: p. 24.
8. VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1727, p. 8.
9. VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: p. 34; CJ 2884, Contracten, 1733-1734: July 6, 1733, pp. 78-79 (CA). Lusy later served other masters.
10. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1712, p. 209; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1732, p. 39; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 307-308.
11. VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: p. 5.
12. J. HOGE, 'Privaatskoolmeesters aan die Kaap in die 18de eeu', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, appendix, p. 58. He was employed by Philippe Meinard (Minnaar).
13. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1697: June 18, pp. 205-205v. (DO). His name is in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 97: 1693.
14. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 311.
15. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1710, p. 168; VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: 1719, p. 17; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1727, p. 3; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 305-306.
16. CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 231-232; FRANKEN, 'Huisonderwys', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, p. 22.
17. VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: 1722, p. 25; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1734, p. 38.
18. CJ 2870, Contracten, 1692-1694: Dec. 16, 1693, pp. 243-244 (CA);

- FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling' IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 216, May 7, 1926, p. 13.
19. See FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 216, May 7, 1926, p. 13. He was a soldier in 1696 (BOTHAS, *French refugees*, p. 97) and in CJ 303, Criminele processtukken, 1699-1700: p. 595 (CA), he is described as a wood-cutter from "Montkallier in piemont".
 20. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1714, p. 264; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1732, p. 39; 1734, p. 38; 1735, p. 10.
 21. VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: 1722, pp. 19; 20; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1734, p. 38; 1736, p. 35; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 169-170; C 1125, Bijlagen, 1724: Batavia, Nov. 14, 1723, p. 228; C 133, Bijlagen, 1732: Batavia, July 4, 1731, pp. 163-165 (CA).
 22. VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1728, p. 5; 1733, p. 6.
 23. CJ 2871, Contracten, 1694: May 12, pp. 44-45 (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', V, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 226, July 16, 1926, p. 35. Troullat is also in BOTHAS, *French refugees*, p. 97.
 24. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1704, p. 73; 1712, p. 209; 1715, p. 276; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 48-49; 122-123; 143-144; 165-166.
 25. CJ 2890, Contracten, 1747-1748: 29, June 22, 1747, pp. 73-74 (CA).
 26. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1710, p. 160; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1730, p. 35; 1734, p. 39.
 27. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 298; 323.
 28. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 160: Chaumont, 1685; RAVENHART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 297: Chaumont, 1685; LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, p. 22.
 29. A.J. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, I, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 1, p. 56: July 17, 1655; p. 296: March 31, 1663; p. 308: Sept. 27, 1663.
 30. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, I, p. 25. See also p. 69: May 1, 1656 (French sailors). On Casseur see A.J. BÖESEKEN (ed.), Ms. Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672, p. 279: Feb. 16 (Misc. sources).
 31. See the letters concerning his abscondence in SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1670-1671: Jan. 1 and 2, 1670 (1671), pp. 4-5; 9-11 (DO). See also H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Journal, 1671-1674 and 1676*, pp. 1-2; 3-4: Jan. 1-3; Jan. 14-15, 1671.
 32. CJ 291, Criminele processtukken: May 27, p. 357; LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 33-34n.
 33. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters received*, p. 183: 99, Batavia, Feb. 21, 1698; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 79: 123, April 30, 1698; H. DEHÉRAIN, *Le Cap de Bonne-Espérance au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 124-125. Soldiers with a trade were in demand. Jean-Baptiste Aubron from Picardy, on the Cape garrison roll, earned his living in town as a wigmaker (CJ 355, Criminele processtukken, 1747: Aug. 22, p. 209 (CA)).
 34. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: p. 13.

35. CJ 303, Criminele processtukken: April 19, pp. 513-517v.; letter between pp. 835v. and 837.
36. AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap, ens., 1621-1893: 1075, p. 64 (CBG); PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1843, 47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689 (GA Amsterdam).
37. See V. DE K(OCK), 'Barbier, Estienne', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, pp. 53-54. Cf. Ch. 5 for Cellier.
38. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 233: 61, May 15, 1717; p. 373: 22, 1742. The future British admiral, Peter Denis, who visited the Cape with Anson aboard the *Centurion* in 1744, was the son of a French refugee pastor in England, Jacob Denis.
39. C 361, Attestatiën, 1744: 156, Nov. 25, pp. 711-714 (CA).
40. W. TURNER (ed.), *The Aufrère papers; calendar and selections*, Publications HSL, XL, section III, I, p. 214; BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 60. See also R. VIGNE, 'The De Bancs and the Simonds - a link with the Cape', *Africana Notes and News*, XXIV, 3, Sept. 1980, pp. 103-104.
41. MINET and MINET (eds), *Register of the church*, pp. 19; 20; 21; 25.
42. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 95.
43. H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Journal, 1662-1670*, pp. 12; 14: July 25; Aug. 18, 1662.
44. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Dagregister . . . Wagenaer*, p. 394.
45. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, p. 237: Feb. 9, 1668.
46. A.J. VAN RENSBURG, 'Aankomsdatum van Hugenote; onsekerheid nou finaal uit die weg geruim', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXXII, 1363, May 7, 1948, p. 47. See also RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 335; COERTZEN, *Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, pp. 150-154. Entries for shipping in 1688 in Raven-Hart and Coertzen make use of Microfilm 313, *Dagregister*, 1688 (CA).
47. 'Franse vlugtelinge', I, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 192, Nov. 13, 1925, p. 23.
48. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 135-136; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 335. For the chambers of origin of the outward-bound fleet of 1688 see W.P. COOLHAAS (ed.), *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, V, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie, 150, XVI, p. 195: Batavia, Dec. 27, 1688; XX, p. 296: Batavia, Dec. 30, 1689.
49. *Amsterdamsche Dingsdagse Courant*, Nov. 20, 1685; MOURS, 'Pasteurs' *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 86. See Ms. 76, Extraits concernant l'église wallonne de Hoorn; A 106, Uittreksel uit het doopregister en het trouwregister van de Nederd. Hervormde gemeente te Hoorn van personen van Walsche afkomst en van Fransche vluchtelingen, 1661-1721 (Bibl. wall.).
50. Scheepssoldijboeken, 1633-1795: 91, *Langewijk*, 1687-1688, f. 2 (ARA);

- BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 8; 135-136; COERTZEN, *Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, pp. 152-153; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 335.
51. Scheepssoldijboeken: 91, *Langewijk*, ff. 36; 101; 92a, *Java*, 1687-1688, ff. 2; 68; 138 (ARA); COERTZEN, *Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, p. 164; W. WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *De Gezaghebbers der Oost-Indische Compagnie op hare buiten-comptoiren in Azië*, Genealogische Bibliotheek, II, pp. 35-36.
52. C 510, Uitgaande brieven, 1710-1713: to Middelburg, April 4, 1713, f. 1109 (CA); BOESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV, pp. 307-309: March 5, 1713; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 43 and n.: March 10, 1716.
53. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister), 1713-1756: April 27, p. 25 (NGKA); DE WET, (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 212: April 30, 1732; pp. 215-216: May 13, 1732. On Rousseau see C 450, Inkomende brieven, 1746-1747: 85, J.T. Rhenius, Appelsvalleij, Feb. 10, 1747, f. 516 (CA).
54. C 142, Bijlagen, 1740-1741: p. 416; C 528, Uitaande brieven, 1743: to Lords 17, Amsterdam, March 15, f. 186; C 710, Instructiën hier gelaten door Gouv. Gen. van Imhoff met bijlagen, 1743: to Swellengrebel, copy, Feb. 25, p. 7; CJ 3180, Attestatiën, scheeps consumptie, 1708-1752 (with omissions): pp. 628; 696; CJ 3182, Attestatiën, scheeps consumptie, 1731-1736: pp. 74; 81; 181; Attestatiën, scheeps consumptie, 1736-1745: pp. 178; 247 (CA). See also M.P. DE CHAVONNES and G.W. VAN IMHOFF, *Reports . . .*, Van Riebeeck Society, 1, pp. 54; 130-131.
55. SR 7, Transport en schepenkenissen, 1710: Jan. 25, p. 183 (DO).
56. CJ 1029, Civiele processtukken, 1716: Aug. 31, pp. 318-321; letter, pp. 362-364 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 30.
57. CJ 1029, Civiele processtukken: letter, pp. 362-364.
58. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 291; 309. There is a reference to Louis de la Croix, permitted to take two children to the Indies from Amsterdam in 1742 (KA 434, Register op die resolutien van de kamer Amsterdam zeedert 1603 tot 1743: Nov. 29, p. 539 (ARA)).
59. N. WEISS (ed.), 'Les Aventures de Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac, seigneur de Laujardière, au pays des Cafres, 1686-1689', *BSHPF*, LXX, Jan.-March - Oct.-Dec. 1921; E.C. GODÉE MOLSBERGEN, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd*, III, De Linschoten-Vereeniging, XX, pp. 87-89n.; V.S. FORBES, 'Africana in the Sloane collection, British Museum', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, VI, 1, Sept. 1951, pp. 9-13; 'Willempie', *Bulletin, Huguénot Society of South Africa*, 2, 1964, p. 14; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 53-54.
60. COOLHAAS (ed.), *Generale missiven*, V, XVI, p. 195: Batavia, Dec. 27, 1688.
61. On the expedition see E. RAINIER, *L'Utopie d'une république huguenote du marquis Henri du Quesne et le voyage de François Leguat*, trans. A. GARNIER; P. OLIVER (ed.), *The Voyage of François Leguat of Bresse to Rodriguez, Mauritius, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope*, 2 vols, The Hakluyt Society, LXXXII and LXXXIII; STRANGMAN, *Early*

- French callers*, pp. 215-223; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 374-376. See also VC 169, Franse vlugtelingen, 1690-1702: (c), pp. 639-644v.; 695-696v. (CA).
62. C 503, Uitgaande brieven, 1691-1692: to Amsterdam, June 29, 1691, ff. 111-111v. (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 25.
63. CJ 298, Criminele processtukken, 1695: May 17; June 20 (sentence), pp. 181; 193v.-195 (CA). BOTHA gives "Grison on the Italian border" (*French refugees*, p. 57).
64. CJ 298, Criminele processtukken: May 17-June 20, 1695, pp. 177-181v.; 193v.-195v.; CJ 299, Criminele processtukken, 1696: March 30, pp. 275-277; CJ 301, Criminele processtukken, 1698: April 1, pp. 99-141 (CA); RAINIER, *Utopie d'une république*, pp. 95; 179-190; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 57-58. See also LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, pp. 15-16: 18, to Mauritius, July 11, 1696; p. 91: 153, to Mauritius, June 30, 1698; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 136: 31, from Mauritius, Aug. 7, 1697; pp. 195-196: 11, from Mauritius, Feb. 5, 1699.
65. RAINIER, *Utopie d'une république*, p. 28.
66. CJ 299, Criminele processtukken: Jan. 26-March 30, 1696, pp. 9-325v.; CJ 301, Criminele processtukken: April 1, 1698, pp. 99-120v.; 127. On Planque and Seine see also J.L.M. FRANKEN, *Taalhistoriese bydraes*, pp. 12-13.
67. CJ 299, Criminele processtukken: Jan. 26-Feb. 24, 1696, pp. 11; 169-169v.; 301v.; 319-325v.; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 58; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 213: 78, from Mauritius, Sept. 1699.
68. CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 254-255; 267-268; 368-369; 496; CJ 2563, Vonnissen, personen van Batavia en Ceijlon, 1736-1742: pp. 331; 342-345; 414-416; CJ 2565, Vonnissen, personen van Batavia en Ceijlon, 1749-1755: pp. 177; 180-185; CJ 3186, Annotatie boek, bandieten, 1722-1757: pp. 27; 31; 129 (CA).
69. C 511, Uitgaande brieven, 1714-1717: to Amsterdam, March 30, 1715, ff. 399v.-401v.; C 512, Uitgaande brieven, 1718-1720: to Amsterdam, April 4, 1718, ff. 25-27; C 603, Dagregister, 1715-1716: Nov. 10, 1715, p. 171; C 794, Inkomende brieven in duplo en triplo, 1668-1714: 134, Lords 17, Amsterdam, Oct. 9, 1714, no p. no. (CA); L. VIGNOLS, 'Un Projet français formé en 1716 pour enlever aux Hollandais leur colonie du Cap et leur flotte des Indes', *Revue de Géographie*, XXVII, 1890, pp. 43-48; P. KAEPPELIN, *Les Escales françaises sur la route de l'Inde 1638-1731*, pp. 50-51; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 19-20.
70. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 246-248; 298; 520; WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *Gezaghebbers*, p. 110. Claes Bichon, at the Cape as commander of the return fleet of 1698, had family origins at Blaye on the Gironde.

71. C 799, Gemengde stukken, 18de eeuw: Middelburg, May 6, 1736 (CA). At least one Catholic served at this period at high administrative level in the essentially Protestant Dutch East India Company, as is evident from a report by G.W. van Imhoff in 1743 (C 710, Instructiën hier gelaten . . . : to Lords 17, Amsterdam, Feb. 25, p. 170).
72. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 14: March 15, 1681; p. 47 and n.: Aug. 31, 1682; p. 51: Oct. 26, 1682; p. 56: Dec. 11, 1682; p. 100: Dec. 13, 1684; p. 116 and n.: Oct. 5, 1685.
73. WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *Gezaghebbbers*, p. 285; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 86.
74. H 283° D 1/I, Registre des personnes reçues ou admises à la Ste Cène dans l'Eglise wallonne de Bois-le-Duc, I, 1633-1694: 863, p. 69: Sept. 1677 (GA 's-Hertogenbosch). Original in B.1.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch (Bibl. wall.); BEULEKE, *Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 877, p. 137: Abraham and Jean de Bouquoi/Boucquoy.
75. C.G. COETZEE, 'Die Kompanjie se besetting van Delagoabaai', *Archives Year Book for South African History*, XI, II, 1948, pp. 247-251; G.M. THEAL (ed.), *Records of south-eastern Africa*, facsimile ed., VI, pp. 438-443; BOUCHER 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 16 and n. J. DE BUCQUOI published his *Aanmerkelyke ontmoetingen* at Haarlem in 1744. He returned to Europe in 1735 as secretary to the admiral of the return fleet, Joan François de Witte van Schooten, sailing on the *Hillegom* (C 136, Bijlagen, 1735: p. 145 (CA)).
76. Jean Michel's report on Delagoa Bay, "in de Fransche tale overgelevert", was considered by the Cape authorities on Oct. 31, 1724 (DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 96). On Augier see DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 219: Jan. 16, 1726. Le Fèvre reached the Cape in 1719 on the *Nederhoven* (C 125, Bijlagen: Delagoa, Aug. 21, 1724, pp. 679-680).
77. WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *Gezaghebbbers*, pp. 143-144; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, p. 184.
78. W.C. MEES, *Maria Quevellerius, huisvrouw van Jan van Riebeeck en haar omgeving*, pp. 8-23.
79. G.J. S(CHUTTE), 'Van Riebeeck, Abraham', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 837.
80. WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *Gezaghebbbers*, p. 207.
81. A.J. B(ÖESEKEN), 'Van der Stel, Simon', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 816. He came to the Cape with his sister-in-law Cornelia Six. On the Six family note the Guines entry in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 80.
82. A.J. B(ÖESEKEN), 'Elsevier, Samuel', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, III, p. 272; B(ÖESEKEN) (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 314 and n.: May 23, 1697. See also MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten, 1689-1712: 37, May 18, 1705 (CA).
83. G.J. S(CHUTTE), 'D'Ableing, Joan Cornelis', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, II, p. 154.

84. See G.C. DE W(ET), 'De Chavonnes, Dominicus Marius Pasques' and 'De Chavonnes, Mauritz Pasque(s)', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, II, pp. 167-169; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 131 and n.: Sept. 23, 1721; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 97; KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, pp. 43-45. See also AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap: 854; 939, p. 50.
85. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, pp. xxiii-xxiv; G.C. DE W(ET), 'De la Fontaine, Jan', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, pp. 213-214.
86. PA 201, Archieven, 285k, Livre des charges, 1683-1697: Dec. 11, 1686 (GA Amsterdam).
87. AB NB Bre dtb, Breda, Doop, 1607-1876: Aug. 25, 1689 (CBG); MOOC 7/1/3, Testamenten, 1721-1725: 90, proved July 7, 1724 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 10: Jan. 16, 1720.
88. AB NH Naar dtb, Naarden, Registre des sépultures, 1653-1818: p. 95 (CBG).
89. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV, p. 17 and n.: Aug. 28, 1707. He was a company surgeon in Batavia in 1699.
90. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 86 and n.: Dec. 10, 1720.
91. PA 201, Archieven, 35f, Livre de baptême, 1686-1692: Sept. 23, 1690; Nov. 25, 1691 (GA Amsterdam); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 47 and n.: March 16, 1716.
92. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 80 and n.: May 19, 1716.
93. VC 156(a), H. Swellengrebel to Rademacher, Cape, April 5, 1749 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 229 and n.: Dec. 15, 1722. See also O.F. MENTZEL, *Life at the Cape . . .*, trans. M. GREENLEES, Van Riebeeck Society, 2, p. 116. Grandpreez, like many company men and burghers, understood the simple Portuguese widely spoken in the Indies (FRANKEN, *Taalhistoriese bydraes*, p. 52).
94. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 34 and n.: May 3, 1729. He came out in 1718 from Zeeland as an ensign (C 121, Bijlagen, 1718-1719: appointments, 1717, pp. 161; 200 (CA)).
95. MOOC 7/1/7, Testamenten, 1746-1751: 54, Nov. 9, 1748; CJ 352, Criminele processtukken, 1745: John Bennet(t), testimony, Sept. 29, pp. 771-773v. (CA).
96. CJ 2969, Attestatiën rakende particuliere zaken, 1727-1739: July 13, 1736, p. 82 (CA); G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister): p. 33; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, II, p. 672.
97. PA 201, Archieven, 35h, Livre de baptême, 1707-1717: 38, March 1 (birth) (GA Amsterdam); C 661, Scheeps en andere journalen, 1707-1753: Dagregister, Dec. 25, 1742, pp. 235-326; CJ 3089, Gemengde notarieële stukken, 1740-1742: 70, Oct. 25, 1741, pp. 140-141 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 96.
98. EC, Châlons, Protestants, BMS, 1592-1683: Jan. 25, 1670; Aug. 11, 1670 (AD Marne); 4 E² 64, Chef-Boutonne, Protestants, BMS, 1593-1685: April 22, 1674 (AD Deux-Sèvres); C.F. ROUSSELET, 'La Colonie hu-

- guenotte de Friedrichsdorf', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 4, Nov. 11, 1896, p. 466.
99. 202 E 296, Velaux, Protestants, BMS, 1669-1684: Dec. 2, 1672; Dec. 6, 1682 (AD Bouches-du-Rhône); BOURRILLY, 'Révocation', *BSHPP*, LIV, Jan.-Feb. 1905, p. 26; Nov. 9, 1685.
100. PA 201, Archieven, 35f: July 30, 1717; 35h: 38, March 7 (baptism).
101. Q^o 16, Registre des baptêmes administrés dans l'église wallon(n)e de Berg(ues)-op-Zoom depuis sa séparation d'avec la flamande, 1686-1806: April 5, 1705, p. 24 (Jacques Rous(s)elet); Oct. 13, 1720, p. 33 (Daniel Brousson) (Bibl. wall.); TOLLIN, *Geschichte*, II, appendix I, p. 464: Dec. 1692.
102. CJ 2977, Particuliere verklaringen en attestatiën, 1740-1743: March 5, 1742, p. 86 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 128 and n.: Oct. 17, 1724; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, pp. 409-410: 42, 1803; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 93; KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, pp. 15-16.
103. CJ 1026, Civiele processtukken, 1710-1712: April 30, 1710, p. 29 (CA).
104. CJ 1023, Civiele processtukken, 1708; 1711: Aug. 9 and Dec. 10, 1707, pp. 495; 505 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 237 and n.: Dec. 14, 1717.
105. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1653-1811, 288 dtb Rott 122, Doopboek, 1653-1699: Dec. 6, 1693, p. 170 (GA Rotterdam); PA 201, Archieven, 35f: June 7, 1691.
106. MOOC 7/1/3, Testamenten: 25 and 26, Nov. 8, 1717 (Amsterdam); proved Nov. 7, 1721 (Cape); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 28 and n.: March 12, 1720; VII, p. 144 and n.: April 13, 1725; DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, III, p. 934; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 96. Place of birth given incorrectly in Botha and De Wet.
107. Waals, Dopen, 1599-1811, 38: André Fourdrinier, Dec. 17, 1659; children of Etienne Fourdrinier and Madeleine le Nin (Nain), 1697-1709 (GA Leyden). Amsterdam entries include Pierre and Jacques Fourdrinier (PA 201, Archieven, 35f: Aug. 16, 1691; Feb. 3, 1692). See also I 14, Prouville, BMS, 1683-1684: June 14, 1684: Jean and Marie Fourdrinier (AD Somme).
108. BOONACKER, 'Fransche gemeente te Enkhuizen', *Studiën en Bijdragen op 't Gebied der historische Theologie*, III, 1876, pp. 370-371; 378-379.
109. C 296, Memoriën en rapporten, 1745-1747: May 1-Aug. 10, 1747, pp. 212-245; C 451, Inkomende brieven, 1748-1749: 65, Lords 17, Amsterdam, Sept. 14, 1748, f. 338 (CA). The Swiss planter in the Indies, Jean-Pierre Purry of Boudry in Neuchâtel, son of Henri (de) Purry and Marie Ersel, also visited the Cape in 1718 as a junior officer on the *Hoogermeer*, although he did not, as has been suggested, introduce viticulture (ERNST and SCHEURER (comp.), *History of the Swiss in southern Africa*, p. 21). Failing to interest the Dutch in colonization schemes in Australia and southern Africa, he at length established a Swiss settlement in South

- Carolina. On his visit to the Cape in 1718 see C 121, Bijlagen: from Batavia, Feb. 6, 1718, p. 53.
110. Archives de la Marine, 4 JJ 86, 1666-1758: 10, *Grantham*, J. Acton; 25, Feb. 25, 1745, English vessel; 26, Jan. 12-16, 1745, *Pelham* (AN).
 111. H. FROIDEVAUX, *Reconnaissances et projets d'établissements français sur la côte occidentale de l'Afrique australe sous le règne de Louis XIV (1666-1670)*, pp. 4-5; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 72-85; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, I, pp. 29-31.
 112. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 1-7.
 113. FROIDEVAUX, *Reconnaissances*, pp. 6-27; KAEPPÉLIN, *Escales françaises*, pp. 37-42; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, I, pp. 94-101. See also BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, I, p. 352: Dec. 16, 1666; II, pp. 59-60: Feb. 16, 1671.
 114. H.B. THOM (ed.), *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*, II, trans. J. SMUTS, pp. 24-25: March 25, 1656; pp. 105; 107: March 31, 1657.
 115. THOM (ed.), *Journal*, III, trans. C.K. JOHNMAN and A. RAVENS-CROFT, pp. 217-339: May 10, 1660-March 2, 1661; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, I, p. 242: May 24, 1660; p. 243: June 5, 1660; pp. 255-256: March 2, 1661; H. FROIDEVAUX, 'Madagascar du XVI^e siècle à 1811', in HANOTAUX and MARTINEAU (eds), *Histoire des colonies françaises*, VI, pp. 51-52; S.E. HOWE, *The Drama of Madagascar*, pp. 41; 43-44; S.R. WELCH, *Portuguese and Dutch in South Africa 1641-1806*, pp. 110-111.
 116. KAEPPÉLIN, *Escales françaises*, pp. 37-38; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 12-13; 47-51; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, I, pp. 94-99. See also BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, I, p. 352 and n.: Dec. 16, 1666; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, pp. 203-209: Dec. 12, 1666-Jan. 9, 1667; THOM (ed.), *Journal*, III, p. 244: July 14, 1660; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Dagregister . . . Wage-naer*, p. 277n.
 117. KAEPPÉLIN, *Escales françaises*, pp. 38-40; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 28-30; 80; 97; appendix, p. 654; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, pp. 322-344: Aug. 23-Dec. 31, 1670; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1671-1674 and 1676*, pp. 1-2: Jan. 1 and 2, 1671; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, II, pp. 47-51: Oct. 10-25, 1670; THEAL, *Chronicles*, p. 166.
 118. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, p. 339: Nov. 13, 1670.
 119. A. LAUNAY (ed.), *Lettres de monseigneur Pallu . . . principal fondateur de la Société des Missions étrangères*, I, XLVI, p. 113: to Directors of seminary, Missions étrangères, Cape, Dec. 27, 1670; II, IV, pp. 204-205: to Chapelier, Compagnie des Indes orientales, Cape, Dec. 28, 1670. La Clide must surely be the Jean l'Estrille de la Clide, the captain of a French warship who came to London in 1681 and was the first warden of the French church of Thorpe-le-Soken in Essex in 1683 (HANDS and SCLOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, pp. 15; 129).

120. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1671-1674 and 1676*, pp. 19; 20-21: July 7, 15 and 18, 1671. On Blot's appointment as a director of the French company in Jan. 1671 see KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, p. 32.
121. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 93; 94.
122. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, II, pp. 298-299: June 26, 1679; RAVENHART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, I, p. 211; KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 131; 137 and n.; appendix, p. 655.
123. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 143: Aug. 9, 1686; pp. 144-145: Sept. 11, 1686; LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, p. 19; THEAL, *Chronicles*, pp. 269-270.
124. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 189; 193-198; appendix, p. 655; RAVENHART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 271; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 95-97.
125. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 95-96; 123-125; 144-145. On CHOISY's ordination see his *Journal du voyage*, pp. 300-303: Dec. 8-10, 1685.
126. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 95-96. Verbiest's view was made known in France by the returning Jesuit missionary Philippe Couplet of Malines in the southern Netherlands. On the background to the expedition see G. TACHARD, *Voyage de Siam des peres Jesuites, envoyez par le roy aux Indes et à la Chine . . .*, pp. 1-23.
127. TACHARD, *Voyage de Siam*, pp. 7-11; 13-15; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 96.
128. On the Jesuits see J. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., XXXVII, 106, pp. 33-34; 326, pp. 97-98; 360, pp. 108-109; 456, pp. 146-147; 821, p. 263; 895, pp. 294-295.
129. *Journal du voyage*, p. 27: March 26, 1685.
130. *Journal du voyage*, p. 13: March 13, 1685 (and STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 126); p. 28: March 26, 1685 ("Le Fontenei (*sic*) et le Visdelou laissent les autres bien loin derriere"); p. 40: April 15, 1685; p. 43: April 20, 1685; p. 101: July 8, 1685.
131. See M. BOUCHER, 'Night illumined; astronomers in South Africa today and yesterday', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, pp. 60-65. In addition to articles in the *Journal des Sçavans* and the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Science, FONTANEY published his *Observations sur la comète de l'année M.DC.LXXX. et M.DC.LXXXI.* in Paris in 1681. Tachard's significance as an astronomer is over-estimated in P. MOORE and P. COLLINS, *The Astronomy of southern Africa*, pp. 21-26.
132. For a later example of Chinese porcelain reaching the Cape see DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, pp. 347-348: April 30, 1734; BOUCHER, 'Cape and company', *Kleio*, IX, 1 and 2, June 1977, p. 63. Excellent imitations of China ware were being produced in Europe in the late seventeenth century to meet the demand (LISTER, *Journey*, pp. 140-141).

133. C. MADROLLE, *Les Premiers voyages français à la Chine; la Compagnie de la Chine 1698-1719*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.
134. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 95-96.
135. *Journal du voyage*, p. 25: March 24, 1685; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 128.
136. F. BONTINCK, *La Lutte autour de la liturgie chinoise aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Publications de l'Université Lovanium de Léopoldville, 11, p. 283; BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X,1 and 2, June 1978, p. 65.
137. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, pp. 624-626; BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, p. 65. Du Chayla was uncertain of his vocation in the eastern mission field (CHOISY (M.L.D.C.), *Journal du voyage*, p. 27: March 25, 1685).
138. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 261; 298.
139. In addition to TACHARD's *Voyage de Siam* (Cape, 1685, pp. 60-112) and CHOISY's *Journal du voyage* (Cape, 1685, pp. 68-76), CHAUMONT published his *Relation de l'ambassade* in Paris in 1686, while FORBIN's *Mémoires* appeared at Amsterdam in 1730. Excerpts in English trans. on the Cape visit of 1685 are in STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 98-111 (Tachard); pp. 130-134 (Choisy); pp. 152-153 (Forbin); pp. 158-160 (Chaumont), and RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 261-264 (Forbin); pp. 265-270 (Choisy); pp. 271-194 (Tachard); pp. 295-297 (Chaumont).
140. KAEPPELIN, *Escales françaises*, p. 45.
141. HULSHOF (ed.), 'H.A. van Reede tot Drakestein', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, LXII, 1941, p. 162.
142. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 275 (Tachard); STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 101 (Tachard).
143. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 275-276; 281 (Tachard); p. 297 (Chaumont); STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 102-103; 107-108 (Tachard); pp. 159-160 (Chaumont); LEIB-BRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 22-23.
144. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.) *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 279-281; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 106-107.
145. *Journal du voyage*, pp. 58-59: May 13, 1685.
146. For the return, with special reference to the Cape, see RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 299-306 (Chaumont, Choisy and Tachard); STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 139-143 (Choisy); pp. 120-122 (Tachard); pp. 162-163 (Chaumont). See also KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 206-207; appendix, p. 655.
147. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 197 and n.; 245.
148. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 112-113: Sept. 10, 1685; HULSHOF (ed.), 'H.A. van Reede tot Drakestein', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, LXII, 1941, pp. 39; 41; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 257.
149. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 206-208; 208n.; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 164.

150. On the Jesuits see DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 101, pp. 31-32; 191, p. 59; 454, pp. 145-146; 465, p. 150; 695, p. 224; 821, p. 263; C. SOMMERVOGEL et al. (eds), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, I, cols 1864-1866; III, col. 123; VI, col. 1813; and other entries. See also BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, pp. 62-63, ROCHETTE's *Traité des instrumens qui servent à observer en mer la hauteur des astres; et de la manière de s'en servir* was published at Marseilles in 1686. Tachard supplanted Vachet as the director of French missionary activity in Siam (A. LAUNAY, *Histoire de la mission de Siam 1662-1811*, I, p. 64).
151. For the distribution of the passengers see G. TACHARD, *Second voyage . . . au royaume de Siam . . .*, pp. 15-16.
152. See BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, pp. 61-62.
153. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 207-208; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 164-165; 165n.
154. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 316.
155. C 501, *Uitgaande brieven, 1685-1687: to Amsterdam*, July 9, 1687, f. 865v. (CA); BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 165-166: June 11 and 16, 1687. For the visit see RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 317-333 (La Loubère, Tachard, Mesurier and Le Blanc); STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 167-175 (Tachard); LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 21-24. See also TACHARD, *Second voyage*, pp. 46-74.
156. CJ 289, *Criminele processtukken, 1687: June 30*, pp. 209-211v. (CA). For a similar case concerning Cornelis Heermans, *equipagiemeester*, see BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 166-167: June 19, 1687.
157. TACHARD, *Second voyage*, p. 80; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 175.
158. TACHARD, *Second voyage*, p. 94; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 180.
159. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 165-166.
160. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 335; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 165-166; 181.
161. TACHARD, *Second voyage*, pp. 378-379; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 353; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 213-214. See also FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelinge', I, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 192, Nov. 13, 1925, pp. 21; 23.
162. TACHARD, *Second voyage*, pp. 40-43.
163. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 558-563.
164. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 282n.; 309-314; 338; DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 821, p. 263.
165. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters received*, p. 32: 68, Amsterdam, Jan. 21 and 25, 1695.
166. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters received*, p. 431: 57, Dec. 16 (1706).
167. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters received*, p. 431: 57, Dec. 16

- (1706); pp. 438-439: 71, Batavia, Jan. 15, 1707; p. 440: 78, Batavia, Feb. 15, 1707; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 330: to Batavia, May 25, 1707. On the Jesuits see DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 102, p. 32; 629, p. 201; 661, pp. 210-211.
168. Quoted by B. DOYLE, *The Irish contribution to the Catholic church in South Africa, 1820-1900*, unpubl. M.A. dissertation, National Univ. Ireland, 1963, p. 34. See also (D.J. GOMES), 'Die Katolieke kerk in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika', *Die Brug*, XIII, 11, Nov. 1964, p. 8. On Loppin see DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 492, p. 156. His name appears in CJ 2976, Particuliere verklaringen en attestatiën, 1737-1739: March 23, 1739, p. 154 (CA), as a witness to a document.
169. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 337-338.
170. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 146-147.
171. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 223, 264-267; 271-272; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 191-192: May 19, 1688; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 354. L'Estrille would seem to have been of the same family as the Calvinist La Clide of the *Indienne*, at the Cape in 1670 (HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds.), *French Protestant refugees*, pp. 15; 129).
172. KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 213; 218-219; 252-253; 263-266.
173. THEAL, *Chronicles*, pp. 296-297.
174. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 209: May 14, 1689; p. 254: June 16, 1692; pp. 258-259: Aug. 11 and Sept. 4, 1692; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 389.
175. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 208: April 27, 1689.
176. C 502, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1688-1690: to Middelburg, June 20, 1689, f. 441 (CA).
177. See the extract in English trans. from his *Histoire de la révolution du royaume de Siam* (Lyons, 1692) in RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 358-366.
178. DEHERGNE, *Repertoire*, 454, p. 146; SOMMERVOGEL *et al.* (eds), *Bibliothèque*, IV, cols 1621-1622.
179. LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 33-34n.
180. See KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 438-467.
181. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 439; KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, p. 363.
182. MADROLLE, *Premiers voyages*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii; 3-5; KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 363-364.
183. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 96, p. 30; 611, pp. 195-196; 660, pp. 209-210.
184. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 99: 10, to Amsterdam, March 18, 1699. The other vessels were the warships *Bon Indien*, *Zélande* and *Castricum* of the Des Augiers fleet (KAEPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, appendix, pp. 659-660; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 86: postscript, June 5, to 132, to

- Amsterdam, June 3, 1698). The *Amphitrite* arrived on May 31, 1698, followed by the warships on June 5.
185. MADROLLE, *Premiers voyages*, pp. 8-9.
186. KAEPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 468-469; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, pp. 155-156: 45, to Amsterdam, June 1, 1700. DEHÉRAIN (*Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, p. 130) quotes a report of June 6, 1700 from the *Agréable* on the signing on of Cape deserters, some of them Catholics who said they were Flemings.
187. KAEPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 565-599.
188. C 510, Uitgaande brieven: to Batavia, Oct. 24, 1713, f. 1245; C 511, Uitgaande brieven: to Amsterdam, Jan. 9, 1714, ff. 3; 7; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 257: Sept. 27, 1713; KAEPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 590-591; appendix, p. 660.
189. C 603, Dagregister: p. 12; KAEPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, p. 623; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 4; 19-20.
190. C 603, Dagregister: April 12, 1715; March 9, 1716, pp. 55; 254.
191. P. CRÉPIN, 'Les Iles de France et de Bourbon', in HANOTAUX and MARTINEAU (eds), *Histoire des colonies françaises*, VI, pp. 321-322. An abortive attempt was made by Mahé de la Bourdonnais, governor of the Ile de France (Mauritius), to establish trade links with the Cape. His suggestion was brought to the settlement by Captain Bart of the visiting French company's ship the *Triton* in 1744 (C 449, Inkomende brieven, 1744-1745: 11, Dec. 7, 1743, ff. 53-54 (CA)). Bart gave wood suitable for cabinet-making to certain individuals who sold some of it to the company. The Lords 17 were not then interested, however, although they raised the question of importing ebony from the island in 1749 (C 450, Inkomende brieven: 11, Lords 17, Middelburg, Sept. 6, 1745, f. 72; C 451, Inkomende brieven: 135, Lords 17, to Batavia, May 3, 1749, f. 717; C 529, Uitgaande brieven, 1744: Lords, 17, Middelburg, April 15, ff. 388-393 (CA)).
192. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 354: May 20, 1688.
193. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, pp. 8; 9-10; appendix 1, pp. 463-464: Jan. 11 and 12. The name is given as La Villebagne in this source. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 28n.
194. C 450, Inkomende brieven: 70 and 71, La Mettrie, *Apollon*, Feb. 1, 1747, ff. 427; 431; C 451, Inkomende brieven: 65, Lords 17, Amsterdam, Sept. 14, 1748, ff. 335-336; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, pp. 141-142; 266; 402-403; appendices 2 and 3, pp. 464-465: April 13, 1725; May 16, 1726; March 22, 1728. The *Anglesea's* captain was Gervais de la Mabonnais.
195. C 615, Dagregister, 1738-1739: March 3 and 31, 1739, pp. 194; 205; C 616, Dagregister, 1739-1743: Jan. 15 and 26, 1740, pp. 235-236; 243; C 620, Dagregister, 1746-1751: March 9, 1750, p. 790; April 19, 1751, p. 1011; C 367, Attestatiën, 1750: 19, Feb. 3, pp. 73; 79-80; 83-95; CJ 676, Minuut criminele processtukken, 1750: March 8, ff. 77 and v. (Pollai de Montilly)

- (CA). See also H. WEBER, *La Compagnie française des Indes (1604-1875)*, pp. 352; 537-538; V.S. FORBES, 'The French landing at Algoa Bay, 1752', *Africana Notes and News*, XVI, 1, March 1964, pp. 3-19. Another example of violence involving a Frenchman occurred when the *Philibert* called at the Cape in 1739 on a voyage to the Indies. A sailor, apparently Lucien Rossel, died of wounds after an attack on shore (CJ 3172, Secretariaal annotatie boeken, 1705-1756: March 1, 1739, p. 130 (CA)). For French callers in the period see C. BEYERS, *Die Kaapse patriotte gedurende die laaste kwart van die agtiende eeu en die voortlewing van hul denkbeelde*, 2nd ed., appendix G, pp. 333-334, and for Amiot, DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 35, pp. 12-13.
196. On trade and lodging see F. VALENTYN, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it*, ed. P. SERTON *et al.* and trans. R. RAVEN-HART, Van Riebeeck Society, 2nd Series, 2, part I, pp. 204-209; MENTZEL, *Geographical and topographical description*, part II, Van Riebeeck Society, 6, pp. 78; 80-83. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 22-23.
197. C 604, Dagregister, 1717-1722: July 21, p. 1040-1041 (CA); J.-C. NARDIN, 'Encore des chiffres; la traite négrière française pendant la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle', *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-mer*, LVII, 209, 1970, appendix 7, p. 445. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 8-9.
198. C 604, Dagregister: April 12 and 15, pp. 938; 943-944; DE WET, (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, pp. 181-182: April 16; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 9; 11 and n.
199. On the Ostend traders and the later company see N. LAUDE, *La Compagnie d'Ostende et son activité coloniale au Bengale (1725-1730)*, Institut royal colonial belge, Section des Sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires, XII, 1.
200. India Office Records, E/4/20, Letters received from Bengal, 1709-1742: Dec. 24, p. 155 (FCO).
201. C 603, Dagregister: June 2, pp. 379-381; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, pp. 84-85: June 2 and 9; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 269: June 2; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 10; M. BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers beyond the Cape of Good Hope, 1715-1723', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, p. 124.
202. C 604, Dagregister: March 25 and 26; April 1, pp. 232; 235; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 275: March 27; April 1; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 10; BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, p. 125.
203. E. HALLEY, 'An Observation of the end of the total lunar eclipse ...', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, XXX, 361,

- June-Aug. 1719, pp. 992-993. See also BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, pp. 60-61.
204. C 604, Dagregister: Oct. 29, Nov. 5 and Dec. 24, 1718; Jan. 13-17, 1719, pp. 326; 328-329; 355-356; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 324; Jan. 14, 1719; LAUDE, *Compagnie d'Ostende*, pp. 16-19; BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, pp. 125-126; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 10.
205. C 604, Dagregister: Dec. 21, 1718, p. 343. On presumed support for the Ostenders from the French (and the Danes) see India Office Records, E/4/299, Letters received from Madras, 1709-1742: Joseph Collet *et al.* to East India Company, Fort St George, Oct. 10, 1719, p. 157 (FCO). On the friendly relations between the French and the Ostenders, based in part on a common Catholic heritage, see F. PRIMS, 'Les Rappports entre coloniaux français et belges au temps de la Compagnie d'Ostende ... (1724-1730)', *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies françaises*, VI, 1932, pp. 515-526. See also under BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, pp. 130-131; 131n.
206. The problem continued to vex the Ostend chartered company (LAUDE, *Compagnie d'Ostende*, pp. 63-67).
207. CJ 1034, Civiele processtukken, 1720: July 17, 1720, p. 275 (CA). See also BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, p. 126; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 11.
208. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 343; March 30, 1734; LAUDE, *Compagnie d'Ostende*, pp. 218-219; G.B. HERTZ, 'England and the Ostend company', *The English Historical Review*, XXII, 86, April 1907, pp. 273-276. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape and company', *Kleio*, IX, 1 and 2, June 1977, pp. 63-64. The company lingered on.
209. See E.A. WALKER, *A History of southern Africa*, 3rd rev. ed., pp. 103-104 and the biography of Pierre-André de Suffren Saint-Tropez by G.J. SCHUTTE (DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, pp. 222-223) for the period 1781-1783.