

Cape shipping and the war at sea

News reached the Cape of Good Hope of growing tension between Britain and Spain in letters sent out by the Dutch company's London agent Bolwerk on the *Royal Guardian*, which anchored in Table Bay on 5 December 1739. Some six weeks later Thomas Coates brought the *Defence* in from Mokha. He heard from Dutch outward-bound ships in the Cape roadstead that war had been declared. There was always the danger that France too might be involved and as the *Saint-Géran* was also at the Cape, Coates and his supercargoes John Wallis and Thomas Thomson addressed an urgent appeal to Governor Swellengrebel and his council of policy. They feared that Porée de la Touche of the *Saint-Géran* had sinister motives and requested that the French ship be detained until the *Defence* had been given sufficient time to get well on her way. This favour was asked on the grounds of "the established Alliance and Amity which has been so long subsisting between the Crown of Great Britain and the Most High and Mighty States of Holland". The Dutch, however, wished to remain on friendly terms with all nations and could not therefore entertain such a request. They nevertheless made one gesture of special friendship. The *Defence* had sailed for home with insufficient ammunition to meet a war situation. The Cape authorities could, however, supply her needs. The *Oostrust* had been forced to run for Mossel Bay on her voyage from the Cape to Batavia late in 1739 and had been brought back to Saldanha Bay in a leaky state. She would never sail again and her store of ammunition provided the Cape with an unexpected surplus.

Coates was unnecessarily alarmed in January 1740. It would be some years before France was involved in the hostilities now beginning between European powers. War with Spain did not affect the Cape directly, nor was East India

shipping seriously troubled. Dutch vessels were urged to keep together and crews were maintained, as far as possible, at peak efficiency. British ships began to assemble at the Cape and at St Helena to sail in convoy for safety and despatch vessels were sent out by the London company to the rendezvous points with instructions for shipping. The first of them to touch at the Cape was Steward's *East India* yacht in January 1741. The use of these small ships impressed the Dutch company which in October of that year sent out a similar vessel, the galliot *Rozenbeek* commanded by Nanning Broeder, who died as captain of the outward-bound *Eendragt* in 1745. Broeder brought the latest news of the political situation to the Cape, but his real mission was to inform the Cape government that Valckenier was to be arrested. In this, however, he was forestalled by the London company's *Swift*.

The East India Company of London had tried in 1706 during the War of the Spanish Succession to have an official agent accredited to the Cape, but had been unsuccessful. However, the close friendship between the United Provinces and Britain after the Anglo-Spanish war had broken out in 1739 opened the door there to temporary representation at least, in order to give instructions to passing ships between visits of the despatch vessels. An arrangement to this effect was concluded with the Dutch company in 1740 and Steward remained behind when the *East India* yacht sailed in February 1741, handing over the command to Robert Kellaway for the voyage to St Helena. When the *Lapwing* called at the Cape early in 1744 with Kellaway as second mate, it was his turn to stay at the Cape with orders for British vessels. He remained until May, when he was granted a passage at his company's expense on the Rotterdam return ship the *Polanen*.

The Anglo-Spanish war led to the promulgation of certain instructions for Dutch captains. They had to carry a special pass to be shown to any Spanish ships which might intercept them, in order to proclaim the neutral status of their vessels, and secret orders, divided among several ships to ensure safe delivery, were placed in lead caskets for quick disposal overboard to prevent them from falling into unfriendly hands. In view of the expected shortage of saltpetre in Europe as a result of the Anglo-Spanish conflict and the impending War of the Austrian Succession on land which began with Prussia's invasion of Silesia in December 1740, the Dutch directors ordered the purchase of additional supplies on the Coromandel coast and in Bengal.

Dutch relations with their British friends were not always free from strain. There were protests over British interference with Dutch trade into Cadiz in 1741 and complaints two years later that British attacks on Spanish ships just outside the Batavia roadstead interfered with legitimate commerce. Thomas Gilbert of the *Duke of Dorset* took a Spanish vessel in the Manila-Batavia trade in 1741.

More serious, however, and destined to become a feature of British action

throughout the war at sea, was the experience early in 1743 of the Zeeland East Indiaman the *Cleverskerk*, whose captain Anthonij Marijnissen died on the further voyage from the Cape to Batavia. While still in the North Atlantic the *Cleverskerk* met with the warship *Severn*, sailing from Leghorn to Barbados. The Dutch captain was ordered to heave to and his ship was boarded by two naval lieutenants who demanded to see the *Cleverskerk*'s papers and despite protests pressed two seamen into the British service. One was John Osborn of Weymouth, but the other, Robbert Jansz., was booked as from Rotterdam and would seem to have been Dutch. Calls in English waters were equally dangerous. The Delft ship *Tolsduijn*, which reached the Cape in April 1744 under Maarten van der Meer, had been forced by contrary winds to anchor in the Downs in December of the previous year. Eleven seamen and several soldiers were pressed into the Royal Navy there.

London East Indiamen were by no means immune from impressment. Captain Townshend, bringing the *Augusta* home from China and the Cape in 1743, joined a convoy of East Indiamen at St Helena which sailed for the Channel under the protection of the naval fifth rate the *Dover*. When they reached the English coast the *Dover* ordered her charges to heave to under her stern. The press-gang then got busy, but did not have things all its own way. The crew of the *Britannia*, an East Indiaman returning in the convoy after a voyage from Bombay and the Malabar coast under John Somner, took hold of the ship's small-arms and a fight ensued in which seven men were killed before the sailors on the East Indiaman surrendered. In the Margate road a few days later naval officers boarded the *Augusta* for the same purpose, but her crew had suspected trouble and many of them had made for the shore. Six sailors were pressed and Townshend had to hire men at Deal to take the vessel into the Thames. The *Augusta* had already made a contribution to the *Dover*'s crew before these incidents, as the seamen James Hughes, Elias Bell and Joseph Pain had been transferred to her at St Helena, "thay being Disordely (*sic*)". The iniquitous practice of impressment was an additional hazard for merchant seamen and life below decks was no bed of roses for those who found themselves in the Royal Navy. The novelist Tobias Smollett, drawing on personal experience, makes this abundantly clear in his account of a similar and contemporary episode in *Roderick Random*.

The Anglo-Spanish war and hostilities on the European continent which might yet spread further afield made the Cape look to its defences. Plans were drawn up in January 1741 to counter the surprise landing of any enemy forces. A signalling system by gun and flag was introduced to warn of danger and the burghers of the interior were to send 50 men each month for port defence. Sea lines were decided upon, but the extension of the fortifications was not undertaken until after the visit of Governor General van Imhoff in 1743, in which year the corner-stone of a new post, Fort de Knokke, was laid east of the Castle. The burgher forces were reorganized, the "Free Blacks" and slaves

were to play a part in defence and the garrison troops were kept up to strength. To release fit men for active service a "Corps des Invalides" was formed in 1743. Alleman succeeded the elderly Johann Tobias Rhenius of Berlin as captain of the garrison in 1741 and the need for competent subordinate officers was stressed by the council of policy. Van Imhoff looked closely at defence requirements, deputing Lieutenant Colonel Barbonés of Berlin to inspect the artillery and making valuable suggestions on the employment of the land troops. The visiting governor general and commissioner not only initiated work on the seaward defences, but also used the services of the engineer captain, Pierre Bellidore, to draw up plans for the better protection of the Castle. In April 1743 Lieutenant Claude Faraguet's report on the guns was laid before the council of policy.

The Anglo-Spanish war, however, passed the Cape by, except for the arrival in Table Bay on 23 March 1744 of the 60 gun *Centurion* of the Royal Navy under the command of Commodore George Anson. She was returning from Canton, where Anson had lodged with Captain Townshend of the *Augusta*. The *Centurion* received a great welcome from the London East India men *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, then in the roadstead, but Misenor of the former ship remarked that Governor Swellengrebel was much annoyed that Anson returned an inadequate salute to the Dutch warship *Standvastigheid* of the Rotterdam chamber, outward-bound under Willem de Wijs.

The *Centurion*, laden with treasure, principally from the Spanish Acapulco galleon *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* taken off the Philippines, was returning from a world cruise which had been otherwise costly indeed in men and ships. Aboard her was a galaxy of future British naval talent. Her officers included the artistic Peirce Brett, who was to become an admiral and a lord commissioner of the admiralty, the Scot John Campbell, later a vice admiral and governor of Newfoundland, another future vice admiral and Yorkshire member of parliament, Peter Denis, son of the Huguenot clergyman Jacob Denis of La Rochefoucauld and his English wife Martha Leach, Augustus van Keppel of Dutch origin, later Viscount Keppel, admiral and first lord, and Hyde Parker, who began his career on the lower deck and died a vice admiral. Also aboard were two brothers and future captains from Guernsey, Philip and Thomas Saumarez. The former died in action off Brest in October 1747 and Thomas fought with distinction in the Seven Years' War. The *Centurion's* schoolmaster, Pascoe Thomas, "teacher of the Mathematicks", published an account of the voyage in 1745 and the dignified Joseph Allen of Wexford, who sailed as a surgeon's mate and returned a full surgeon, gained a doctorate in medicine and became master of the celebrated English public school, Dulwich College. The purser John Rule obtained rapid promotion and by 1746 had been given the post of clerk of the survey at the senior naval dockyard at Deptford.

The *Centurion* remained in Table Bay until 14 April 1744 before sailing for

England and a triumphant homecoming. The Cape made a very welcome respite from the rigours of an extraordinary voyage and provided a ready market for the sale of private goods. Lawrence Millechamp, supernumerary purser, spoke highly of the settlement, its ordered government and its industrious people. It is from his pen too that we have a rare glimpse from a passer-by of the Khoikhoi in an urban setting. He found their standards of hygiene deplorable, but felt that in other respects they had been much maligned. They made excellent and honest servants and displayed great skill in the management of cattle and horses.

Pascoe Thomas, who described the mainland as "Caffararia", found the Khoikhoi "a nasty beastly People". His sympathies lay with the slaves and he shows a sensitivity both to the trade and to the manner of executing wrongdoers rare in contemporary writings. Local officials, he felt, treated those brought to the country badly, but this was only to be expected. "Surely", he wrote, "every one may thank God, he does not live under the Tyranny of the Dutch Republic". Many company slaves were then at work on the construction of "a most prodigious Pier", chained together by the legs in groups of six, eight or ten. He noted that in the slave lodge the sexes were separated and that adjoining it was "a Prison for the Lewd and Dissolute". The schoolmaster's description of the Cape was not always based on his own observations, but he commented that "the living on Shore (was) very extravagant, and (that) a Man had need to have a great Stock of Money, and a very good Income, to indulge himself in that Satisfaction long".

Anson was able to purchase an anchor, a cable, rigging and other supplies, and also received assistance in kind from the *Salisbury*. The sick were sent ashore to recuperate and the ship was heeled, scrubbed and payed with tallow. 40 men, British and Dutch, were signed on to improve the manning position and water and livestock taken on board for the crew. Laurens Siewertsz. of the *Bosbeek*, outward-bound from the United Provinces for the Amsterdam chamber, had further trouble with deserters while the *Centurion* lay at anchor in Table Bay. He had lost eight men when he had put into Portsmouth in December 1743 and another four tried to return to Europe with Anson. They were discovered on the British vessel, however, and sent back to their own ship by the port authorities who refused them any more shore leave.

Although the news had not yet reached the Cape, France had declared war on Britain on 15 March 1744 while Anson was making for the anchorage. Information about this extension of the maritime struggle was brought to the settlement on 14 September by Hendrik Bossen of the unfortunate *Nieuw Vijvervreugd*, later to explode in the Batavia roadstead. This new development was not entirely unexpected, despite the assurance of Aubin du Plessis of the *Argonaute* in March 1743 that general peace in Europe was just round the corner. There had been rumours of both French participation and Dutch

involvement for some years at the Cape. Now that France was committed to a struggle with Britain involving the sea route round the southern coasts of Africa local defences were put on an emergency footing involving all sections of the population on land and the crews of the coastal vessels based on Table Bay. Work on the protective breakwater was suspended in order to complete the shore defences and the Imhoff battery was constructed to cover their junction with the Castle. Alleman laid plans to prevent a surprise attack which went further than the earlier measures and the small garrison at Saldanha Bay was instructed to keep a watchful eye on the sea approaches. A detachment was also sent to guard St Helena Bay. A blackout had already been introduced in 1742 to mislead enemy ships and the secret signals for friendly vessels were changed more frequently. Further refinements to the defensive system were carried out by Major Izak Meinertzhagen when he came out in March 1746 on the *Sara Jacoba* to take charge of the company's land forces at the Cape. The returning administrator Daniël Nolthenius also devoted attention to the Cape defences in 1748, promising more gunners from the United Provinces and advocating a battery to protect the winter anchorage in False Bay.

Although France was regarded as the prospective enemy the Cape reflected the official Dutch policy of neutrality. Dupleix indeed made it clear to Governor General van Imhoff in January 1745 that he had no desire to disturb good relations between the French and Dutch companies in the east, or at sea on either side of the Cape, even if war should break out between the two nations. Dutch neutrality permitted East Indiamen of that country to carry both French and British nationals on their voyages, as on the *Cleverskerk* which anchored in False Bay on her return from Batavia in June 1746. There were, however, in that period of uncertainty, fears of a possible attack on the colony and reports of activities which might be considered subversive. Late in 1744 French ships were rumoured to be in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay and in the same period a group of foreigners with horses and a slave boy aroused suspicions at the Groenekloof inland. They were evidently Englishmen.

Attack from the sea on the Table Bay defences was Swellengrebel's great anxiety. The arrival in the roadstead on 23 August 1745 of four merchantmen and two warships in battle array caused the garrison to spring to arms. However, the ships turned out to be the London East Indiamen *Scarborough*, *Lincoln*, *Kent* and *Admiral Vernon* bound from Portsmouth for the Indies under the protection of two naval fourth rates. One, the *Harwich*, commanded by the Jerseyman Philip Carteret as commodore of the small fleet, had Hyde Parker of the Anson circumnavigation as a lieutenant; the other, the *Winchester*, was under the command of Lord Thomas Bertie. The convoy remained at the Cape until early October and Swellengrebel ordered that the precautionary measures taken on its approach should remain in force

during the visit, even though the ships were British. The London company showed similar concern at St Helena and all Dutch visitors there were instructed to identify themselves clearly to avoid being fired upon.

London East Indiamen were well-armed and quite capable of giving a good account of themselves in battle. Many indeed were issued with letters of marque permitting them to act independently against the enemy. The *Lincoln* had been granted such letters in November 1744 for action against both French and Spanish vessels; at the same time letters of marque were issued to the *Scarborough* and the *Kent* for engagements against the French only. Britain, however, already had a naval squadron in the Indian Ocean under Curtis Barnet by late 1744 and the *Harwich* and the *Winchester* provided him with welcome reinforcements. The stay at the Cape enabled Carteret and Bertie to prepare for the anticipated fray ahead. The *Harwich* needed repairs, as she had been in a storm just before entering Table Bay and a bolt of lightning had carried away her main topmast and shivered the mainmast. Three sailors had been killed and several others injured. Carteret obtained assistance from the port authorities and from his consorts. Tents were set up on shore for the naval sick and the usual problems with potential deserters were encountered. Information came to Carteret's ears that several men from the British fleet had hidden themselves on a Dutch ship. A search party was sent aboard her and four men were found, two from the *Harwich* and one each from the *Lincoln* and the East Indiaman *Pelham*, also in harbour. Carteret and Bertie associated themselves with the general British complaint of a poor monetary exchange at the Cape, but relations with the Dutch were amicable enough. The naval vessels joined in the celebration of Swellengrebel's birthday and on the eve of departure the governor, leading officials and the captains of all the other British ships came aboard the *Harwich* for a leave-taking ceremony, the arrival and the departure of the guests being marked by salvoes of guns.

Relations were not always as cordial between British and Dutch on the high seas and in English ports; the earlier experiences of the *Cleverskerk* and the *Tolsduijn* at British hands had their parallels. On the evening of 28 December 1744 the outward-bound *Hof van Delft*, commanded by Jan Bloem, encountered the *Merlin* sloop of the Royal Navy under the captaincy of David Brodie in the North Atlantic. A sharp fight ensued in the darkness until a second naval ship reached the scene, the fourth rate *Weymouth*, commanded by Warwick Calmady. Brodie evidently believed in acting first and asking questions later, but the identity of the Dutch East Indiaman was at length established and on the following day Captain Bloem was invited to meet the commander of the squadron of which these ships formed a part, Vice Admiral Thomas Davers, whose flag flew on the 70 gun *Prince Frederick*. Bloem, who knew no English, conducted what must have been a rather halting conversation in French, with the *Prince Frederick's* captain, Harry

Norris, as interpreter. The affair ended on a happy note. The *Hof van Delft* sailed on for the Cape and Batavia, and the British squadron made for the West Indies, where the *Weymouth* was wrecked shortly after her arrival and Davers was soon to succumb to yellow fever. A link with the Cape past is provided by one name in the *Hof van Delft's* crew list, that of the ordnance officer, Jan van Riebee(c)k.

Cornelis Salomonsz. of the outward-bound Hoorn ship the *Lis* also had a brush with British sea power a few weeks after sailing from Texel. On 24 August 1745 he fell in with two British privateers, the *Thomas* and the *Elizabeth*. During interrogations two sailors succeeded in deserting to the privateers, whose captains refused to return them. The *Lis* sailed on, but on 29 August was compelled to heave to by the 50 gun *Falkland*, a warship out of Liverpool commanded by William Dabris. A boarding party searched the Dutch vessel, broke open one of her money chests and generally acted in a high-handed manner. The chief sailmaker on the *Lis*, an Englishman who had been asked for by the privateers a few days earlier, was pressed on to the *Falkland* before the Dutch East Indiaman was able to resume her voyage to the Cape and the Indies.

French men of war also posed a threat to Dutch merchant shipping. Dirk Quast of the Enkhuizen East Indiaman *Huijs ten Duijne* reported at the Cape in May 1745 that he had been intercepted at night off the Canaries by seven French warships. The French threatened to open fire unless he sent an officer aboard one of their vessels. Quast accordingly despatched his chief mate and the man was detained until dawn, when the French demanded to see the Dutch captain's papers. The mate was returned and the *Huijs ten Duijne* permitted to continue her voyage. These French ships must have been the major part of the squadron under Charles de Tubières de Caylus, taking him to his new appointment as governor general of the Windward Islands. At about the same time the Rotterdam ship *Huijs te Persijn*, outward-bound under Jan Koning, was fired upon by a French vessel soon after leaving the Downs. The *Shellagh* was taken by the French after sailing from Japan in 1748 and the *Huijgewaard* which left Texel in May of that year reported on arrival at the Cape in the following September that soon after sailing she had encountered a French ship under British colours. A fight followed in which the Dutch East Indiaman had much the better of the exchanges in the opinion of her captain, Huibert van der Linde. This incident took place in the last days of hostilities in European waters when an agreed armistice was beginning to take effect.

Dutch ships in the Channel ran an even greater risk of losing men to the British by impressment after the start of the Anglo-French war. Six seamen and four soldiers on Jan de Jong's Zeeland East Indiaman *Westhoven* were pressed into the Royal Navy when the ship put into Portsmouth in September

1745 on her voyage to the east. A similar occurrence marred the early sailing of the Rotterdam vessel the *Bevalligheijd* in January 1748. The ship missed her convoy off the Dutch coast and it was decided to join another at Portsmouth consisting of merchantmen for the East and West Indies sailing down the Channel under the protection of the *Oxford* fourth rate commanded by Edmund Toll. Two men of the *Bevalligheijd's* crew, Dirk van Lis of Newcastle upon Tyne and Dirk Jansz. of Bristol - British subjects, despite their Dutch names - deserted to the *Oxford* and the skipper of the Dutch ship, Arie van der Meer, sent his chief mate, Eijnaard Vroom, to try to recover them. Toll, however, said that he would only hand over deserters who had come from naval vessels. He asked whether there were any more Britons on the *Bevalligheijd* and followed up the question by sending a search party. With the help of one of the deserters several other sailors and soldiers were pressed and violence was used to overcome their resistance. The names of some suggest a Dutch origin, but among the remainder were the sailors James Fa from the Orkneys and Joseph Philip of Leeds, and the soldiers Joseph Brown from Antrim and Thomas Jackson of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Impressment continued to plague the crews of London East Indiamen, both at home and abroad. Lawrence of the *Elizabeth* lost men at the start of his voyage to the east in 1747 and impressments on to naval convoy ships were not infrequent. Phillips of the *King William* put into Galway Bay on his return voyage in 1745 and was finally escorted to the Nore by Ormond Thomson in the 44 gun *Pool*. Thomson pressed thirteen of the *King William's* crew, but - exceptionally - gave Phillips fourteen men in return, doubtless less suited to naval life. Hooke's little *Porto Bello* sloop from the Coromandel coast was chased into Milford Haven by a French privateer in April 1747 and before reaching Deptford lost five men by impressment to the *Rose* sixth rate on convoy duty. Hereford of the *Edegbaston* had to sacrifice men for naval duty to Curtis Barnet's squadron in Indian waters and although impressment was illegal in foreign ports, William Preston of the *Basilisk*, a naval bomb-ketch taking part in a voyage yet to be discussed, pressed a man from William Pinnell's *Stretham* East Indiaman at the Cape in May 1748.

The progress of the War of the Austrian Succession was followed at the Cape with more than passing interest, although news brought by visiting ships was not always accurate. The fall of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island to the British in June 1745 was not of immediate importance to the Dutch, nor was the course of events from the Young Pretender's landing in Scotland in August of that year to the failure of the Stuart cause at Culloden in April 1746. Peircy Brett of the *Anson* voyage was wounded in a gallant attempt as commander of the *Lion* to head off the Stuart prince in July 1745. Dutch neutrality was, however, compromised from the beginning of the Anglo-French war by the provision of warships under treaty obligations dating back to 1678 to assist the Royal Navy in home waters and particularly to prevent

a French invasion of Britain. This help, of doubtful value to Britain, supplemented the convoy work of the Dutch navy which included the escorting of East Indiamen home from the Shetlands, a duty as much designed to limit opportunities for private trade as it was to preserve the safety of the ships.

Other events were of closer concern to the Dutch company's Cape outpost. The successes of Dupleix and La Bourdonnais in India, for example, and the surrender of Madras by the London company on 21 September 1746 affected commerce round the Cape. The unsuccessful British attempt to take Lorient in the following month was also of significance to those with mercantile interests in eastern waters, for the loss of the French company's Breton headquarters would doubtless have disrupted the trade of that nation. The French advance in the southern Netherlands and the fall of such towns as Tournai, Ghent and Bruges after Maurice de Saxe's victory over Cumberland at Fontenoy in May 1745 threatened the Dutch frontier. Mutual recriminations concerning the extent of British help and the contribution of the Dutch garrisons of the barrier fortresses did nothing to strengthen Anglo-Dutch ties. A more serious menace to the United Provinces was contained in the French declaration of 13 April 1747. France was determined, without going to war with the Dutch, to separate them from Britain and her allies. Saxe, by this time well established in the southern Netherlands, launched an attack on the Dutch territories south of the Scheldt which soon fell into French hands. Lowendal forced the capitulation of Bergen-op-Zoom and besieged Maastricht, which surrendered in the following year.

Britain, however, helped to save Zeeland from the French and the United Provinces gained a degree of unity in 1747 when the Prince of Orange and Nassau became, as Willem IV, stadtholder of all seven provinces, grand admiral and captain general of the army. In December 1748 he was appointed chief director of the Amsterdam chamber of the East India Company and on 16 April of the following year headed the entire company, a position he also filled with regard to West Indies trade. News of Willem's recognition as national stadtholder was brought to the Cape by Jan Tuinman of the *Brouwer* in November 1747 and was greeted there with enthusiasm. The appointment was essentially a response to external pressure and marked a resurgence of Orangist power under the leadership of Willem Bentinck van Rhoon, as much English as he was Dutch. When the French threat receded after the war, however, the stadtholder proved too conservative to inspire any real unity of purpose or to promote the reforms which many felt were so urgently required. Willem IV died in October 1751 and was succeeded by his infant son Willem V, under the tutelage of the dowager regent Anna, daughter of George II of Great Britain. From that time the pro-British Orangists had to contend with the increasingly Francophil sympathies of the merchant class and urban oligarchs.

During the years 1744 - 1748 the Dutch feared that the French might launch a full-scale onslaught from Europe on the Cape or on shipping in its vicinity, although in the early years of the conflict with Britain this formed no part of French policy. Nevertheless any information, however vague, which might tend to confirm Dutch suspicions was listened to with close attention at the Cape. One who brought such news was the soldier Jacob le Fort of Dieppe who joined the garrison troops in November 1744 from the outward-bound *Huijs te Foreest*. Earlier that year Le Fort had been in French military service at Dunkirk, on guard at the house of Alexandre-Thomas du Bois de Givry, commander of the port. There he overheard a conversation at a dinner party at which the guests included the Young Pretender, Louis-Philippe, duke of Chartres, Joseph-Marie, duke of Boufflers, and Maurice de Saxe. Also present was the captain of a French warship, a Zeelander from Flushing who had served as a mate with the Dutch East India Company, but who had left in protest against alleged unfair treatment. The captain not only discussed the defences of the island of Walcheren, but also those of the Cape. He knew how to capture the southern African settlement and the force required. A direct assault might be difficult, but there were several localities where a landing would be relatively easy and he pointed these out to the others on a map he had brought with him. The conversation must have taken place shortly after the abandonment of French plans to invade England and there is no doubt that Le Fort's account was genuine. Would the French put this theory to the test? It was rumoured that they were then equipping ships specially for an expedition to the East Indies and it was felt that an attack on the Cape might be a first objective.

Information at a higher level reached the Cape too late to be of any significance in a war which was drawing to a close. A squadron under Antoine d'Albert du Chesne left Brest in January 1748 to link up with other vessels for an offensive in the Indian Ocean. Albert's own warship the *Magnanime* was intercepted off Ushant early in February and compelled to surrender to the *Nottingham* and the *Portland* of Hawke's fleet. She was taken to Plymouth and later incorporated into the Royal Navy. Instructions found aboard the *Magnanime* indicated that one aim of the squadron was to capture all Dutch ships found beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The British informed the states general which in turn passed the contents of the French instructions on to the Dutch East India Company for transmission to the Cape settlement and the Indies.

The Anglo-French war at sea did not cause many casualties among East Indiamen of the London company. Of the Cape callers of our period only the *Princess Mary* was lost. She fell into French hands at the capture of Madras after a strenuous resistance offered by her captain Robert Osborne. A few weeks later the ship was wrecked in a cyclone which struck the roadstead. When the storm abated she was merely a waterlogged hulk with only her

bowsprit remaining of her masts and spars, and with her cargo of saltpetre completely submerged. There were other losses to the French. In 1747 the *Princess Amelia* sailed unsuspectingly into the Madras roadstead and was captured, and the *Anson* was taken off Bombay. An echo of hostilities on the Coromandel coast comes from the log of the *Fort St George* in October 1748. It notes tersely: "Cha's Dunn's head shott off by a Cannon Ball". It was not until the early years of the Seven Years' War that a company ship was lost to the French off the southern African coast when the *Grantham* from Madras was brought into Table Bay as a prize by ships of Anne-Antoine d'Aché's squadron when they came to the Cape from the Mascarenes to provision.

The French company in contrast had heavy casualties during the War of the Austrian Succession. Barnet's squadron, divided into two groups, inflicted considerable damage on French shipping before the end of 1744, including the capture of the *Favori* at Achin by Edward Peyton of the *Medway* and John Moore of the little *Dolphin*. The French vessel was later incorporated into the squadron as the *Medway's Prize*. An even greater success attended Barnet on 5 February 1745. Carrying his flag on the 60 gun *Deptford* and accompanied by George, Earl of Northesk in the *Preston* he cruised near the Bangka Strait under Dutch colours with his ships disguised as merchantmen. There they encountered three French return ships from China, the *Dauphin*, commanded by Butler, the *Jason*, under Jacques Magon de la Mettrie, and the *Hercule* of Captain Dufresne de la Villeherbe. There was a sharp engagement with losses on both sides before the French vessels struck. Among the casualties on Butler's *Dauphin* was the merchant Poivre who lost an arm. The prizes were taken to Batavia where they were sold to the Dutch with their costly cargoes of tea, porcelain and other goods at well below their market value.

These three French ships were no strangers to the Cape. Chévery had brought the outward-bound *Hercule* into Table Bay in 1742 on her previous voyage to the east and the *Dauphin* and the *Jason* had called there early in 1744, outward-bound on this unfortunate trading mission to China. The *Hercule* and the *Jason* were rechristened by the Dutch and sailed for Europe in March 1745. The former, renamed the *Toevalligheijd*, made no Cape call, but the *Jason*, now the *Oplettendheijd* and under the command of Hendrik Bommer, anchored in Simons Bay on 15 June 1745 and remained in port for more than five weeks. The French authorities, not surprisingly, took a serious view of the Dutch action at Batavia and the Dutch East India Company agreed to make reparation. However, failure to adhere to the settlement arranged with the French company led to diplomatic pressure before the matter was finally disposed of.

Among other French losses as a result of British naval activities we may note the destruction of the *Maurepas* in June 1745. She was run ashore and burnt

at Senegal by Captain Sanguinet to prevent her falling into British hands. Two other vessels suffered a similar fate in that year to avoid capture by ships of Barnet's squadron. The *Elisabeth* was set ablaze off Karikal and the *Pondichéry* destroyed at Tranquebar. This second incident in a neutral harbour brought into play the Franco-Danish alliance. The Danes opened fire on the British, but a retaliatory shot killed one of the garrison and injured two others. The crushing defeat suffered by La Jonquière in his engagement with Anson's fleet off Cape Ortegal on 14 May 1747 lost the French company three valuable ships, the *Apollon*, the *Philibert* and the *Thétis*, sailing as part of the main fleet and under the escort of Jacques-François Grout de Saint-Georges of Saint-Malo who was appointed to take them to the Indies. All eighteen French ships which took part in the action were captured. This victory was in marked contrast to the mediocre tactics of Barnet's successors in the Indian Ocean, Edward Peyton and Thomas Griffin, in their contests with La Bourdonnais and Bouvet de Lozier.

The third ship taken by Barnet at the Bangka Strait, the *Dauphin*, came into the hands of Batavia burghers, but was transferred to the Dutch company and renamed the *Straat Banca*. Her brief career as a Dutch ship has a link with Cape visitors of late 1744. On 4 May of that year the London privateers *Fame* and *Winchelsea*, together with a small ship the *Caesar*, sailed from the Thames in search of prizes. The *Fame*, a 54 gun vessel with a complement of 360 men under the command of Philip Comyn, was a captured Spanish ship the *San José* and the largest of close on 100 British privateers at sea in these years. The *Winchelsea*, captained by John Gerard, carried 36 guns and 200 men and the little *Caesar* had 10 guns and a crew of 24 under John Ayres.

Barnet's naval squadron had sailed two weeks earlier, rounding the Cape to Madagascar after taking a Spanish privateer and her prizes in the Cape Verde Islands. It is evident that the British privateers had designs on the French China ships, but Barnet was there before them. Comyn and Gerard took two French vessels in the Atlantic and brought them into Lisbon before continuing their southward voyage. They reached the Cape on 28 November 1744 with the latest news of the war and sailed again on 7 December, six days before the arrival of the *Caesar*. Ayres stayed until Christmas Day, leaving for an undisclosed destination and apparently playing no further part in the enterprise. The larger vessels also sailed without divulging their plans, but they made for Batavia where they fell in with a project conceived by the governor general, Van Imhoff.

The governor general's scheme stemmed directly from the capture by Anson of the Acapulco galleon off the Philippines in 1743 which resulted in the suspension by Spain of silver shipments from the New World. Van Imhoff sought to turn Spanish discomfiture to Dutch advantage by establishing commercial relations with the Spanish empire in the Americas and after the

failure of an official approach to Manila with this end in view, hit upon the idea of opening up trade with the New World without Spanish concurrence. An expedition was therefore assembled and an agreement reached with the captains of the *Fame* and the *Winchelsea* privateers to provide protection for four merchantmen, one of them the *Straat Banca*. Comyn of the *Fame*, who knew the region well, was to take charge of the navigation and the privateer captains were to receive 20% of the profits accruing. The Dutch East India Company kept a low profile in the undertaking, which was made out to be essentially a private venture, as indeed it was in part.

Van Imhoff's plan miscarried. The ships sailed from Batavia on 24 June 1745 and after taking steps to disguise their real purpose from the Manila authorities made their way to Macau on the coast of China to load more goods. They finally set off for the Americas on 14 September, but soon ran into a typhoon. The expedition was abandoned on 20 October and the six vessels limped back to Batavia between November 1745 and February 1746. The *Fame* had been dismasted and structurally damaged in the typhoon and Comyn sold her with her guns and stores at Batavia on 22 March 1746, embarking on the *Winchelsea* which had also suffered in the storm, but which was able to sail for home on 4 September. We catch a glimpse of this abortive expedition from Frémery of the French East Indiaman the *Philibert*, returning from China in 1746 and warned to watch for the privateers. Parker of the London company's *Augusta* had also seen the earliest arrivals at Batavia and was informed that the *Fame* had sighted French ships bound for China off the Ladrões, but had avoided an engagement.

This was not the end of the Dutch governor general's project. Van Imhoff sent out a smaller expedition in 1746 without British help, once again using the *Straat Banca*, but under yet another name, the *Hervattinge*. The Americas were reached on this occasion, but the enterprise was a complete fiasco and served only to embroil the Dutch further with a furious Spanish government. Van Imhoff might, perhaps, have managed to inaugurate a limited clandestine trade with the Americas, but his methods could scarcely have persuaded Spain to formulate a more flexible commercial policy in order to accommodate the Dutch. Certainly, the governor general's decision to enlist the help of British privateer captains in his project when Britain was at war with Spain was unwise. It was not Van Imhoff's only close association with his British friends in the period. Four cadets from the recently established marine academy at Batavia had embarked as volunteers with Barnet and Lord Northesk and were present when the French China ships were taken in the Bangka Strait; two more accompanied the British commanders to the Coromandel coast later in 1745.

The *Winchelsea* privateer, now under the command of John Corner, reached Table Bay on 12 January 1747 after touching at Madagascar. On the same

day Hooke brought the *Porto Bello* sloop in with the disturbing news of the fall of Madras in the previous September. Also in the roadstead were four London East Indiamen: Browne's *Bombay Castle*, destined for Madras, but necessarily diverted, Francis d'Abbadie's *Portfield*, outward-bound for Bombay, Surat and Mokha, the *Pelham*, returning under Lindsay from Bombay, and Hancock's *Norfolk*, on the same voyage as Browne. Lindsay had already heard the bad news about Madras unofficially, as he had called on the Malabar coast on his return voyage. Hooke wasted no time at the Cape and sailed off for England on 26 January with despatches from Governor John Hinde on the Coromandel coast. These he sent overland to London in the charge of his second mate after his unscheduled stop in Milford Haven.

It was at this juncture that two French privateers bound for home were nearing the Cape coast from the Mascarenes. They were the *Apollon*, carrying 50 guns and 550 men under the command of Baudran de la Mettrie, and the *Anglesey*, with 48 guns and a crew of 430, captained by Gervais de la Mabonnays. Despite their insistence on royal status - the ships were in fact ceded by Louis XV for privateering and were later to be given to the French company - they had been fitted out by private interests. The *Apollon* had been equipped by Antoine Walsh of Nantes, who was born in Saint-Malo to an Irish Jacobite ship's captain in the French service, Philip Walsh of Dublin, and his wife Anne Whyte of a Waterford family. The *Anglesey* was a former British naval frigate, surrendered to the *Apollon* on 3 May 1745 by her senior surviving officer Baker Phillips after a fierce fight. This unfortunate lieutenant was repatriated by his captors, sentenced to be shot for dereliction of duty and faced a firing-squad aboard the *Princess Royal* at Spithead on 30 July 1745 with remarkable composure. The celebrated execution of Admiral Byng in the next decade for his failure at Minorca had its precedents. The *Anglesey* was quite the most spectacular of the 43 prizes brought to Port-Louis and Lorient by the French in the war of 1744-1748 and was handed over to Walsh and another merchant of Irish background, Pierre-André O'Heguerty of Paris. O'Heguerty, born in Dinan to the refugee Daniel O'Heguerty from the Londonderry region, had first-hand experience of the Mascarenes where he had served in the administration. Both he and Walsh played an active part in the attempted Stuart restoration in Britain and the latter accompanied the Young Pretender to Scotland where he remained for several weeks.

Hancock of the *Norfolk* made ready to sail on 30 January 1747, but on the same day a report came from Robben Island that a ship with French colours had been sighted. The British commander was all for going out to attack the enemy and Lindsay of the *Pelham* noticed that the *Winchelsea* privateer had "got up yards and Topmasts", and had bent her sails in preparation for a fight. The French vessel - it was the *Apollon* - anchored under Robben Island and sent a landing-party ashore to ask for water and provisions, mentioning

that she had a consort in the vicinity. Help was deferred until instructions had been received from the authorities on the mainland and when the *Pelham* sent a boat to check on the situation, the *Apollon* weighed and stood to sea. Hancock was anxious to know what attitude the governor would take with regard to French visitors and was told by Swellengrebel that since the United Provinces and France were not at war the usual courtesies would be extended to these and all French ships. He added, as Hancock reported it, "that we were not to Molest her (the *Apollon*) on any Conditions whatsoever". Browne of the *Bombay Castle*, commodore of the British company vessels in the roadstead, called a meeting of commanders and counselled caution, sending a party of sailors to the summit of Lion's Head to see whether there were in fact two French ships off the bay.

On 1 February the senior French captain Baudran de la Mettrie addressed letters to the governor asking whether the ships could anchor without fear of Dutch reprisals and pointing out that they only wanted food and water, and had no intention of causing trouble. They later alleged that their food supplies were low because a plague of locusts had destroyed the crops on the Ile de France. They were granted freedom of the port, although the Dutch feared their motives and resolved to keep a close watch on them. The British commanders also suspected an attack and after the *Apollon* and the *Anglesey* had come in on the following day they kept their guns primed at night to guard against surprise. The French captains insisted on their rights as royal ships and were much displeased at a salute of only seven guns in reply to their nine. They sent a deputation to Swellengrebel to demand satisfaction and as Francis d'Abbadie of the *Portfield* comments, the governor "was actually obliged to fire 9 Guns from the Fort to pacify them who Shew'd great warmth on this occasion".

The French were in no haste to leave and did not put to sea until 27 February, by which time they were in a fit condition to patrol the approaches for several weeks and thus to keep the British bottled up in Table Bay. They were there throughout March, flying Dutch or British flags and sometimes interfering with Dutch company ships entering port. The British grew impatient and it was in these circumstances that Nelson, the medical doctor travelling on the *Pelham* with his servant, transferred to the Dutch *Eendragt* for a quicker passage home. The captains of the British company ships requested the Cape authorities to use a local vessel to cruise off the coast in order to warn approaching British shipping of the danger from the enemy. They were prepared to pay for this service and to place a few men on the ship to facilitate communication. The British captains also asked permission to fly Dutch colours in port should the French come in again. They pointed out that Dutch interests were also involved since that nation had a heavy investment in the London company. The flag issue was not considered and the other request was turned down because the two local vessels were urgently needed for the transport of goods to False Bay.

There were still alarms as late as 7 April 1747, when a Dutch ship the *Huijs te Rensburg*, commanded by Ficco Eijbo van Rheede, commodore of the return fleet and a naval man, reported that his ship had been hailed and shadowed by two unidentified vessels showing no colours. However, the possibility of breaking the blockade was suggested on 31 March when Tolson brought the *Somerset* into the roadstead from Bengkulu. The *Portfield* was the first away on 3 April and on the following day the *Bombay Castle* left with the *Winchelsea* privateer. The *Norfolk* sailed on 14 April, a day ahead of the *Pelham* and the *Somerset*. As Lindsay of the *Pelham* was leaving he spied a ship approaching the bay and prudently added French colours to his British ones. The newcomer, however, proved to be the *Swift* despatch snow. Captain Bell of the *Swift* gave Lindsay and Tolson instructions to make straight for St Helena.

The French vessels took no prizes at the Cape, but they seriously delayed the regular trade of the London company and effectively prevented communication with passing ships regarding French action in India. The British East India commanders, their strength reinforced through the presence of a powerful privateer, would seem to have displayed excessive caution and Swellengrebel was surprisingly conciliatory to the French and less than helpful to his allies. The *Apollon* and the *Anglesey* were to pass the Cape again when they came out to help Bouvet de Lozier in his skilful navigation of the Indian Ocean in 1748. The former British naval vessel was laid up at Brest in July 1749 and the *Apollon* at the same port in March 1750.

Almost a year later, on 31 March 1748, Thomas Lake brought the British warship the *Deptford* into Table Bay. She was returning to the scenes of her former glories with Barnet's squadron, from which she had been detached with the *Dolphin* in 1746 to escort six East Indiamen to Britain. The *Deptford* was on this occasion the vanguard of a considerable force which was to bring the Cape into closer contact with the Anglo-French maritime and colonial struggle in the east. She had been sent on ahead from the Cape Verde Islands to announce the imminent arrival of the fleet. The expedition of which the *Deptford* formed a part had its origin in complaints voiced by the London East India Company in May 1747 that the naval forces in the Indian Ocean had not done enough to protect trade and that unless a powerful fleet were sent out with military support the French would gain the upper hand. The company was willing to provide transport and to place its vessels under naval command. The capture of Madras in 1746 and the presence of strong reinforcements sailing with La Jonquière made it clear that the French now attached the greatest importance to winning the war in the Indian Ocean. The British government therefore acquiesced in the plan and began to prepare an expeditionary force. The Dutch were invited to co-operate and after some initial reluctance offered some of their outward-bound East Indiamen and a military contingent to support any attack made on the Mascarenes and were

willing to provide soldiers to fight alongside the British on the Coromandel coast.

The choice of a supreme commander occasioned some debate. Admiral Sir Peter Warren had his supporters, but Anson and Vere Beauclerk of the admiralty were not in favour. The man at length selected and promoted to real admiral was Edward Boscawen of Cornish stock, destined to make his mark in the first years of the Seven Years' War. Boscawen, wounded in the shoulder in the battle with La Jonquière and known affectionately as "Wrynecked Dick" or "Old Dreadnought", was a firm disciplinarian, but with a kindly concern for the welfare of the men under his command. His appointment as commander-in-chief by land and by sea was unusual for a naval officer; he was, moreover, junior to Griffin, still active in the eastern theatre. His instructions, drafted by the London East India Company, were to take if possible the Ile de France and to do as much injury as he could to French interests in the Mascarenes generally, on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, and in Bengal. Horace Walpole, who loved gossip, suggested that Anson had secured Boscawen's appointment in order to blight a rival's career, since Boscawen had stolen the limelight in the victory over La Jonquière. Walpole, however, did not like Anson and was not above retailing rumours of the famous circumnavigator's alleged sexual inadequacy. What is certain, however, is that Boscawen sailed from Portsmouth on 15 November 1747 under a considerable handicap. The departure of the expedition was long delayed, the French were well aware of its objectives and no up to the minute intelligence awaited Boscawen at the Cape concerning the strength of French defences to the east. The admiral was compelled to pay out good English gold in order to glean what he could in that regard from those at the Dutch settlement and later on the Coromandel coast with information to sell.

Boscawen raised his flag on his old command, the 74 gun *Namur*, now captained by Samuel Marshall. He had with him, in addition to the *Deptford*, four other ships of the line. The largest was the 64 gun *Vigilant*, under the command of William Lisle, accompanied by another 60 gun ship the *Pembroke*, commanded by Thomas Fincher. There were also two 50 gun fourth rates, Joseph Knight's *Ruby* and the *Chester*, under the captaincy of a future rear admiral from Cornwall, Richard Spry. To these were added three smaller warships: John Lloyd's *Deal Castle* sixth rate, Preston's bomb-ketch the *Basilisk* and the *Swallow* sloop, commanded by John Rowzier. Artillery was brought by the *Young Eagle*, captained by James Quallet, and provisions on the *Porto Bello* sloop under William Ireson and a small snow the *St Francis*, hired for the purpose when Boscawen reached Madeira and manned by fifteen sailors under the command of David Wilkinson. A hospital-ship the *Apollo*, armed with twenty guns and captained by Robert Wilson, completed the naval contingent, the largest of its kind to date to be sent into eastern waters. It is a measure of Boscawen's concern that he issued

instructions before sailing that a recently invented air purification machine be fitted in the hospital-ship for the comfort of the sick and injured.

There were fourteen London company East Indiamen with the expedition. The ships we have encountered before in these pages and all the commanders save Edmund Cooke of the *Admiral Vernon*. One of the London vessels, the *Hardwicke*, sailed ahead of the main fleet from the Cape with letters, despatches and supplies for Griffin's squadron in India before continuing her voyage to China. The company ships transported a specially raised Irish and Scottish military contingent of about 1 000 soldiers in twelve companies, together with their baggage and equipment. There were also some 800 marines on the expedition and an artillery detachment. The troops were not all of the highest calibre and included rebels, deserters and even highwaymen whose sentences had been remitted for volunteering to serve in the east.

Boscawen's flagship was sighted off the entrance to Table Bay on 7 April 1748 and within a few days all but one of the naval vessels had anchored in the roadstead and nine of the East Indiamen: the *Admiral Vernon*, the *Chesterfield*, the *Delawar*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Hardwicke*, the *Rhoda*, the *Royal Duke*, the *Royal George* and the *Stretham*. The remaining company ships, the *Durrington*, the *Edgbaston*, the *Edgecote*, the *Fort St George* and the *Lincoln*, did not arrive until 26 April and the little naval sloop the *Swallow* only put in an appearance on 17 May, when she was helped to an anchorage by boats from other ships in the fleet and given every assistance to prepare for an early departure. The *Swallow* had been delayed on the Portuguese coast when the *Vigilant* required attention and had sprung her mainmast. She had put into Lisbon where a new mast was fitted, but further trouble of the same kind necessitated a call at Gibraltar. The *Swallow* had also visited Madeira before sailing for the Cape.

Boscawen commanded a formidable armada and it is small wonder that Swellengrebel and the commissioner Nolthenius took a hard look at the garrison and the defences, even though this was a friendly fleet. The enormous fire-power of the British ships cannot have passed unnoticed. The naval vessels alone carried well over 400 guns between them and the armament of the fourteen East Indiamen ranged from the 40 guns on the *Royal Duke* to the 26 carried by the *Delawar*. In manpower there were more than 6 000 soldiers and sailors aboard the visiting ships and over 5 000 on those which arrived in the first wave in early April 1748. The *Namur* alone had a complement of 715 and the other ships of the line carried between 350 and 480 men. The Cape garrison then numbered about 1 300, by no means all of them fit or trained to fight. Those on the British ships considerably outnumbered the entire population of Table Valley and at its maximum exceeded that of the adult male population of the whole settlement, Khoisan alone excluded. This includes the slaves, of doubtful loyalty. It is true that there were fifteen

homeward-bound Dutch East Indiamen in the roadstead when Boscawen himself arrived, and three others sailing to Batavia, but what if the visitors had been a hostile force and the roadstead almost empty of friendly shipping?

The Cape was the assembly point for the projected Anglo-Dutch assault on the Mascarenes and the final choice of Dutch ships and of troops to embark on them was made there. The Dutch ships all reached the Cape from the United Provinces between 31 March and 25 April 1748, some with a considerable number of deaths on the outward passage. One of those chosen, Arie van der Meer's *Bevalligheijd* of Rotterdam, had sailed for some time in company with the *Hardwicke*, whose captain, Samson, noted the high incidence of sickness aboard her. The *Bevalligheijd* was the ship which suffered the depredations of the press-gang off Portsmouth. Accompanying her on the Boscawen expedition were the *Vosmaar* of the Zeeland chamber, commanded by Willem van der Heijden, and four ships from Amsterdam: the *Eijndhoef*, under the command of Jan Otto, the *Slooten*, whose captain, Berting, we have met on his return voyage, the *Sloterdijk* of David van Elteren and the *Tolsduijn*, commanded by Bastiaan Verdoes. Jochem Beck's *Fortuijn* was to have been one of the six, but the troops she brought were divided up among the others and she sailed direct to Batavia early in May with despatches from Swellengrebel and Boscawen.

The selection of men to form the Dutch military contingent of 600 involved some juggling with the forces available. A number of those who had come out from the United Provinces for the purpose were unfit and exchanges were made between the ships and the Cape garrison. The Cape also provided a contingent of its own. These 50 men under the captaincy of Jan Coenraad Warneke represent South Africa's first military contribution to a war overseas. Supreme command of the Dutch land and sea forces was vested in the local army chief Meinertzhagen, with Bacheracht as the civil administrator.

Swellengrebel was instructed to give Boscawen every assistance, including the provision of food and water, equipment for the ships and the free use of slaves, draught oxen and horses should the admiral require them. Facilities for nursing the sick were provided to supplement the accommodation on the *Apollo* and the troops and marines, divided into three battalions, were taken ashore to camp and to perform military drill twice daily on the slopes behind the company's garden. The Dutch soldiers were also exercised at a separate encampment near the Castle. Although no French ships were captured in Cape waters, the British were authorized to take prizes and to bring prisoners to the settlement. A strong south-easter delayed disembarkation, but when Boscawen went ashore on 10 April, accompanied by many of the captains of the naval fleet, he was saluted with fifteen guns from the Castle and, as Samson of the *Hardwicke* recounts, "Honoured with the Governour's Coach and six horses which had waited for him some time". The admiral lodged with

Swellengrebel and met all the prominent local officials and the visiting commissioner Nolthenius.

Table Bay had never before seen so many ships at anchor and with an overcrowded roadstead and the possibility of worsening weather at that season, the departure of the Dutch return fleet was hastened. It left for home on 24 April, a day before the arrival of the secret sailing orders which had to be rushed out to the departing ships while there was still time to reach them. Meanwhile provisioning, watering and cleaning ship were carried out as expeditiously as possible on the vessels bound for the east with Boscawen. Live sheep were bought for slaughter and salting, and the provisions and livestock embarked included such unusual items as ducks and a she-goat and her kid. The warship *Deal Castle* took aboard more than the equivalent of 15 000 litres of wine. For the farmers and retailers of the settlement it was a most profitable period. The great demand for bread persuaded the farmers to hold out for higher grain prices and the government had to intervene to prevent profiteering. Some even sought to steal an advantage by working on the Sabbath, but this was frowned upon. Crews on the naval vessels had money to burn. Early in May the agent victualler came aboard each ship with the "short allowance money", amounting to 19 shillings (R1,80) for every man. It was, however, generally a time of hard work, enlivened by the celebrations to mark Cumberland's birthday.

John Grant, an army lieutenant who came out on the *Royal Duke* with one of the Scottish companies, has left us his first impressions of the Cape. He took a favourable view of the garrison and the defences, but he was chiefly impressed by local productivity. "This is a very fruitfull place", he wrote in his diary, and went on to note the abundance of fruits and wine, bestowing particular praise upon the "Sweet Lusscious wine" made at Constantia. He preferred the red wines of the Cape to the whites and also found the local fish of special interest, many of which were new to him. "The Dolphine", he added - and marine biology was obviously not his strong point - was "the most beautifull". The settlement had much to commend it. "In short", Grant concluded, "a man can have every thing at the Cape of Good hope that he can have in England and a great many things much Cheaper, I mean eatable(s) and Drink".

There was much sickness and several deaths occurred, including that of the midshipman Robert Graves of the *Chester*. The surgeon of the *Basilisk* died on the hospital-ship and on 28 April the log of the bomb-ketch records: "Sold ye Dead Mans Cloaths at Auction to ye Vessels Company". Visits to the most notorious brothel ashore, the slave lodge, did nothing to improve the health of seamen and soldiers, and Boscawen belatedly took steps to solve the problem. On 1 May Lake of the *Deptford* "read an order from the Admiral, prohibiting any of the People belonging to the Fleet of going to the Companys Slave House".

death and sickness necessitated transfers from ship to ship; men were also moved for disciplinary reasons. A surgeon's mate of the *Namur* was promoted surgeon of the *Basilisk*, Boscawen ordered the transfer of the *Lincoln's* chief mate, Anthony Hammond, to the *Vigilant* and Benjamin Brewford, quartermaster on the *Rhoda*, was put aboard the flagship. John Davis, a seaman on the *Delawar*, was moved to the *Deptford* "for many Misbehaviours" and the warship provided the East Indiaman with a replacement, Hance Doran.

There were also desertions and attempted desertions. A sailor on the *Thesterfield*, Patrick Ashmore, left the ship's boat when it went ashore and made his way to the British army camp where he enlisted in one of the military companies. Three soldiers, two British and one in the Dutch service, faced firing-squads for desertion. The soldier in Dutch employ who was executed, Jacob Burrij of Zürich, was one of three who were recaptured. They were forced to draw lots to see which one should incur the supreme penalty for the sins of them all. Johann Winter of Wesel and Pieter Vleeshouwer from Warneton in the southern Netherlands were spared by the draw. The British used a similar method. Five deserters were caught by local people and of these one received 500 lashes and the other four were sentenced to be shot. They too drew lots to select two for the firing-squad. The lucky ones were pardoned and a general amnesty was declared to encourage other deserters to return to camp.

The articles of war had to be read on naval vessels before punishments were meted out and Lake of the *Deptford* seems to have had a particularly undisciplined crew aboard. On 23 April William Jenkins and Joseph Roberts were punished for drunkenness and for overstaying shore leave and six days later Charles Benstead was sentenced to run the gauntlet for theft and inciting a riot on shore. On 15 May a marine, Thomas Bradbury, incurred Lake's wrath by becoming so drunk that he lost his coat at the military camp. Over-indulgence in liquor was the least of the sins of the *Deptford's* bos'n John Storey. He was first confined for abusing the third lieutenant in his cups, but after making a sufficient apology was set at liberty. Two weeks later he was in more serious trouble for attempting sodomy with a boy, Alexander Mills, and for conspiring to desert in a ship's boat with the seaman John Barker. A court-martial was held aboard the *Vigilant* and Storey and Barker were found guilty. The bos'n was demoted, denied any future advancement and transferred to another ship "to serve before the mast". Barker was sentenced to twenty lashes "alongside of each of his Majts (Majesty's) Vessels now lying in Table Bay". The court-martial also tried the junior surgeon's mate of the *Apollo* for an unspecified misdemeanour.

The Boscawen expedition brought one man back to the service of the Dutch East India Company. The *Vigilant*, like the *Swallow* sloop, had called at

Lisbon on the outward voyage and there a former company employee Demetrius Dominicus Kephala, evidently of eastern Mediterranean origin, was taken aboard by Captain Lisle. Kephala was landed at the Cape to be sent on to Batavia.

Boscawen gave a farewell dinner to the governor and chief officials at the Cape aboard the *Namur* on 11 May and eight days later the armada put to sea. The Dutch company had attempted to enforce secrecy by placing an embargo on suspect shipping leaving the Cape for the east while Boscawen's fleet was at anchor there. There was, however, only one other foreign ship in the roadstead during this period, Sommer's *Kjøbenhavn*, bound for Tranquebar in the service of the Danish Asiatic Company. She reached the Cape on 5 May and sailed after the departure of the Anglo-Dutch armada. Boscawen had a tedious passage to the Ile de France, parting company with three of his Dutch auxiliaries and the *Porto Bello* sloop before he made landfall on 4 July 1748. A coastal reconnaissance was undertaken by engineers, but lack of information on the strength of the French garrison, a strong wind and determined fire from coastal batteries decided the admiral against attempting a landing and after four days he sailed off for his next objective, the Coromandel coast, leaving the Dutch East Indiamen, by that time four in number, to continue on their way to Batavia.

The campaign by sea and land in India, again with Dutch assistance, was equally inconclusive. Boscawen reached Ford St David early in August where he joined forces with Griffin's squadron, leaving his predecessor to return to Britain to account there for his conduct of the war. Boscawen proceeded to attack Pondicherry, but was thwarted by a spirited defence. In the course of the land operations Stringer Lawrence was captured by the French who in turn lost an outstanding military leader Louis Paradis, killed in action. The monsoon was at hand, sickness was rife and no progress was being made. A council of war was therefore held and on 11 October the siege of the French colony was lifted.

Although Boscawen did not receive the news until November, an armistice had been arranged in the War of the Austrian Succession with effect from the previous May as a preliminary to the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 18 October 1748. The treaty, which generally restored the *status quo*, including the retrocession of Madras to Britain and of Louisbourg to France, solved nothing and merely provided a breathing-space before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756. William Brett of the *Tartar* sixth rate brought news of the armistice out to the British in India, calling at the Cape on 27 September 1748, where advance information had already been received from Van der Linde of the *Huijgewaard* and Willem van Westrenen of the *Lekkerland*, both outward-bound for the Amsterdam chamber. News of the definitive peace treaty came with the arrival on 14 January 1749 of two

French ships bound for China and carrying acceptable passes signed by the Prince of Orange. These vessels, Jolif du Colombier's *Montaran* and the *Duc de Béthune* under the command of Jean-Jacques de la Chaise, had sailed from Port-Louis five days after peace had been signed. They were the first French company callers at the Cape for almost five years. Official notification of the peace was brought by Ficco Eijbo van Rheede of the *Oud Carspel*, an Amsterdam East Indiaman which had sailed early in November 1748 and after a call at the Downs later that month reached the Cape on 1 March 1749. The end of hostilities led to a welcome relaxation in the defence regulations in force at the settlement.

Slowly the warriors returned. Meinertzhagen and his officers were back in the colony in 1749, the commander to face such unrest among the garrison over conditions of service that he wished he were in Batavia over again. In April of that year Griffin arrived from Ceylon on his flagship the *Princess Mary*, a 60 gun warship commanded by William Holmes. With him were Hyde Parker on the *Lively*, Lord Thomas Bertie on the *Winchester*, William Boys commanding the *Pearl* and Nicholas Vincent of the *Medway's Prize*. Boys was carrying Peyton, whom Griffin had suspended, back to England as a prisoner and Vincent was to see the Cape under less happy circumstances in the next decade when he was landed there from the *Grantham* after her capture by the French in the Seven Years' War. It is interesting to note that both the *Pearl* and the *Medway's Prize* had made up their crews with Lascar and Portuguese seamen in India.

Griffin stayed with Swellengrebel until the end of the month and on Sunday, 20 April permission was granted for Anglican divine worship in the Dutch Reformed church after the close of the usual morning service. The chaplain of the *Princess Mary* officiated. The company's hospital was in demand as there was much fever and many cases of scurvy among the crews, and several deaths had occurred. Griffin had intended to lodge the sick with burghers, but found their demands for payment excessive. He therefore left it to his secretary John Harman to make alternative arrangements. Some of the fever cases were doubtless attributable to contaminated water. The contents of the casks aboard the *Winchester* were found to be alive with vermin. Holmes of the flagship was evidently a stern disciplinarian as the repeated log entries of floggings for drunkenness and neglect of duty indicate. Bertie of the *Winchester*, who died later on the voyage home, no doubt earned the gratitude of his ship's company by paying out prize money at the Cape for two paddy boats captured off Madras on 17 August 1747. Aboard his ship was a Londoner William Stuart who joined the Cape garrison staff as a soldier before becoming a burgher at Stellenbosch in October 1753, when he planned to follow his trade as a tinsmith. Stuart died perhaps in the smallpox epidemic of 1755.

Griffin's squadron sailed on 2 May after a visit from senior officials to the flagship. The admiral was to be censured by a court-martial for his poor performance in Indian waters and his prisoner Peyton died later that year before any enquiry into his conduct could be made.

Boscawen was asked to remain on the Coromandel coast after news of the armistice had been received and his presence did much initially to keep the peace in the uneasy atmosphere of Anglo-French involvement in Indian affairs. Moreover it was not until August 1749 that Madras was formally handed back to the London company. It was to remain a subordinate station to Fort St David until 1752. Boscawen was in charge of the administration of Madras until his departure for home in October 1749. His fleet, however, suffered a major disaster in a cyclone off Fort St David in April of that year. Boscawen's flagship the *Namur* foundered with great loss of life while the admiral and his captain were on shore. Another survivor was the ship's chaplain, Robert Palk of Devonshire, who became governor of Madras in 1763. The *Apollo* hospital-ship and the *St Francis* snow were also casualties and the *Pembroke* was driven ashore where she broke up, losing Captain Fincher and most of the crew.

On 7 May 1749 the Yorkshireman Hugh Palliser, future admiral and governor of Newfoundland, brought the *Sheerness* sixth rate into Table Bay from Portsmouth on his way to the Coromandel coast with despatches for Boscawen. An experiment in dietary reform was made on the voyage. Palliser's crew prevailed on him to limit the amount of salt meat issued as an anti-scorbutic measure. The fact that sickness was minimal and that only one man died, clearly as a result of treatment for a venereal infection, suggested quite wrongly that here was a cure for scurvy. Boscawen, who swore by orange marmalade as an anti-scorbutic, was on the right track. The *Sheerness* returned to the Cape from Fort St David on 17 December 1749, sailing for home where she was to be laid up. Her log on the approach run shows imagination. The mountain top behind Mossel Bay resembled "a bump (*sic*) on a Camils back" and Hangklip had the appearance of a gun quoin.

Palliser's ship was still in the Cape roadstead when Boscawen arrived on 7 January 1750 with his flag on the *Exeter* fourth rate commanded by Harry Powlett, later Duke of Bolton, who was to be involved in charges and counter-charges over Griffin's conduct in the Indian Ocean. Powlett, parliamentarian, vice admiral and governor of the Isle of Wight, came to be known as "Captain Sternpost", an unflattering nickname gained for his failure to rejoin Hawke's squadron in 1755 when in command of the *Barfleur* on the excuse that damage to that member inhibited the sailing qualities of his ship.

Boscawen's squadron, with some command changes since the units had first served in the east, straggled in between 7 and 16 January, carrying with it

men of the military contingent the admiral had brought out with him. Entering Table Bay with the *Exeter* were the *Harwich*, now commanded by Richard Tiddeman, who drowned at Manila in 1762, the *Basilisk* bomb-ketch under the command of Andrew Cockburn and the 40 gun *Eltham*, to which Lloyd had been promoted.

Tiddeman had some difficulty in anchoring and fired distress signals as his ship drifted towards the shore. He was, however, able to avert the danger. Lake of the *Deptford* also arrived with the first ships, but could not enter the bay immediately. On 10 January Spry sailed in with the *Chester*, accompanied by Quallet of the *Young Eagle* and Timothy Nucella of the 60 gun *York*. Preston, now in command of the *Deal Castle*, did not reach the roadstead until 16 January. Sickness and death again marked the arrival of the squadron and there were also further changes in command. Nucella, who had been wounded in the head in a duel fought in the east in which he had killed his marine officer opponent, had to resign his command at the Cape to Cockburn of the *Basilisk*. He was not fit enough to continue his homeward voyage until early May, when he embarked on Fowler's London company ship the *Duke of Newcastle*. James Gilchrist took over from Cockburn on the bomb-ketch. The two London East Indiamen in port with the British squadron, the *Chesterfield* and the *Durrington*, were also in bad shape. The former, with few men able to stand, had to be assisted to an anchorage by the naval vessels and the *Sheerness* helped to make up her crew.

Grant, the Scottish lieutenant in the Boscawen expedition, evidently disappointed in his hopes of wealth from his visit to India, was again at the Cape in the *Eltham* of the returning naval force. This gave him the opportunity of adding to his first impressions. He found the local population very sociable by nature and was impressed by the fluency in English of many of them. His comments on the indigenous peoples, described by him as "Hontentotes", are of a kind with earlier descriptions. They wore animal skins, he states, "the Gutts of which they wrapt round them, and when dry eat by way (of) provisions". One among them was "of monstrous Size, about seven foot nine Inches (2,36m.) high and thick in proportion". This would seem to have been pure invention, but Grant adds that "If I had this monstrous Hontentote in England I would soon make (up for) the India misfortunes by make(e)ing a fortune of him".

The *Sheerness* left with the *Durrington* on 28 January and the main naval force sailed a week later, leaving the *Chesterfield* to follow before the end of February. These were the British vessels which helped in the repatriation of the survivors of the wrecked French company ship the *Centaure*. Soon after sailing Boscawen told Tiddeman of the *Harwich* to make for Ascension Island from St Helena where he might expect to meet the *Sheerness*, collecting turtles. Lloyd of the *Eltham* carried despatches to Lisbon and from

there undertook convoy duty to protect merchantmen from a threatened attack by Barbary pirates. The *Harwich* had insufficient medical supplies at the Cape for the long voyage home and her store of them had to be replenished. The ship carried a nurse, Hannah Giles, who had been signed on in India in October 1749 and was discharged at Portsmouth. The *York* had been fortunate to escape serious damage when lying in Table Bay. A fire took hold in one of the beams of the fo'c'sle deck, but was luckily soon extinguished. Boscawen retained a link with the Dutch settlement. A flock of Cape sheep grazed on his Surrey acres and Constantia wine was stored in his cellars.

It was not until the end of December 1751 that more British warships appeared at the Cape. These were the four vessels of William Lisle's squadron returning from Bombay where they had been engaged in operations against Maratha pirates off the coast. The first ship to enter Table Bay, Knight's *Ruby*, anchored on Christmas Day. She and her consorts had visited Madagascar before sailing to the Cape and soon after leaving the island towards the end of November the *Ruby* had been dismasted in a storm. Lisle arrived in the *Vigilant* on the following day, but it was not until 28 January 1752 that Brett of the *Tartar* and William Mantell of the little *Syren* joined the larger vessels. Lisle was escorted to the town house of the new governor, Tulbagh, but he was in poor health and was taken to the hot springs in Hottentots Holland (Caledon) to recuperate. His condition deteriorated, however, and he died on the night of 1 February 1752 at the farm of the widow Catharina Pasman. Lisle's body was brought back to Jan de Wit's house in the settlement and on 5 February he was buried with full honours in the Dutch Reformed church, the chief surgeon of the *Vigilant* reading the Anglican burial service. The mourners included the governor and members of the councils of policy and of justice, the officers of the naval ships and the victualling agent Alexander Macpherson, and Gabriël Keijser of the outward-bound *Bevallingheid*, the Dutch commodore, who carried Lisle's escutcheon. Guns fired from the ships and from the shore, and flags hung at half-mast.

William Lisle was not the only fatality on the British ships and the sick were so numerous that a tented hospital had to be erected on the shore. One death at least was the result of an accident. Valentine Hardgrove of the *Tartar* fell from the fo'c'sle and was drowned in the bay. On the afternoon of 26 February the squadron weighed and stood for the open sea, the *Vigilant* under her new captain John Rowzier, formerly of the *Swallow* sloop. There were no salutes, doubtless an echo of Boscawen's recent instruction to ignore them at Dutch ports.

The war was over, the warships were returning, but the seeds of another conflict had already been sown. The old easy-going relationships among

foreigners in the Far East were harder now to establish and the fighting at Canton between French and British sailors in 1754 was more than a trivial quarrel over rights to recreational zones, but also a reflection of Anglo-French hostility at national level. The comments of commanders of London East Indiamen at the Cape reveal a growing uneasiness at this period. William Wilson of the *Suffolk*, writing home from the colony in March 1753 on a voyage to China, noted that there were five French vessels in Table Bay. They were "all outwd bound and full of Soldiers, artificers and women (and) they say they have 22 Ships out this year the least carry 150 Passengers; they say likewise there is six Ships of war com(e)ing Out some of which Carry 70 Guns. The Dutch are apprehensive they intend to make a settlement at Celone (Ceylon)". Here was a build-up of forces in the Mascarenes and India, using the China ships the *Auguste*, commanded by Jean Christy de la Pallière of Saint-Malo, and Sanguinet's *Puisieux*, together with those bound for the Indies: the *Maurepas* of Buisson de la Vigne, the *Silhouette*, commanded by Deschiens de Raucourt, and the *Duc de Parme*, under Ladvoat de la Crochais of Dinan.

Purling of the *Sandwich* found three French ships in Table Bay when he returned from Bombay early in 1755: Tripier de Barmont's *Gange*, bound for Pondicherry and Bengal, the *Duc de Penthievre*, sailing to the former port under Estoupan de Villeneuve, and the China ship the *Duc de Chartres*, commanded by Gaultier de la Palissade. The first two were carrying a large number of military recruits to the Coromandel coast, although Purling was told by French officers that all was peaceful in Europe "and that great hopes were entertain'd that Affairs between the two Company's in the East Indies, wou'd be very shortly Amicably accommodated". The British commander had come into the roadstead with Haldane of the *Prince Edward* not only to provision ship, but also to find out what the political situation then was. The French reply does not seem to have reassured him for when he sailed on 22 February he noticed that two of the French vessels were following him out of the bay. He therefore "turn'd all hands to and made a Clean ship, not knowing what their designs might be".

Purling's apprehension was not ill-founded. Britain too was building up her forces and in 1754 the 39th Foot was transferred from Ireland to Madras, the first regular army unit from the United Kingdom to serve in India. In June 1755 Boscawen opened the naval war with an action off Newfoundland. This hostile act in time of peace was a prelude to Britain's declaration of war on France on 17 May 1756. With this the real struggle for mastery in North America, in the Indies and on the high seas began in earnest. The Seven Years' War was to be a British triumph.

Conclusion

1755 was in many ways a watershed in the history of European expansion round the Cape to the Far East. It saw new developments in monopoly trade, and the inauguration of a period of a considerably increased volume of shipping in South African waters. The Asian world too was on the threshold of a war which would change the relative strengths of the major trading nations.

Of these the Danes remained much the least significant, despite the marked increase in the number of ships from the Sound which continued to find the Cape of Good Hope a convenient intermediate port of call. In the latter years of the 18th century Denmark shared in the great upsurge in the tonnage of foreign shipping at the Cape. In 1783 alone there were 26 Danish callers, more than in the entire period of Swellengrebel's governorship from 1739 to 1751. An even clearer perspective may be gained by comparing figures over longer periods. There were, for example, more Danish ships at the Cape in the years 1781-1789 than in the entire first three-quarters of the 18th century.

The expansion of the holdings of the Danish Asiatic Company on the eve of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War was maintained in the next two decades. In 1763 a factory was established at Balasore in Orissa and nine years later another was obtained at Patna in Bihar. Danish establishments in India became increasingly expensive to administer, however, and the Asiatic Company came to rely for its profits on the returns from the lucrative China trade. Canton became the destination of the majority of ships despatched from Copenhagen and in 1772 the company relinquished its monopoly of Indian commerce, turning its colonies over a few years later

to royal control. The Asiatic Company enjoyed handsome profits while Denmark remained neutral in international conflicts, but the Anglo-Danish war of 1807-1814 saw a rapid deterioration in the company's position from which it never recovered. Tranquebar and Serampore, first occupied by Britain in the brief conflict of 1801, were again in British hands from 1808 until they were evacuated in 1815. The Asiatic Company was wound up in the following decade, years which were also marked by the approaching end of Danish colonial rule in the Indies. By 1824 the Danes had withdrawn from the Malabar coast, in 1827 Patna was disposed of and in 1845 Tranquebar, Serampore and Balasore were sold to the London company. The colonists were evacuated from the Nicobar Islands in 1848 and twenty years later that Indian Ocean island group came under British control.

As with the Danes, the increase in French shipping at the Cape in the later years of the 18th century was not paralleled by any upsurge in French fortunes in the Indies. The advent of free trade had something to do with this rise in shipping figures; more important were the naval and military considerations which sprang from changed political alignments. Increasingly cordial relations with the Dutch led to a formal alliance in March 1781 during Britain's war with her North American colonies. This brought a French squadron under Suffren de Saint-Tropez to the Cape to defend Dutch interests and during the three years in which France garrisoned the settlement, there were in fact more French vessels at anchor than visiting Dutch ships. The 55 French vessels at the Cape in 1782 approached the full total of French callers there in the years we have discussed in previous chapters. The increase had begun at an earlier date. From 1772 to 1792 there were never fewer than twenty French visitors in port annually and from 1781 until 1790 they were the most numerous of the foreign callers in each year.

Britain's success in the Seven Years' War permanently shattered French dreams of empire in the Indian sub-continent and contributed to the eclipse of the Company of the Indies. Between 1766 and 1770 the French colonies were handed over to royal administration, the company's monopoly was abolished in August 1769 and liquidation proceedings were begun in the following year. A new company was, however, founded by the minister Calonne in 1785, but without control of the colonial dependencies. The French Revolution brought it to a speedy end. Its monopoly was abolished in 1790 and it was suppressed by decree in October 1793. The liquidation of both companies was not completed until 1875. The drain on resources caused by the French effort in the Seven Years' War was not the only reason for the failure of the older company. Maladministration and the expenses of government played a part; so too did the relative neglect of the China trade and the pressures against monopoly rights.

Although the French took Fort St David and invested Madras in the Seven Years' War their own territorial losses were considerable, including the

capture of the major centres, Chandernagore and Pondicherry. The settlements in India were restored at the end of the conflict in 1763, but French political power was greatly reduced. British supremacy was so firmly established that the French possessions of the sub-continent were easily overrun by Britain in the war of 1778-1783 and again in those which followed the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon I. On each occasion they were returned to their former rulers when hostilities ceased. French colonies on the sea routes also fell to the British. The Seychelles were first successfully attacked in 1794 and were finally taken over when the French island bases in the Mascarenes fell in 1810. Of all these, only Réunion - the former Bourbon - was handed back to France, although the French tradition survives in the others.

Later French expansion east of the Cape of Good Hope from Madagascar to Indo-China forms part of the general European drive for empire in the 19th century and with the passing of the age of imperialism little remains to France of the colonial past. Of the settlements of the Company of the Indies Réunion alone provides a link with our period; the surviving French territories of the Indian sub-continent - Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Karikal, Yanam and Mahé - were ceded to an independent India in 1952 and 1954.

The minor companies of Sweden, Prussia and Austria which traded round the Cape in the later 18th century made no lasting impact on the Asian scene and the last vestiges of Portugal's eastern empire of old, Macau apart, were engulfed by the rising tide of nationalism after World War II. The legacy of the great Dutch commercial monopoly to the Kingdom of the Netherlands has also passed from the political map. The Dutch East India Company endured in its federal and oligarchical form until the era of the Batavian Republic, although its profits had long been declining. It was nationalized by decree in December 1795, dragging out a tenous existence under a new constitutional dispensation into the first years of the 19th century.

No serious inroads were made into the vast territorial holdings of the Dutch before 1795, although political power was lost in Bengal during the Seven Years' War and Nagappattinam on the Coromandel coast fell to Britain during Dutch involvement in the War of American Independence. The association of the Netherlands with France in the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, however, occasioned disastrous losses. Both Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope were taken by Britain in 1795, the former to remain in British hands and the latter to revert to Dutch rule from February 1803 until January 1806, when the British returned permanently. Nor did the Indonesian empire remain inviolate. There were British gains in the Moluccas, in Malaysia and elsewhere, culminating in the surrender of Batavia in 1811 and the occupation of Java.

Dutch hegemony in Indonesia was restored in 1814 and was made more compact by the treaty with Britain of 1824 which provided for the cession to

he Netherlands of the old trading post of Bengkulu on Sumatra in exchange for the firm establishment of British power in Malaysia, including Singapore. The Dutch East Indies survived Japanese occupation in World War II but succumbed to the new spirit of nationalism aroused during the years of global conflict. Sovereignty was transferred to the Republic of Indonesia in 1949 and the last Dutch possession in the region, the western portion of the island of New Guinea, was incorporated into the new state in 1963, after a brief period of administration under United Nations auspices. The old empire of the Dutch East India Company has disappeared, but nowhere is the heritage stronger than in the present Republic of South Africa, embracing the former Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope.

Britain's imperial tradition survives only in the Commonwealth link and in the cultural and linguistic imprint left by those who forged the chain of empire. Of the settlements of the East India Company in the middle years of the 18th century only St Helena remains as a colonial appendage. It was Britain, however, which emerged as the most powerful force in the east during the 19th century. Already by 1763 the London company had become much more than a trading corporation and was actively involved in the extension of political control. Its independence in this field was first curbed by the Regulating Act of 1773 which introduced a measure of government supervision from Britain and also raised the status of the governor of Bengal to that of governor general of India, to whom the governors of Madras and Bombay were subordinate. By the India Act of 1784 the company's powers were further restricted and a department in London was created to handle Indian affairs. The governor generalship became a ministerial appointment with enhanced prestige. After 1793 the East India Company no longer had a complete monopoly of Indian trade and in 1813 commerce with the region was thrown open altogether. The China tea trade remained a company monopoly until 1834, in which year the charter was renewed on the undertaking that the East India Company would withdraw entirely from commerce and concentrate its energies on administration. At the same time St Helena became a crown colony.

There followed a period of aggressive imperialism, in part dictated by fear of Russian command of the land approaches to the sub-continent. In addition coaling stations were obtained for the use of ships in the age of steam and a tight hold was taken of Burma across the Bay of Bengal. The company's charter was renewed in 1854, but the Indian Mutiny of 1857 led directly to the assumption of full jurisdiction over Indian affairs by the British government. The East India Company was relieved of its remaining possessions, its military forces and its administrative functions. Its marine, the Indian Navy, was disbanded in 1863 and its charter finally expired on 1 June 1874, never to be revived. The subsequent history of India merges with that of the full flowering of late Victorian British imperialism; the granting of

independence within the Commonwealth to India and Pakistan in 1947 marked the beginning of the end of empire.

Modern imperialism and the nationalist back-lash are the products of forces set in motion by the early drive for commercial advantage and this account of foreign contacts with the Cape as the 18th century advanced looks back at one stage in a developing process from the vantage-ground of a convenient half-way house. It is, however, more than an unfinished chapter of history. It is a narrative of people of many races, of hardships endured and perils confronted on the tall ships which sailed the southern oceans. These voyagers were the agents of European expansion and often enough its hostages, and most of them made no lasting imprint on the history of the times. Their experiences, however, are none the less worthy of record. They helped moreover to bring the Cape into the mainstream of great events, contributed to its emergent social patterns and gave the little port on Table Bay its unique and abiding variety.

List of sources

This is not a comprehensive bibliography, but is designed to give some idea of the sources on which this study is based and to provide a useful guide for those who may wish to explore the subject further.

1. GENERAL

The major archival source for the period is the material, much of it on microfilm, housed in the Cape Archives, Cape Town. Basic documents are to be found in the C series (Archives of the Council of Policy, 1652-1795). In a few instances the numbers cited differ from those now used to designate certain documents and reflect the classification applicable when the material was placed on film. Of particular importance are the following: C 25 - 49, Resolutiën, 1730-1757; C 135-160, Bijlagen, 1734-1760; C 235-255, Requesten, 1729-1756; C 351-374, Attestatiën, 1734-1757; C 443-454, Inkomende brieven, 1732-1755; C 484-489, Inkomende secrete en particuliere brieven, 1730-1779; C 521-540, Uitgaande brieven, 1734-1755; C 576-580, Uitgaande secrete brieven, 1748-1775; C 609-629, Dag register, 1731-1759.

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2. DENMARK

For documentary material see Asiatick Kompagni, 197-199, Journaler og indkomne breve, Tranquebar, 1739-1756; 646-647, Rullebøger, 1723-1765; 663-674; 884-901, Skibsprotokoller, 1739-1756; 1353-1356, Kopibøger over indkomne breve, 1735-1758; 1413-1414, Kopibøger med tilhørende sager, Tranquebar, 1739-1760; 1430, Dokumenter til rådets indgående brevbøger, 1752-1760; Vestindisk-guineisk Kompagni, 218, Dokumenter vedk. Charles Barringtons ekspedition til Madagascar, 1737-1742; 219-222, Charles Barringtons med Grevinden af Laurvigens hjemførte arkiv, I-IV, c. 1725-1738; 223, Diverse angående kompagniets skibe, 1682-1754 (Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen). The three volumes compiled by Kay Larsen, *Dansk-Ostindiske personalia og data* (1912) in R 313, Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, are informative.

Ole Feldbæk's contribution to O. Feldbæk and O. Justesen, *Kolonierne i Asien og Afrika*, Danmarks Historie - uden for Danmark, I (Copenhagen, 1980), provides an excellent survey of Denmark's contact with the east. Other important general studies are those by Kay Larsen, *De dansk-ostindiske koloniers historie* (2v., Copenhagen, 1907; 1908), Kamma Struwe, *Dansk*

Ostindien 1732-1776; Tranquebar under kompagnistyre, Vore gamle Tropekolonier, 6 (Copenhagen, 1967) and the articles by Kristof Glamann, 'Studie i Asiatic Kompagnis økonomiske historie 1732-1772', *Historisk Tidsskrift* (XI, 2, 1947-49, 351-404), and 'The Danish Asiatic Company, 1732-1772', *The Scandinavian Economic History Review* (VIII, 2, 1960, 109-149). See also C. de Lannoy and H. van der Linden, *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens: Néerlande et Danemark (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)* (Brussels, 1911).

The China voyages have recently been the subject of important articles by Erik Gøbel. His 'Asiatic Kompagnis Kinafarter 1732-1772; sejlruiter og sejltider', *Handels- og Søfartsmuseets Årbog* (1978, 7-46) and 'Sygdom og død under hundrede års Kinafart' in the same journal (1979, 75-130) include useful statistical appendices. Gøbel has also published 'The Danish Asiatic Company's voyages to China, 1732-1833', *The Scandinavian Economic History Review* (XXVII, 1, 1979, 1-25). On the wreck of the ship *Elefanten* see C.L. Tuxen, 'Et blad af Dansk-Asiatic Kompagnis historie', *Museum* (V, 2, 1894, 23-40), and on the voyages and shipwreck of *Kronprinsessen af Dannemark* two articles by G. Nørregård in *Handels- og Søfartsmuseets Årbog* should be consulted: 'Storm over Kap' (1962, 85-128) and 'Justits om board på et kompagniskib' (1963, 57-72). Another mishap to a Danish vessel is discussed in M. Boucher, 'The voyage of *Kongen af Dannemark*, 1742-1746', *Africana Notes and News* (XXIII, 4, 1978, 149-154). The expedition of the slaver *Grevinden af Laurvig* is the subject of an article by G. Nørregård, 'Pa slavetogt til Madagascar 1737-1739', *Handels- og Søfartsmuseets Årbog* (1955, 20-48). A transcript of the Cape section of the British supercargo's journal on this voyage is in M. Boucher, 'An unexpected visitor: Charles Barrington at the Cape in 1737', *South African Historical Journal* (13, 1981, 20-35).

3. FRANCE

Documents consulted in the Archives nationales, Paris, were the following: Archives des Colonies, C² 288-289, Officiers des vaisseaux de la Compagnie des Indes, 1720 (1699) - 1774; Archives de la Marine, 4JJ 74-78, 86, 90-92, 99-103, 115-119, 130-134, 142 and 144, Voyages, 1666-1846. In the Archives de l'Arrondissement maritime de Lorient (Morbihan) there is a considerable documentation on the ships of the company, including for the period 1735-1755 the series IP 174-193, Rôles d'Equipage, 1735-1755, IP 209-218, Armements, 1746-1755 and IP 228-235, Désarmements, 1746-1759. Other holdings include IP 129-144, Pièces relatives aux vaisseaux, 1735-1755, IP 278-280, Correspondance, 1720-1761, IP 303, liasse 65, Officiers de la compagnie, 1720-1768 and IP 308, liasse 78, Dossiers divers, 1717-An II. For the paying off of ships see also 2P 28-37, Désarmements, 1739-1757. The first inventory of the company holdings at Lorient by A. Legrand,

Inventaire des archives de la Compagnie des Indes', *Bulletin de la Section de Géographie, Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* (XXVIII, 1-2, 913, 160-251), is a mine of information on voyages of the period. I am indebted to the archivist at Lorient, M. René Estienne, for further assistance since my visit there. Published sources include A. Martineau, ed., *Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry et de la compagnie*, III and IV (2v., Pondicherry and Paris, n.d.).

For general surveys of the Company of the Indies see H. Weber, *La Compagnie française des Indes (1604-1875)* (Paris, 1904) and R. Pommepuy, *Les compagnies privilégiées de commerce de 1715 à 1770* (Bordeaux, 1922). W.H. Dalgliesh, *The Company of the Indies in the days of Dupleix* (Easton, 1933), discusses a more limited period. On Dupleix and La Bourdonnais consult the works cited in section 6. A. Toussaint, *Histoire des Iles Mascareignes* (Paris, 1972) is useful for the Indian Ocean possessions. On the merchant Poivre see H. Cordier, 'Voyages de Pierre Poivre de 1748 jusqu'à 1757', *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies françaises* (VI, 1, 1918, 5-88). Bouvet de Lozier's explorations are in C. de Brosses, *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes*, 2, *Bibliotheca Australiana*, 2 (reprint, Amsterdam, etc., 1967). See also E. Fabre, *Les Bouvet: voyages et combats; récits historiques et biographiques* (Paris, 1869). Jesuit missionaries to China are listed in J. Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I.*, XXXVII (Rome and Paris, 1973).

On the Breton ports consult the following: H.F. Buffet, *Vie et société au Port-Louis des origines à Napoléon III* (Rennes, 1972); R. Lepotier, *Lorient porte des Indes* (Paris, 1970); F.G.P. Manet, *Biographie des Malouins célèbres* (reprint, Marseilles, 1977); G. Martin, *Nantes et la Compagnie des Indes (1664-1769)* (Paris, 1926).

One of the most distinguished French visitors to the Cape in the period was the astronomer La Caille, whose *Journal historique du voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance* (1st ed., Paris, 1763) provides us with much information on the settlement. An annotated and abridged translation, with interpolated passages from the *Mémoires* of the French Royal Academy of Science was published by R. Raven-Hart under the title *Nicolas Louis de la Caille: Travels at the Cape 1751-53* (Cape Town and Amsterdam, 1976). On the coastal voyage of the *Treize-Cantons* and the *Nécessaire* in 1752 see V.S. Forbes, 'The French landing at Algoa Bay, 1752', *Africana Notes and News* (XVI, 1, 1964, 3-19), and for the development of a French agency at the Cape, F. Rakotoniaina's unpublished study, 'Les Français et le Cap de Bonne-Espérance (fin du XVIII^e siècle)' (doctoral thesis, Ecole des Chartes, Paris, 1968), is useful. For the French at the settlement to 1752 consult also M. Boucher, *French speakers at the Cape*, cited in section 1.

4. Britain

The most important material on the voyages of British merchantmen round the Cape in this period is to be found in the series L/MAR, India Office, Marine Records (British Library, India Office Library and Records, London). This includes a valuable collection of ships' logs, used extensively in this study. Other series in the same archives are E/1/33-35, Miscellaneous letters received, 1745-1751, and G/12/47-57, Factory records, China and Japan, 1739-1753. The shipping papers of Samuel Braund in the Essex Record Office, Chelmsford, are also of significance on Cape visitors. Documents of particular interest are D/DRU B15, f. 2, Expenses at the Cape of the *Boscawen*, 1753, and D/DRU B20, ff. 8; 27-31, Letter book, 1750-1753.

Published documents include the following: C.R. Wilson, *Old Fort William in Bengal; a selection of official documents dealing with its history* (2v., London, 1906), and Records of Fort St George, *Despatches from England* (1734-1755), 39-58 (Madras, 1931-1965); *Despatches to England* (1733-1751), 10-18 (Madras, 1931-1932); *Letters from Fort St George* (1739-1754), XXIII-XXX (Madras, 1931-1940); *Letters to Fort St George* (1739-1745), XXIV-XXIX (Madras, 1932); *Anjengo consultations* (1744-1750) (3v., Madras, 1935-1936).

An excellent general survey, with a useful statistical appendix on ships and voyages, is the volume by Jean Sutton, *Lords of the east; the East India Company and its ships* (London, 1981). Other books in this field include those by E.K. Chatterton, *The old East Indiamen* (1st imp., London, 1933), E. Cotton, *East Indiamen; the East India Company's maritime service*, ed. by C. Fawcett (London, 1949), W. Foster, *John Company* (London, 1926), and B. Gardner, *The East India Company; a history* (London, 1971). Important in more specialized areas are L.S. Sutherland's two volumes, *The East India Company in eighteenth-century politics* (Oxford, 1952) and a study on William Braund, *A London merchant 1695-1774* (London, 1933).

K.N. Chaudhuri's work, *The trading world of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760* (Cambridge, etc. 1978), is a comprehensive analysis of company commerce. On the China trade see H.B. Morse, *The chronicles of the East India Company trading to China 1635-1834*, I and V (Oxford, 1926; 1929), and E.H. Pritchard, 'Private trade between England and China in the eighteenth century (1680-1833)', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (I, 1958, 108-137; 221-256).

On British society in the east, D. Kincaid, *British social life in India, 1608-1937* (2nd ed., London and Boston, 1973), is the entertaining source of the Elizabeth Mansell story. Volumes on the specific centres of company control in India include Holden Furber, *Bombay presidency in the mid-eighteenth*

century (London, 1965), H.D. Love, *Vestiges of old Madras 1640-1800* (3v. and index, London, 1913), and P.J. Marshall, *East India fortunes; the British in Bengal in the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1976). The wreck of the *Doddington* and recent salvage work are discussed in G. and D. Allen, *Clive's lost treasure* (London, 1978).

5. Netherlands

In addition to the material cited in section 1, the following documents in the Cape Archives, Cape Town, refer to aspects of the subject-matter of the chapter on Dutch foreign contacts: C 661-662, Scheeps- en andere journalen, 1707-1770; C 798-799, Gemengd, slaven, bannelingen, enz., 1714-1796; CJ 2562-2568, Vonnissen, bannelingen, 1722-1789; CJ 3180; 3182-3183, Scheeps-consumptie, 1708-1752; CJ 3186; 3188; 3190, Bandieten en bannelingen, 1722-1795; MOOC 3/9-3/12, Inkomende brieven, 1737-1763; MOOC 4/3, Uitgaande brieven, 1738-1757; MOOC 14/7-14/64, Boedelrekeningen, bijlagen, 1738-1785; VC 42-44, Monsterrollen, 1727-1758.

On Dutch trade and empire generally see C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch seaborne empire 1600-1800* (London, 1965), the same author's *Jan Compagnie in war and peace, 1602-1799; a short history of the Dutch East India Company* (Kowloon, 1979), F.S. Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC* (Haarlem and Antwerp, 1982) and the volume by C. de Lannoy and H. van der Linden, *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale*, cited in section 2. Studies on ships and the sea include G. Asaert *et al.*, eds, *Maritieme geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 3 (Bussum, 1977) and J.R. Bruijn's contributions, 'De personeelsbehoefte van de VOC overzee en aan bord, bezien in Aziatisch en Nederlands perspectief', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (91, 2, 1976, 218-248) and 'Between Batavia and the Cape; shipping patterns of the Dutch East India Company', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (XI, 2, 1980, 251-261 and tables). On trade in the east see Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade 1620-1740* (Copenhagen and The Hague, 1958) and M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofz *et al.*, *De VOC in Azië* (Bussum, 1976).

Three contributions on shipboard conditions are of importance: M. Boucher, 'The Cape passage; some observations on health hazards aboard Dutch East Indiamen outward-bound', *Historia* (26, 1, 1981, 24-36), C.R. Boxer, 'The Dutch East Indiamen; their sailors, their navigators, and life on board, 1602-1795', *The Mariner's Mirror* (49, 2, 1963, 81-104), and J.R. Bruijn and J. Lucassen, eds, *Op de schepen der Oost-Indische Compagnie; vijf artikelen van J. de Hullu ingeleid, bewerkt en voorzien van een studie over de werkgelegenheid bij de VOC*, *Historische Studies*, XLI (Groningen, 1980). For the Cape calls of Dutch East Indiamen, their captains and other details of the voyages enumerated see J.R. Bruijn *et al.*, eds, *Dutch-Asiatic shipping*

in the 17th and 18th centuries, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote serie, 166 and 167, II and III (The Hague, 1979).

For Dutch free trade ideas consult J. Hovy, *Het voorstel van 1751 tot instelling van een beperkt vrijhavenstelsel in de republiek*, Historische Studies, XXI (Groningen, 1966), and M. Boucher, 'Dutch commerce and Cape trade in mid-18th century', *Kleio* (XII, 1-2, 1980, 14-17). The lines by an English visitor to the Cape are in A.M. Lewin Robinson, 'From Afric's lonely shore; verse from the Cape in 1736', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* (34, 3, 1980, 80-87). The poem was later plagiarized and the original writer remains unknown.

A French translation of the report on the *Brak's* voyage of 1741 to purchase slaves on Madagascar is in A. and G. Grandidier, eds, *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, VI (Paris, 1913). For the expedition of the following year see M. Boucher, 'The voyage of a Cape slaver in 1742', *Historia* (24, 1, 1979, 50-58). On slavery at the Cape see V. de Kock, *Those in bondage; an account of the life of the slave at the Cape in the days of the Dutch East India Company* (2nd ed., Pretoria, 1963) and R. Ross, *Cape of torments; slavery and resistance in South Africa* (London, etc., 1983).

6. The war years

Of particular interest regarding the calls of British warships at the Cape and the campaigns waged in the Indian Ocean are Adm. 1/160, Admirals' letters, East Indies, 1744-1839 (for Griffin and Boscawen), and Adm. 51, Captains' logs (Public Record Office, London). Other pertinent collections include Ms. 37/9221, Richard Tiddeman papers (National Maritime Museum, London), HA 67: 461/228, Albemarle Mss. I, 1: Naval papers of Admiral Viscount Augustus Keppel; log of Anson's voyage, 1740-1744 (Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich branch), and GD 248/413, Seafield Muniments: Journal of Lieutenant John Grant during the East India expedition under Admiral Boscawen, 1748-50 (Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh). I am indebted to Prof. C.F.J. Muller for further information on the Boscawen expedition.

The best general history from the British angle is H.W. Richmond, *The navy in the war of 1739-48* (3v., Cambridge, 1920). There is also considerable detail in R. Beatson, *Naval and military memoirs of Great Britain from 1727 to 1783*, I and III (reprint, Boston, 1972) and in J. Campbell, *Naval history of Great Britain, including the history and lives of the British admirals* (8v., London, 1813). George Anson's own volume, *A voyage round the world in the years 1740-4*, compiled by Richard Walter, chaplain on the *Centurion*, Everyman's Library, 510 (London and New York, n.d.), is not the last word on the famous circumnavigation. Other works consulted include Pascoe Thomas, *A true and impartial journal* (London, 1745), L. Heaps, *Log of the*

Centurion based on the original papers of Captain Philip Saumarez (London, 1973), Boyle Somerville, *Commodore Anson's voyage into the South Seas and around the world* (London and Toronto, 1934), L.A. Wilcox, *Anson's voyage* (London, 1969) and G. Williams, ed., *Documents relating to Anson's voyage round the world 1740-1744*, Navy Records Society, 109 (London, 1967). On the Royal Navy see also D.A. Baugh, *British naval administration in the age of Walpole* (Princeton, 1965).

For French naval action consult G. Lacour-Gayet, *La marine militaire de la France sous le règne de Louis XV* (2nd ed., Paris, 1910). There are several important works on Dupleix, of which the most exhaustive is that by A. Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde française* (4v., Paris, 1920-1928). See also P. Cultru, *Dupleix: ses plans politiques, sa disgrâce; étude d'histoire coloniale* (Paris, 1901), and the biography of his wife by Y. Robert Gaebelé, *Créole et grande dame; Johanna Bégum, Marquise Dupleix (1706-1756)* (Pondicherry and Paris, 1934). For La Bourdonnais, P. Crepin, *Mahé de la Bourdonnais; gouverneur général des Iles de France et de Bourbon (1699-1753)* (Paris, 1922) should be consulted. Works on Dupleix's British adversary include R. Garrett, *Robert Clive* (London, 1976).

On Anglo-Dutch relations see P. Geyl, *Willem IV en Engeland tot 1748 (Vrede van Aken)* (The Hague, 1924). Van Imhoff's links with the British in the practical instruction of Dutch sea officers are discussed in F. de Haan, 'De „Academie de Marine" te Batavia 1743-1755', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (XXXVIII, 1895, 551-617). For the Dutch governor general's attempts to forge commercial ties with the Spanish colonial empire in the Americas see A.K.A. Gijsberti Rodenpjl, 'De mislukte pogingen van G.G. van Imhoff tot het aanknoopen van handelsbetrekkingen met Spaansch-Amerika in 1745 en 1746', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (73, 1917, 502-557). An article by W. Ph. Coolhaas in the same journal, 'Zijn de Gouverneurs-Generaal van Imhoff en Mossel juist beoordeeld?' (114, 1958, 29-54), examines the Dutch position in an age of French and British expansion.

The Cape and international warfare in the company period is the subject of G.A. le Roux's unpublished study, 'Europese oorloë en die Kaap (1652-1795)' (M.A. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 1941). On defence see P.E. Roux, *Die verdedigingstelsel aan die Kaap onder die Hollands-Oosindiese Kompanjie, (1652-1759 (sic))* (Stellenbosch, 1925), and his unpublished work, 'Die geskiedenis van die burger-kommando's in die Kaapkolonie, 1652-1878' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1946). J. Burman, *The bay of storms*, cited in section 1, also contains information on the Cape defences. For Van Imhoff's comments on the problem see *The Reports of Chavonnes and his council, and of Van Imhoff, on the Cape. With incidental correspondence*, Van Riebeeck Society, 1st series, 1 (Cape Town, 1918).

Episodes at the Cape are discussed in M. Boucher, 'Privateers at the Cape in 1744 and 1747: incidents and implications', *Historia* (28, 2, 1983, 6-13).

Index to foreign callers, 1735–1755

This is not a complete listing, but enumerates only the voyages of foreign vessels mentioned in the text. Unless otherwise stated vessels were owned by the various national companies trading with the Indies and China, or sailed in their service. Abbreviations: A, Angola trade; Coy desp., Company despatch ship; N, Naval vessel; P, Privateer; Port., Portuguese; W, Wrecked on Cape coast; WIG, West India and Guinea Company. The figure 2 indicates a new ship in the same service.

Ship	Nationality	Year	Captain/Commander	Page
<i>Achille</i>	French	1750	E. Lobry	50
		1753	A. Lévesque de Beaubriand	50
<i>Admiral Vernon</i>	British	1741, 1743, 1745	B. Webster	64, 78, 84, 86, 121–122
		1748	E. Cooke	134
		1747	Gervais de la Mabonnays	130–132
<i>Anglesey</i> (P)	French	1747	R. Wilson	133–135, 137, 140
<i>Apollo</i> (N)	British	1748	Baudran de la Mettrie	130–132
<i>Apollon</i> (P)	French	1743	L. Aubin du Plessis	52, 120
<i>Argonaute</i>	French	1743	A. Townshend	23, 59, 118, 119
<i>Augusta</i>	British	1743 1747	T. Parker	59
<i>Auguste</i>	French	1753	J. Christy de la Pallièrre	143
<i>Baleine</i>	French	1750	L. Béard du Dézert	48, 51
<i>Basilisk</i> (N)	British	1748	W. Preston	124, 133, 136, 137
		1750	A. Cockburn; J. Gilchrist	141

Ship	Nationality	Year	Captain/Commander	Page
<i>Beaufort</i>	British	1736	R. Boulton	90
		1742	T. Stevens	65, 76
<i>Bedford</i>	British	1742	W. Wells	63, 76, 91
<i>Benjamin</i>	British	1743, 1744,	B. Way	64, 65, 71–
		1745–46		72, 78, 80, 83, 86
<i>Bombay Castle</i>	British	1746–47,	T. Browne	66, 74, 85,
		1755		130–132
<i>Bornholm (N)</i>	Danish	1752	G. Sivers	27–28
		1754	A.N. le Sage de Fontenay	28–29
<i>Boscawen</i>	British	1751, 1753	B. Braund	12, 61, 64, 66, 80, 81
<i>Caesar</i>	British	1740, 1742	R. Cummings	70, 84
		1745, 1751	M. Court	63, 80–81, 86, 87, 90
<i>Caesar (P)</i>	British	1744	J. Ayres	128
<i>Centaure (W)</i>	French	1750	G. de la Butte-	25, 45–46,
			Frérot	51, 141
<i>Centurion (N)</i>	British	1744	G. Anson	119–120
<i>Chester (N)</i>	British	1748, 1750	R. Spry	133, 136, 141
		1748, 1750,		46, 81, 89, 134, 137, 141
<i>Chesterfield</i>	British	1748, 1750,	E. Carter	46, 81, 89, 134, 137, 141
<i>Christiansborg Slot</i>	Danish	1746	R. Kierulf	19
<i>Clinton</i>	British	1753	J. Nanfan	91
<i>Colchester</i>	British	1741	R. Mickelfield	62, 63–64, 76, 92
		1744	C. Campbell	62
<i>Comte de Toulouse</i>	French	1738	R. Butler de Trovern	37, 38
		1735	J. Morellet	36, 51
<i>Condé</i>	French	1739	T. Herbert de la Portebarré	37, 42–44
		1744	R. Butler de Trovern	44, 51, 127
<i>Dauphin</i>	French	1754	L. de Saint- Médard	44
<i>Deal Castle (N)</i>	British	1748	J. Lloyd	133, 136
<i>Defence</i>	British	1750	W. Preston	141
		1740	T. Coates	115

Ship	Nationality	Year	Captain/Commander	Page
<i>Delawar</i>	British	1748, 1750	W. Steevens	4, 61, 134, 137
		1754	A. Dominicus	92
<i>Deptford (N)</i>	British	1748, 1750	T. Lake	132, 133, 136, 137, 141
<i>Diane</i>	French	1754	T. Rapon de la Placelière	49, 50
		1755-56	J. Kerlero de Rosbo	49, 50
<i>Docqven</i>	Danish	1744, 1749, 1750	P. Nielsen Roed N. Haagensen	17, 25 20
<i>Doddington (W)</i>	British	1748	B. Mason	69
		1754	N. Hutchinson	68, 81
<i>Dolphin</i>	British	1755	J. Samson	67-69
<i>Dragon</i>	British	1746	C. Pigot	68-69, 71
<i>Drake</i>	British	1753	H. Kent	96
<i>Dronning Juliane Maria</i>	Danish	1752	B. Fisher	74, 87-88
		1755	S. Fenger	16
<i>Dronningen af Danmark</i>	Danish	1745	P. Nielsen Roed	19, 20
<i>Dronningen af Danmark (2)</i>	Danish	1749, 1751	J. Werner	19, 25
<i>Duc de Béthune</i>	French	1749	Ackeleye J.-J. de la Chaise	138-139
<i>Duc de Chartres</i>	French	1739	L. Drias	49
<i>Duc de Chartres (2)</i>	French	1755	J. Gaultier de la Palissade	143
<i>Duc d'Orléans</i>	French	1739	J. de la Chesnaye	38
<i>Duc d'Orléans (2)</i>	French	1755	E. Lobry	49, 52, 74
<i>Duc de Parme</i>	French	1751	J.-C. d'Argy de la Châtre	37, 51
		1753	C. Ladvocat de la Crochais	143
<i>Duc de Penthièvre</i>	French	1755	A. Estoupan de Villeneuve	143
<i>Duke</i>	British	1744	T. Hindman	69
<i>Duke of Dorset</i>	British	1742	T. Gilbert	117
<i>Duke of Newcastle</i>	British	1750	F. Fowler	93, 110, 141

Ship	Nationality	Year	Captain/Commander	Page
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<i>East India</i> (Coy desp.)	British	1741	G. Steward	61, 87, 117
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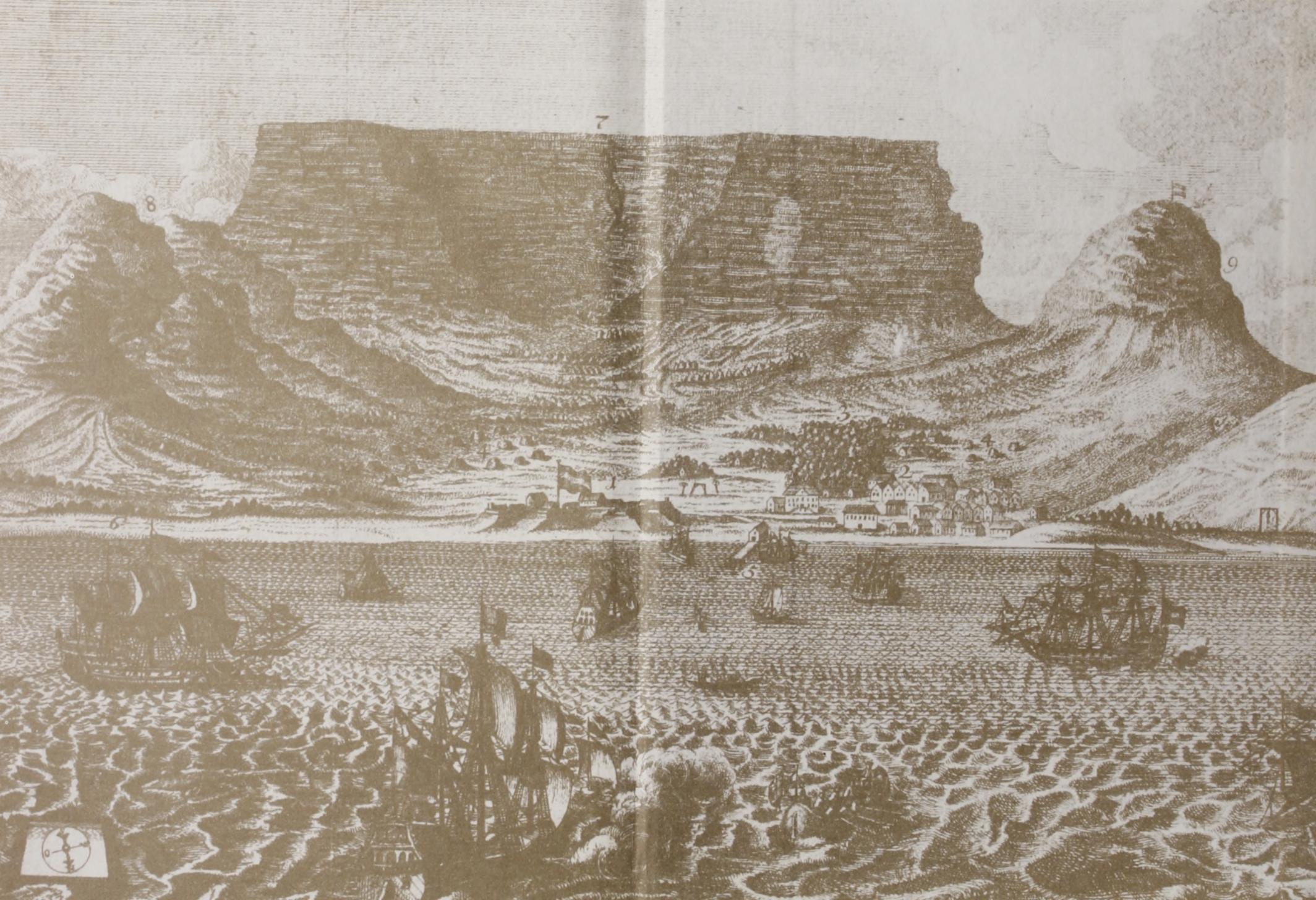
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