## Cape Good Hope 1652-1702

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**bron** R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702*. A.A. Balkema, Kaapstad 1971

Zie voor verantwoording: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/rave028cape01\_01/colofon.php

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**Cape Good Hope Volume One**  I

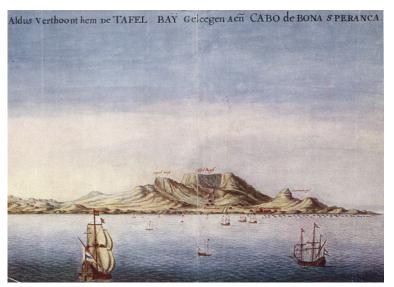


Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope

#### Preface

This book covers the first fifty years of the Dutch colonisation at the Cape, as seen by callers.

During the years while it was in preparation I took the opportunity of having the MS read by various friends. The two most valuable criticisms made of it (in each case by more than one reader) were:

(1) that it would have been preferable to observe the strict chronological order, even at the cost of breaking up the account of any one writer into several sections. This has been done.

(2) that it would have helped readers if some idea had been given of what was going on at the time elsewhere in the world and especially at the Cape. Such a 'background' has been provided here, year by year, in the form of a very brief summary of European history (of course entirely superfluous to the historian - but not all readers are historians), followed by short extracts from official documents such as the Diary ('Dagregister', 'DR') kept at the Cape; Resolutions passed by the 'Council of Policy', the ruling body here; Letters from this to the 'Lords XVII', the Directors of the Honourable Dutch East-India Company in Holland, and *vice versa*; etc. All these are translated directly from the original text: it is a continual surprise to me how modern writers are content to rely on second-hand versions from, e.g., Theal, Leibbrandt, Moodie and even Walker when exceptionally good Archives are available at The Hague and in Cape Town. These extracts are not however intended to form a skeleton history of the Colony, but rather to confirm or contradict statements made by the writers of the items included.

Another type of 'criticism' was provided by comments such as: Why is 'San Bras' not identified as Mossel Bay? Is 'Commelin' a book or a document or what is it? The answer in all such cases is:

#### Look in the index

And here I will make an unorthodox suggestion to you, gentle reader of Prefaces: after reading page xiii spend a few minutes giving a cursory glance through the index of this book *before* you start to read the text, bearing in mind that the notes in that index replace

# a multiplicity of footnotes and superscript numerical (and often illegible) references to these, which would otherwise disfigure the pages of text.

Only the accounts of 'callers' are included, not those of wrecks (most outside the area covered, in any case); nor of residents (Schryver, de Neyn, Grevenbroek, etc.) with one exception, Schreyer, because of the outstanding importance of his account. Valentyn, although a 'caller', is not included in view of the fact that the Van Riebeeck Society intends to publish in 1971 his Dutch text with my translation into English, and my English notes translated into Afrikaans.

A considerable amount of this material, usually in a somewhat more condensed form, appeared in the pages of the *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* and in *Africana Notes and News*; and I am grateful for the hospitality of those publications.

It would be impossible to thank even a fraction of those whom I pestered with my ignorant questions during the six years that this book has been in preparation; but I must at least mention with gratitude the Directors and Staffs of British Museum and India Office Libraries in London, the Colonial Archives at The Hague, the University Library at Leiden, the Cape Archives (and especially Dr. A.J. Boeseken there), the Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, the South African Museum, the South African Library, the Johannesburg Public Library, and especially the Durban Public Library where most of the work was done. Acknowledgements for photographs, etc., will be found on page xv, and a few special acknowledgements are included in the introductory notes to the items.

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#### **Typographic Conventions**

The reader's attention is directed to certain conventions that have been consistently maintained throughout this book, intended to facilitate the understanding of the many categories of text.

The extracts in small print (double column) following the yearly headlines and between items are translated from the manuscript Diaries (Dagregisters, 'DR'), occasionally supplemented by translations of the Resolutions of the Council of Policy (the Governing body at the Cape), and of Letters between this, the Council of the Indies in Batavia, and the 'Lords XVII' in Holland, the Directors of the Dutch East-India Company; from memoirs of departing Governors for their successors and Instructions of visiting Commissioners; almost all these documents being in the Cape Archives. The extracts are not intended to give a history of the Cape, but should be read as a background to the accounts printed, and therefore as some indication of their reliability: for this purpose the entry 'DR' in square brackets is to be read as 'Confirmed by the Diary entry for this date'; but 'DR 10/3' as 'But the Diary has this for March 10' (of the current year unless otherwise stated).

With very few exceptions, my own introductions to the quoted extracts and explanatory notes are set in italics; and the quoted extracts are in roman (upright) type.

R.R-H.

#### The Index

Apart from its normal function, the Index contains: identifications of places and of fauna and flora as far as is possible from the vague descriptions given by the authors; the fuller titles of books referred to by authors' names; and notes on those subjects marked with an asterisk (\*) throughout the text.

#### **The Illustrations**

These have been taken, mainly, from contemporary books, reproduced from photographic copies. In many cases a detail of the original has been selected as illustration. Most subjects have been retouched, in varying degree, for reasons of clarity. Cape Good Hope *Volume 1* 

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#### [NB]'[red. dbnl] zie verantwoording'

The double-column text that follows contains extracts from the Cape Council's Diary, supplemented by other documents in the Archives. The texts of the authors are in large, Roman type, my comments and notes are either italicised or in square brackets. [DR] in the text means: *Confirmed by the Diary entry for this date*; whereas [DR 10/3] means: *But the Diary has this for March 10*. An asterisk \* following a word means: *Refer to the index for further information*, where also will be found identifications of places, people, flora, fauna, the titles of books cited by authors' names, and notes on points marked with asterisks in the text.

#### [1652]

# Commonwealth in England. Louis XIV of France for the whole fifty years. Dutch war with Portugal continues. June 30 England declares war on Holland.

#### Background - from official documents in the archives

9/4 ... Commander VAN RIEBEECK went ashore early in the morning, where today he marked out the Fort\* completely ...

24/4 ... We went ashore with all our baggage and family to stay there in a wooden hut ...

27/4 ... suitable for cultivation, if only there were enough men for it ... [Chinese or Malays] or even also Hollanders ... who could be allowed on certain terms to work some plots of land ...

15/5 ... This afternoon we gave the Fort the name of *Goede Hoope*, by orders of our Lords and Masters ....

26/6 ... we had a cast made with the net, which was so filled that the purse tore entirely away, and yet fully 10 thousand fish were taken....

22-24/8 ... planted some medlar and quince pips ... when it begins to be warmer we intend to plant some lemon- and apple-pips which we brought from the Fatherland....

26/9 ... The men begin to grumble at the continual toilsome work ... also at the food....

2/10 ... resolved to put the oil-burners on this side of the Salt River behind a high sand-dune just within the mouth of the said river ... on this same sand-dune a small redoubt [Duynhoop] ... is to be built of sods....

12/10 ... all who can use a spade set to dig in order to raise the walls [of the Fort] somewhat higher (being as yet only 7 feet high)....

2/11 ... we have today reduced the bread ration by  $\frac{1}{2}$  pound....

11/11 ... the food is getting so scarce that in future it will be impossible to give the men what they need, much less their fill....

14/11 ... we hope to have a reasonable quantity of [seal\*] skins ... by the time the return-fleet arrives, and to send them to the Fatherland ... they would be worth a great deal of money ...

#### [1653]

#### Wars with Commonwealth in England and with Portugal continue. Background

13/1 ... Today started to thresh ... the very first wheat grown here....

17/1 ... the whole bay ... so mightily full of whales,\* that it was a wonder.... It would therefore not be amiss for their catching to be considered....

18/1 ... arrived in the roads ... the galliot\* *Swarte Vos* ... sailed from Texel September 4 ... with the information that the Netherlands were at war with England ... all men to work on the Fort, and all other matters to be left undone until this is fully defensible....

- 2/2 ... cut the first white cabbages ... as tender and tasty as any ... in the Fatherland....
- 11/2 ... the bread will not last more than another 14 days....
- 12/2 ... provisions for not more than 14 days at the utmost....
- 1/3 ... today the last ration of bread was issued to the men....

2/3 ... the ships *Hoff van Zeelant* ... and *Walvis* came to the roads. About noon ... the *Parel*, *Princes Royael* and *Mallacca* also reached the entrance of the bay....

4/3 ... the Malacca lost her fore-topmast....

6/3 ... Parel ... and Malacca also reached the roads....

8/3 ... resolved that ... there should be landed from each ship  $\frac{1}{2}$  last\* of rice, one keg of meat and some bread....

26/3 ... about midnight the yacht\* *Haes* arrived in the roads with latest news of the war....

10/4 ... The ships *Malacca*, *P. Royael* and *Walvis* took on 4,105 Cape sealskins for the Chamber\* of Amsterdam....

12/4 ... Towards evening the yacht *Winthondt* arrived outside the bay from the Fatherland... continuation of the English war....

14/4 ... The said yacht Windhondt arrived safely in the roads....

#### 1 Johann Jakob Merklein

Merklein is specially interesting as giving the only 'outside' account of the new settlement at the Cape in its earliest days, and he can claim to be the first writer to describe it. The first edition of his Reise nach Java ... appeared in Nürnberg in 1663; the second, enlarged, also there in 1672, reprinted at The Hague in 1933. This translation is from the 1672 edition.

Like many of the early writers, Merklein served the Dutch East-India Company as a Ship's Surgeon, sailing in 1644 in the flute\* Salm as 'Unterbarbirer' the lowest grade in the medical service, contrary winds preventing his ship from touching at the Cape on the outward passage. He was in the Indies until 1652, mostly at Batavia, but with journeys to India, Persia, Siam, Japan and Ceylon. On December 24, 1652, he sailed from Batavia in Princes Roijaal

... with orders to await the other ships of the return-fleet at the Cap bonae Spei, and sail with them to Holland, since there was already news from India that many Dutch ships had been seized in England, although it was not yet known whether open war [1652-4] had broken out. On the 3rd of January we passed the Prince Island and came out into the open sea, setting our course, as is customary, S.W. as far as 34 degrees of latitude, and then West to 60 degrees [of longitude\*].

On the 23rd of February we sighted the outermost corner of Africa towards the South, named Cabo bona Esperança; but because the wind was contrary we could not come there, and three of our ships lost their anchors, and the 'Malacca' also her foretopmast.

On the 2nd of March we anchored at the said Cabo, in the gulf called Table Bay. There we found a Galliot\*, or little racing-ship sent to meet us by the Directors of the East India Company, which brought the news that the war between Holland and England was continuing fiercely, and that already various sea-fights had occurred, although few of them to our advantage. [*Swarte Vos*, DR 18/1] She also brought Instructions and Orders, how we were to comport ourselves during the continuation of our voyage, and what courses we were to steer; but such Instructions were not to be opened before we had passed the Equator.

The Dutch garrison at C. bonae Spei greatly rejoiced at the coming of our ship, since they had for some time endured great hunger and want, wherefrom also various had died. Since, although the land is in itself pretty fertile, and the sea around very rich in fish, as shall be told later, yet they were still unprovided with implements to cultivate the land, and were granted no time to fish in the sea, being driven very strongly and heavily by the Commander Johan Riebeek to the building of fortifications and dwellings (since attack by the natives and the coming of the English was somewhat to be feared). Also, thirdly, because to their great misfortune various ships sailing from Holland to the Indies, which were destined to touch there and provide the garrison with provisions and other necessities, could not arrive because of contrary winds, and therefore continued their voyages directly to the Indies. For these causes they were so worn out by the continual toil and the great lack of food that it was pitiful. By this our Admiral was caused to give orders, that from each ship there should be sent ashore some sacks of biscuits and rice [and meat, DR 8/3]; and now the folk were also not driven to work so hard, since by the coming of our ships they now had little danger to fear.

While we lay there to refresh ourselves and await the other ships, we went ashore daily, either to fish or to amuse ourselves otherwise. The seamen filled our casks with drinking water, which is very good there, flowing out from between the hills.

Among other things, nine of us on board set ourselves up against the Master, for amusement (or better said, from foolhardiness), that we would climb the Table Mountain, which lies not far from the shore and is exceptionally high. Although the Master let us be set ashore early in the morning, yet we took nearly all day before five of us came to the top, the other four having returned back because they could go no further. But we had been up there only a little while, and had barely lit a large fire (as we had agreed to do) and refreshed ourselves with a little of the water which the damp of the clouds had left in the hollows of the rocks, when we observed, that on the far side of the hills a thick cloud was coming towards us. Since we had thus to fear, that the same might remain lying on the Table Mountain, as had often happened previously, we were compelled to make our way down again for fear of the great damp and cold. But when dusk fell, and we still thought to reach safety and therefore considerably hastened ourselves, I had the misfortune to fall down from a steep rock and dislocate my left arm, so that it was necessary to reset the same; and since meanwhile it became fully dark we were compelled to remain there, although in great fear because of the lions and other wild beasts, of which many dwelt between the hills. Then it was fortunate for me, that I was myself a Surgeon, since otherwise my arm must have remained unset all night. After we had thus been duly paid for our foolhardiness, we came back to the ship the next day.



[1] CLOTHING AND WEAPONS OF THE HOTTENTOTS. From the French edition of Dapper.

On the 4th of April [DR 26/3] there came to us a yacht\*, named *Haas*, from Holland belonging to the East India Company and sent to the Indies, to refresh herself in the Bay ...

On the 7th [DR 14/4] the Yacht *Windhund* brought us news to the Table Bay from Holland of the continuation of the war between Holland and England.

After we had awaited the rest of the fleet for more than six weeks at the Cap bonae Spei, and heard nothing of it, the season of the year demanded that we should continue our voyage, and therefore the Admiral\* called together the Vice-Admiral, the Masters, Mates and other Council Members of the fleet, to debate the resumption of our journey.

After this we sailed on April the 17th with a favourable wind out of the Table Bay, or Gulf of the Table Mountain, and set our course northwest [DR].

The Caput bonae Spei, called by the Portuguese Cabo de bona Esperança, lies in 35 degrees south latitude and 56 degrees longitude\*. The land is indeed pretty hilly, but nevertheless very fertile, and the air very healthy, so that all sorts of crops could well have been grown there if the natives knew how to set about it. There is sweet water enough, which rushes out between the rocks and hills, and waters the land. Inland are fine woods and much game, but by the border of the sea few trees are found, because of the terrible storms which at times blow there, for which reason this place was formerly called the Cape of Storms. Further, there are many wild animals, deer, lions, ostriches and other birds, porcupines, baboons, penguins, seals, a great quantity of tortoises; and both in the rivers and the sea around an abundance of many sorts of lovely and tasty fish.

The natives of the land are savages, not tall in stature, thin, smeared with grease and filthy. They cluck in their speech almost like turkeys, and live from their cattle, of which they have a great quantity. They dwell in huts woven of canes and small twigs, which they set up where they find good pasturage and dwell together as if in a village or hamlet. When, however, they have eaten up the pasturage of one place, they lift up their huts and take them a few miles further where they again find pasture.

Their clothing consists of a little cape of undressed skin and a small piece of sheepskin in front of their privities. Otherwise they go naked, although at times it is pretty cold, especially in June, July and August; since because this land lies so far south of the Equator they have their winter when we have summer and summer when we have winter.

They are very piggish in their eating, since, although they have much cattle, yet when the Dutch kill an ox they beg the guts, from which they do but draw the dung between their fingers and scrape it out, and so lay it on the fire; and when it is not yet half roasted they bite into it with such appetite that it is a horror to see. The fat of the same guts they smear on their naked bodies, and hold it for an ornament, from which they stink so horribly that it is not well to have to do with them.

When they are merry they leap up and down and continually sing the word Hottentot [see Hottentots\*, Name] and nothing else and keep this up for long, from this they are generally called Hottentots by the Dutch.

The Gulf, called Table Bay because of the aforesaid high hill (which is quite flat on top like a table, and is therefore called Table Mountain - it can be seen very far to seaward) lies about 12 or 15 miles\* from the extreme corner of the Cap bonae Spei.

This Bay, or Gulf, is very conveniently set for those who journey from Europe to the East Indies, because of its convenience and fruitfulness, for the refreshing of their crews and the taking on of fresh water, since it lies as if half-way between the East Indies and Europe. It was first discovered by the Spanish and Portuguese; but when the Dutch and English also began to journey to the East Indies and to take their refreshment in this gulf, the Spaniards and Portuguese dared not come there any more.

In the year 1652 the Dutch threw up a redoubt there for security, and set a garrison, in part because some quarrel might arise between them and the English, also in part because the natives were not always to be found at the shore, but (as said above) set up their dwellings now here, now there. Thus, in order that the Commander of the place could buy in sheep and cattle at the convenient time so as to have them ready when the ships arrived, such a construction was indeed necessary. The said cattle they buy in very cheaply with brass wire for bracelets, tobacco and other things, so that a large ox does not cost more than a kopffstuck\*. They know nothing of money, nor desire it.

The Dutch in garrison there have already made gardens\* near their fort, in which they grow cabbage, turnips, pumpkins and other garden-produce, all of which grow very well and are very necessary for refreshment. But since the costs which the garrison there causes may not be in vain, they have begun to catch seals, or sea-dogs, on the little islands nearby, which dwell there in great numbers, and to render out the train-oil therefrom, to take off and dry the skins, and to load these when the ships sail for Holland, as also they gave our fleet fully several thousand [DR 10/4].

There are indeed many whales around this region, but at my time none had yet been taken, since for this special instruments are needed, and men that know how to use them. It is also hoped to introduce the trade in ivory and other wares from the mainland of Africa, the profits of which, should it be successful, would richly cover the costs of the garrison. So much then for C. bonae Spei: we now return to our journey.

St. Helena: Instructions opened, and ordered to sail northabout\*: Norway: news of English blockade of Dutch ports: ordered to Denmark: Copenhagen: Danish escort until the Dutch fleet met: arrived at Texel November 11, 1653.

#### **Background - continued**

17/4/53 ... before daylight the ... return-fleet sailed, consisting of the 5 ships *Parel*, *Hof van Zeelant*, *Princes Royael*, *Malacca*, and *Walvis*....

14/5 ... 6 sheep ... to be set on Robben Island to see whether they can breed there [and repeated subsequent entries], as also we have already tried this with some dassies brought from Dassen Island....

27/5 ... lime-kiln to be made for the shells brought from Robben Island....

3/7 ... the old kraal to be prepared for a garden\* ... also another piece of land ... next to the old garden....

6/8 [First use of the name 'False Bay', a casual mention as if the name was already current.]

- 13/9 ... lettuce ... the finest heads in the world....
- 16/11 ... cut the first cauliflower ... as fine and delicate as in the Fatherland....

#### [1654]

#### Peace with Commonwealth in England April 5, Treaty of Westminster. War with Portugal continues. July 10, English-Portuguese Treaty. Background - from official documents in the archives

7/2 ... Today the redoubt [Duynhoop] ... was fully completed and 2 twelve-pounders mounted thereon....

9/2 ... This evening there arrived safely from the Fatherland, praise God, the pinnace\* *Calff* ... had 8 deaths and has at present fully 20 sick in bed....

12/2 ... a ship seen behind the Lion Mountain ... she had to run to the Robben Island and anchor in its lee....

15/2 ... the ship *Draek*, praise God, this afternoon came safely to anchor ... full of sick and scorbutics and almost unable to manage the sails.... [*Naerden*, *Lam* of this fleet had already arrived and sailed.]

1/3 ... We were told, that a dead whale had been washed as hore about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles\* from the fort....

2/3 ... went along the shore and found it in shape and size like a noortcaper, with fairly thick blubber and full of baleen....

3/3 ... [baleen too small] We therefore left it. ... The Hottentots ... who had been watching closely, buried various pieces of blubber in the sand....

#### 2 Johan Nieuhof (Plate 2)

(See also items 6, 8, 25, 29.) Translated from his 'Gedenkweerdige Brasilianse Zee en Lant Reize ...', Amsterdam 1682. This was put together from his notes, after his death, by his brother: this explains confusions such as the mention here of colonists and their farms, non-existent until 1657, and of events in 1660 and other such material properly belonging to his later visits: such entries have been marked †. Some of his lists of mere mentions of birds etc. have been omitted.

Nieuhof was with the Dutch West India Company from 1640 to 1649, as Merchant. Later he joined the V.O.C. and sailed on August 23, 1653 from Vlie in Kalf, with Lam, Vergulde Draek, Naerden. Northabout\*. Fleet dispersed by storms. S. Antao for turtles, S. Vicente for fruits, fish. Sighted Dassen Island February 4, 1654 but held up by wind and fog.

February 9 ... at last [DR], after so many wanderings, we came to anchor in the Table Bay in 5 fathoms, good sandy bottom. The galliot\* de Vos [*Roode Vos*] lay there.

Commandeur Rietbeek ... at once sent us a shallop\* with fish, and a pilot who brought us in. Thus far we had eight dead, and fully forty sick; and in addition to these,

the scurvy had such a grip on many of our crew, that it was high time to seek for refreshing, since we could hardly work the ship any longer. I went ashore at once with the Skipper ..., and brought back to the ship a quantity of mustard-leaves, to be boiled for the refreshing of the crew.

The Fiscaal\* came aboard, and forbade all trade\* with the Hottentots, as also remaining on shore by night without leave of the Commandeur Rietbeek.

Orders were given for the bringing aboard of water, which is very good there, and easily to be had.

On the twelfth the Draek came in [DR], anchoring near Robben Island ... Mean-while we were busy fishing, but could catch nothing because of the strong offshore wind.

On the 14 when it was somewhat calmer we came nearer the shore. The Table Mountain now showed itself plain and clear, although until now it was always covered with clouds ... a sure sign of storms.

This same day we again went fishing, and in one draught caught as much as the shallop\* could hold: of them Heer Rietbeek took as much for himself as could be carried in fourteen wheelbarrows. All these fish were harders, which are seen swimming along the shore in great shoals....

The Draek now [DR 15/2] first came into the Bay, and had 50 sick lying flat in their bunks, and 26 dead, the rest being so weak with scurvy and other sicknesses that they declared, that had it lasted another fourteen days they would have been forced to give up and let the ship drift ...

Meanwhile we caught continually enormous quantities of fish, when the weather permitted.

On the nineteenth the wind blew so strongly over the Table Mountain that we must let fall our sheet anchor\*.

Until the twenty-second we were busy fetching water and fishing. The carpenters went ashore to cut firewood along the banks of the Salt River, where much scrub stands, needing only to be cut there and brought in.

On the 23rd I went with some others to get some game, over the hills as far as the Salt River, where the blacks had assembled some 300 animals; but so soon as they perceived us they went off in haste with their beasts, without awaiting us.

We heard also<sup>†</sup> [actually DR 8/1/55, Nieuhof not being present] that a rhinoceros or nose-horner was fallen into a marsh, and because of its weight could not get out. Commandeur Rietbeek sent some soldiers there with muskets, but the bullets rebounded from its hard, wrinkled skin. They cut an opening in its withers, and fired into this, until at last they killed it. The horns are still preserved<sup>†</sup> in the Fort at the Cape, and from them at times healths are drunk.

On March the first the weather was fair, but many of our crew were disinclined to go ashore, because little was to be had there, and everything was very costly. A musje\* of arrack costs six stivers, a musje of brandy twelve, and a watermelon as big as a small



[2] JOHAN NIEUHOFF, from item 2.

coconut five schillings, so that many could buy nothing with their scanty cash, and so got nothing but annoyance ashore, where there was indeed refreshing to be had, but too dear.

The next day we learnt that a whale was stranded in the Salt River. I went with our Skipper, and the Commandeur Rietbeek and his wife and some others, to see it, and it was indeed large. We climbed up onto it, and had the trumpeter play the tune Wilhelmus\* of Nassau. The blacks took off lumps as large as they could carry, and buried them in the sand, to eat them later [DR 2/3, 3/3].

On the sixth Heer Rietbeek and some others went to the Hottentots, to see if some beasts could be bartered for red copper, tobacco-pipes and other trifles; but so soon as they perceived our people they fled inland.

On the ninth it was calm and fair weather. Many of our crew went ashore to wash their gear, since we intended to sail on the following day, and everyone must arrange accordingly. A quantity of cabbage and two sheep were brought aboard for refreshing in the coming voyage, but this was truly scanty refreshment for so many men .... Each day as long as we lay there the crew brought two sackfulls of greens, such as cabbage-leaves and white beets, which indeed were the best, and mustard-seed leaves. All this was boiled with some bacon, and served twice a day, and refreshed the crew.

The Cape of Good Hope lies on 34 degrees and 20 minutes South latitude, and appears like a peninsula or hanging island, since it is attached to the North to the mainland by a narrow stretch of land which is washed by the sea in two bays, one on each side.

There are various fine harbours there, such as the Table Bay thus called from the near-by Table Mountain: this is fully four miles\* around, so that a whole fleet of ships can conveniently tack into and out from it, in all winds except that from the north-west which blows directly into the opening.

On the shore below the Fresh River the East-India Company has let build a four-cornered Castle, Fort\*, or Fortress, named 'The Good Hope', which is strengthened with cannon and garrisoned against enemy attack. In this Castle Heer Rietbeek, the Commandeur or Chief who rules there in the name of the said Company, has his house and dwelling. Near by is a Garden\* of 15 morgen\*, grown with all sorts of plants [not yet so large†].

Behind the Fort of Good Hope are various farms and estates<sup>†</sup> [DR 21/2/57], neatly set out along the [Liesbeek] river, wherein cabbages and other greenstuffs flourish pretty well. These estates are inhabited by various folk come out from Holland, who are usually called Freemen\*, and who, in return for the free right of cultivation, hand over to the Governor some part of their plants and fruits.

The soil at the Cape is mostly clay, so that everything will grow there, although in some places it is stony, shelly, or sandy. There are many trees all around, although only scrub-growth, good for burning. Inland very unusually large trees are to be seen. In the Garden grow olives, oranges, peaches, apricots, and other fruit-trees<sup>†</sup>. The flat fields and valleys are overgrown with grass and sweet-smelling herbs and flowers, and rye, wheat, rice and barley could also be produced, if they were sown....

A certain little root\* grows in the earth, which the Hottentots roast in Winter, and use in place of bread. Some grind these roots to meal. The taste of some is like that of earth-nuts [aert-ekelen] or chestnuts, although others taste like aniseed, and sweetish.

On a certain hill [Bosheuvel] near the Fort of Good Hope our folk have planted some thousands of vine-stocks  $\dagger$  [DR 2/2/59], which give abundance of grapes, but a sourish wine\*.

But although, by reason of the goodness of the soil, everything will grow and flourish there, yet also the storm-winds do great harm to the plants. Strong and heavy squalls come over the tops of the mountains, especially in June and July, which are usually covered with thick clouds when a storm is coming; and they blow with such force that almost everything above ground is spoilt and destroyed. Then also the seas run very high around this 'Cape of Storms', and ships are in great danger when coming in from sea.

Otherwise the weather around the Cape is very good, and always clear, not too hot nor too cold. In June and July it is Autumn and Winter there, and then water sometimes freezes to the thickness of the back of a knife. In October and December a southerly wind blows: then it is as cold there as with a North wind in Holland. At times it rains there as heavily as if it were poured out from pails, and the water flows over all the low land, to the great fruitfulness of this, since by the rain the land is renewed and made green.

The land is rich in all sorts of tame and wild four-footed beasts and birds. There are many birds there [listed]. The pinguwijns walk slowly, and can easily be overtaken on land. They can be got out of their nests only with sticks, and when they are caught there they seek to defend themselves by biting furiously. [Further list, without descriptions.] ... ostriches: the necks of some of these reach as high as a rider sitting on a horse. They are grey in colour, and run with wings spread out, as fast as a horse. They eat all sorts of greenstuffs, and at times swallow stones, copper and iron.

There are certain birds [non-existent] like geese, which lay very good eggs without yolks or yellows, of the size of goose-eggs. They are exceptionally fat, and for that reason almost uneatable, tasting more of fish than flesh.

Previously there were many birds called pinguwijns, which have very hard skins, in colour black and white, and somewhat larger than a goose. They walk upright on land, and can also swim. On each foot is a leather fin which serves them in swimming, whereby they go rapidly and catch the fish as their prey, so that their flesh tastes greatly of fish-oil and therefore is repulsive to eat, unless cooked several times in fresh water and then baked in a pan with butter. They dwell on the rocks and on the land, and also in the sea, and nest and lay their eggs in a hollow in the sand.

The flamingo is a very fine bird, almost as large as a heron, with a hooked beak, too thick, or better said too wide, to be able to break anything hard. They are beautifully

coloured, red and pale red. The longer feathers are partly white and partly black, and the upper feathers which cover these are of a pleasing rosy colour.

There are oxen with thick and fat withers. They have fine long crooked horns: some also have the horns close to the body, and some have no horns. They are half a foot taller than those here.

Among other strange sea-monsters there are sea-cows [Hippopotamus], which are much larger and heavier than an ordinary European ox. They have no horns, but large ears, small eyes, thick legs, feet like an elephant with blunt toes, and a short tail. They have no hair on the body, but a smooth and sallow skin, and terrifyingly large teeth. They eat grass, and often dwell in the marshes, diving under the water where they can remain as long as they will. But they seldom show themselves, so that they are seldom even seen, let alone taken. Their flesh is like that of an ox, although stronger in taste. When salted down it becomes green, and marbled like Dutch salted beef.

There are also Iron-Pigs, with long quills, and when any beast or man comes near them they contract the skin and make these quills stiff, and can so fiercely and savagely throw them out [*sic*] that they can inflict a dangerous or even mortal wound. A lion was once found dead there† [DR 19/8/56], which had such a quill thrust into its breast: this undoubtedly had caused its death, driven in by an iron-pig because it had come too close. The skin of this lion is still† to be seen hanging in the Fort, for a memorial [see Museum\*].

[Animals listed without descriptions.]

There are very many sheep, on which the natives live, and which they barter to us for red copper, tobacco and tobacco-pipes. They have no wool on the body, but coloured hair like goats, and have long legs. Their tails are long and thick, consisting of fat only: some weigh twenty pounds and more, and are a great hindrance and impediment to them in walking.

There is a certain wild beast called Jackal by the Dutch. It is in shape between a fox and a lion, and grey-haired. It yells and howls greatly by night, and is wonderfully avid for man's flesh, and at times digs up and eats the dead from more than ten feet deep in the earth. It is said to be sharp-scented, and therefore can discover the carrion for the lion.

Among others, there dwells in the wild country a beast as large as an elephant, but with two horns on the nose. Its tail is also like that of an elephant, and it has a small bunch of black hair on the neck, and straight round horns. On the skin it has short mouse-coloured hair.

At the head of the Lion Hill (which is thus called because it has somewhat the shape of a lying lion, and lies a cannon-shot\* to the West of the Fort) there dwell very large baboons, which are so bold that they often chase away those inquisitive who climb this hill, with stones which they throw pretty well, as if they were half-men.

But of rapacious beasts such as lions, leopards, wolves, jackals and tigers there are now not so many where the land is cultivated, perhaps because they have become scared

of men, who at times attack them. Thus a reward\* is fixed<sup>†</sup> [DR 17/6/56] by the Company for anyone who shoots a lion, tiger, or other savage animal, the skins of all such hanging in the Fort on the ceiling of the hall [see Museum\*].

Sea and land tortoises in great quantity dwell on land and water. The woods have many bees, which make their honey in the hollow trunks of trees.

There are also dogs with red hair and short tails.

There is a certain sort of fish, which our folk call 'Hottentots-fish', since the Hottentots know how to catch it with a little hook: this is one of the best fish to eat, tasting like cod. But most of the fish are unknown to us.

There are many whales in the Table Bay, from which there was good hope at first of getting train-oil; but it has been found by experience † that they are too lean, and that no profit can be made from them.

A certain fish is also found ... by our people at the Cape called 'Kraek-fish' or 'Lazy-fish': not because it is lazy in moving, but because of a hidden force which it is said to have - since when it finds itself hard-pressed by fishermen, or chased by other fish, it shoots out from itself a liquid which at once makes men and beasts stand still, and as if lames their limbs, so that they are forced to abandon their fishing, as if attacked by paralysis.

The inhabitants of this land are given the name of Hottentots by our folk because of their stuttering speech [see Hottentots\*. Name]. The men go almost naked, having only a raw seal- or dassie-skin, or a sheepskin, sewn together from three pieces like a cloak, and hanging around the upper body and the shoulders as far as the buttocks. The wool usually hangs outwards when it is hot, or inwards when it is cold, and it is tied fast with a thong under the chin. When travelling they wear another cloak outside this one, with the wool outwards. The shoes consist of a flat piece of rhinoceros or nose-horner skin, equally high before and behind, and bound together over the foot with two leather thongs. The head is covered by night or when it rains by a cap of the skin of a young lamb, with the wool inwards. A little flap or skinlet of a spotted tiger or jackal or bush-cat hangs before the privities, and is tied behind with two small thongs which hang down by the body. The hair is ornamented with copper plates, doits, white shells and large beads, and is shorn off here and there.

The women wear a cloak around the upper body in the same way as the men, of sheepskin with the wool inwards, but hanging somewhat lower than that of the men. In addition they cover the lower body from the buttocks down with another skin, and the pudenda with a little square skin. A cap of sheep-, dassie- or sealskin covers the head, and is tied around the head with a broad sheepskin thong. The shoes are of the same fashion and material as those of the men.

Both men and women who own much cattle smear very thickly, not only their bodies and faces but also their cloaks, making them heavy with grease; but those who have little cattle or none do not wear such cloaks. Thus these smearings are considered by them as a sign of richness in cattle, and as an adornment. They have in both ears as ornaments great bunches of strings of beads, each string nearly a quarter-pound in weight. They adorn their necks with beads of yellow and red copper, and their arms with an ivory ring: also they have on their wrists a copper ring, so tight as almost to pinch the flesh.

When the women go abroad they usually have on the back a square leather bag, with a bunch of tassels hanging down at each end, and in it always some trifles or other. Those who have a young child carry it on their backs with this, which not a little hinders them. Around their legs [? error for 'necks'] they have as ornaments by day and night the fresh or stinking guts of beasts, plaited twice or thrice together. Also they hang dried gut-rings around their legs, partly against the pricks of the sharp thorns, partly to make a rattling when dancing and rejoicing. The men also have such guts\* hanging round the neck, and in them they put their tobacco-pipes and other trifles.

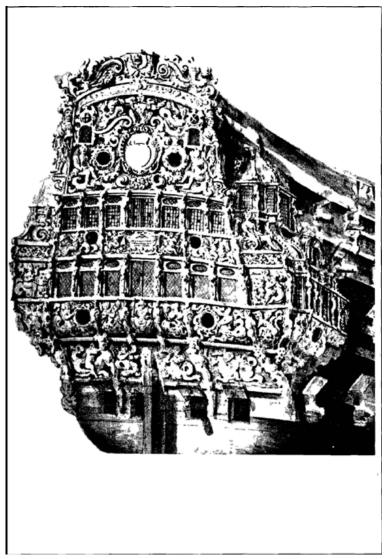
The principal weapons of the Hottentots are assegais or javelins or darts [schichten], these being sticks three, four or five feet long, mounted at the end with a broad iron, sharp in front, which they make themselves; and they well know how to throw and use these. They use also bows and arrows, but up to now have used no muskets.

When they go abroad, they usually carry an assegai in one hand, and in the other an ostrich-feather, or a stick with the tail of a wildcat tied to it, to remove from their faces dust and sand, and the flies of which the land is full.

In their feeding the Hottentots are exceptionally coarse, dirty, gluttonous and uncivilised, since they do not know how to make or prepare food like other peoples, but gobble down pieces of dead beasts and carrion, gnawing them greedily like dogs. They even gulp down raw entrails and guts, after they have shaken out the dung a little or pressed it out with their hands. Such dishes are seldom cooked among them. When dead beasts are lacking they eat dead fish which they find on the shore, as also periwinkles and abalones. They do not kill their cattle unless from sickness, old age, or other hindrances these can no longer walk; and similarly they kill no sheep, except for marriages. The flesh of seadogs or seals is eaten raw by them, or half-roasted on the fire, without washing. From the whales and other sea-monsters that are stranded they cut away the blubber and oily meat, and eat it with great relish: indeed they gather up by whole handfuls the oil which the sun has rendered down from the stranded whales, and drink it. Some cut pieces from these, and bury them under the sand, to eat them later. But their principal and daily food is a certain kind of roots\*, the size of earth-nuts, dug out by the women from the rivers and elsewhere, boiled or roasted and eaten very greedily.

The principal drinks of the Hottentots are water, and milk from their beasts. They are wonderfully and madly avid for brandy and Spanish wine, although a little suffices to make them drunk. When drunk they are very noisy, with shoutings and other uproar.

The Kaffers or Strandloopers, the Hottentots near the Cape, are yellowish or brown in colour, like mulattos: this tint or colour they do not have by nature nor from their birth, but obtain it by smearing themselves with a certain fat or grease, which they make from various herbs known to them, and with it smear the face and the body until they



[3] Stern of English warship sent to bring Charles II in 1660. Elaborate Cajuit with two guns above (and the defaced Commonwealth arms), Hut, and square portholes of gunroom. Ned. Hist. Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam.

are black. It has been found by experience that a girl who was reared from her birth among our folk in the Castle [Eva\*], and grew up there, was as white as an European woman. It is said, that if they did not smear themselves often, and from birth, they would become dropsical like the other blacks of Africa, and like the Abyssinians who have one thigh twice the size of the other [elephantiasis].

When Dutch ships arrive, these Hottentots or Strandloopers make for the galley and the cook's kettle, and smear the soot and black from this into their hair, mixed with fat, and around their head and face, so as to shine thoroughly and be brown and black, which they think a great adornment. By such smearing they look very grubby and dirty, and stink above measure. Further, they make grooves and cuts in their skin [Cicatrisation\*], into which they rub fat or tallow as an ornament: thus the stink from their bodies can be perceived from a hundred paces distant.

They are usually spare and thin-boned, and ugly in posture and countenance; but they have lovely brown eyes, and alert faces, and white, strong and firm teeth so that they bite strongly. The nose is somewhat flattened but not quite flat: the lips are thick and project somewhat, especially the lower one. The forehead is tolerably wide, and somewhat wrinkled. The hair of the men is like lambswool, short and curly, but grubby and dirty from the smearing with fat: the women have somewhat thicker hair. The men pluck out the hair on the chin.

The men have fine legs, but thin calves, and are so fleet of foot that they can over-take a strong bull at full speed, and catch it and hold it back. The women especially have very small and fine feet: their belly is thin and slender, and their buttocks project. Their hands are well made, but the fingers long, and with long fingernails.

The sex organs of the men are large. Yet they have, it is said, one testicle\* only, since the mother cuts away the right one so soon as a boy is born, and gives him sea-water to drink and tobacco to chew. It is said, that by this cutting off of the right testicle they are made more agile and better runners.

The women have long breasts, especially the married ones: these they have hanging loose and uncovered, and from them give suck to the child hanging on their back. The lining of their private parts seems to be loose and to hang out somewhat [see 'Apron\*'].

The Hottentots often squat on their heels.

The principal, indeed the only riches of the Hottentots consist of cattle, of which some have a great abundance: these they do not kill unless they can no longer walk, from age or sickness.

They stutter mightily in speaking, and sound like turkeys. They have no letters, nor can they read or write in their language, although some of them have learnt from our people to speak, read, and write Dutch, so that they are by no means stupid, but shrewd and ingenious enough. Otherwise they are a foolish folk, without knowledge. They have no generalship, to be able to conquer a strong place or fortress. Indeed any fireproof house would suffice to withstand them, since nothing more would be needed to keep them out than bolts on the doors. If some of them were shut in a house, they would be far

better confined therein than in a solid castle, since they do not have enough knowledge to force a door or window to make an opening for their escape. In this they are less intelligent than the unreasoning beasts, which in general use force against any place in which they find themselves [*sic:* see DR 6/5/78].

Nevertheless, although the Hottentots are an ugly and clumsy people, yet there are among them some who are shrewd and wily enough in their affairs, especially if they are trained. This is seen among others in two boys who were taken along to Batavia by our people, where in a short time they learned to speak, read and write Dutch. One was a servant of [Governor-] General Joan Maatzuiker. After some time had passed he was sent back to the Cape, to serve as interpreter between our people and the Hottentots [suggests Doman\*, but all details wrong]. In my first return journey [1658] I found him among his people, and asked him if he would not prefer to be with us, where he was better off; but he replied, that he would rather live with his people. I learned later, that he had stirred up many quarrels between us and the Hottentots, whereby various were killed on both sides. Therefore the Commandeur of the Cape, when he got his hands on him banished him to Robben Island, where also he died.

Theft is punished by them with beating, and murder similarly, although not from fear of God but following old customs. They say, that there is One, whom they call Hunuma, who can give rain and drought, although they do not pray to him.

The married state is tolerably well respected by them. A man takes as many wives as he is able to maintain. An engaged virgin takes her oath of fidelity and submission in a strange manner, since at the conclusion of marriage her mother cuts off a joint from her right little finger,\* whereby she is now fast bound to the man. The cut-off joint is buried, and thereupon a cow is slaughtered and the friends make merry with this and thus celebrate the wedding. So long as the girls are unmarried and virgins, they are known as such by the ornaments on their legs, since on them they have rings of plaited green reeds, which on their wedding-day they change, putting on them the dry guts of the cow killed for the marriage, which for them is as a toy: thus in dancing they know how to move their legs in time with their voice, and by this strange movement the guts pleasantly rattle in time.

Truly the Hottentots are the most savage folk in the whole earth, yet in my opinion however those seem to err who will assert that among them there is no knowledge or even any trace of religion: since, according to the unanimous opinion of all theologians, no folk in the world is so barbarous that it does not honour some Godhead, be it true or false. Since, firstly, they honour the Moon, which they greet with rare shouting and song. It is also to be believed, that they hold the Sun in no less respect, since they continually follow it with their cattle as far as possible, in that when it reaches the Tropic of Capricorn they are found to be the nearest to the Cape (except for the Caepmans [*sic:* Watermen]) and are settled on the south-east stream [? Salt River]; and then, when the sun crosses the equator and goes towards the northern Tropic, that of Cancer, they break away and follow it.

When heavy rain falls they creep into their huts and are very affrighted and fearful, from where they do not come out until this weather is ended. Then they begin to hop and trample, raise their heads to heaven and rock themselves to and fro, which, as far as one can judge, is a form of prayer and thanksgiving, since, if asked, Why they conceal themselves when it rains? they reply, because the Great Captain is angry, and comes to seek them out and chastise them with an element which is contrary to their nature. By this 'Great Captain' they understand the eternal Being. They listen very reluctantly when one speaks of God, also they punish those [among themselves] who do this, saying that such are too thoughtless, and speak of the Godhead with insufficient respect. If they are asked concerning the evil spirit they point with their fingers to the ground, and point them also at you. As regards the resurrection, they believe that when they die at the Capte they will rise up again beyond the hills; but this and other such things they may well have heard from the Portuguese or from us.

They wage wars against each other, usually for the best pastures for their cattle which all seek for and also have need of. At times in a general skirmishing or battle there are left dead fully six or seven Hottentots.

The Hottentots are of many sorts, which are differently named.

Those who live close to the fort are called by us 'Caepmans', but their own name in Hottentot is Chouriquas [description better fits the Watermen, Goringhaiconas]. They are the boldest and worst of all, since they continually have contacts with us and other Europeans. They live for the most part on roots\*, fish, mussels and other shellfish which they find on the shore.

Somewhat further inland are the Hottentots whom the Caepmans call 'Tobacco-Tekemans' and our folk 'Tobacco-Thieves', because they regularly stole<sup>†</sup> [DR 12 and 13/3/57] the green tobacco which the Dutch were accustomed to plant, so that now they plant no more. But their own name in Hottentot is 'Korrochauqwa' [Gorachoqua].

Also there is a tribe called 'Chamaqua', with a click after the word [Chainouqua]. They are more powerful and richer in cattle than the Caepmans, but much less so than the Hottentots called 'Kochukwaes' [Cochoqua, 'Saldanhars'], who live still further inland, and are many thousands strong, and own uncountable numbers of cattle and sheep. They come under two chiefs, one called 'Odosy' [Oedasoa\*] and the other 'Monamana' [Ngonnamoa, Gonnema\*]. The former was married to the sister of the woman-interpreter in the Fort [Eva\*]. Not long ago† [DR 3/11/60] he came to the Fort at the request of Commandeur Rietbeek, but first had much enquiry made as to whether the Commandeur was a sufficiently important person, since otherwise his honour would be greatly damaged, seeing that he was a great Captain. [For all this see Oedasoa\*.]

Rietbeek rode with the said Odesoy to hunt horses [Quaggas], but a savage lion sprang upon Odesoy, and would have killed him had not his people leapt on it with great courage and incredible fidelity, and pierced it dead with their assegais. Nevertheless he was greatly wounded: his shoulder-blade lay open, his neck was much damaged and his face could not be seen, so that it was felt sure that he would die. Rietbeek wished to have him at the Fort, to be healed by his surgeon, but he would not, putting greater faith in his own doctors. [All erroneous: again see Oedosoa\*.]

Those Hottentot doctors seem to have some knowledge, at least of how to sew up a wound; but the scars remain as if it were cauterised. They carry their charms and medicines with them as do our quacks. The herbs they keep in closed-up tortoise-shells, but the little roots, claws, teeth and small horns of animals (since in the use of these lies their art, and they also have some knowledge of their effects) these they carry strung together on a band which they hang around their necks as do our tooth-drawers, whereas the ordinary Hottentots have beads and other trifles hanging there.

There are also the Hottentots which our people call 'the Sardinje Folk' or 'Saldanhars' (from the Bay Sardinje or Saldanha near which they live); but in Hottentot they are called 'Krijegoekwa' [? Griqua; but the main 'Saldanhar' tribe was the Cochoqua as above].

The Hottentots say that to the north-east of the Cochoqua a very mighty tribe live in stone houses, who in civil organisation in no way differ from us. According to their report, they are as white as we. It is believed that they are the 'Moon People', a race enclosed within the Moon Mountains. But they say also that these know much concerning gold and silver and such things, and travel much to the Europeans, so that our folk believe that these may well be the Portuguese, who have made some settlements there from Mozambique. Our people have also made<sup>†</sup> [DR 6/6/57 etc.] expeditions\* in that direction by land, although they gained little knowledge and attained nothing, being forced each time to turn back for lack of water.

They tell also of a race called 'Heukum' [Hamkumqua, Hequon], and of another 'Groeman' [not identified].

The Hottentots, the inhabitants of this land, are not at all inclined to obey any rule, and respect their Chief more because of his wealth than as their ruler. They have no fixed dwellings at all, but wander around ... taking wives and children with them, and all their gear. They are in no wise eager for gold or silver, except some who have daily had to do with us ... and know that they can get something from the Dutch farmers for money; but on the other hand they value copper very highly. They have no boats, and are very shy of the water, and dare go in no more than knee-deep. They are lazier than the tortoises which they hunt and eat.

Most of the trade done with them is for copper and beads, for which they barter cattle or sheep; but when the deal is completed one must give them some tobacco and pipes as a bonus, and pour them some brandy. They have learnt from the foreigners their liking for brandy and tobacco as things to be relished. In addition the inquisitive sailor also barters from them ostrich-eggs, feathers, small land-tortoises which they call 'Harego', and rhinoceros-horns.

It is strange that they have not discovered the metallic copper which lies at their feet and is daily trodden by them, since many signs of copper ores have been found.

Our people here have at various times<sup>†</sup> made expeditions inland from the Cape.

In the year sixteen hundred and sixty [1661: DR 10, 11/3] some made such an expedition\*, and found two new tribes, called the Illunhwa [not in 1661 journal] and the Namakkawa [Namaqua]. They believed that they were near to the Portuguese, and thought to have heard a cannon-shot. In inland travels an unbelievable quantity of water-birds is to be seen [listed merely], but they are so shy and timorous that one cannot come within gunshot of them. The hunters\* of the Governor have in various places little houses made of scrub, in which they lie in wait for the birds, which also is the only way to get them.

On the mountains rocky areas are found, some stones of which hold fresh water in their hollows. When walking on the mountains to discover the land, some of our people found a rock fully four fathoms long and one and a half wide, which Nature had hollowed out as if for a drinking-trough, and had cut into it a span deep on the four sides. At one end it was somewhat lower, like a vent for the superfluous water, which the men found to be sweet, and greedily drank to quench their great thirst.

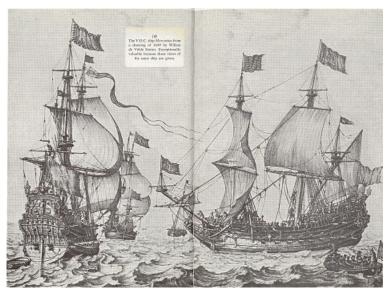
Uncommonly large ostriches are seen there, with very long necks. They are exceptionally fast runners, and can overtake a horse at full gallop. For this, they raise up their wings, with some coarse feathers lying between their pinions, wherein the gentlest wind has such a hold that it drags them along with it as if with sails. Moreover, they have such terribly long legs that they can take great strides with them, and at a mere trot go off like someone who runs down a steep slope with the wind behind him. This same manner of setting the feathers to the wind is seen also in tame swans.

Before we again put out to sea from the Cape, I will describe more fully the Table Mountain and the Lion Hill, as also the Table Bay and Robben Island, which previously were mentioned in passing.

The Table Mountain is thus named because it is flat on top like a table. It is about two German miles high [*sic*], very narrow [?], and therefore difficult to climb. It is separated by a narrow cleft [Saddle] from another hill called the Devils Hill. On the seaward side it is barren, with no greenery or trees; but on the landward side on the slopes of the said hill there stand very dense and lovely woods, with straight and erect trees, useful for all sorts of timber, to be had in great quantity. Somewhat lower, at the foot of the hill, there stand many smaller and lower trees, convenient for firewood. Among others there are many wild almond trees there, but their fruits are bitter in taste and, according to the Hottentots or natives, have some poisonous quality in them, so that they do not serve for eating. Many wild pineapple trees are there, although they do not grow very high, but their fruits are hollow within.

The Table Bay lies on 34 degrees and some minutes of south latitude, about five or six miles\* further north than the extreme point in the South of Africa [*sic*]. It lies in the shape of a half-moon, and on one side is defended against the rages of the open sea by the Robben Island. It is a very fine bay, except that to the South of the Robben Island towards the bay there lie some hidden rocks, called 'The Whale' [Walvis Rock]. The ships lie in this bay in nine to seven fathoms of water or less, yachts\* and flutes\* in four or five fathoms, fine sandy ground. But one must lie to two anchors\*, and well secured,

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[4] The V.O.C. ship *Mercurius* from a drawing of 1649 by Willem de Velde Senior. Exceptionally valuable because three views of the same ship are given.

because of the strong winds which blow here, especially those from the South-East.

In front of the Table Bay lies an island called the Robben Island, because of the quantity of seals that dwell there. It is very low, and about two German miles\* around. It is sandy, and rabbits\* have been† [DR 2/4] put there, which increase very well. It is of very loose sand, and grown with green herbs which have a certain kind of yellow leaves, almost like our butter-flowers, ['boterbloemen', Ranunculus], from eating which sheep there become very fat. To the North-East of the Robben Island lies the Dassen Island, on 34 degrees and 33 minutes [*sic*], which has its name from the quantity of dassies which were found there in early days, but now are very much fewer because very many are taken there. It is a mile\* around, with sandy soil, and has many seals and pinguwijns eggs. Four Freemen\* live there† [DR 7/1/58], besides some slaves\*, who maintain themselves by rearing pigs and hens, and by rendering down the oil from the seals, all of which they bring for sale to the Fort and the Freemen†, as also the flesh [of the seals], the usual food of the Company's slaves† [none before DR 20/3/58].

In front of the Saldanha Bay lie two or three islets, where the four said Freemen have<sup>†</sup> their hunting-ground and fishery, and catch there very many partridges, and a quantity of harders and other fish.

The principal rivers at the Cape are two, the Fresh River and the Salt River. In addition there is also a brook called the Liesbeek, since it is thickly grown with lies\*. The Liesbeek has its source near a wooded hill, and flows into the Salt River. It is not more than twelve or fourteen feet wide, and in some places even less, but on the other hand it is very deep.

Also, near the Bosheuvel, or a little further, another brook has its source in a marsh or low weedy [liesigh\*] area lying behind the Hout Bay [Hout Bay R.]. It flows South-East, and runs through low sand-dunes (which extend to the Cabo Falso) into the sea.

No place in the world knows of such storms as this cape or promontory of Good Hope. Ships would find conditions so bad there that it would seem impossible for them to frequent this region, were it not for the fact that Nature has looked to it, and has ornamented this 'Cape of Storms' with convenient bays to give shelter to the ships. Among these bays that of Saldanha, commonly called 'Sardinje', is by no means the worst, being a clean inlet free from all waves and dangers; and were it not for the lack of fresh water there, the Table Bay would have to yield place to it for convenience.

The winds are usually very strong there [at Table Bay], especially the South-East wind which blows from October to April (which is the South-East Monsoon\*), hurling itself down in such frightful squalls through the gorge (the boundary between the Table Mountain and the Devils Hill) that, were the coast not low, and the water clean [not rocky] and flat, ships could not possibly ride at anchor, but would perforce be driven away from there.

From April to October the North-West winds blow (called the North-West Monsoon), which also can rage along, but never with such ferocity as does the South-East wind. Behind the Table Mountain, however, it comes with just such a force through

that same gorge as does the South-East wind on the other side. There is no difference at all between these two winds, except that the South-East wind is dry and the North-West wind always mixed with rain, and thus does greater harm to the trees and fruits.

When one is over against the Cape, about on 34 degrees South, certain signs appear which must be taken note of, from which it can be known whether one is near the land or not ... being still far from the land of the Cape you will meet in the wild sea with a special sort of small gulls [Cape Doves], which are found around this promontory and are an easy warning of the land. But since these are found fully two or three hundred miles\* from land, they do not so exactly indicate its proximity as is the case when you see a certain sort of large gulls with particoloured wings, which experienced folks call Cape Birds with particoloured sleeves [Cape Gannet]. If it should happen that any turtle-doves are seen, blown astray from land, then there is no doubt at all. And when one is close to land, and has between 40 and 50 fathoms, white shell-sand bottom with red fragments mixed in it, and also sees little diving birds [probably immature Cape Gannet] one may take it as certain that the ship is off the reef of the Cape d'Aguillas, even if no land be visible.

On the other side, to the West of the Cape, one has, besides these large Cape Birds with their velvet sleeves, the thick trumpet-weeds called 'trombas' by the Portuguese, these being thick hollow stems which grow like scrub on the rocky ground of the coast and lie with some leaves above water. These are found in abundance in the Table Bay in front of the jetty\* at the Fort† [DR 4/3/56], and must be avoided by the longboats\* and skiffs\* in order to reach the jetty, since no oars can be used in these weeds....

The Hottentots, those uncivilised folk, were so ill-natured [at this call] that they would not barter an ox or any other refreshing with us. They muddied the drinking-water that we intended to bring aboard, which we resisted, seizing some of them; but they threw stones with such force that some of us were knocked down, and because they were in far greater numbers we were compelled to take to flight. At that time I had gone ashore to shoot some game, but before I could reach them our folk were already in flight. Next day I went with them, taking several armed men, with the intention of shooting at them if they again came to hinder our work; but so soon as they saw us coming armed they took to flight inland with wives and children and all they had....

After staying there three days [*sic*: 33] we set sail out to the West on the thirteenth of March to seek the ship Draek, but could not find her [DR]. Then we turned out again to sea.... [Batavia, China.]

#### **Background - continued**

12/3/1654 ... a fairly strong S.S.E. breeze ... enabled the ships *Draek* and *Calff* to set sail....

13/3 ... Towards evening the Draek re-entered the bay....

14/3 ... Draek departed ... and was soon out of sight....

24/3 we had the first bricks made today....

2/4 ... our rabbits, of which we have 9 in a

hutch, are also to be put on the said [Robben] Island.... agriculture, sealing, and all other necessary work could be done much more cheaply by slaves ... which could be readily obtained and brought from Madagascar, in one journey with rice....

6/4 [provisions short: 'resolved ... to have penguins fetched for the daily fare'] 25, 26/5 ... gardens,\* now fully 4 morgen\* in extent ...

31/5 ... launched the sampan built here, 32 feet long and 8 feet beam, for carrying salt, wood, cow-manure etc.... [first vessel built]

11/6 ... began for the first time to lay the bricks made here ... fine red bricks, just like Leyden bricks....

15/8 ... *Vlielandt* arrived, sailed May 19 last from Texel ... news of the peace with the republic of England, proclaimed ... a day before her departure, for which the Almighty be eternally praised.

7/10 Instructions of XVII ... we dispose and order by these that the ships of the Company sailing from these lands to the Indies are to touch at the said Cape and the fort Goede Hoope there [time spent there not to count against duration of passage for the calculation of the premium for fast passages, and ships passing not to receive any premium]

9/10 ... the fortification-works are now completed....

 $16/11\ldots$  It is to be wished that we had a few more horses\* than the two we have at present....

16/12 ... busy threshing our newly-reaped wheat....

28/12 ... from the wheat threshed we gained only about as much as the amount sown ... we shall not be able to produce any grain here because of the strong S.E. wind....

#### [1655]

#### Commonwealth in England. Dutch war with Portugal continues. Background - from official documents in the archives

8/1 ... a rhinoceros shot in the salterns, which ... had sunk so deep into the mud ... that it could not get out. So out of curiosity we went thither [story as in item 2, but Nieuhoff not there]

10/2 ... The natives ... were told that we were willing to trade with them in friendship; but answered, that we were living on their land ... as if we intended never to depart, and therefore they would not barter any more cattle to us, since we took the best pastures....

19/2 [Malacca arrived]

21/2 [*Oliphant* arrived]

22/2 [Wapen van Hollandt arrived]

# 3 Etienne de Flacourt (Plate 5)

*Translated from his 'Histoire de la Grand Isle Madagascar ...', Paris 1658. Strangman's translation is good, with valuable background material.* 

The French East-India Company appointed him to take charge in Madagascar, and he sailed on May 19, 1648, touching at Saldanha Bay and arriving on December 5. He was there for six years, sailing for home in Ours on February 12, 1655.

On the 4th of March, towards 9 o'clock in the morning, we sighted Cape Agulhas, and had passed it by midday. We coasted along until the evening, and throughout the night we had the fairest weather imaginable, with a calm sea and a gentle breeze. This cape lies in latitude 34° 30′ South.

On the 5th there was a fog, so we steered for the open sea, but towards midday it lifted and we had a sight of Table Mountain. For the rest of the day and evening we were becalmed. Then after midnight there came a light easterly wind which continued until morning, when thick fog fell. On the 6th, at about 9 o'clock in the morning, the fog cleared and we saw the Bay of the Table to the East of us. We sailed close in and perceived three Dutch ships at anchor [DR 19/2, 21/2, 22/2], and some sailingboats entering the harbour. As the wind held good, we made short tacks throughout the day and night, so as not to miss the entrance to Saldanha Bay, where we intended watering. On the 7th we entered this Bay and came to anchor, in three and a half fathoms, under the lee of the Isle aux Cormorans.

Throughout all the time of our stay at this place we saw great numbers of whales in pursuit of the fish. This made it impossible for us to catch any ourselves near the ship. Along the shore, however, in two or three feet of water, where the whales could not come, we caught fish in plenty. A great many savages came to see us, and some came aboard the ship. One was named Saldan, another called himself Barraba and another Coubaha. From them I learned of their language nearly four hundred words and expressions.

On the 15th, as I was taking a walk on the Isle à la Biche, I saw on the strand a dead hippopotamus, that is to say a sea-horse. Along the shores of the Bay we came across the resting-places of elephants or other beasts as big, and one day I myself saw, not far from the fountain, the head of an elephant, from which the tusks had been extracted. We found foot-prints of wolves, lions, tigers, deer, oxen, wild cats and other animals. There were numbers of small buck and we ate some of them. We saw, too, an animal of the size of an elephant, which had two horns on its snout just as a rhino-

ceros has one. These horns were of the same size as those of the rhinoceros one sees in the cabinets in France. At a distance of two pikes, we fired two musket-shots at it, with a ball weighing three ounces, and these balls did no more than flatten themselves against the animal's hide. The smell of the powder, to which it was unaccustomed, sent it running away. It trotted faster than a man, however nimble, can run. Its skin was covered with very short hair, grey in colour like that of a mouse, its tail and feet resembled those of the elephant, its ears were upright and round, and it had a small tuft of hair on its withers. It was a male. We came across many traces of this animal in the neighbourhood of the Bay. This creature has not been described by any author [*sic*].

On March the 26th we weighed anchor....

Saint Helena April 8. He remained in France for five years, publishing his 'Histoire ...'. In 1660 the Company again appointed him Director-General, and he sailed from Dieppe on May 20, but was killed when his ship exploded off Portugal during a fight with Moorish pirates [Strangman].

With his account may be read the following:

DR 8/3/55. *Roode Vos* arrived from Dassen Island ... had met a French ship the day before yesterday between the Robben and Dassen Islands, which ... came from Madagascar. [Brought also a report from Dassen Island, dated 6/3/55:] There came also ... a ship which ... came to anchor this afternoon. As far as we could see she was not a Dutch ship, nor did she show any signal. We therefore fired a gun, whereupon she immediately showed a red flag\* at her stern, and sent her boat towards the shore, but ... it turned back. Towards evening she ... set sail, we think for the bay of Saldanha. What ship it was, God knows.

DR 9/7/55 ... In the [Saldanha] bay on the islet our men found ... a letter written in French [from de Puige le Masle, Captain of *Ours*, to the Captain of *Saint George*] ... 'we reached the Cape Agulhas at midday on March 3, and the next day ... we were off the Cap d'Boa Esperance ... in the evening we were 4 miles to leeward of the Table Bay, in which we saw 3 very big ships [DR 19/2, 21/2, 22/2], which fired 5 guns to show us the roadstead. Then we were becalmed and enveloped in very thick fog ... lasted until the 7th, we always lying off and on. On the morning of this day ... we saw a ship [Roode Vos, as above] making for us ... and having shown us her Dutch flag she fired a gun.... We shortened our mainsail, struck the topsails, and hid our flag from view. Meanwhile she came to leeward of us and enquired whence we came and whether we wished to enter the Table Bay, since she was going there. We replied that we were bound for the Saldanha Bay. Then we asked her who she was, to which she replied that she belonged to the Dutch India fleet, and that she came from the Saldanha Bay.... That day we entered the Saldanha Bay.... The next day (the 8th) we ... arrived at the anchorage.... We tarred one mast, the rigging and the ship ... resolved to depart, weather permitting, either tomorrow or on Monday....'



[5] ETIENNE DE FLACOURT

#### **Background - continued**

12/3/1655 [Mention of the desertion of 'a Madagascar slave\*']

13/3 [Mention of wood from the forest for 'the sloop here on the stocks', about  $52 \times 15 \times 6$  feet]

18/3 ... the said ships arrived safely in the roads, one being the *Wapen van Amsterdam*... which had left the Vlie on October 20 last.... The other was the yacht\* *Domburgh* ... sailed on November 20 from Wielingen....

31/3 ... the said yacht set sail, and we also gave those of the *Wapen van Amsterdam* their despatch.... [Delayed by wind until 2/4]

2/4 ... the yacht *Koukercken* came tacking into the roads... no sick and having had only two dead, but ... scurvy began to appear among the crew, so that at once cabbages, carrots, water-lemons and other greenstuffs were sent aboard.

3/4 ... there arrived safely in the roads the ships *Provintie*, with the Hon. Sterthemius, Councillor of the Indies ... sailed November 18 from Zelant ... had lost only 7 men on the voyage; *Phenix* ...; *Blommendael* ...; *Coningh David* and *Maeght van Enckhuysen*....

7/4 ... we went a little way inland with the Hon. Sterthemius to see the encampments of the Hottentots....

9/4 ... came to the roads ... the yacht\* *Cabeljauw*, sailed February 11 from Batavia with stores for here and Mauritius, and then to go on to Ceylon....

10/4 ... the galliot\* *Tulp*, which had left Saint Helena on March 10, arrived outside the bay, bringing us back two horses\* [overcarried from Batavia].... We therefore still urgently need another 6 or 8 horses....

11/4 ... arrived safely in the roads the yacht Der Goes ....

12/4 ... [arrived] *Prins Willem*, sailed from Zelant on January 1 ... having lost only 3 persons during the voyage, and exceptionally having no sick aboard....

## 4 Gijsbert Heeck

Translated from xerographs of his 'Journael ofte Dagelijcxsz Aenteijkeninge ...' in the Hague Archives, Kol. Aanwinsten 1903, XV. It was also partially transcribed in 'Die Brandwag' of August 15 and September 1, 1910, by Dr. Leo Fouche, with occasional misprints and un-indicated omissions, but with valuable notes which have been made use of here. (Incidentally, he committed the quite unpardonable crime of marking on the manuscript the parts which he wanted transcribed.) Heeck mentions in his text that he first went out East in 1633, and tells how, after his second voyage to the Indies in 1641 to 1648, he settled at Bunschoten, his birth-place, fully intending to abandon sea-going; but that after twice becoming a widower he changed his mind, and in 1654 again engaged with the V.O.C. at Middelburg for five years as Upper-Surgeon at 45 gld. per month; and boarded Vereenigde Provintien at Rammekens on November 16 that year, taking along a nine-year-old son. Next day Pieter Sterthemius, E.O. Member of the Council of the Indies, took charge of the fleet, the other ships being Prins Wilhelm and the yachts\* Der Goes, Domburgh, and

Coukerken (which however sailed independently), embarking with his family in Vereenigde Provintien. She sailed at once, with 430 souls on the roll (besides women and children), of whom 3 died before sailing and 40 were missing, 'mostly sailors'. His list of officers is useful, as helping to define two ranks (here starred, see the Index) which are often mistranslated: it includes Chief Mate, two Mates, a Derdewaak\*, Boatswain, Schieman\*. The ship carried 6 metal\* and 26 iron guns, including 4 cannon-royal (halve Cartouwen). Channel. Downs with an English pilot, to await a fair wind: English bumboats brought beer, bread, mutton, dried herrings, etc., and live sheep. November 23 anchored off Dover Castle, 'which is said to have been set up by the Romans in the days of Julius Caesar, or as others say was built by the Devil in one night, which seems too much of a fable'. Wind so strong that the sheet anchor\* must be dropped, and the yards and topmasts lowered. December 3 off the Lizard. Rationing from December 7. January 15 to 22, 1655 at Cape Verde for water, birds, fish: the natives described. February 2 joined for a time by Vogel Phenicx. Equator February 7. February 19 overtook flute\* Coningh David. Abrolhos, 'in Portuguese "Open your eyes".' March 6 at 36° 9' South, 'now steering therefore for the most part to the East, straight for the Cabo: van goede Hope'. March 25: 'we now saw daily the large gulls called Jan van Gent'. March 27, 'a quantity of small Sea-Swallows'. March 30 met Maagd van Enchuijsen, 'a war-yacht\* of more than 150 lasten, manned with 133 men and armed with 28 to 30 guns'.

Today the 2d [April 1655] in the morning, the wind still southerly, a stiff topsail breeze, sailing for the most part East, the Maagd van Enchuijsen a good distance aft of us. We had clear and good weather, and before midday saw the land of the Cabo: de Bona Esperance, finding ourselves arrived directly in front of the Table Bay, thus named for a very high hill, broad and quite flat on top, in shape like a table, and therefore very readily to be distinguished from other hills, since no more like it are to be found for a great distance around here. We fired a gun, and flew the flag aft according to sea-custom, to let the yacht know, setting our course directly for the roads, making a good speed. After midday we sighted a ship coming out of the bay, taking her course (because of the wind) along the North side of the Robben Eijlandt, thus named for the quantity of Robben or Sea-dogs which dwell on the same: it lies about 2 miles\* from the mainland, being entirely dry and barren. In the first watch\* [8 p.m. to midnight] it fell dead calm, so that we were compelled to anchor between the Robben Eijlandt and the Lion Hill, in 23 fathoms, rocky ground: this hill is thus named because it somewhat resembles a lying lion, as also because many lions dwell on it.

3rd. At dawn we again set sail, with a weak Southerly breeze, and before midday anchored [DR] in the roads of the Table Bay, firing five guns as the signal of a journey performed, which were duly replied to by the Fort '*The Hope*' on land, and at once secured our ship with 2 anchors\*, and struck the yards and topmasts, since at times it can blow exceptionally hard here, especially when the aforesaid Table Mountain is covered with clouds.

We found here at anchor the galliot\* *Rode Vos*, also the yacht\* *Coukerken* which had sailed from Zeelant on December 10 last year and had arrived here yesterday [DR]. They reported, that they had spoken the yacht *Domburgh* (which sailed the day after us) 3 days ago near the land, she having lain here for 14 days before now continuing her journey to Batavia [DR 18/3, 31/3]. Also, that the ship which we had seen yesterday was the *Wapen van Amsterdam*, which had sailed from Veere on October 16 last year [DR 18/3, 31/3].... Shortly after us there also came to the roads [DR], firstly the yacht *Blommendal*, then the ship *Vogel Phenix*, and after midday the yacht *Maagd van Enchuijsen* and the flute\* *Coning David*. In a word, some sailed well and others seemed hardly to be able to keep up, yet all arrived here on time'.

The Hon. Cmdr. Johannes Riebeecq, Upper-Merchant\* and Administrator here, came aboard to welcome the Hon. Pieter Sterthemius.... [long list of ships recently calling:] in a word, the Rendezvous is now seen to be here; but such would not be the case if the Hon. Directors had not strictly ordered the same [7/10/54], since before this everyone tried to make the fastest possible passage, for which the Hon. Lords ordered a notable sum of money, called premium-money, for whoever completed it in the fewest months. Because of their greed for this the skippers, mates and others that shared it would often refuse to touch anywhere until forced thereto by the most extreme need, so that there was a scarcity of water and food.... For this reason, all ships, for whatever Chamber\* they sail, are now compelled (as aforesaid) to touch at this *Cabo: de Goede Hope*, unless this is impossible owing to severe weather or other causes, as shown by their daily log, on pain of losing the said premium. But the time that they lie here is not reckoned in their passage.

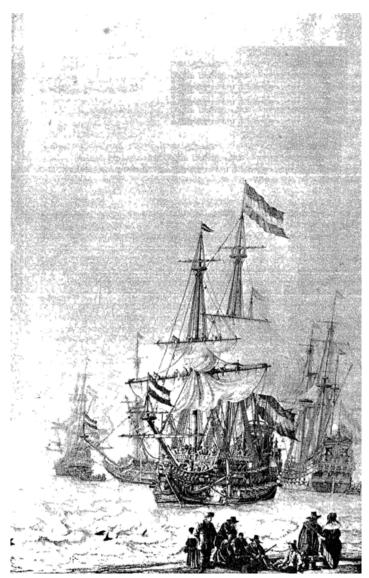
Towards evening the Hon. Cmdr. Riebeecq went ashore again, with a salute of some guns.

4th. This morning we went out shooting with the hunter\* of the Fort *The Hope*, a Frenchman [Resolutions 17/7/55], going along the whole length of the Salt River, but at this time seeing few geese or other wildfowl because of the unsettled weather, with rain and a strong wind. Behind the Table Mountain we came into a village of the inhabitants, called Hottento: and Hottento: Broqua because they thus sing of themselves for a little bread [see Hottentots\*, Name]: it lay near a fresh-water stream [Liesbeek], grown with much deulten [?], unknown reeds and other scrub, a convenient hidingplace for all wild beasts, as also we could trace there the still-fresh tracks of Lions, Tigers, wolves, Jackals, Deer, terribly large Baboons and other such animals. And to tell the truth, they were the poorest little dwellings that I ever saw anywhere, consisting of straw mats, made quite round on top in the fashion of bake-ovens in Holland, with a square opening through which they must creep in and out. Further, we saw no cultivation whatever around their huts, since they know nothing of sowing or reaping, nor of fishing [sic], nor of bird-catching although enough of both fish and birds are to be had here, nor of any means to obtain their sustenance other than the violent killing of Deer and other

wild beasts with *Hasegaijen* or darts\* [worp-pijlen], bows and arrows, and such weapons; and eating these quite raw, bloody, dirty and unwashed, intestines and all without distinction; and eating even men, as often happened before now, and (according to the hunter) happened not long ago to some who went unarmed too far inland. But those near the Fort, who come there daily, and are given food when they bring stumps and tree-roots suitable for firewood - these do no one any harm, even if they go quite far inland alone [like] 2 comrades whom we met here.... They lay, seven of them, in a wood not far from here, to cut and saw planks and other usable timber, both for the Commander's house and a little chapel in the Fort, and also for a little yacht\* which was in the stocks on the beach [DR 13/3]; but this day, being Sunday, they had gone out shooting for amusement. After we had chatted a while they went back to the said wood: from this it is to be seen, that here inland there is enough timber to be had, though the bringing of it is toilsome and difficult.

Around here we saw more than 100 cattle grazing... and a quantity of sheep with wide tails, like those of Zourat [Surat] and Persia, where some weigh little less than 20 lb., being almost entirely composed of fat. But, according to what the hunter\* told us, they would sell none of them [DR 10/2], and themselves never kill any, unless so sick that they can no longer keep up with the herd, but make do with the Milk only; and this, according to him, was so scanty that often they must fast for 2 or 3 days before they got any. Hence it may well be seen, that from their great and intolerable hunger they are forced to eat everything they can get, raw or cooked, dirty or clean, fresh or stinking, since nothing matters to them so long as they can guzzle it down. Their belly is almost like that of the Ostriches (of which also there are a quantity here). Furthermore, they know nothing of God or of His Commandments, living in the wilds little better than the beasts. When the New Moon shows itself, they seem to have a certain pleasure in singing, dancing and making a noise in honour of the same; and then those who are yet unmarried (after their fashion) that night take women, one, two or more as they meet them, whether old or young, pretty or ugly (since in looks they all resemble each other, with little to choose between them), and this without any ceremony of marriage [not confirmed elsewhere]. But the women are quite shameless, exposing themselves for a little bread or other food, even if their own husbands are standing near by.... Their clothing is nothing but the skins of wild beasts and seals, the men wearing one skin only, not longer than to their waist, and the women 2, 3, or more skins, somewhat longer, and all also covering their privities with a small skin. The men are tolerably tall and well built, and exceptionally fast runners, but by nature cruel, sly and rascally: the women are quite short of stature and very ugly. The ornaments of both sexes consist of a number of rings of copper, ivory, leather and other materials, around their arms and legs: also as many chains of poor red corals [beads] as their means will allow, hanging from the holes in their earlobes: they also plait some little shells in their hair, smearing this, as also their whole body, with every sort of fat that they can get, and from this they stink exceptionally foully (as do most of the black peoples in general), and otherwise they would be yellow rather





[6] Fleet of 1653: at left *Maeght van Enkhuysen* with Vice-Admiral's flag on foremast; at right probably *Brederode*, with Admiral's flag at the main. Ned. Hist. Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam.

than black because of the cold climate of this land. They also cut and burn [see Cicatrisation\*] many signs in their body for ornament, and go barefoot, or sometimes with skins tied under them, and indeed go almost naked however cold be the weather. In hair and all else they resemble the Caffers of *Guinea*, *Angola* and *Monzembicque*, their neighbours; but since (as aforesaid) they live far further to the southwards, they are nothing like so black of skin, and somewhat better built. In a word, it is almost impossible, and quite unbelievable by those who have never seen such people, to realize their wild, strange, and altogether beast-like manners.

Since we gained little here from shooting, we went back to the Fort *The Hope*. Meanwhile the Hon. Sterthemius also came ashore, with his wife and children, to remain there for some days, being properly welcomed and suitably greeted with some guns, both from the Fort as also from the redoubt *Sandenburgh*, lying at the mouth of the Salt River [Duynhoop].

This Fort\* was first begun by the Hon. Cmdr. *Riebeecq* 3 years ago, by order of the Lords Proprietors of the East-India Company, consisting (like a field-work) of good clay sods: these are very suitable for brick-making [DR 11/6/54], with which also the Commander's house and the little chapel have been built, they being actually busy in burning an oven-full, so that in time the whole Fort can be built of bricks. It is tolerably large, with 4 bastions, well provided with cannon and all munitions of war, and closed in front by an earthen outwork, convenient for an entrance, in which are lying 2 new cannon-royal [halve Carthaunen], for which the carriages are not yet made.

The redoubt Sandenburgh lies about a gunshot from the Fort The Hope, inland towards the Salt River, manned by 10 or 12 soldiers under a Corporal, having for its defence 2 large iron guns, with the necessary muskets and other arms. Thus those actually stationed here on land are as a rule more than 125 persons besides women and small children, together with those who sail in the aforesaid galliots\* [Tulp, Roode Vos]. To the West side of the Fort, along the flowing stream whence we drew water [Fresh River], there was now a fine enclosed Garden,\* where a Dutch Farmer [Boom: DR 10/9] of Amsterdam was set with his wife and children, to sow and cultivate the same, living there in a little house built of reeds, looking after the milch-cows, sheep, pigs and hens, and doing other such household tasks, providing the Administrator's table with fresh butter, milk, vegetables, fruits and such like that can be grown here. Carrots [Wortelen], cabbage, beetroots or carrot-salad [Bietwortelen ofte Carotensalad], beets [Beet], onions, cress, sorrel and corn-salad [Vetticq] grow here freely, as also radishes and water-lemons\*; but parsley, 'Madjeleijn' [?], sage, tarragon, artichokes, asparagus are meagre and few. Chervil will not grow here at all: the white cabbages do not grow large, and I never saw runner-beans or peas, and believe that these could not stand up to the terribly strong winds that come down over the Table Mountain. This Garden is being daily extended, and is surrounded and cut through by many channels leading from the stream, for the irrigation of the same; but around the Fort\* there is only a wide, dry moat, which nevertheless could very readily be filled with water if needs be, though at

present this seems unnecessary. We now daily received aboard some sacks of greenstuff such as cabbage, carrots, red beetroot [Kroten], radishes and black radishes [Rammelasz] for refreshing, both for the Cajuit\* and the crew: but cattle (as aforesaid) the inhabitants would not barter - which, because of the quantity we had seen inland, seemed pretty strange to us.

We could see no [hope of any] barter or trade with these folk: profits [must] come for the most part from the skins of the Sea-dogs or Robben, for which were used the aforesaid galliots along the coast around here, and principally on the *Dassen Eijlandt*, killing them with clubs for the sake of the skins, which were then dried on the rocks. At this time 4 men were also set on the *Robben Eijlandt*, to keep watch there. We were told (but could scarcely believe it) that the sealskins could bring in 20 thousand guilders more than the total costs of the Fort, the garrison, and other necessary expenses. [His doubts were justified: see Seals\* in the Index.]

Those stationed here as soldiers and sailors do not find things too good, since they must daily do heavy work, some in the making and firing of bricks, others in the burning of lime from the large *Mother-of-Pearl* shells which lie in considerable numbers on the shore, and others again in the cutting, sawing, and preparing of wood and in bringing it from the forests, and many other such tasks. At this time there came also some Biscayan\* shallops\* [sloepen] with the Dutch ships, to be used for whaling here in the Bay and along the coasts, where whales are seen at times in great numbers, and there arrived also the pans and other implements for rendering train-oil as is done in *Groenlandt*. This was taken in hand here many years ago also, with some small ships, but, because of the long journey, did not bring in much more than the costs, and was therefore abandoned [it again now proved a failure].

Further, use is made here, in place of bacon and meat [DR 6/4/54] of *Penguins* or *Dodersen*, large oily birds which live here on the shores, unable to fly and killed with clubs only, but very unpleasant and foul to eat, this causing many who are unaccustomed to it to desire most heartily to leave here.

In the evening we returned aboard, having killed only a cormorant and a plover.

5th and 6th. Our crew was continually busy with getting water and seeing to the ship, the blocks and the rigging. The skiff\* twice went out fishing with the seine, but each time brought little aboard. This day the Hon. Sterthemius again came aboard with his wife and children....

7th. This morning Heer Sterthemius again went ashore, taking some 50 of our soldiers as also proportionate numbers from the other ships, to inspect (with the Hon. *Riebeecq* and other senior officials) the forest from which the wood was brought, which also was done. On coming aboard they told us of having passed 3 little villages behind the Table Mountain, with a great quantity of cattle and sheep, among which [latter] were many with quite smooth hair and long legs like dogs, of which some (red in colour) were seen near the first village, from which it was supposed that the she-goats [*sic*] may at times breed from the large dogs or jackals; but this is uncertain.

[News of a large ship seen on the 4th from Robben Island.]

8th. Fairly good weather. We now had nearly all our water aboard, and had heeled the ship and cleansed her hull as far as possible, since we were excessively foul....

Towards evening a man came aboard from the Robben Island, reporting ... that a sail had again been sighted close to the shore; and a Mate was sent in the longboat\*. [She was the yacht\* *Cabeljauw*, from Batavia with rice, arrack, sugar etc. for the Cape, and with news from Bantam, Amboina etc., and of the return-fleet.]

9th. Early in the day-watch\* [8 a.m. to noon] the said *Cabbeljauw* came to anchor near us, firing 3 guns which we at once repeated as a welcome. Our longboat went once more for the water needed for this day, and in the afternoon went as far up into the Salt River as was possible, to bring in firewood of which we were in great need.

Today, the 10th in the morning there arrived here [DR] from the island *Ste Helena* the galliot *Tulp* ... he brought with him 2 Persian horses, which has been provisionally set on the said island by the return-fleet [of the previous year], since because of the war with England it had not touched at the Cape, to be used here for hauling wood: these were thus now 8 in number [DR 10/4]. They seem somewhat small on an average, but are nevertheless useful for drawing waggons and carts, of which there is a pretty fair provision, and others are being made in the forest.

There were here at this time, besides the Hon. Cmdr. *Riebeecq*, also *Fredricq Verburgh*, Under-Merchant\* and Secunde\* [and others listed]. But there was a strong rumour abroad that, since most of the work of fortifications and so on was almost finished, so that so many people were now considered unnecessary here, the number would be reduced to 40 or 50 persons at the most.

Note: about a year ago [DR 28/1/54: see Mining\*] a silversmith, serving on land here as a soldier, discovered a certain silver-lode in the ascent between the Table and the Lion Hill [Kloof], and made a silver spoon therefrom, which was sent, together with the ore, to the Lords Proprietors in the Fatherland: it was well recognised as genuine [*sic:* letter from them 28/12/54], but the mineral so scarce and so toilsome to dig out that it could not cover the costs, and for that reason was not further developed.

11th. We went ashore early to hear the sermon of *Domine Bushoven* of the ship *Phenix;* but since we found the Fort closed, the 10 or 12 of us resolved to climb up the Table Mountain. However on arrival at the foot most turned back, seeing no hope of doing this; but I, with the Sick-Comforter\* [and three others] encouraged one another and climbed up gradually, finding on the way a man from the *Phenicx* and 4 from the *Bloemendal*, also doing their best to get to the top, although some of their companions had found the trip too toilsome and had also turned back. The further we went up, the steeper and more impassable we found the path, overgrown with many low milkwoodtrees and other thorny and hooked bushes, and between these with much long rushy grass like float-grass [lies], almost like the marram-grass on the dunes in Holland, and with other sharp and prickly scrub. We were also impeded by many small and large stones, which appeared to have been torn away from the rocks by rain and wind, of which

some were as large as full-sized longboats and skiffs: these indeed compelled us to make innumerable halts for rest. Some of us were seen to suffer also from thirst, since the terrible heat here between the rocks was unbearable, no wind being able to fan us there; and there was no water to be had for our relief except underfoot. Some for this reason licked the rocks where a little seemed to ooze out, somewhat to quench their thirst, but to no avail; but since I was still fasting I could well endure the thirst.

At last the Sick-Comforter, the Carpenter's-mate, and one from the Blommendal's crew halted, saying that they could climb no further. We others went on, however, and at last (almost completely out of breath) reached the top, having been on the way for about 5 hours, at a guess. Here this mountain divided again into three parts, each pretty high. We first climbed up the East side to seek for fresh water, but in vain: then on the West side where we found it abundantly, in shallow grooves and other hollows of the rocks. In these were also many irregular and snow-white little stones which seemed to grow there, in my opinion congealed by the cold and cloudy air which often lies over that part, and by the accretive nature of the stone [? 'steenagtige groeijsamheit']. We did not go to the South, since nothing was to be seen there except a quantity of unknown shrubs, and many entirely barren areas.... We sat down here beside the water to rest a little, eating a piece of dry biscuit which one of the sailors had brought up with him, and meanwhile were rejoined by the three comrades we had left behind. Being somewhat refreshed, we went a little along the edge, whence there was a very horrifying view downwards, the Fort The Hope looking quite small, and the Garden as if laid out in rectangular plots by lines, the sea covered with foam as if painted with the very small ships in it, all looking stiff and motionless. Indeed it is so exceedingly high that from here one can see no men in the Fort or on the open spaces, although on the shore they can be seen because of the whiteness of the sand, and seem little larger than crows. We found here a black flagstaff standing in a gully, brought up there by some enthusiasts and marked with some letters and signs, to which I added the initials of my name. Also we saw meanwhile a ship come in around the point of the Bay [Mouille Point], towed in by 2 longboats\*; and as we came somewhat nearer to the Lion Hill, we saw another ship out at sea, as far away as we could see, from here seeming to be sailing in the clouds, most strangely. From here we could see along over the *Lions Rump*, since we were considerably higher than its Head. Also we perceived very few birds here because of the terrible height, and no living creature except a few lizards and a very small frog. This mountain is equally steep and inaccessible on all sides, except by the gorge [Platteklip] by which we had ascended, this lying right at the front of the mountain: at the top it is not more than 2 fathoms wide, set on both sides with very terrifying overhanging rocks, from which everywhere small and large fragments seemed to have been torn away, these lying in the path as aforesaid, in such a way that it is impossible to see the foot of the mountain even if one stands close to the edge; but on top the mountain is quite level and flat, especially in the 3 areas aforesaid, since in many places these are nothing but bare stony flats devoid of any shrub-growth. From here we could see over many forests and hills inland, and could also trace the course and run of

the Salt River, extending very widely towards the North [Riet Vlei], incomparably further than we had gone at the back of the Table Mountain. And many other strange things.

After we had all fed our inquisitive desires up here, and the sun was well on its way down, we set out again downwards along the route by which we had come up, but found the same no less toilsome and dangerous than in the ascent. And especially I myself, having drunk too much cold water up above, was now plagued exceedingly by cramps, but nevertheless must go forward since no one would wait for me now that the night was at hand. Moreover the grass ['liesagtige gras'] was so smooth under our feet that it was impossible to stand firmly, but rather we slid through the stones, sometimes for fully the height of a man, at the expense of our arms and legs, since we must chiefly rely on our hands to hold ourselves fast; and if they failed us we went on downwards in such a manner that the effects were well visible on our stockings, shoes and clothes. But what was even worse, the dark overtook us about half-way down the mountain, so that we were in danger from the wild beasts, and in the dark became separated into three groups. But later the new moon gave us so much light, that we were let into the Fort (at our request) quite late in the evening, thanking Almighty God for his protection.

Here we learnt that the yacht\* *Der Goes* of Zeelant (which had sailed on January 10 last from Wielingen) had arrived [DR] at these roads....

12th. The ship seen by us from the Table Mountain arrived here, being the *Prins Willem* [DR], which had sailed about the New Year from Zeelandt....

13th. As we were now pretty well provided with firewood, the shallop\* was again sent to fish, namely in the Salt River, where the crew had noticed much fish in certain pools. On their return they brought aboard more than 1200 harders, most of which they had taken from the said pools, using a small part only of the seine, since the harders here never or rarely leap over the net as is the case in the Indies and elsewhere. This fish is about a span long, or a little more or less, being rather slim than thick-bodied, with scales like a 'wooren' [?]....

Today the 14th in the morning the shallop again went out fishing, but the catch was nothing like so good as yesterday. The skiff\* also brought in a good load, well worth the labour. This day we also got aboard the last of the refreshing, consisting of various sacks of cabbage, radishes, carrots, and a great number of water-lemons\* and melons, which were distributed to the crew after the Cajuit\* had taken its share of them; but of cattle only 2 old cows and one tasty sheep were divided among the whole fleet during all the time that we were here, which was little help for so many men.

15th. This morning was calm, and the Hon. Cmdr. *Riebeecq* came aboard to take his farewell of us. About midday there was a light breeze, though variable, but nevertheless we set sail: namely our ship as Admiral\*, together with the ship *Phenicx* and the yachts\* *Coukerken, Maagd van Enchuijsen, Bloemmendal* and *Coningh David*, all firing gaily in farewell, to which the Fort *The Hoop* replied to wish us Bon Voyage. The ship *Prins Willem* and the yacht *Dergoes* remained at anchor, to provide themselves with water and then follow us as quickly as possible. The yacht *Cabbeljauw* was also to leave for her destination shortly. We first set our course along the North side of the *Robben Eijlandt*, to take advantage of what little wind there was, this being still variable until the Dogwatch\* [midnight to 4 a.m.], when we got a good breeze from the S:S:E:, sailing therefore S:Wt: for the most part.

16th. In the morning ... we lost touch with the yachts *Bloemendal* and *Maagd van Enchuijsen*, supposing that they had been overtaken at night by the calm caused by the high land, and being thus unable to come out. We nevertheless set forward our journey, and by the evening the Table Mountain was already out of sight....

Batavia June 18. Heeck then served in various ships, making a voyage to Siam late in 1655, and one to Coromandel in 1656: his journal ends on July 29 that year, and no second volume has survived.

#### **Background - continued**

15/4/1655 ... towards the afternoon ... the Hon. Sterthemius set sail [with *Provintie*, *Phenix*, *Maeght van Enckhuysen*, *Coningh David*, *Blommendael*, *Koukerken*]

21/4 to 9/5: van Goens Senior at the Cape with the return-fleet: his suggestions of canal\* from Table Bay to False Bay, as a defensive frontier rather than for navigation.

28/4 Letter to Holland (in reply to one dated 6/10/54 suggesting the sending out of Dutch colonists) ... [practicability] much to be doubted ... [if free families sent] should be stipulated that they reside here for at least ten years ... slaves would be necessary ... there are several among your Servants ... who would be well inclined for freedom if they could have their wives sent out to them ... this would be the best to begin with....

Resolutions 17/7. De la Guerre 'has been useful ... as Hunter,\* and by his diligence has brought in much game ... in future to earn 15 gld. as Hunter'

6/9 ... resolved to send a party of 9 volunteers ... together with Herry\* ... inland with copper, tobacco, pipes, beads etc.... [Left 9/9, back 5/10: apparently to the Hottentots-Holland Bergen, the second inland expedition\*.]

4/9 ... locally built sloop named Robbejacht launched ... about 16 to 17 lasten\*....

1/10 [Ten Company's milch-cows leased to] the gardener Hendrik Hendricx Boom, living outside the Coy's. fortress at the gardens....

23/11, 27/11 ... large numbers of natives had come with much livestock ... the tribe of the Black Captain [Gonnema: the Cochoquas]....

#### [1656]

# Commonwealth in England. Dutch war with Portugal continues. February, Spain declares war on England. September 5, Anglo-French treaty of friendship. Background

4/3 ... beams from the forest brought to be used for the proposed jetty\*....

28, 29/4 ... palisades for the Company's garden\*....

17/5 ... At the ronde bossjen, about 2 miles\* southwards from here behind the Table Mountain, about <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> morgen\* of land was ploughed and sown with wheat, rice and oats ... to see if they would definitely suffer less there from the strong winds....

18/5 ... wife of the Company's chief gardener ... allowed to keep a tavern to provide men from the passing ships with refreshment and lodging....

17/6 ... resolved to fix the following rewards\*: for catching or shooting a lion 6 reals\* of eight, a tiger or wolf 4, and a leopard 3.... [First payment 23/7: amounts repeatedly modified later.]

3-5/7 ... at least 300 young lemon and apple trees [brought from Saint Helena]....

21/9 ... arrived towards evening the *Princes Royael* ... had left on May 31 ... 356 men on board ... no deaths, but some were suffering from scurvy....

30/9 ... *Princesse Royael* sent their longboat under sail to the land for refreshments, which capsized because of a violent storm, so that they also sent their second skiff\* thither ... [Mistranslated in English edition of the Daghregister.]

1/10, 2/10 ... all in the boat had been saved except for three men, but the boat lost ... recovered on this side of the Robben Island ... no damage but the loss of a leeboard ...

# 5 Volquardt Iversen (Plate 7)

(See also item 16.) His 'De Beschryving der Reisen ...' first appeared in German with notes by Olearius in 1669, and again in 1696. It was translated into Dutch (bound with the 1670 edition of Saar, item 10), with some of the Olearius notes, and with the name given as Volkert Evertsz. No copy either of the German or Dutch editions appears to be available in South Africa: this translation was made from photostats of the Dutch edition, by the courtesy of the British Museum. The Olearius notes are omitted.



[7] From IVERSEN, item 5. Assuming that the picture was made from Robben Island the solitary house on the shore is of interest, as probably intended for van Riebeeck's first home. The designation of the Devils Peak as *Bellows* is unique: its alternative (and more official name) was *Wind Hill*.

After I, Volkert Evertsz, born at *Husum* in *Holstein*, had worked for a time in *Amsterdam* in my trade of bookbinder, and had several times heard from those who had journeyed to the *East Indies* and were again come back home, what an excellent land this was, and what wonderful rarities of men, beasts, plants and trees they had seen there, and how also they had brought back a good fistful of money, I also became wishful to see these lands; and knowing no other means thereto than to abandon my trade (which brought me in little), I resolved to take service with the Proprietors of the East-India Company. To this end I had myself signed on at *Amsterdam* as a Cadet\*.

Our journey began in April of 1655 in the ship *Princes Roijal* [in reality May 31, 1656 from Vlie by Hague codex 4389 folio 46. S. Vicente for water and wild goats; S.Antão 'taking with us some knives, shirts, hats and shoes to barter with the inhabitants for cattle, oranges, apples, lemons and bananas'. Equator]. We were fortunate

in that we were not long delayed there, but went forward with a moderate wind. But the most amusing thing was that many fish, as large as herrings, came flying into our ship ... and served us as food. Some birds as large as our ordinary gulls [Boobies] also came and settled around the mast and on the maintop to rest: our seamen climbed up there by night and caught them in their hands. Having crossed the Equator we set our course for the *Kabo de bona Esperance*, which is the furthest corner of *Africa* [*sic*] and arrived there safely [DR September 21, 1656].

The Dutch had then built a Castle or Fort there and set a garrison therein; and had planted a large Garden\* close by, which was full of all sorts of plants such as cabbages, turnips, carrots and radishes, which we took for our refreshment. We also took along some oxen and sheep, as also many barrels of fresh water, this being very good here. The worst and most dangerous thing here is that often heavy storms and great tempests arise, with such a terrible roar that one must be astonished thereat. and as suddenly as if the wind were shaken out of a bag so that one can scarcely guard against it. There is a tall hill here which they call the Table Mountain because it is quite flat and even on top, and on both sides goes steeply down, and thus looks like a table. Near this hill is another called the Lion Hill, because from far off it well resembles a lion lying down on its belly, with its head towards the Table Mountain and its tail towards the sea. When it is seen that the clouds approach over the *Table* Mountain one can be sure that a great storm is coming; and it is therefore a common saying 'The Tablecloth\* is spread, we shall soon be served with ill-cooked food'. While we were there a terrible storm suddenly rose, with such a noise that one could not hear another speak although not far apart. Also thereby we had the ill fortune that our longboat\*, which had gone off with some men to fetch water, capsized because the helmsman tried to come about in such a heavy storm, which caused the death by drowning of three of them. The rest were saved, although with much toil [DR 30/9]. But how the *Dutch* have settled here, and how it is with the natives there, I will tell when I come here again on my return journey.

When we had taken aboard our fresh supplies at the *Cape*, we continued our journey to *Batavia*. [DR 7/10. Arrived there early 1657, and there for four months: then Japara, Moluccas, Surat: thence 1667 to Batavia for discharge.]

#### **Background - continued**

7/10/1656 ... At midday the Princesse Royael set sail....

11/12 ... reaping of wheat began at the Ronde Doorn Bosjen ... not one ear found to be damaged by the wind....

#### [1657]

# Commonwealth in England. Dutch war with Portugal continues. March 23, Teaty of Paris, war England and France against Spain. Background

21/2. Since many of the men have now learned of the further orders of our Masters to establish freemen here ... some have asked for their discharge and have chosen the plots they wish to have ... [Terms: taxes after 3 years, alienable after 3 years, may fish in rivers but not for sale, may sell produce not wanted by Company to ships but not before third day after arrival, no brandy to be brought ashore, not to keep taprooms, no trade with Hottentots, purchase and sale of beasts with the Company only]

12, 13/3 ... one of the freemen from the Stevens colony [left bank of Liesbeek] came to complain that last night ... some Hottentots had stolen fully 100 lb. of [growing] tobacco....

[16/3 to 19/4. Van Goens Senior again at Cape, canal\* ordered]

6/6 [3 freemen-colonists] had, unknown to us ... gone about 15 hours inland,\* mostly southwards, and there met some natives ... about 5 or 600 ... near a very lovely river ... in so lovely a flat, rich landscape that the Cape valleys cannot be compared with it ... being extraordinarily amicably received by the said natives ... who named the said region ... their Holland or Fatherland, the better to make our folk understand the richness of grazing for their animals there....

17/7 ... The Commander ... selected a very convenient place for the defence of the Company's garden [Rondebosch] and of the properties of the freemen ... to set there the chief and strongest redoubt [Koornhoop]....

20/7 ... The Commander ... having sought out a good place for a granary ... resolved to take the carpenters from the work on the jetty for the erection of this ....

#### [1658]

# Commonwealth in England: death of Cromwell. Dutch war with Portugal continues, also Anglo-French war against Spain. Background

7/1 The freemen who intended to support themselves by fishing and by extracting train-oil etc. on the islands and in the Saldanha Bay went there in the small old sloop ['sloep'] *Peguyn* which had been sold to them ... [To sell to Company what this needs, may sell the rest to freemen and ships]

17/1 ... The jetty is so far ready that the Commander ... for the first time walked along the beams and boarded the skiff lying at the end of it....

5/3 [*Hector*, *Orangie* arrived homeward-bound. Letter sent home querying whether anchorage\* should not now be charged.]

6/3 ... The remaining ships *Parel*, *Malacca* and *Gecroonde Leeuw* safely reached the anchorage ...

#### **6 Johan Nieuhof**

(See also items 2, 8, 25, 29.) Sailed in *Paerel* from Batavia on December 22, 1657. In Table Bay March 6 to 19, 1658, but makes no mention of the call.

#### **Background - continued**

19/3/1658.. This afternoon the return-fleet set sail ... *Parel, Orangie, Malacca, Hector* and *Gecroonde Leeuw*....

21/3 [Return of inland expedition\* which had left 27/2: to Berg River only. Entry in journal for May 19] 'a large lion sprang upon one of our men as they were sitting in a circle round a small fire ... and bit him in the right arm. The Serjeant ... shot it'

28/3 [arrived] *Amersfoort*, sailed October 14 ... from Vlie ... near the coast of Brazil took [250 slaves by DR 26/3] out of a Portuguese prize, all but 170 having died and many being sick ... most of them girls and small boys....

1/4 [DR mentions letter from XVII of October 9, 1657, ordering ships to sail homewards north-about\*]

25/7 ... sighted ... the flute\* *Nieuwpoort* ... left Texel ... April 16 with flute *Leerdam* (from which she became separated near the Line) with 175 men, none of whom had died but about 20 were suffering from scurvy....

## 7 Wouter Schouten (Plate 8)

(And see item 14.) He was baptised at Haerlem in 1638, and died in 1704. 'Impelled by the combined longings for travel and for learning' he had himself taken on by the Dutch East-India Company as a Ship's Surgeon in March 1658 at Amsterdam. His 'Oost-Indische-Voyagie...' appeared there in 1676: there were later Dutch editions, and at least two French translations. The following is translated from the original edition: it was much drawn on by later writers, at times word for word, Hesse (item 42) being an outstanding thief.

*He embarked at Texel in the flute*\* Nieuwpoort, *sailing with* Dolphijn *and the flute* Leerdam *on April 16*, *1658 (Hague codex 4389, folio 48). Channel. Canaries. Abrolhos in June: July still southwards.* 

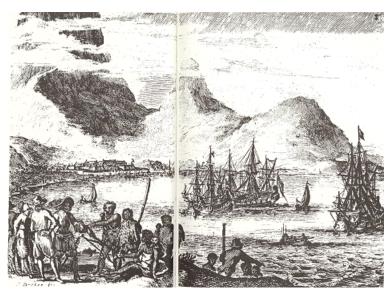
Having thus far won towards the South, we now hoped before long on this course to see the Cabo de Bon Esperance, this falling out so well (according to our desires) that as we neared it we found ourselves before the *Table Bay*, into which, after three days of endeavour, we arrived [DR 25/7] safe and happy in front of the Dutch Castle of *Good Hope*, thanking the Lord GOD for His fatherly aid thus far shown us.

Being come here we found no ships from the Fatherland [*Leerdam* arrived 8/8 only, *Dolphijn* not traced], so that we alone guarded the large *Table Bay*, and from then on we had to make ready to provide ship and crew with all necessities. To this end our diligent sailors brought the sweet crystal fluid from shore, from one of the best-flowing rivers; and firewood for the journey from the African jungles of which sufficient are to be found inland. We also received on board an abundance of good refreshing, consisting of all sorts of beasts, and especially of African sheep, with which we were richly provided. We received also much lovely pot-herbs, besides cabbages, carrots, lettuce, radishes and water-lemons, as also other greenstuffs, which for the most part came from Dutch seeds sown, planted and cultivated here, to the benefit not only of the Dutch living here, but also of the ships touching, who could be thus supplied. But as regards the fruits, these were now scarce, since it was the middle of the Winter. We tried also a cast with the dragnet, and took fully 300.

I went ashore with our Clerk, to observe the state and condition of the place. We then saw with great pleasure and astonishment the pleasant, fine and lovely land of the *Cape of Good Hope*, being the southernmost point [*sic*] of *Africa*, in which we found heaven-high hills, steep rocks, terrible wastes, lovely valleys, fields and farms. There the Dutch farmers now more and more have sought to bring the land around into better conditions, by spading and digging, sowing and mowing, ploughing and planting, and already were bringing butter, cheese, milk and all sorts of fruits and vegetables for sale to the Dutch, especially around and in the Dutch Fort\*. In this Castle dwelt the subjects and Servants of the *Company*, and outside it the freemen\* from our Fatherland had settled themselves, each having an eye to his own benefit. The latter, I mean the freemen, build houses of lime and brick and they have well known how to get along as opportunity served in the growth of the Colony here, first begun not long ago, and also to earn a profitable living.

I and my travelling-companion the Clerk made various trips by land here, and also climbed up the *Lion-Hill*, thus called for its shape as also for the lions that are sometimes shot and taken there. Along our way, as also above on the hill, we found it set with pleasant herbs, long grass and many well-smelling flowers, but with few trees. We went towards its topmost peak, which reaches into the clouds in the misty air, but could not reach the top because of the rocky steeps, although we indeed came near to it. After this in the green valley [Kloof Nek] sloping down between the *Lion* and *Table-Hills* we took great pleasure in watching the agile leaping and clambering of the roebucks, little steenboks and such wild animals, which well knew how to make their way upwards by leaping among the steep cliffs and rocks. But our pleasure here did not last long, since in the middle of our close examination we saw a lion not far from us, which, coming into sight from behind the stones and rocks, at once hid itself again in the undergrowth and scrub. This we did not at all regret, since truly the sight scared us. So we returned to the shore,





[8] From SCHOUTEN, item 7. The details of the Lions Head and Rump are exceptionally clear, though the heights of the hills are exaggerated, and the Platteklip Gorge appears to be shown as a ridge (as in his text, page 86). The Fort is reasonably accurate, with the flag on the Reiger bastion. Note the shallops under sail.

this serving us as a warning not to go thus far inland without a gun.

But nothing brought us more novelty and amusement than looking at the entirely wild men whom we saw along the shore in whole troops. These were *Hottentots*, thus called by us and other Nations, because of their clucking speech, like the noise of turkeyhens [see Hottentots\*, Name]. They, men, women and children, go entirely naked except that sometimes now in the wintertime because of the cold, they hang over their shoulders a smeary, dirty and stinking seal- or other beast-skin, which barely covers their dirty buttocks. By night they creep together in whole troops like beasts under the trees or in the open in ditches and holes. They came daily to us for tobacco. Their food and nourishment was utterly miserable, like their life and condition.

We will tell somewhat more concerning these miserable folk on our return journey, and then also briefly show the conditions of these parts of *Southern Africa*. Now we resume our voyage.

We had now covered about two thousand miles\* of our journey, and had yet another distance of sixteen hundred miles remaining before we could reach our destination, and come to the Capital of the Dutch *East* (I mean *Batavia*). And therefore seeking to go onwards, and being now ready, we left [DR 1/8] the *Cape de bon Esperance*, or the land of *Good Hope*, after we had thanked the Commandeur *Rietbeeck* in command there for all his courtesies and had taken a friendly farewell of him. Being come out of the Bay we put out to sea, and set our course southwards (being a hundred and seventy souls) to reach the usual westerly trade-winds.

Batavia, Amboina, Macassar, Ceylon, Coromandel, Malabar (capture of Quilon etc.), Malacca etc. until December 1664.

#### **Background - continued**

1/8/1658 ... the flute *Nieuwpoort* set sail....

21/8 [Cuttings from vinestocks offered to colonists] but some excused themselves for their ignorance ... and others took one or two only to plant near their houses, none being inclined to give up land for them....

26/8 ... Commander Riebeeck had fully 1200 vinestock-cuttings planted ... on the Bosheuvel....

#### [1659]

# Commonwealth in England. Dutch war with Portugal continues. November 7 peace between France and Spain. Background - from official documents in the archives

2/2 ... Today, praise be to God, wine was pressed for the first time from the Cape grapes....

8/3 ... the Princes Royael came into the bay....

16/3 [arrived] *Arnhem*, sailed on October 22 last from the Vlie with the *Princes Royael* etc. with 347 paid men ... 11 persons died or lost ... a large number ... are lying sick of the scurvy....

20/3 ... the Princes Royael set sail ....

21/3 [two flutes\* arrived] ... *Ulisses* ... left Texel alone on December 3 last ... *Loenen* ... had left on October 22....

22/3 [arrived] ... the ship *Hector* ... had left Goeree on December 6 last ... Today also arrived the Hon. van Almonde in the *Paerl* with the flutes *Cortenhoff* and *Zuylen* [all having sailed from Vlie October 22]

#### 8 Johan Nieuhof

(See also items 2, 6, 25, 29.) According to his account he sailed in Aernhem from Vlie on October 22, 1650, with Paerl, flutes\* Princes Roijael, Loenen, Hector; but by Hague codex 4389 folio 49 Cortenhof and Zuylen were also in this fleet, but not Hector, which sailed on December 6 from Goes.

On the 16th of March [DR] we came safely to the Cape of Good Hope and anchored in the bay. The *Perel* with the three yachts\* anchored in the same bay on the 22nd [DR differs in names and dates]. We went ashore, and made arrangements for our sick: thus far we had twelve dead, but otherwise the crew was fit for the most part [*sic*: see DR]. We brought aboard daily fresh water, firewood, and such refreshing as was to be had there, and meanwhile caught much fish. I went ashore with some of my comrades, taking a musket\* [snaphaen] to shoot some game on the Table Mountain; but high up on the hill we came unexpectedly on a large lion lying asleep, and might easily have walked onto his body. I trod sweetly and softly backwards, saying to my companions 'Let sleeping dogs lie': so we went from there and let the lion sleep. After we had been at the Cape for fourteen days, and were provided with water, firewood and refreshing, we set sail again [DR 31/3].... [Java, Formosa, Malacca, India, Persia.]

# **Background - continued**

31/3/1659 ... the ship *Aernhem* and the flutes *Ulisses* and *Loenen* set sail for Batavia.... 1/4 ... The Hon. van Almonde set sail for Batavia with the *Paerel*, *Hector* and

Cortenhoff; and the galliot\* Zuylen left for the island of Saint Helena....

1/5 ... the free farmers and burghers ... to be formed to a company of musketeers ... with a serjeant, two corporals and a drummer....

2/8 [Frontier Hedge\* decided on, 4/8 sited, 9/8 started: three watch-houses to be built]

19/8 ... work on the protective fence proceeding well ...

25/8 The framework of one of the watch-houses [Kyckuyt] was ... placed on a high dune at the seashore, to close the passage between the Salt River and the beach

26, 27/8 ... The masons were set to work on the second watch-house ... being named Keert de Koe, lying between the Salt River and the fresh Liesbeek River ... a good 340 roods from the watch-house Kyckuyt, the Salt River flowing between them ... The free miller Cornelissen Mostert has begun to build a ... watermill, as the horse-mill is unusable ...

[24/9, 25/9, etc. to 12/3/60 see in item 10]

30/9 ... the Commander went out early ... to mark off the site for the third of the watchtowers ... he named it Hout den Bul ...

5/10 ... sighted ... the *Malacca* ... had sailed from the Vlie on May 29 with 352 paid men, of whom 36 had died and about another 30 were sick and were brought ashore ...



[9] From item 9, Cap: de bona Esperanza

# 9 Albrecht Herport (Plates 9 & 10)

(See also item 17.) His 'Neue Ost-Indianische Reisebeschreibung' was published at Berne in 1669, and reprinted at The Hague in 1930. No complete English translation seems to exist, although the parts dealing with Ceylon were translated in 'Germans in Dutch Ceylon' (Colombo 1953) with my notes and two of the plates. An especially interesting feature of the book is that these plates, although redrawn and signed by some other draughtsman, were obviously based on sketches made by Herport himself on the spot, and not on the imaginations of artists who had never left Europe, like most of those in the earliest travel-books. This is obvious if his view of Table Mountain (Plate 9) is compared with a photograph - with, for example, the frontispiece of one edition of the Cape Town guidebook published by the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association: its accuracy makes it possible to say just where Herport sat to make his sketch, on the Bloubergstrand. (The foreground is, of course, an example of such 'imaginations', with Europeanised Hottentots and an armour-plated rhinoceros such as these were thought to be in early days.) Herport was born at Berne, and enlisted as a soldier with the Dutch East-India Company in Amsterdam, sailing on May 29, 1659 from Vlie in Malacca (Hague codex 4389 folio 49). Moorish pirate driven off in the Channel. Rationing from June 10: for each daily a can\* of water and the eighteenth part of a can of brandy, and weekly four lb. of biscuit. July 20 crossed the Equator 'in great and almost intolerable heat, so that more than the half of us lay sick, and for several days on end three or four died daily.... On the Line it happened that a soldier, by name Peter Anderes, forgetfully lay by night in the moonlight, by which for about a month his mouth and eyes were twisted to the side, but after this returned as they had been.' Rations reduced on September 2 to half a can of water and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of biscuit; 'and similarly also all the other victuals'.

On the 21st of September we saw a Nord-Capper, this being a small kind of Whale, and also some sea-dogs, from which the Master and the Mates could see that we must not be far from the coast of Africa, as also they found from the altitude of the sun at noon. Therefore the Master ordered, that diligent watch for land be kept by day and night, and at the same time promised 6 rixdollars and 4 cans of Spanish wine to him who should first sight the same.

On the 25th in the early morning there was a glad shout from the foremast of 'Land! Land!' which caused no little joy among us all. About an hour later we could all see the land, and recognised it for the coast of Africa and for the Promontory Caput bonae Spei whither we were bound. About 3 in the afternoon we passed between [sic] the Roben and Taxen [Dassen] Islands, and came safely into the harbour and dropped anchor there [but DR 5/10]: that same night we must strike our yard and topmast [read 'yards and topmasts'] because of the heavy winds. And water was now issued freely, which caused so great a joy among us, that it cannot be described in words, and would appear incredible to any who had not himself experienced it, since before this many had only one desire, once again to drink his fill of water before his death, which desire however he could not fulfil until now. Next day the longboat\* and the two shallops\* were launched and rowed to the land, where our Master was very well received by the Commandeur at the Fort, who at once sent us 2 cows and 6 sheep, as also all sorts of green vegetables such as cabbage; and among these also radishes, which we, from our great longing and hankering for fresh food, ate with leaves and stalks, and drank the lovely fresh water as if it had been good new wine.

In this harbour there lay at anchor also another ship, named the *Erasmus*, of Rotterdam, which the year previous had sailed with the fleet from Batavia on the island of Java, but had been driven away from the fleet by a storm, and came here only after 9 months [DR 25/9: see also in item 10]. During this time they suffered great lack of food and drink, so that most of the crew died therefrom, and as a result the ship could hardly be handled. Also she was so damaged that she must be bound thrice with iron chains, so that she should not completely fall apart.

# Short Description of this Promontory of Africa, called Capo de Bona Sperança.

This land is the outermost point of Africa towards the South [*sic*]. There are many high hills there, of which three are named as the chief: the first, Table Mountain, because the top looks as flat as a table; the second, Lion Hill; and the third Wind Hill or Devil's Hill. Below the Table Mountain the Dutch East-India Company has a strong fort, well garrisoned with soldiers, to keep the country here safe.

The Place is held by the Dutch only in order that the ships coming from Holland or the Indies may be able to provide themselves with fresh food and drink and other necessities, and if they have any sick on board can leave them there to be cured.

There are many freemen\* there (which were sent thither from Holland with their wives and children [*sic*]) who cultivate the land with grain and all sorts of garden-fruits. The company itself does much trade there with the natives, giving tobacco, beads, copper wire, as also brass and copper Nurnberg-wares, in exchange for cows, sheep, and other things which the natives give for these.

These natives, who are an ugly race of people, are called Hottentots. They are black-skinned, their hair is like wool (in which they resemble the natives of Angola). They live like savages of little intelligence. They smear their hair with a certain cut up herb [see Hottentots, Buchu\*] mixed together with lard and the fat of sheep and cows, and hang in their hair little mussels and other seashells. Their clothing is the undressed fur or hide of goats, sheep, or also of wild beasts, and around their private parts they have only a scrap of fur. The women have on their arms and legs many brass and copper rings, as also in their ears.

When the Dutch kill any sheep, cattle, etc., they (the Hottentots) take the guts between their fingers and press out the dung: then they lay the same on a fire, let it roast a little and so eat it; and what they cannot eat they wind around their arms and legs. Round their necks they wear many pieces of tortoise-shell, also red and white beads.

From the males in their youth the right testicles\* are cut away, because they are by nature very hot for the female sex.

Their religion or divine service is addressed to the sun and the moon, which they honour and pray to. When the moon is full or new they come together the whole night on the seashore, and make a large fire and dance around it, with great shouting and much playing on drums and other instruments.

These folk are very swift runners, and skilled in stone-throwing and the use of Hassagayen, which they throw by hand; and are also very skilled with bows\* and arrows.

In this land are many wild beasts, such as lions, which come by night below the Fort and dig up the dead from the graves around. There are also many rhinoceroses, tigers, elephants, wild horses [Zebras or Quaggas], porcupines (which dwell in the jungle and are shot by the hunters and eaten as a very tasty game: they defend themselves by shooting their spines [*sic*] at the dogs), also deer, which are as large as an ordinary horse.

The sheep which the natives have are much like our sheep, except for the tail which is very wide and long, and very fat: sheep are met with having tails of thirty pounds weight and more. As well as various sorts of apes and baboons there are also many ostriches here, which lay their eggs here and there to be incubated by the sun [*sic*].

In the port there is an abundance of good fish; also Sea-Cows, having the head and forefeet something like cows, and very good to eat. Also a sort of small whales called Nord-Capers, and another sort of fish called by the Dutch Trillfisch, which are round and blown out in shape but not very large; and if anyone touch this fish, his hand and whole arm are lamed, but soon recover of themselves....

After we had lain nine days there we were ordered aboard, and began to raise the anchor and set the sails, and on the 3rd of October [DR 22/10] sailed out to sea with a salute of 3 guns....

*Then Cocos Islands, Java, Formosa. 1663 at capture of Cochin and Cannanore. Ceylon until 1666, then Batavia for repatriation.* 

#### **Background - continued**

22/10/1659 ... The *Malacca* set sail, and sailing to the East of the Robben Island soon reached the open sea ...

# [1660] May 8, Charles II of England, to 1685. Dutch war with Portugal continues. Background - from official documents in the archives

23-25/2 ... today the boundary of the Cape settlement was measured, and found to be ... 3,673 roods ...

2/3 ... all the ships of the return-fleet ... came to the roads ...



[10] Title-page to item 9, *Newe Ost-Indiani/sche/Reizszbeschrei/bung*, 'New Description of an East-Indian Voyage'. The spritsail and (furled) spritsail-topsail are well shown.

# 10 Johan Jacob Saar (Plates 11, 13 & 14)

His 'Funfzehen-Jährige Kriegsdienste ...' was first published at Nürnberg in 1662, and again there in 1672; and reprinted at The Hague in 1930. This translation is from the first edition. His book is probably one of Dapper's sources, and that excellent liar Fryke (item 43) steals from it consistently.

The special interest of the book lies in the possible reason it gives why Van Riebeeck did not receive the promotion he expected and deserved. Admittedly, it is only a rumour; but anyone who has served in the ranks of any of the armed forces knows how often such 'scuttlebutt' proves disconcertingly true.

No writer was present at the time of the Erasmus mutiny in 1659. Herport (item 9) was there when she lay crippled in Table Bay, but sailed soon afterwards: Saar arrived with the return-fleet in charge of Sterthemius, and was there while he was investigating the case. If, as Saar alleges, this investigation produced a strong criticism of Van Riebeeck, and the threat of an adverse report on him in Holland; and if in fact Sterthemius did make such a report - and as a full Member of the Council of the Indies his opinion would carry great weight with the Lords Proprietors - then this would provide a far more cogent reason for Van Riebeeck being cold-shouldered than the vague jealousies suggested by Godée-Molsbergen in his 'De Stichter van Hollands Zuid-Africa'.

The only contemporary source of information is the DR, from which the following extracts will serve:

September 24 [1659] ... a ship anchored at the entrance of the bay ...

25 ... The officers ... reported that she was the *Erasmus*, which had sailed from Batavia on January 16 [damaged in storm, took refuge in Comoros and Madagascar] ... She had lost 30 men from sickness and was very short of food and stores ... present total of 86 men ... [Her log transcribed.]

27. It has been decided that 12 to 15 men from her shall be sent ashore to help ... with the fetching of timber for the protective hedge\*.

October 4 ... the eleven men from the yacht\* *Erasmus* who have been helping [in the forest] this week ... asked to be allowed to continue ...

9. [Council decided to hold *Erasmus* to go home with the return-fleet expected in February.]

10, 11 ... The men from the yacht *Erasmus* were relieved from their work in the forest and sent back on board ...

December 14. This afternoon the Chief Surgeon, Meester Wiljam Robbertson of



[11] JOH. JACOB SAAR, aged 36 (From item 10).

Dondeij, discovered a most treasonable plot: three of the ringleaders have been taken into custody ...

15. Five more were arrested, all being Servants of the Company ... and last night also the servant\* of a freeman. At an examination held before the Council it was revealed that four English, four Scottish and three Dutch Servants of the Company were involved, as also a black convict and two servants of freemen. Together with fifteen slaves they had plotted first to kill the men from the Erasmus at work in the forest, then all at the Company's Granary, and finally ... everyone in the fort ... Then they were to go out to the yacht Erasmus ... seize her and sail away. [In Cape Archives codex 326, p. 138 other witnesses said that the intention was only to desert to Angola.] Most of the morning and part of the afternoon ... were spent examining the culprits and their accomplices, but apart from the one whom we got to confess yesterday, one of the ringleaders, we have not been able to force any more of them to confess. [The list given is: Peter Barber, Marcus Tomelson, Henry Wright, Stephen Nobel, English; William Morris, James Born, Alexander Crafford, Patrick Job, Scots; Hendrik Hendrikssen, Jacob Dirckssen, Cornelis Willemsen, Dutch; convict Pascual Rodrigos; freemen's servants Class Wiskebroek, Herman Schelhoven. Cape Archives codices 326, pp. 137-139, 2952 p. 25.]

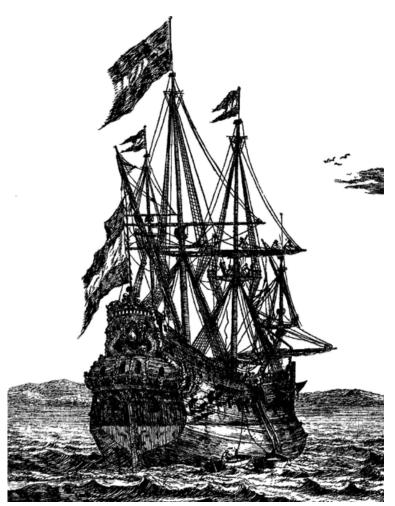
17 ... three more have made voluntary confessions ...

18. Two more made a clean breast of everything, so that now five of the principals have openly confessed all.... Two others of the chief plotters are still at large: Hendrik Hendrikse of Cloppenburgh and Jacob Born of Glasco.... Nevertheless we have succeeded in arresting the following, who have all confessed: Peter Barber of Hamstede, soldier; Jacob Dirxssen of Antwerp, ditto; Patrick 't Jok of Glasco, ditto; Marcus Tommelson of Ogel, ditto; Pascual Rodrigo of Teneriffa, convict ... there are five others under arrest, and another three who are still allowed to go free ... they had known about it for three or four weeks, but none was found to have taken any part....

19.... During the night the two fugitive shepherds were captured ... there are now no more of the plotters at large....

20.... the new prisoners ... one of them, Jacob Born, made a full confession.... The other one, Hendrik Cloppenburgh ... still remained obstinate ... the chief ringleader....

23.... the full confession of the shepherd Hendrik Cloppenburgh having been received ... [Torture was used. List as above repeated, adding] Claes Wiskebroek of Lingerick.... The Council ... decided unanimously to postpone a decision ... until the arrival of the return-fleet, and further to treat leniently those who had little guilt ... and to exchange them, as also all the English and Scots found not guilty, with men from the *Gecroonde Leeuw* now lying in the roads, and send them to Batavia, so as to cleanse this place of weeds as far as possible. [There is a startling mistranslation here in the English version of the DR: 'All the Englishmen and Scots ... were found not guilty', which is of course ridiculous in view of the lists given above.] ... reward of fifty reals-of eight\* [to the Surgeon].



[12] PAEREL: see items 8, 10. She is flying the mainmast-flag as Admiral. The elaborate square stern is well shown, with the 'Pearl' of her name.

24. [Four punished for not having revealed the plot, three suspects freed] but ... they shall be sent to Batavia because Englishmen.

March 1 [1660] .. all nine ships of the return-fleet came to anchor in good order in the mouth of the bay.

12. [8 prisoners again listed.] Decided by the Council\* under Sterthemius not to cause further delay [to the return-fleet] ... but to refer the further proceedings to Their Honours at Batavia ... and to divide the offenders between the next two ships [for there].

20.... the return-fleet ... set sail, and the yacht\* Erasmus went with it ...

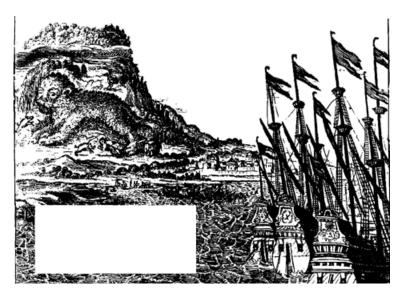
April 8. [Mention of two sent in *Amersfoort*, two in *Walvis*. But by Hague codex 3972, fol. 513-514, Barber, Born, 't Joucq and Tommelson went in *Wapen van Amsterdam*, Rodrigo and Dircksz. in *Amersfoort*, Hendricksz. and Wiskebroecq in *Walvis*].

That practically ends the story, since Mr. M.P.H. Roessingh of the Hague Archives (to whom I am much indebted for help during years of research) informs me that no record of the sentences passed is to be found there: in fact, all that has come to light is a letter from Batavia to the Lords XVII (Hague codex 1122, OBB 1661, folio 100) dated December 16, 1660 advising that a trial will be held in due course, and one from them to the Cape (ditto, folio 134) dated the previous day, promising that the prisoners 'will receive full payment for their deeds'.

Saar was born in 1626, and enlisted as a Cadet\* of the Dutch East-India Company in 1644. Sailed January 8, 1645 (Hague codex 4389) from Middelburg, in ship Middelburg, with Hoff van Seeland. Prevented by contrary winds from touching at the Cape. Batavia and Indonesia. Ceylon (taking of Colombo). Surat. Persia. Goa. Sailed from Batavia December 13 in (his spellings) Princ Wilhelm von Seeland, with Wappen von Holland, Perle, Princesse Royale, Dordrecht, Schlott von Honningen, West-Friessland, See Pferd, Arnheim.

Now, when about 6 weeks had passed, and we had reached the latitude of Mauritius, we were very glad, since in general there are great storms there, and when one has passed there the greatest danger is over. So we sailed more happily on to the Cape de bonn' Esperance; but now were given less water, because each ship had to carry two horses\* from Batavia for the Cape, and since these need much water each of us was docked of 2 Mutsies\* from the 10 which we had before, that is so much as a Can\* or Measure. We often cursed the horses for this, and were glad when one of them died, though we would well have prayed for the death of the other also, since it took away each day two Mutsies of our water.

On March 1st [1660, DR] we arrived with God's help at the Cape, with three sick in our ship but none dead, and at once had the horses hoisted ashore. The next day all our water-casks were brought on deck, and well examined by the Master-Cooper and his mate, and daily filled again with fresh water. Each day we received beef and mutton, and other refreshing. Also on all ships it was forbidden (as also by notices put up) to trade\* with the heathen except for ostrich-eggs and fish; but nothing of large animals such as



[13] From SAAR, item 10. The ornamental square sterns of the ships are well shown: the Fort and town are are as imaginative as is the Lion Hill.

oxen, cows, or sheep, nor any rhinoceros-horns, on pain of the loss of all our pay.

These heathen are called Hottentots, and are barely human, short in stature, very scrawny and thin. Their speech is disagreeable, as if they were clucking like turkeys. They go naked but for a cloak of raw sheepskin around their body, and a scrap of fur to hide their private parts. When one lands they come running, and cry 'Broqua' in their language, that is to say 'Bread', and if they receive it they tread it underfoot [*sic*, in no other writer], and lift up their sheepskin to show how they are made, and how in childhood their left testicles\* are removed. Their ornament is to smear their naked body with all sorts of fat, so that they stink very foully; and they use the guts of sheep to wind around their legs. When they kill a sheep they take a part of the gut, clean it but little from the dung within (since they merely draw it through their fingers), and then lay it on the fire; and after it has lain there for a short time they take it up again and eat it, which is a real horror to see.

It is not known what their religion is; but early, when it is nearly day, they come together, and hold each other's hands, and dance, and shriek in their tongue towards heaven: from which it may be assumed that they must have some knowledge of God, as also they themselves say if asked what is their belief, that they believe in Him who has made everything, the heavens, land, sea, and all that is on the earth.

Further, they are mighty runners. For this reason those horses\* were brought from Batavia to form a Company of cavalry from among our soldiers stationed at the Cape, since they, the heathen, are in no wise to be trusted, knowing well how to do all sorts of trickery. In 1650 [*sic*] the Dutch first built a Fort there, at which the English ships which

touch there must pay for their anchorage\*, as a tax.

There are all sorts of beasts on this island\* [sic], especially lions, of which two skins [see Museum\*] hang in the Governor's House: one was shot by the natives with arrows, the other was strangled in the jungle by a wild pig which defended itself against it. Such pigs are called 'Iron Pigs', and have on their backs exceedingly hard quills, black and white and a foot long, with which one can bore a hole in a cloth, or wood, or other gear, so that the tailors use such instead of bodkins. When now the said lion neared the pig, this defended itself against it, and stabbed it in the left breast near the heart, so that it bled to death, and both were found dead together. There are also many elephants here, and many ostriches, of which I have often eaten the eggs: also I once tried how many hen's eggs would go into such an ostrich-egg, and found that it would hold thirty-six. In Holland the barbers hang them in their shops, and are accustomed to keep their cotton-wool in them. I had two such, and in Batavia paid half a rix-dollar to have one of them cut open; but once when I had set it on my sea-chest a monkey which I also had, and had taught many tricks, and for which I was offered six rixdollars in the Indies, but I intended to take it home: this, I say jumped up on the chest and threw the egg down, so that it broke in pieces, at which I was so angered that I gave it a good thrashing. But it fell sick, and died soon after, so that I suffered a double loss.

While we were at the Capo de bonn' Esperance, we met the ship Erasmus, which had come from the harbour called Sardin Bai, bringing much sheep for our fleet, which Batavia had ordered the Commandeur to get for us, and we then went all out for the mutton which was only too welcome. She gave us surprising news of the dangers she had endured, not only from great storms, of which I will tell more fully below, but from her own people, and it happened thus:

The Commandeur here had treated the poor soldiers of the garrison set there as harshly and as miserably as if they had been less than serfs and slaves. By day they had to cut wood in the forests, and by night continually stand their watches. Some became so desperate at this severe oppression that they decided to make an attack on the crew of the Erasmus if they again came ashore and were busy cutting wood for their damaged ship, and were taking their meal. After this, they were to hasten to the Fortress and there repay the Commandeur according to his deserts; and then similarly kill the other Dutch freemen, except for the women whom they would take to themselves. When this was done, they would fire a gun and half-mast the flags on land, from which the rest on the Erasmus would understand, according to ship's custom, that they also should land. And then, if this succeeded, they would themselves go aboard, and all together make for Angola in the Kingdom of the Congo, the neighbouring country, and there sell the ship to the Portuguese or go over with her to Portugal. But most of those who made these plans were English, Scots and Irish who had taken service, and who now would thus act as they had done against their fellow-countrymen at home. God however let it come to light through a Surgeon, who revealed the plot to the Commandeur: he at once took horse and warned those of the Erasmus who were already in the woods, and also quickly

advised the freemen to hold themselves ready. Since the affair had thus come to light before they could take any action, their chief, and also the principal ringleaders, were quickly arrested and held prisoners until our fleet should arrive. When now our Admiral\* and Vice-Admiral went ashore, the prisoners at once had a petition delivered to him, in which they indeed confessed their evil intent, but also alleged that the extreme severity and pitilessness of their commander had driven them to it. They had engaged to serve Holland as soldiers (as they had truly done on all occasions up to now) but not as slaves, nor to be treated worse than slaves. They therefore hoped, That the Admiral would regard the matter differently. Although now the Commandeur considered that justice should at once be done on these soldiers, our Admoral took a wider and more intelligent view of the matter, and promised them that they would be sent to Batavia with the next fleet, with his own recommendation to the Governor-General there for merciful treatment. He reproached the Commandeur for his great lack of prudence, and told him, That if with God's help he reached the Fatherland, he would let the Company judge whether he was fit for further command here. He also left, before we sailed, a letter to the Governor-General in Batavia, whither the prisoners were to be sent as soon as possible.

[Here follows an episode during the siege of Colombo.]

Since now, as I said, the folk of the Erasmus much complained of what a bad passage they had had from Batavia, with the deaths of thirty-six men, and also that they were badly stocked with provisions, and further that their ship was mighty leaky and they could not be sure of reaching the Fatherland, the more so that they had only one carpenter, all the others having died: because of all this our Admiral called all the Masters and Merchants ashore [Broad Council\*], and ordered that each of our nine ships should give her four men, and something of timber, provisions and carpenters, so that everything possible should be done in order to take the ship along with us, since she should have reached Holland the previous year.

On March 12th all ships had to take on their water, and each day half the crew went ashore for two or three days, especially to buy fish from the freemen\* who had come there from Holland with their wives and children [*sic*]. The East-India Company has thus provided for the cultivation of the land, and its sowing, and there are some thirty who have their households there half a mile\* from the Fort; but they dare not go further, because of the heathen. But the Company rules that they must spend ten years in the Indies before they may go home again, and the same must also be done by any other who wishes to take his wife along; but a bachelor need sign for five years only if a soldier, the sailors for three years, but not counting the voyages out and home.

On March 15th it was ordered that all who were ashore and wished to go home were to embark, whereat we struck our yards and topmasts [more probably struck on arrival] because of the strong wind which blows seaward from the land at noon, though for about an hour only. This comes from the high hills on the Cape, of which one, the larger (which is always covered by clouds so that one cannot well discern it) is called Table Mountain, and is exactly shaped like a table, though longer than wide; and from this comes such a



[14] Title page to item 10, *Ost-Indianische funfzehenjahrige Kriegsdienste*, 'Fifteen years East-Indian Military Service.' The large flag at the maintop shows that the ship is Admiral. The rig is standard, with spritsail and spritsail-topsail furled, but the high

mighty wind that one cannot but think that ship and all would capsize, for which reason also three anchors\* must be used. The second hill is called the Lion's Hill, and lies under this, on the right when one is making for the harbour: it is shaped like a lion. [For his highly-imaginative picture see Plate 13]

We indeed got the idea of making a trip up the Table Mountain, but time did not allow. However, since my friend Meester Johann Jacob Merklein, who served the Company about that time as a Barber\*, made such a trip and set it down in writing, I will add it here because it is worth the reading. [Inserted, as in item 1.]

On the 16th all went aboard, and we began to send up the topmasts and yards again, and to set up the shrouds, to bring in the watercasks and all that was needed, and to embark four cows in each ship.

On the 17th and 18th everyone had to help to bring the ship into her proper shape, cleaned from top to bottom. On the 19th the sails were hoisted, and the same day the farewell-feast was given. That evening came on board our Admiral\* and Vice-Admiral, the Masters and the Merchants\*, and it was ordered to weigh all anchors except one [per ship]. On the 20th we sailed in the Name of God [DR].

Sargasso Sea. Northabout\*. At Faroes met by the Cruisers\*, bringing fit men and food, 'which at first we could not enjoy, since our bellies would not accept such'. Discharged at Middelburg, but to Amsterdam for accumulated pay, credited from overseas.

### 11 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (Plates 15 & 16)

Translated from the second volume of his 'De Zes Reizen ...' According to his own account, he was at the Cape in 1649 only, but he oddly includes notes on conditions there after the Dutch occupation, and even tells of an episode in 1660. The portions definitely relating to 1649 are omitted here: for these see in BVR.

Of all the people I met with in my journeyings I found none so horrible and beastly as the Camouks\*, of whom I have spoken in my information on Persia, and those of the Cape de bone Esperance which are called Kaffers or Hottentots. When they speak they fart with their tongues in their mouths, yet, although their speech is almost without separation of word from word, they understand each other very readily. They have no clothing other than the skins of the wild beasts which they kill in the forests: when in winter it is very cold there ... they turn the hair inwards, and when it is hot they turn it outwards. But none among them except the richest are thus clothed: the rest have nothing but a poor scrap of linen [*sic*: 'leinwand'] to cover their privities. Both men and women are lean and short of stature; and as soon as a male child is born the mother cuts away his right testicle\*, and gives him sea-water to drink and tobacco to chew. This right testicle is removed since they say it makes him speedier in running: some among them can overtake roebucks. I was inquisitive enough to touch many of them, and found nothing on them but the left testicles. They have no knowledge of gold or silver, and properly speaking know nothing of religion.... Neither men nor women are ashamed to show their nakedness, and they live almost as beasts.

It is a great convenience for the ships to find some refreshing here, and the Dutch were well advised to build a fort there. There is now a fine Town\* inhabited by all sorts of folk who live near the Dutch, and all the seeds brought from Europe and Asia and sown there grow better than in the places they are brought from. It is a very good country, which ... lies at thirtyfive degrees and some minutes of latitude [sic]. I add that it is neither the air nor the heat which makes these Kaffers so black as they are. Wishing to know the reason of this, as also why they stink so greatly, I obtained it from a girl who, as soon as her mother had borne her, was taken and nourished and brought up in the Fort [Eva\*], and who is as white as our women in Holland. She told me, that the blackness of the Kaffers comed from the smearing with grease which they make from various herbs known to them, and that, if they are not smeared with it as soon as they are born, they would become dropsical like the other blacks of Africa, and like the Abyssinians of Saba, of whom one leg is often twice as thick as the other [elephantiasis]; and such folk seldom live for more than forty years. These Kaffers, however beastly they are, yet have a special knowledge of herbs, which they know how to use against the sicknesses from which they suffer, as the Dutch have proved. If they are bitten by any poisonous beasts, or suffer from any ulcers, they can bring about a cure in a short time by means of the herbs which they know how to select ....

In 1661 [1660 by Valentyn, vol. I; and Saar, item 10] the ship *Westvriesland* returned from Batavia with a young Dutch nobleman who had squandered all his money in Holland and taken service with the Company. While he was in Batavia he was bitten in the leg by one of the many flies there, and from this an ulcer developed, on which all the surgeons of Batavia had used all their art and knowledge in vain; and if my [Governor-] General had not granted him leave to depart they would undoubtedly have taken off his leg. When they came to the Cape [DR 1/3/60] the Skipper sent him ashore to give him some relief. These Kaffers began to examine him, and said that if they were allowed they would soon cure him. The Skipper put him in their hands, and in less than fifteen days his leg was as fit as the other in which he had never suffered any pain.

As soon as a ship has anchored at the Cape, those in charge give a part of the soldiers and crew leave to go ashore to refresh themselves there. Those who have been the most sick during the journey are sent ashore first, each in turn, and go into the town, where they get board for seven or eight stivers a day, and for this sum are well entertained.

The Dutch custom is to send out parties from time to time to get knowledge of the



[15] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, from item 11.



[16] From item 11 (and see DR 21/3/58).

country, and those who go the furthest are best rewarded. One party of soldiers under a serjeant went so far inland that night fell on them. They made a large fire, both for protection from the lions and for warmth, and lay down around it to rest. When they had fallen asleep a lion came and seized one of the soldiers by the arm, and the serjeant killed it with his musket. When it was dead, they must break open its jaw with great difficulty to extract the soldier's arm, which was bitten right through.... The Kaffers healed the soldier's arm in twelve days. [See Plate 16, above.]

In the Fort a quantity of lion and tiger skins are to be seen [see Museum\*]. Among other things there is the skin of a horse [? Quagga] killed by the Kaffers: it is white, covered with black stripes and spotted like a leopard, and without a tail. Two or three miles\* from the Fort the Dutch found [DR 19/8/56] a dead lion which had four porcupinequills in its body, three-quarters of each in the flesh, from which it was judged that the porcupine had killed it. They afterwards set the skin, with the quills, in the Fort.

One mile\* from the Fort is a fine Town\*, which daily grows larger. When the ships of the Dutch Company come here, and any seaman or soldier is desirous of remaining, this is freely granted him [*sic*]. He takes as much land as he can cultivate, and there grows, as I have said already, all the plants one could wish for, and pulses, and even grapes. Rice is also sown [DR 17/5/56], and young ostriches may be hunted, and [game for] meat, sea- and river-fish. If one wishes to get these young ostriches, one goes to the nest when they are seven or eight days old, and sets a stick in the ground, and ties these young birds to it by one leg so that they cannot fly away. Then he lets them be fed by the parents until they are big enough, and then takes them away to eat or sell.

When the Dutch began to settle at the Cape de Bone Esperance, they took, as I have said, the daughter of one of these Kaffers as soon as she was born. She is white, and pretty, except that her nose is somewhat flat, and she serves as interpreter for the

Dutch [Eva;\* but what follows is invented]. There was a Frenchman who had a child by her, but the Company would not allow him to marry her, and on the contrary fined him eight hundred French pounds of his pay, which was indeed somewhat severe.

There is a great quantity of lions and tigers in this land. The Dutch have found a pretty good means to kill them: they tie a musket to a stake thrust into the ground, and on the end of the musket they put food, to which a string is tied and made fast to the trigger. When the beast comes to eat the food, it pulls on the string, which pulls the trigger, and the musket\* fires its bullet into the throat or body of the beast.

The Kaffers eat a root\* which much resembles our sugar-root ['suiker-wortel': Harris has 'carrots']: this they roast, and it serves them for bread. Sometimes also they make flour from it, which tastes like oatmeal. As regards meat, this they eat quite raw, as also even fish. As to the guts of the beasts, they press these between their fingers to remove the dung, and so eat them. The women commonly put these guts, when dry, around their legs; and especially the guts of such wild beasts as have been taken in the forests by their menfolk; and these serve them as an adornment. They also eat tortoises, after they have laid them on the fire until they can take off their shells. They are very accurate in the throwing of their azagays, a sort of javelins; and those who have none take instead a stick, as thick as a thumb and as long as their throwing-spears, of a very hard wood: to this they make a pointed end, and can throw it from afar off to hit a target a hand's-breadth wide. They go with these sticks to the seashore, and as soon as a fish comes a little above the water they never fail to hit it.

Regarding those birds like our ducks, of which the eggs have no whites, there is such a quantity of them that they are killed with clubs in a bay fifteen miles\* from the Cape [?: possibly error for 'island', Dassen Island, reading 'the Cape' as Table Bay]. All the women of the Kaffers... are so hot-blooded that when they have their menses and make water, if a European pass over it he at once gets a head-ache and fever, and even sometimes the plague.

When my Lord van Diemen was the [Governor-] General [1636-1648], the Dutch took one of the boys to Batavia. The General took great pains to have him taught the languages, and I add that in seven or eight years he fully learnt Dutch and Portuguese. At last he wished to return to his own land, and the General, not wishing to compel him to remain, had him provided with linen and clothing, since he thought that this Kaffer on his return to the Cape would live like the Dutch, and be helpful to them in getting supplies for their ships when they called. But no sooner was he come to the Cape than he threw the clothes into the sea, and ran off with the other blacks, and gave himself again to the eating of raw flesh. Since then he has remained with them, without it being in any way helpful to the Dutch. [Not identified.]

When these Kaffers go into the woods to hunt, they assemble in great numbers, and make such a shouting and braying that the animals are entirely affrighted; and I add, that I have been assured that such shouting scares even the lions.

#### **Background - continued**

20/3/1660 ... the return-fleet ... set sail, and the yacht\* Erasmus went with it...

5, 6/4 [On 10/3 Herry and Doman with many of their people, the Caepmans, came to the Fort to treat for peace] ... insisting that we had been taking more and more of their land ... asking also, if they came to Holland, would they be allowed to do this?...

5/5 ... so that now we are at peace with ... the Goringayqas or Tobacco-thieves [error for 'Caepmans'] ... and the Gorachouquas or Tobacco-thieves ...

27/5 ... the stable for the mounted outpost ... is now so far ready that it can be occupied [see Cavalry-Post\*]

23/7 ... came ... messengers from the Chainouquas ... with news that their Chief was coming to barter a great quantity of cattle [came 4/8]

17-20/8 ... rebuilding the ramparts of the fort,\* collapsed from the heavy rains ...

20/8 [water to be led to the Jetty,\* as Sterthemius proposed; and as already suggested in the Remonstrantie\*]

12/9 ... This week some Dutch apples, pears, quinces and medlars were grafted on some young forest-trees ... which will also be tried with lemons and oranges ...

13/9 ... the free burghers are now beginning eagerly to plant the vine-cuttings of which hundreds were given to them ...

27/9 [mention of] a certain other tribe named Hosaquas, of whom we had never heard, the real dacha-growers for the Hamcunquar ...

8/11 ... the Soaquas (a people without cattle ... mostly robbers) ... are to send us young horses ... and have brought two or three heads of such ... most beautifully striped but having such long ears that they look like asses [Zebras]

20/12 ... the wild almond trees [of hedge\*] already growing with fair success...

#### [1661]

## By English mediation peace with Portugal, Ceylon to be Dutch and Brazil Portuguese. Bombay ceded by Portugal to British as dowry. Background - from official documents in the archives

24/2 ... the return-fleet came to anchor here [sailed 14/3]

10, 11/3 ... our explorers [Cruythoff: started 30/1] returned ... having found the Namaquas ... who had received them in a most friendly and pleasant manner [report has ivory peniscovers, large shields, men playing on reeds, women dancing around them]

4, 5/4 ... not only to repair the dilapidated old earthen redoubt Duynhoop, but also to set up between it and the fort ... a strong, sturdy wooden redoubt 20 feet square [Houte Wambuis]

# [1662] General peace. Building of Versailles begun. Background

2/4 ... came in safely ... the yacht\* *Angelier* ... and flute\* *Oyevaar* ... commanded by the Hon Zacharias WAGENAER, sent to replace Commandeur Riebeecq ...

17/4 ... first two ripe Dutch apples were plucked ...

...

8/5 ... Mars [with Riebeeck and family on board] and Amstellant set sail for Batavia

8/11 The Commander ... proceeds inland to visit the kraals of Oedasoa and Gonnamoa [back 16/11, his journal given]

21/11 ... arrival of a number of Heusaquas, a tribe living to the East ... with and among the Chainouquas ...

# Chapter two Too many Cooks 1663-1679

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# [NB]'[red. dbnl] zie verantwoording'

The double-column text that follows contains extracts from the Cape Council's Diary, supplemented by other documents in the Archives. The texts of the authors are in large, Roman type, my comments and notes are either italicised or in square brackets. [DR] in the text means: *Confirmed by the Diary entry for this date*; whereas [DR 10/3] means: *But the Diary has this for March 10*. An asterisk \* following a word means: *Refer to the index for further information*, where also will be found identifications of places, people, flora, fauna, the titles of books cited by authors' names, and notes on points marked with asterisks in the text.

# [1663] Franco-Danish alliance. English alliance with Portugal against Spain.

#### Background - from official documents in the archives

4/2 ... [*Marsseveen* arrived] news of peace with the Kings of France and England, but nothing as regards Portugal ...

28/6 ... [Outworks of Fort\* to be extended] towards the shore ... including especially a new Hospital\* [work started 7/11]

26/8 ... anchored before the fort ... the ship *Alphen* ... left April 16 ... with 207 souls ... also the Hon. Pieter van Hoorn with his family ... had lost 8 persons ... fully 80 sick of scurvy ... [later] the *Sparendam*, in which came out the Hon Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater ... 184 men ... the yacht *Elpendam* ... 54 sailors ...

27/8 ... came the yacht 's Lantsmeer ... 53 sailors ...

28/8 ... came ashore the Hon Serjeant Majoor Sloot with his family [from] the ship *Amerongen* ... [later] the yacht\* *Purmerlant* ... 51 sailors ... *Meerman*... 156 men ... in her also the Preacher Petrus Cassier ...

31/8 ... The aforesaid gentlemen ... rode out to visit the Company's lands, the large corngranary, the bosheuvel, and the new house standing in part of the orchard [Rondebosch]

6/9 ... towards noon all three [yachts] reached the open sea ...

#### 13 Pieter van Hoorn

Translated from xerographs of his log, kept in Alphen (Hague Archives Van Hoorn-van Riebeeck papers, No. 3). A portion is also transcribed or summarised in Godée-Molsbergen, 'De Stichter...', with the note that he was a dealer in gunpowder in Amsterdam, on December 23, 1662 named Extra-Ordinary\* Member of the Council of the Indies, apparently with no special qualifications whatever. He sailed on April 16, 1663 (as also in Hague codex 4389) with wife, five children and two nieces.

Today August 25, Saturday ... we saw also many trompas afloat, and some penguins and seals, together with many birds, all of which are signs of the coast ... and at daybreak sighted land to the North of the Caap de buone esperance....

Today August 26, Sunday ... we came to the S.E. of the Robben Eijlandt, and ran to the East of the said island between it and the mainland ... and anchored in the Bay in front of the fort the goed hoope [DR]. God almighty be thanked for his mercy. Towards evening there came to the roads by us the flute\* Sparendam and the yacht\* Ilpendam [DR]. In the morning the Skipper [etc.] went ashore and remained there until the afternoon:

meanwhile the Hon. Commandeur Sacharias Wagenaer sent aboard to us the Secunde\* Abraham Gabbema with greenstuff, eggs, meat, milk and butter as refreshing. Towards evening the Skipper and his party returned safely on board again.

Today August 27 in the flute Alphen from Amsterdam to Batavia, at the Caap de buone esperanca. On Monday morning the Commandeur Wagenaer came aboard to welcome us, requesting that I and the Admiral\* Overwater [in *Sparendam*] should come ashore, so that the latter could make his entry [as Commissioner] in due form: as was also done, the Admiral first passing our ship before eight, and then we in our shallop\*, making our entry to the firing of the cannon of the Fort, and taking our meal there. In the Afternoon we went for a stroll in the Company's vegetable Garden\*, myself on horseback because I had a weakness in my leg. The weather was fine and agreeable, and it was very pleasant in the Garden.

Towards evening the yachts\* Lantsmeer and Amerongen also arrived here in the roads [DR 27/8 and 28/8 respectively].

Today 28. On Tuesday morning Major Symon Sloodt came ashore from the ship Amerongen, and after we had dined together at noon we went with the Hr. Overwaater and the Hr. Commandeur for a stroll in the Garden, but the weather was unfavourable. That morning the yacht Meerman of Delft also arrived in the roads [DR], so that there were 6 Amsterdam ships and one from Delft [those named above, plus yacht *Purmerland*, also arrived 28/8 by DR].

Today August 29, Wednesday. In the morning I went by horse with the Heeren Overwaater and Major Sloodt, together with the Secunde Abraham Gabbema and some companions, to inspect the building-work in hand, both that by private persons and especially the Groote Schuur being built [DR 31/8/63], and the Orchard [Rondebosch] with a new, pleasing house belonging to the Company; and from there also to the Boscheuvel where we saw the False Bay from a hill. At noon we were well entertained at the Company's Orchard, and came back on board in the evening.

Today 30, Thursday we inspected, with Hr. Overwaater, the fortifications, and the position of certain dunes to the North of the Fort\* from which this could be fired on, as also the new water-reservoir and the old dilapidated Hospital\* of which the repair was necessary. This day nothing else special occurred. The Skipper was busy in getting water, and bringing aboard refreshings of greenstuff and sheep.

Today August 31, Friday. In the morning I went out on horseback with Hr. Sloodt, his son and other companions to the Salterns [Riet Vlei], where we found a very fine flat (although sandy and stony ground) with splendid hunting of every sort of wild game, such as deer, hinds, ostriches, steenbok, korhaan, and also hares: it was an amusing affair: we saw also the fresh track of a lion. At midday we ate in the open, and came back to the Fort again towards evening.

Today September the first, Saturday we busied ourselves somewhat with Hr. Overwater in the documents of the Cape, and consulted the Memorials of various former Commissioners. Nothing else special occurred. Today September 2, Sunday, the Holy Supper of our Lord was distributed and celebrated, after a previous exhortation, by a Preacher of the ship the Meerman of Delft named Domine Cassier, and various children were baptised, both black and white; and in the afternoon another sermon was preached.

Today September 3, Monday. In the afternoon Commandeur Wagenaer held a Council\*-day, at which were present Hr. Overtwater as President, followed by myself and the said Hr. Commandeur, together with a Secretary. At this the despatch of the three yachts\* Ilpendam, Lantsmeer, and Purmerlandt was specially discussed, and it was resolved:

(1) that one of the yachts should touch at the island of Mauritius in passing, in order to obtain some information regarding the various surviving men of the ship Aernhem, as also of the other three lost ships [not identified], and take them on to Batavia;

(2) by drawing of lots between the ships Purmerland and Lantsmeer this task fell to Lantsmeer, which therefore is appointed, and ordered to set forward her journey to Mauritius, together with the other two ships for Batavia.

A few minor matters were also dealt with.

Today 4, Tuesday, the three Skippers of the yachts were our guests and took their farewells, the Commandeur giving an Instruction to the Skipper Reynier [Brinkmans] of the yacht Lantsmeer; and thereafter they went aboard to prepare to depart [DR not till 6/9], we resolving to follow on Friday. [Passenger 'Davidt Balfour' transferred from *Alphen* to *Purmerland:* an unexpected name! And other transfers of passengers.]

Today 5, Wednesday, I passed chiefly in writing to the Lords Proprietors at Amsterdam and to various friends at home.

Today 6, Thursday. At midday I, with my wife, Major Sloodt, and the Skippers of Amerongen and the Meerman, as also our Skipper, were the guests of Hr. Overwaater on board his ship, and in the evening came safely back into the Fort.

Today 7, Friday. In the morning the Broad Land-Council\* was again held, at which were present Hr. Overwaater as President, followed by myself and then the Hr. Commandeur Wagenaer, with the Secunde\* Hr. Gabbema together with the Ensign of the Fort and three Freemen\* of the Cape. At this meeting certain personal quarrels, insults and other matters were dealt with [see Resolutions of this date: the 'Ensign' was Serjeant Pieter Evrard by these]. After this by Hr. Overwater, myself and the Commandeur the pay of certain persons was increased; as also there was provisionally fixed an increase of the prices paid to the farmers for their produce, to wit instead of 6 gld. 8 st. for the mudde\* of wheat, 7 gld. if approved by the Lords Proprietors. In the afternoon I made ready for all of us to go aboard again, but despatched our letters and remained ashore this evening.

Today, 8, in the morning after having somewhat breakfasted together, and after due farewells each went aboard his ship without much ceremony, and our Lieutenant Bartell Sloodt transferred from our ship to the Meerman of Delft [as also a passenger, and their servants]. By noon we were come aboard, but because of the calm set no sails. Towards the evening I was aboard the Admiral's ship.

Today 9, Sunday. In the morning, after the shallops\* had been to the shore, the Admiral Overwater fired a gun, and our four ships (to wit Sparendam, Alphen, the yacht\* Amerongen, and the Meerman of Delft) weighed anchor and set sail [DR] with a weak land-breeze, from the bay of the Cape, and all that day tacked and drifted to and fro between the Robben Eijlandt and the Lion Hill, in calms and variable winds; but towards evening got out to sea on a W.S.W. course with a fair S.S.E. breeze.... [Batavia November 14, 1663 by Hague Archives codex 1131].

#### **Background - continued**

9/9/1663 ... about ten o'clock ... the said Heer Admiral fired a gun and set sail, as did also the other ships ...

#### [1664]

## French East-India Company established. August 29, English annexed 'New Netherland', renamed 'New England'; and other hostile acts without declaration of war. Background - from official documents in the archives

5/6 The Commandeur Wagenaer with Messrs. Gabbema and Lacus, rode out early to site another redoubt under the bosheuvel between the Bhaey Falce and this place [?never built]

13/8 [1000 vine-shoots planted at 'the orchard in the country', Rondebosch] 6/9 ... Seeing that a few days ago all the girders of the new Hospital\* in the outwork were set up [a feast given to the builders]

20/11 [Lion shot, skin stuffed] and deposited as curiosity with others already collected in the hall [see Museum\*]

#### [1665]

## State of undeclared war between Dutch and English continues. Great Plague in London. Background

25/2 ... sold to the highest bidders 9 mares with 2 foals, and 5 young stallions ... total of fl. 814...

11/3 ... about noon came to the roads ... 9 ships, to wit *Walcheren*, *Phoenicx*, the *Slot van Honingen*, *Diemermeer*, *Oyevaer*, *Rysende Son*, *Amstellant*, *Brederoode* and *Jonge Prins* ... left Batavia on December 24 last year, 11 vessels in all, but on February 16 ... storm lasting for 3 days... two ships missing ... the *Nooteboom* and the *Wapen van Hoorn* ...

12/3 ... the large flute\* the Wapen van Hoorn came in ...

10/4 ... came to anchor in the evening ... *Zuytpolsbroucq* ... left the Vlie November 22 and sailed northabout\* ... as yet nothing definite as regards the English: they

continually make preparations for [definite] war and have equipped many ships for it ...

14/4 Arrived ... one of the two afterships\* the yacht\* the Cogge ...

16/4 In the afternoon appears here also the yacht *Nieuwenhoven*, the thirteenth and last return-ship [arrival of *Nooteboom* not given]

21/4 ... between the Robben Island and the mainland lay at anchor ... *Amersfoort*, which had already lost 36 dead in the journey from the Fatherland ... more than 70 sick ...

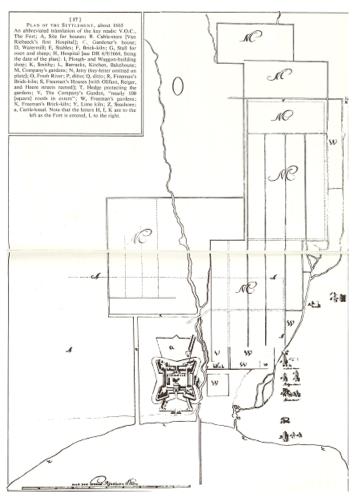
#### **14 Wouter Schouten**

(See also item 7.) He sailed from Batavia on December 24, 1664 in Rysende Son, with Walcheren, Fenix, Amstellandt, Slot Honingen, Jonge Prins, Wapen van Hoorn, Bredero, the flutes\* Oijevaer, Diemermeer; and by his text Musschaetboom (actually Notenboom) and Amsterdam (apparently in error, not figuring in Valentyn I nor in the DR). Fleet dispersed by storm.

On the 9th of March, 1665, we had a westerly wind, with which, steering northwards, we came somewhat nearer to the land, and in the evening were below the high and steep hill of *Cabo Faco*. That night the wind again turned eastwards, and took us at a good pace along the southern coast of Africa, and on the 10th in the afternoon we arrived close below the *Lion Hill*, and thence (but with a variable breeze) sailed into *Table Bay*. Meeting there mighty gusts and squalls from over the hills, we anchored 2 miles outside the roads, arriving safely the next day, March the 11th, with 9 ships and in lovely weather, at the *Cape de Bon Esperance* in the Bay, before the Dutch Castle *Good Hope*, GOD be praised [DR] ...

Although at this time of the year, in these lands of southern Africa the beloved Summer brings again many fine warm days and delightful sunny weather, yet at times we must endure heavy gales, as happened once (among other times) four days after our arrival, when, the high Table Mountain being covered with misty clouds as often happens, here in the Table Bay so vicious a storm arose that we and all the other ships were compelled to strike our topmasts and yards to give less hold to the wind, so that by so doing we suffered no damage. In the next 5 to 6 days thereafter, when the clouds had been driven from the Table Mountain, we had lovely clear and bright weather with warm sunshine; and now, tired by our dangerous voyages, we went ashore almost every day to amuse ourselves. There we now found everything very changed, and exceedingly pleasant, also the Dutch Fort\* Good Hope in better conditions than in the year 1658 when we found ourselves here for the first time, having been markedly enlarged and strengthened, and provided with commodious dwellings for the Commandeur and the Company's Servants, as also with a church\* for the preaching of GOD's Word, all built in European fashion of lime and brick, which here are burnt and prepared; and they were still busied every day in further strengthening the said fortress, which was well provided with a good garrison and munitions of war. Behind this fort we found the Company's Garden\* also so enlarged and spread out that it now covered a good number of morgen\* of land, from whence were gathered all sorts of herbs and fruits for the refreshing of the ships, such as water-lemons, radishes, cabbage, carrots, turnips, lettuce and so on. We also found that around the Dutch Castle the number of houses and dwellings, all built as in the Fatherland, was so increased that this Town\* by the blessing of the All-Highest

80-81



[17] PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT, about 1665 An abbreviated translation of the key reads: V.O.C., The Fort; A, Site for houses; B. Cable-store [Van Riebeeck's first Hospital]; C, Gardener's house; D, Watermill; E, Stables; F, Brick-kiln; G, Stall for oxen and sheep; H, Hospital [see DR 6/9/1664, fixing the date of the plan]; I, Plough- and Waggon-building shop; K, Smithy; L, Barracks, Kitchen, Bakehouse; M, Company's gardens; N, Jetty (key-letter omitted on plate]; O, Fresh River; P, ditto; Q, ditto; R, Freeman's Brick-kiln; S, Freeman's Houses [with Olifant, Reiger, and Heere streets named]; T, Hedge protecting the gardens; V, The Company's Garden, 'nearly 100 [square] roods in extent'; W, Freeman's gardens; X, Freeman's Brick-kiln; Y, Lime kiln; Z, Seashore; a, Cattle-kraal. Note that the letters H, I, K are to the left as the Fort is entered, L to the right.

stands to grow before long to a prosperous city, these Colonies of Dutch families increasing wonderfully. Each breeds cattle and grows fruit and grains in abundance, so that good butter and milk are produced there. The Dutch farmers bring to bearing covetable farms with fields and pastures, since the air at the Cape de Bon Esperance is immeasurably healthy, and the soil has been examined and found very apt to the producing of many European grains, fruits and plants, since although the high hills reach into the clouds and are very rocky and steep, yet the valleys give many lovely large grassy flats, meadows and pastures, set with green herbs and well-smelling flowers, as also here and there with very large forests and whole jungles. Many deer, wild goats, Steendassen and roebucks leap over the wild hills; and it is very notable how they are seen to leap from one stony height to another, as we ourselves observed with wonder. Also the rivers give the Cape de Bon Esperance sweet and delicious water, especially in the Table Bay, this being so named because of the Table Mountain which is very high, steep, and flat on the top, looking like a table. The Bay, lying at fully 24 degrees [sic] south of the Equator, has a good anchorage, where the ships lie in safety shielded from many winds, though often leapt on by the sudden storms across the hills, which however cause no high waves, and produce more noise than danger.

We saw also with amazement the increase in the farms, gardens, orchards and flourishing plantations of the Dutch, where now the same fruits as in the Fatherland were gathered in abundance: also all kinds of trees were advantageously cultivated, such as apples, pears, chestnuts, medlars, cherries, as also vineyards and many *East Indian* plants, all of which were grown in these parts of *Africa* both from Dutch and also *Batavian* plants, roots, seeds, etc.

Here we saw also the life of the Dutch farmers, who around here (and even for a good distance inland) have established themselves and settled down, well knowing how to look after their cattle, by taking them in the morning out into a grassy pasture, or where it may be, and in the evening bringing them into the stables again, which is necessary because of the multitude of wild beasts, although otherwise these folk live in considerable poverty, at least most of those who dwell far inland. I still remember how once the three of us wanderers had gone inland on a certain occasion, and were suddenly overtaken by dusk when we found ourselves near the most distant of the farm-houses, right behind the Table Mountain. Because of the wild beasts we did not dare to go back in the dark of night so long a way as we had come in our wanderings; so we resolved to beg the poor farmer for shelter (but for good payment) and set our course for the solitary farm-house. On coming there we were amicably greeted by the half-naked pregnant wife (from Cologne by birth), since her man was out, and invited into the little glassless house, and brought into the best room, which in this cold night was airy and chilly enough since there was no glass nor any shutters there. And there, when the man came home we ate a truly frugal evening meal, the best the folk could provide. Then (at our request) they made our bed or sleeping-place in the cowshed, where our diligent hostess threw some straw on the floor, and to make all as fine as might be spread over it a little piece of

sailcloth. This stable was full of oxen and cows, so that the cold, which was by now pretty overpowering, was made the more tolerable by these four-footed companions. Nevertheless we could sleep little for the first part of the night, because of a wanton calf that came into the stable (which was pretty long) and because of the strange visitors began to run about and make gay capers in the darkness, and over and over again was to be heard making for us at full gallop. Thus we had enough to do to turn the calf away in his mad career, by our loud laughter and by all of us stretching out our legs, so as not to be overrun by his helter-skelter leaps. But the diligent stableman was merrily on the go in this night-attack, and called to us reassuringly 'Be of good cheer, Messieurs\*, I will manage to turn the crafty yearling away'. Meanwhile he defended himself with great bravery as a bold soldier in this calf-war, assuring us that a calf can see by night and would know how to avoid us in his scampering calf-leaps, which we also found to be true; yet all the efforts of the stableman were in vain. So we let the calf scamper until it was tired, and in the morning found our bed-place sown with calf-dirt along the foot-end, with which it seemed to have honoured us in the night by way of welcome. Rising, we paid our poor host, and set off again on our trip, and so came aboard, where we often reminded each other of our adventure with the scampering calf in the cowshed.

But more wonderful was to see the wild nature of the people of the Cabo de Bon Esperance, who because of their beastliness bear no resemblance to mankind. They are truly the most miserable folk that I have seen on the earth. Because of their wildness and clucking speech (which seems to come forth with a stuttering from deep in their throats) they are commonly called *Hottentots* [see Hottentots, Name\*]. They are somewhat yellowish, in general thin, scrawny and badly made, and short of stature, especially the women. Their hair is black, almost like that of the Kaffers, being closely crinkled together, but as much by dirt as by nature. They are unusually fast runners, and great thieves, stealing and robbing whatever they can: to overtake them our folk need to be well mounted and good riders. They continually bring all sorts of beasts, principally oxen, cows and sheep, which they know how to get from their neighbours in the Sardaigne-Bay and from the southerly regions of Monomotapa\*, for sale to our people in the Table Bay, who get them by barter for a little copper, tin, beads, tobacco and other trifles. By this the Bay is of necessity recognised to be a very good revictualling-place, since on the ships we had daily abundance of all sorts of refreshing and tasty food: oxen- sheep- and other flesh, as also abundance of potherbs, fish, fruit, and whatever we could now wish for. On the arrival of our return-fleet the savages came down with women and children, from the regions around to the Table Bay and watering-places, and chose their shelters and abodes under the open sky around the Dutch Castle, in hopes of gaining some tobacco and other trifles. They still go with only a dirty and greasy seal- or other beast-skin around the body, which, hanging from their necks, barely covers their upper bodies. Some have as ornaments the black dried stomach and the guts\* of a slaughtered beast around their necks, which also serves some females instead of bracelets, golden jewels and armrings, so that being thus decked out they smelt horribly. Some had

also little *Bengal* shells which are called *Couris*\* in their hair, or a small copper plate round the neck, and bands of thin copper, tin, iron or other materials on the arms; and those who were distinguished by such pomp always were accustomed to smear their dirty hides with the fat of slaughtered beasts, or the oil from dead whales which had been washed ashore. They were also very pleased with the rinds of water-lemons and other fruits, with dead and stinking fish that are washed ashore, and with the dirty paunches and other entrails of the beasts we slaughtered, daily seeking out all such treasures from the rubbish-heaps, and sling around their necks the stomachs and guts of the oxen, cows and sheep which had been killed by us, and tearing such apart with their teeth (except for a few who roasted it a little).

They knew nothing of the preparing of food, of agriculture or fishing, of houses or vehicles, and ate no grain but what had been brought here by our folk, since when they are given such, or any other well-cooked foods they gulp it down as greedily as savages. For the most part they live as aforesaid, and from some sorts of roots\* that grow wild and which they eat raw. Both women and men go (as I have said) almost naked, but for the stinking beast-skin over their shoulders, with which they can partly cover themselves by night in winter, or when the weather is cold and windy, and when lying or squatting they press and creep close together. The women often hang their small children on their backs, and if they wish to take suck, they throw over the shoulder to the innocent child one of their breasts, which are so long, that some of them hang down to the navel.

I could notice little or no signs of religion among them, except that indeed sometimes a whole assembly of men, women and children, each clad in a stinking beast-skin, appear in a large pit, cave or other terrifying place, where these wild people make many strange antics, with singing, leaping and dancing, as also with continual hand-clapping. Meanwhile they sometimes turn their eyes to heaven, and then with a red stone write stripes and crosses on each others' foreheads, after which each of this lovely brotherhood goes his way. At night they creep together in whole troops, men, women and children, in places where horrible caves, valleys or pits are to be found, thus seeking the warmest hiding-places under the open sky, without shelter or any covering but the hills, the rocks, and the wild growths, since I have seen no houses or huts among them. Some however indeed spread out a few beast-skins on sticks, thus to be a little protected from the cold, hail, snow, rain, and winter squalls, thus creeping by night close together without fear of the wild beasts. I have repeatedly seen them in this condition, lying like beasts of the field almost naked together on the grass, where each nevertheless knows to find his own (I believe) in the dark by smell and touch, thus existing like animals without any houses, clothes, furniture, bedding or other necessities of life. At times also they now and then indeed make large fires by night, against the wild beasts. Many of these savage women lack a joint or two of their little fingers, or sometimes more parts of their fingers [see Hottentots, Finger-mutilation\*] are cut off, and I was told (but what of this is true I do not know) that such is done when they re-marry, so that they lack as many joints of their fingers as they have had new husbands. Some are to be seen also with one breast quite

dried up, the reason of which is unknown to me. They are avid, both men and women, for old iron, copper, tin, beads and glass rings, but above all for tobacco, for which the women will even willingly let their privy parts (which sometimes they cover a little) be seen by our coarse seamen who dare to demand such of them. Truly these sailors show by this, that they are even more lewd and beastly than these wild *Hottentots*, who usually when our folk go ashore greet them with a helter-skelter cabriole, even the women begging for a little scrap of tobacco in return for the showing of such a compliment. These savages very well know how to revenge themselves on our seamen in their fashion, if these do them any harm, and greet their insulters with stones in such a way that they are forced to keep their distance, and even in spite of much resistance to take to flight, where some of our crew (while we lay here) were gravely wounded and one killed. The savages on hearing this went away inland with their wives and children, but after some days came again in whole troops, without fearing anything evil.

It is said that inland a more civilised sort of people dwell, since to the northwards from here lies the Kingdom of *Monomotapa\**. It is lamentable that among mankind such folk (as we have now told of) are to be found, who, although descended from our father *Adam*, yet show so little of humanity that truly they more resemble the unreasoning beasts than reasonable man, living on earth such a miserable and pitiful life, having no knowledge of GOD nor of what leads to their Salvation. Miserable folk, how lamentable is your pitiful condition! And Oh Christians, how blessed is ours! if we are true Christians. GOD be eternally thanked therefor, honoured and exalted, in that He has called us from this abyss of miserable darkness to His wonderful light, Who has so loved us that He gave His only-begotten Son that we, believing in Him, should not perish but have everlasting life. Oh unspeakable grace! for which GOD the Father, Son and Holy Ghost in the true Trinity of His Persons, must be thanked, praised and exalted by us for ever. Amen.

Wild beasts are daily met with here, and sometimes captured and brought to the Dutch fort, so that there various kinds of wild beasts can be seen, such as lions, lionesses, tigers, rhinoceroses, snakes and wolves, but all dead and mounted [see Museum\*] as in life, which being captured now and then serve the Dutch as a good warning not to wander too far inland, so as not to fall the prev of the wild beasts.

Our crew here bore witness that they had again seen a comet, which soon afterwards disappeared, such signs serving as forewarnings of so many calamities and difficulties, as also came upon us during this journey to the Fatherland.

On the 22nd and 23rd of *March* we again had sudden storms from over the hills, but lay here in good safety and thus suffered no damage to the ship thereby.

While we were refreshing ourselves here and delaying for the two after-ships\* that were to follow from *Batavia*, all the ships were daily supplied with whatever was necessary and those that were damaged were most rapidly repaired. On the first of *April* at break of dawn we saw a large whale near our ship, which seemed to enjoy itself in the glitter of the waves before sunrise, whereby it showed itself (thus sparkling) perfectly to us.

Two high hills are to be seen in the Table Bay, namely the Lion Hill and the Table Mountain, which are indeed thus called on account of their shapes. We had visited the Lion Hill in 1658, and we were told wonderful things of the Table Mountain; but it was mighty high, and therefore I had difficulty in finding companions to satisfy my curiosity by making a trip thither. But at last, having won over to my proposal the Mate and a Carpenter, on the aforesaid first of April we three wanderers left the ship early in the morning, after we had watched the jolly whale to our content, and went ashore, to climb (if it were possible) the very high Table Mountain. Having walked thither we found ourselves at seven o'clock at the foot of this mountain, and then set our course upwards, climbing over a narrow ridge of the hill, which running upwards came to an end at about half the height, against the vertically-rising steep of the Table Mountain. On each side of the ridge we had a downwards slope, and to the right also a stream flowing rapidly downwards in a valley set everywhere with rocks, caves and thick groves, which could make most convenient hiding-places for wild beasts such as lions, tigers, leopards and wolves. Nevertheless we must at times descend into this low valley, because the multitude of rocks made our path impassable, and after going somewhat further in it, again climb up, which indeed was pretty toilsome for us. So we passed many rocks and cliffs, which we must sometimes climb through, sometimes over; but we had come barely half-way up the height of the Table Mountain, when the Mate suddenly lost the courage to go higher. We therefore left him there after giving him a part of the food we had brought, on his promise to await us there for two hours, and then, if he had no news of us, he could be free to return down again, naming to each other a lodging in the town where we hoped to meet in the evening. So we left the Mate half-way up the hill, where he took his place of rest under a shady tree.

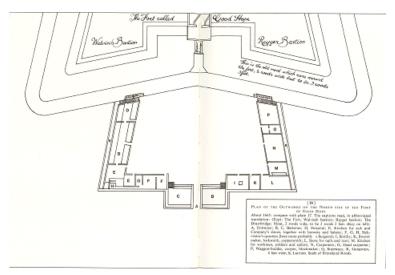
We two then climbed upwards from thence, coming to a passage [Platteklip Gorge] which we found to be barely 4 feet wide, set and walled on the left with an overhanging precipice which because of its vertical upwards slope seemed to reach the sky, and on the right falling very steeply downwards from this dangerous path to a terrifying abyss. Also on this narrow footpath we found that we must continually secure ourselves by our hands in the grass or other scrub in our climb, so steeply did it ascend, or else we could readily have fallen into this dangerous abyss and broken neck and limbs. We found the path beset everywhere with vertical cliffs and rocks, but we climbed and clambered upwards with hands and feet, and thereby came between the two huge rocky overhanging steeps into the ascending gorge of this wonderful Table Mountain, which here presents a narrow cleft from above to below. This narrow gorge was enjoyably set with sweet-smelling flowers and herbs, as also with pleasant grass; and this now formed our path upwards. Here we found an exceptionally clear echo, and could still hear the calling of the Mate whom we had left half-way up the hill because of the triple and quadruple resounding of this echo, although we could no longer see each other owing to the wonderful height. We had brought some Batavian home-made arrack with us, as also biscuit and Dutch cheese, which served us well, since because of our mighty thirst (no fresh

water being found) we sometimes took a little of this arrack, and partook of some biscuit therewith, which greatly served to our refreshment. We climbed on thence between steep and overhanging cliffs on both sides, and sometimes over large stony cliffs, finding here rocks as large as whole buildings which hung out from the precipices in such a manner that they seemed nowhere to be fastened, so that we were amazed that these suspended rocks did not fall down by their great weight. Also once we heard a terrifying noise and wonderful din not far from us on this steep mountain, and perceived that a huge rock had begun to roll, and came crashing down from above. But we climbed onwards up this narrow gorge of the Table Mountain, which higher up became so narrow that we found it only six or seven feet wide, with steep or overhanging walls rising upwards on both sides. Thus steadily going onwards, we at last reached the top of the flat Table Mountain, where by the clear sunlight we found that it was already fully one o'clock in the afternoon, we having been busied since 7 in the morning with climbing upwards.

The first thing that occupied us on this mountain was the search for fresh water, to quench our thirst (which was mighty great): this also we soon found in the hollows of some flat rocks with which this hill was as if floored, which water seemed to have gathered from the abundant dew of the thick clouds (which so often cover the whole upper surface of the mountain) in the said hollow rocks. We found it quite sweet and exceptionally pleasant in taste, the more so from our almost unbearable thirst, of which I can truly say that it was never greater in all my travels. Our heavenly liquid now tasted better than ordinarily does the most exquisite drink of the world. Having carefully cooled, refreshed and entertained our very heated entrails with this clear liquid, we went on further, to the front of this mountain, to look at the surrounding country from its wonderful height as if from the air; but it is impossible to describe in words in what a small compass all the nearest landscapes and hills now showed themselves to us: the large Table Bay and all the mighty hills that descend to it from the inland North seemed to be of small extent and importance; we could hardly recognise the Dutch ships lying at anchor within this Table Bay, these looking only like little dots; also in the same way the Dutch Castle of Good Hope and all the houses, farms and green meadows lying around it were, because of the distant and down-sloping depth, seen as if they were in the extreme distance, few details being properly distinguishable. Even the high Lion Hill and the other hills showed themselves to us from here (except for their most highest tops) as nothing more than uniform flats. Further off, we could see the very high African hills to the north, at a guess fully 40 miles away. The Table Mountain was covered with no clouds this day but entirely clear, since we had again chanced on a lovely day with clear and bright sunshine: otherwise this mountain projects into the clouds (as we have said previously) for half of its height, and often even shows its uppermost flat surface a good way above them, and when this is the case, in general a sudden storm blows in the Table Bay so that no sail can be hoisted there, and for the same reason the Table Mountain is then sufficiently unreachable.

On this high table we made our frugal yet pleasant meal of cheese, biscuit, home-

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[18] PLAN OF THE OUTWORKS ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE FORT OF GOOD HOPE About 1665: compare with plate 17. The captions read, in abbreviated translation: (Top): The Fort; Walvisch bastion; Reyger bastion; The Drawbridge; Moat, 2 roods wide, to be 3 roods 3 feet. (Key on left): A, Entrance; B, C, Batteries; D, Hospital; E, Kitchen for sick and Company's slaves, together with brewery and bakery; F, G, H, Sickvisitor's quarters [here more probably a Surgeon); I, Smithy; K, Swordmaker, locksmith, coppersmith; L, Store for nails and iron; M. Kitchen for workmen, soldiers and sailors; N, Carpenters; O, Head carpenter; P, Waggon-builder, cooper, blockmaker; Q, Stairways; R, Gangways, 6 feet wide; S, Latrines. Scale of Rhineland Roods.

made arrack, together with a little drink of the clear water: our table-top and table-cloth were the pleasant grass, our chairs two stones, and our hands served us as goblets: in short, we had here more pleasure than comfort, and thanked the Almighty Creator for all our enjoyment here, and for His manifold wonders here showed to us, after our meal making a trial of walking so that no stiffness should come into our limbs by sitting still, which would have greatly hindered us in our downward climb. We now set our course for the other side of the Table Mountain, from whence we looked our full at the near-by parts of the sea towards Cabo Faco, with its high hills (which however from here looked very low). But nowhere was it more terrifying to look down at the lowlands than towards the Table Bay, where this Table Mountain falls with an overhanging precipice like a wall, straight downwards from above to the flat below, so that from the edge where we now stood we could look down as if to a most dangerous abyss. We also found this mountain ornamented up here with a lovely landscape, which pleasing and agreeable field was set with long grass and a few small trees; and the grass and undergrowth were not beaten down by the strong winds here as down below, but stood upright with lovely sweet-smelling flowers and herbs, and pretty high, from which we were compelled to believe that the winds here do not blow so violently as below. We noticed here no beasts other than the birds in the air, but saw the dung of roebucks, steenboks and such four-footed beasts; but no large lake\* or standing water, and far less any of the fish said to dwell therein, as some boldly dare to assert. Such water as is found up on the Table Mountain is only in the pools lying in the hollows of the flat rocks with which the mountain in some places seems to be floored, and this gathers here from the dew of the clouds driving around there, and not (we believe) from rain; and in it there is no fish or other life.

But at last, seeing from the sinking of the sun that it was already about 3 in the afternoon, and therefore high time to return down again, we wrote our names on rocks that were found by the sides of the gorge through which we came, and then returned again to the lowland by the same route we had taken in climbing up. But there, because of the slipperiness of the long grass, we found ourselves compelled to slide downwards sitting, being forced continually to secure ourselves with our hands because of the mighty steepness; and in this downwards climb it was awful always to have to look down into the terrifying depths. However, we came safe to the place where we had left our third companion, the Mate, that morning, and found there his handkerchief tied to a tree as a sign that he had gone back down. We then climbed further down to the lowland, but not so quickly as we had expected, since from the untimely setting of the sun we found ourselves in an entirely horrible valley and terrifying jungle, where we discovered a brook flowing downwards, surrounded with many dark hollows, caves and rocks. Here we found ourselves surrounded by the steep mountain-sides, and sought for a better footpath; but before long found ourselves beset in the thick jungle by stinging nettles, caves, rocks and holes, to such an extent that we did not know whither to make our way, since we found that the path by which we had descended was too steep for us to climb up it again. Also the dusk was now at hand, and it was already so dark that we could see

nowhere to make our way up. We had however little wish to pass all that night in this dangerous hollow, or soon to become the prey of the wild beasts which we believed would find this a convenient and suitable dwelling-place. We were indeed in considerable peril here, having strayed from the right path. To quench our mighty thirst we took a cool drink from the pleasant water of this stream, but dared not delay longer in so doing, since we had no desire to pass the night in the company of the lions, tigers and snakes. We therefore with greater zeal climbed like cats with hands and feet, up the steep slope again, whereby we indeed were not a little afflicted by the stinging nettles. Thus having again come up with much toil, we then climbed further down the downwards-sloping ridge of the mountain until we reached the real lowland, and made our way onwards, in the dark and by guesswork, towards the shore. Now we again came into an awkward plight, up to our ankles in a marsh and up to our necks in the scrub, where in breaking through we disturbed a nest of large birds: these in flying up all together made such a sudden noise that my good companion, the Carpenter, who was leading the way, gave a terrible shriek, thinking he had been attacked by a tiger or lion. But his fright soon passed when he saw that it was nothing but these large birds. Finally we again reached the Dutch Fortress and came with joy into the Dutch Town, where we found our third companion, the Mate, who had turned back because of his great thirst. We told him and the others of our adventurous journey, and stayed the night on land, and next morning went aboard again without stockings or shoes, since they were mostly ruined, and with torn clothes, having seen in the journey no wild beasts except a few snakes.

We celebrated the memory of the holy Easter Feast here at the Cape, on the 5th and 6th of *April*; and on the 10th the fine ship *Zuyd Polsbroek* arrived [DR] at the roads to us, coming from the Fatherland, having left there in *November* with the ship *Amersfoort*, and having sailed with her northabout\* behind England, Scotland and Ireland; and after turning southwards the *Amersfoort* was separated in storm and incessant darkness from this ship *Zuyd Polsbroek*, and since then they had not seen each other again. From our compatriots we had the following news:

That a severe plague raged in the Fatherland; that the English in enmity towards us had already taken *New Holland* [renamed New England], *Gunee* [Dutch Guiana] and other places; that in Holland and England they were strongly equipping themselves for war against each other; that a disastrous breach of the peace was to be feared ...; that also the return-fleet of the previous year had arrived very late, and almost disabled by the quantity of sick and dead; and other such bad news more, which truly did not sound very pleasing to our ears, fearing as we did that if there were to be war between us and the English, we should have to endure many more adversities and difficulties before we could come to land in the Fatherland, which also we found to be the case. Now we found ourselves compelled, in accordance with the orders of TT.EE. in Batavia to await here the two after-ships\* which were to follow us from Batavia, so that we then might leave all together with our rich fleet for Patria. The first of these two ships, *Koge*, came from Batavia safely to us on the 14th of *April* [DR], having left there on the 1st of