but had not been able to get near or to communicate with them.

It was the 6th of July when they left the scene of the wreck. At the end of the month they were only ninety miles from it, for they had been obliged to make many detours in order to cross the rivers. Their sufferings from thirst were at times greater than from cold, hunger, and weariness combined. Of all the party Dona Leonor was the most cheerful, bidding the others take heart, and talking of the better days that were to come. They eked out their little supply of food with oysters and mussels, and sometimes they found quite an abundance of fish in pools among the rocks at low tide.

And now every day two or three fell behind exhausted, and perished. To add to their troubles, bands of Kaffirs hovered about them, and on several occasions they were attacked, though as they had a few firelocks and some ammunition, they were easily able to drive their assailants back. At the end of three months those who were in advance reached the territory of the old chief of Inhaka, whom Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira had named Garcia de Sá, and whose principal kraal was on the bank of the Umfusi river, which flows into Delagoa Bay. This chief received them in a friendly manner, supplied them with food and lodging, and sent his men out to search for those who were straggling on behind. In return, he asked for assistance against a neighbouring tribe with which he was at war. De Sepulveda sent an officer and twenty men to help him, with whose aid he won a victory.

Garcia de Sá wished the white people to remain with him, and he warned them against the chief Ofumo, who lived in front, but as soon as they were well rested and had recovered their strength, they resolved to push on. They had crossed the Maputa river when some natives who had bartered ivory with the Portuguese traders informed them that the vessel had sailed for Mozambique a few days previously. The intelligence caused the captain Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda to become demented, and his brave wife, Dona Leonor, who had borne all the troubles of the journey so cheerfully, was plunged by this new misfortune into the greatest distress.

They should now have turned back and remained with the friendly Inhaka chief until the following year, but for some unassigned reason—possibly because they may have hoped that the vessel would put into the river Manisa—they pushed on. They were reduced to one hundred and fifty souls, all told, when they crossed the Lourenço Marques, and entered the territory of the chief Ofuma, of whom Garcia de Sá had warned them. The chief professed to regard them with favour, and promised to supply them with food, but said they must entrust him with the care of their arms while they were in his country, as that was one of his laws. Dona Leonor objected to this, but the males of the party complied with the chief's demand, in the belief that by doing so they would secure his friendship. As soon as they were in a defenceless condition he caused them to be robbed of everything that they had, even of their clothing, and drove the whole party away, absolutely naked, from his kraals.

Dona Leonor, who had fought like a tigress when the savages were tearing her garments from her, sat down on the ground with her two little boys, her demented husband, and a few faithful slaves beside her. One of the children was the first to die. They scraped a hole in the ground and buried the body, and soon afterwards the other child and the sorely afflicted mother also died. The two corpses were in the same manner committed to the earth, and then the party separated. De Sepulveda was never seen again. Three of the slave women wandered away until they came in contact with people who had dealings with the Portuguese ivory traders at Inhambane, and by them they were helped to reach that station. There they found eleven other slaves and eight Portuguese of their party, and as the boat that was sent yearly from Mozambique arrived about the same time, the twenty-two survivors of all those that had sailed in the *S. João* were saved.

They reached Mozambique on the 25th of May 1553. Diogo de Mesquita, who was then captain of the settlement, sent a little vessel to search along the coast, but no trace of any of the lost people could be found.

In January 1589 the ship *S. Thomé* sailed from Cochim for Portugal. No vessel so richly laden had left the Indian seas for many years, but so widespread was corruption among the officials of all classes that she was very insufficiently furnished with tackling, though an ample supply was charged for in the accounts against the royal treasury. The captain, Paulo de Lima, had his wife with him, and there was a lady passenger on board, Dona Joanna de Mendoza, a widow, who was taking her only child, a little girl eight years of age home to be educated in a convent. The officers were desirous of reaching the island of St Helena before any of the other vessels which left Cochim at the same time, and so they pressed on sail, even in a heavy sea which was encountered off the coast of Natal. The result was that the ship sprang a leak, and was seen to be going down. There was a boat of unusual size on deck, and this was provisioned and got into the water. Then a scramble took place, each man striving to fight his way to the boat, until she was pushed off from the ship's side and drifted to a distance. It was found that a hundred and ten individuals were in her. Her gunwales were almost level with the water, so a number of men were thrown out to lighten her.

The captain's wife and the widow De Mendoza found themselves in the boat, they scarcely knew how, but the agony of the widow was intense, for her child was in the sinking ship, and rescue was impossible. There was a Dominican friar, Nicolau do Rosario by name, on board the *S. Thomé*, and those in the boat shouted to him to jump overboard and swim to them, when they would pick him up, but he would not leave the ship until he had attended to the spiritual needs of those who were about to die. When that was done, he sprang into the sea, swam to the boat, and was taken in, just as the *S. Thomé* went down.

The boat reached the coast of the territory now called Tongaland, which was then occupied by the Makomata tribe. The weather being fine and the wind fair, there was no difficulty in running up to Elephant Island on the eastern side of the bay of Lourenço Marques, where were found the huts used by the traders when they came to the bay to obtain ivory. The island was without inhabitants at the time. Here the boat was destroyed by fire, and the unfortunate people were attacked by fever, of which many of them died. The whole party would have perished if some natives on the mainland had not seen the smoke from a fire and gone across the bay to ascertain who made it.

The Inhaka chief was then communicated with, and he sent canoes to take the Portuguese to his kraal, where he treated them very kindly. Most of them went from Delagoa Bay overland to Sofala, but some, among whom were the two ladies, remained nearly a year at the chief's kraal, waiting for the coming of the trading vessel from Mozambique. At length they heard that she was in the Maputa river, so they proceeded to that locality in canoes furnished by the chief, and found the trader Jeronymo Leitão with his companions bartering ivory. Their troubles were now over, for they had been accustomed to discomfort so long that the accommodation afforded by the pangaio appeared to them luxurious.

The *Santo Alberto,* on her homeward passage from India, sprang a leak and became waterlogged, in which condition on the 24th of March 1594 she went ashore on the African coast near Penedo das Fontes, or the island of St Croix, in Algoa Bay. Of those on board one hundred and twenty-five Portuguese and one hundred and sixty slaves got safely to land, and twenty-eight Portuguese and thirty-four slaves were drowned. Fortunately abundance of stores of all kinds, arms, ammunition, metal plates, and other articles were saved from the wreck.

On the same day some sixty natives made their appearance, and called to the shipwrecked people in a friendly tone. Their chief, a merry-faced man, quite light in colour, stepped forward fearlessly, and presented two large-tailed sheep like those of Ormuz. This chief's name, as given by the Portuguese, was Luspance. He and his followers were covered with fur karosses.

Among the slaves that accompanied the Europeans from India were many Africans, and one of them must have belonged to some tribe living on the Hottentot border, for he could make himself understood by Luspance, and he also spoke the language of the Bantu of Mozambique. Another slave spoke the last-named language and also Portuguese, so that through two intermediary interpreters the Europeans could make their wants known to the Hottentot chief. And throughout one of the most remarkable journeys ever made in South Africa slaves of the party could always converse with the natives, a circumstance which tended greatly towards the safety of all.

The shipwrecked people resolved to proceed to the bay of Lourenço Marques, but instead of keeping along the shore as those of the *S. João* had done, they thought it better to turn inland in order to cross the rivers more easily. On the 3rd of April they commenced their journey. Luspance provided them with guides until they should reach the kraals of the next chief, and he sold them two cows and two sheep to take with them. They were well provided with arms and ammunition, and with suitable merchandise to purchase food. Everything was properly packed for carrying, and the party was arranged in the same manner as a trading caravan. There were two ladies with them, for whose use two light hammocks were taken, so that they could be carried by slaves when they were too fatigued to walk.

In this way the shipwrecked people travelled through several divisions of the present Cape Colony and the territories now termed Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand East, Natal, Zululand, and Tongaland, until they came to Delagoa Bay. Not only had they sufficient food all the time, but they had one hundred and nine head of cattle when their long march was over. In three months they travelled over a thousand miles, though in a straight line the southern shore of Delagoa Bay is only seven hundred and fifty miles from the Rock of the Fountains, for the distance was greatly increased by detours. On the way they lost nine Europeans and ninety-five slaves, most of the latter from desertion. This wonderful success was due to its being the best time of the year for travelling, to their being too strong and too well armed to provoke attack, to their being provided with means to purchase food, and to their having slaves who could make themselves understood by the Bantu along the route.

At Delagoa Bay they found the trading vessel from Mozambique. She was not large enough to contain them all, but her Arab crew consented for payment to walk overland to Sofala, and with them went the slaves and twenty-eight Portuguese. Most of the Europeans of this party perished on the way. Eighty-eight Portuguese, including the two ladies, embarked in the trading vessel, and reached Mozambique in safety.

In all the region traversed by the crews of these three ships there was not a single tribe of the same name as any now existing. The people were of the same race, spoke dialects of the same language, had the same customs, but were differently grouped together.

On the banks of the lower Limpopo lived the fierce and cruel Barumo tribe, one of whose clans had broken away from the paramount chief and settled on the northern bank of the river Lourenço Marques. It was by this clan that the unfortunate people of the *S. João* were so shamefully ill treated. There was a tribe called the Manisa along the river which yet bears that name, on the northern side of Delagoa Bay, and several of its clans lived farther westward. South-east of Delagoa Bay was the friendly Inhaka tribe. Joining them on the south were the Makomata, under a chief called Viragune by the Portuguese, whose kraals were scattered over the country from the coast ninety miles inland. Then came the Makalapapa, who lived on the northern side of St Lucia lagoon. South of them was a tribe termed the Vambe by the Portuguese, which was to a certainty the Abambo of Hlubi, Zizi, and other traditions, from whom Natal is still called Embo by the Bantu.

All the paramount chiefs of these tribes were termed kings by the Portuguese, and the territories in which they lived were described as kingdoms. In the same way the heads of kraals were designated nobles. Phraseology of this kind, so liable to lead readers into error, ended, however, with the so-called Vambe kingdom, as farther south there were no tribes of any importance, no chiefs with more than three or four kraals under their control, and to these a high-sounding title could not be given. The Pondo, Pondomisi Tembu, and Xosa tribes of our day were either not yet in existence as separate communities, or were little insignificant clans too feeble to attract notice.

Shortly before the close of the sixteenth century the Portuguese reached the summit of their power in Africa south of the Zambesi, but even then their actual possessions were very limited, though their influence was felt over an area of great extent. An account of the country at that time was given by the Dominican friar João dos Santos, who lived at Sofala from December 1586 to August 1590 and again for a few months before April 1595, and who spent the time from August 1590 to July 1591 at Sena and Tete.

Sofala was the principal military and trading station. The number of white people living there was very small, and consisted merely of the officers and some of the soldiers of the garrison, the factor who conducted the trade, two or three private individuals who were favourites of the native chief, another friar of the Dominican order,—João Madeira by name,—and himself. Garcia de Mello was then in command of the fort, which was the structure erected by Pedro da Nhaya, but repaired and strengthened in 1558, when Dona Catherina was regent for the child king Sebastião. There were two churches, the principal one—dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Rosario—just built. Dos Santos himself went with a party to the Pungwe river to cut the timber needed in its construction. The white people were leading very immoral lives, and the number of persons of mixed blood was considerable. These regarded themselves as Christians, but they were almost ignorant of the first principles of the faith, and so indifferent that it was very difficult to instruct them. There were some Indians also, who had been sent to Africa in the Portuguese service, and there were some

Bantu converts. These nationalities combined numbered from three to four thousand souls, and beyond them direct jurisdiction by the Portuguese did not extend.

The condition of the Mohamedans has been described elsewhere. The Kiteve tribe was absolutely independent, and presents were frequently made to the chief to secure his favour.

Sofala was very seldom visited by a Portuguese ship. The coasting trade was carried on in vessels built by the so-called Arabs, and manned by black crews, who claimed to be Mohamedans, but really knew and cared very little about religion. These vessels brought goods from Mozambique, the centre of the East African trade, and took back whatever was procured in barter.

Dos Santos found that the Bantu were not disposed to embrace Christianity. They worshipped the spirits of their ancestors, and regarded their chief as a deity, further they had a confused belief in a great God whom they termed Molungo, but to whom they never prayed, and in a devil, whom they termed Musuka. These latter ideas they might have derived from the Arabs, still they had not shown a greater inclination towards Mohamedanism than towards Christianity. The friars, however, must have expected too much from these people, for the number who professed to be converted to the white man's faith was really large. Within four years they baptized seventeen hundred individuals at Sofala, and the great majority of these must have been Bantu.

Tete, at the head of the navigation of the Zambesi, one hundred and eighty miles from Sena, was the settlement next in importance to Sofala. It was built on ground five hundred feet above the level of the sea, but it was not a healthy place. It contained a stone fort, a church—dedicated to Sant Iago,—and a warehouse. The Portuguese residents, all told, numbered forty, but there were some six hundred Christians, chiefly Bantu converts, with a few Indians and mixed breeds. The captain of Tete still had authority over those eleven little Bantu clans that had been conquered by the monomotapa and then placed under his government. They brought all their cases of importance to the fort to be tried, and were in every respect submissive. Thus the captain of Tete was credited with having a native force of two thousand men under his command. This was the only place in Africa south of the Zambesi where the Portuguese actually exercised direct authority over any Bantu beyond the precincts of their factories.

Tete was the station from which the inland trade was carried on. From it goods were conveyed by native carriers to three places in the Kalanga territory, namely Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto, at each of which a Portuguese resided, who had charge of the local barter. Masapa was on the river Mansovo—now Mazoe,—about one hundred and fifty miles by road from Tete. Luanze was one hundred and five miles almost due south of Tete, between two little rivers which united below it and then flowed into the Mansovo. Bukoto was thirty miles from Masapa, thirty-nine miles from Luanze, and one hundred and twenty miles from Tete. It also was situated between two forks of a river.

The trader at Masapa was a diplomatic agent with the monomotapa, and had the title of Capitão das Portas. Through him passed the annual presents made by the

Portuguese to the great chief in return for the privilege of carrying on commerce with his people, when messengers were not sent specially for them to one of the forts. Masapa was close to the mountain called Fura, from the top of which there was believed to be a very extensive view over the Kalanga country, but no Portuguese was allowed to go up it, because, as they understood, the monomotapa did not wish his territory to be narrowly inspected.

Bukoto was a mere retail trading station, with nothing particular to note about it.

The trader at Luanze held a commission from the captain general, giving him authority over any white men who might appear in the country, and he was regarded also as a sub-chief of the monomotapa, who appointed him captain over a few natives.

At Sena there was a small fort, a church, and a warehouse from which itinerant traders among the Bantu were supplied. Including the garrison, this place had about fifty Portuguese residents. There were also some Indians, mixed breeds, and native converts, so that the Christians altogether numbered over eight hundred souls. The clans around were all Makalanga, and the Portuguese had no control whatever over them.

The monomotapa at this time, who bore also the title Mambo, was well disposed towards the Portuguese. He gave the Dominicans leave to establish missions in his country, and they had already put up three little buildings for places of prayer, at Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto. They had not as yet, however, men to occupy these places permanently, but the friar who resided at Tete occasionally visited them. The white people never made a request from Mambo without accompanying it with a present—usually a piece of coarse dyed calico—for himself and for his principal wife, whose name was Mazarira. This was the custom of the country, for no native could obtain an audience unless he presented an ox or a goat.

The form of oath used by the Makalanga was Ke Mambo, just as all Bantu still swear by their chief. This monomotapa had a great number of wives, and his children were distinguished from other natives by the term Manambo.

Dos Santos, in describing the country, speaks of a kingdom called Biri, which adjoined Manika, and of another kingdom called Sakumbe, which lay along the Zambesi west of Tete, but these were nothing more than the territories of chiefs of no great importance, though independent of the monomotapa. He mentions that while he was living at Sofala the Sedanda chief committed suicide, on account of his being afflicted with leprosy.

West of the country occupied by the Makalanga Bushmen were very numerous, consequently the territory there was vaguely termed Batua or Butua (Batwa), the Bantu name of those wild people. Little or nothing was really known of that part of Africa, however, for neither white man nor Arab had ever penetrated it. One circumstance shows that Bushmen were not its only inhabitants. When Dos Santos was living at Sofala some Portuguese cloth was brought from Angola by Bantu travellers to Manika, where a white man purchased it as a curiosity, and afterwards showed it to the friar. At that time the head waters of the

Zambesi were quite unknown, though the Portuguese were fairly well acquainted with the principal features of the interior of the continent farther north, through accounts obtained from natives. Owing to this circumstance their maps of Central Africa were tolerably correct, while those of South Africa were utterly misleading.

During more than twenty years the country north of the Zambesi had been a scene of widespread pillage and devastation. A vast horde of savages had made its appearance from somewhere in the interior of the continent, no one knew exactly where, and had spread like locusts over the territory along the coast. A small party of them crossed the Zambesi, and appeared near Tete, but Jeronymo de Andrade, captain of that fort, had no difficulty in driving them back, as the savages were so amazed at the effects of the fire from a few arquebuses that they fled without resistance. A little later the same captain drove away another party that had attacked a chief friendly to the Portuguese, and with the assistance of a band of Batonga warriors, slaughtered a large number of them.

The country as far north as Melinda was laid waste by the invading horde. At that place a large band made its appearance, but was almost exterminated by a force of thirty Portuguese and three thousand Bantu warriors that Mattheus Mendes de Vasconçellos, head of the trading station, got together to aid the Arab ruler.

In 1592 two sections of these savages were found on the northern bank of the lower Zambesi. One was called by the Portuguese the Mumbos, the other was the far-dreaded Mazimba. Dos Santos says the Mazimba were cannibals, and there is no reason to doubt his assertion, for traditions concerning them are still current all over Southern Africa, in which they are represented as inhuman monsters, and their name is used generally to imply eaters of human flesh. The men were much stronger and more robust than Makalanga. They carried immense shields made of oxhide, and were variously armed with assagais, battle-axes, and bows and arrows.

One of the chiefs of the Mumbos, named Kizura, attacked a clan friendly to the Portuguese, and plundered the people. Thereupon Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, captain of Tete, called out his warriors, marched against Kizura, and killed him.

Just after this event, in 1592, a band of Mazimba crossed the Zambesi, and fell upon a kraal near Sena. André de Santiago, captain of the fort, with all the men he could muster proceeded to chastise the Mazimba, but found them so strong that he was obliged to entrench himself hastily on the northern bank of the river, and send to Tete for help. De Chaves with a hundred Portuguese and mixed breeds and his eleven vassal chiefs with their followers went at once to aid the Sena force. The Dominican friar Nicolau do Rosario, whose name has been mentioned before in connection with the wreck of the *S. Thomé*, accompanied the party as a chaplain. The Portuguese and mixed breeds were some distance in advance of the Bantu contingent, when they were surprised by the Mazimba, and everyone except the friar was killed. He, badly wounded, was taken prisoner, and was then fastened to a tree and made a target of till death came to his relief. The eleven Bantu chiefs, on ascertaining what had happened, immediately returned to Tete.

On the following day the Mazimba appeared before André de Santiago's entrenchment. Their chief was dressed in the murdered friar's robes, and they displayed in triumph the head of De Chaves and the limbs of the Portuguese who fell with him. De Santiago, who believed he could not maintain his position long, tried to get across the river to Sena, but was killed in the attempt with nearly all his followers. The two captains, the priest of Tete, and one hundred and thirty white men and mixed breeds had now perished. The Portuguese power on the Zambesi was for the time destroyed.

Pedro de Sousa, who was then captain general at Mozambique, made an attempt to restore the supremacy of the Europeans. With two hundred Portuguese, five hundred friendly blacks, and some artillery, he appeared at Sena in 1593, and, after forming a camp there, crossed the river to attack the Mazimba. But these savages had profited by the lessons learned from the white man, and had constructed a kind of fort, which, though rude, was strong enough to defy the assaults of the Portuguese. De Sousa tried to open an entrance into it with his cannon, but failed. Then he endeavoured to take it by storm, but when his men were crowded together close to it, the Mazimba hurled their barbed assagais and threw boiling water and burning fat upon them, till they fell back discomfited.

The captain general was two months beyond the Zambesi without effecting anything. Intelligence now reached him that the camp at Sena was in danger, so he set out to return to it. On the way the Mazimba attacked him, and, after killing many of his men, took his artillery and the greater part of his baggage. He and the remnant of his army escaped to Sena with difficulty.

There he was gladdened by receiving a message from the victorious chief, with an offer of peace upon condition that the Portuguese should not again interfere in matters that only concerned Bantu tribes. The Mazimba, he was informed, had no desire to quarrel with the white people, and had acted in self defence throughout the war. The captain general was only too pleased to accept the proposal. He returned to Mozambique, and the stations at Sena and Tete were again occupied as before the disturbances.

As the monopoly of the commerce of the East which Portugal had now enjoyed for a century was about to be wrested from her, a brief account of the condition of the country at this time is necessary. The dynasty of Avis had passed away. João III, son of Manuel the Fortunate, died in 1557, leaving as his heir his grandson Sebastião, a boy three years of age. Dona Catherina, widow of the deceased king, became regent, but five years later retired to her native Spain, which she had always loved better than Portugal. The cardinal Dom Henrique, younger brother of João III, then became regent until 1568, when Sebastião, though still a mere child, being under fifteen years of age, assumed the government as an almost absolute monarch. The boy king was chivalrous and brave, but obstinate and rash to the last degree, and during his short reign the kingdom rapidly declined in military strength. In August 1578, in an ill planned and worse conducted expedition against the Moors of Northern Africa, which he commanded in person, he fell in battle, and his whole army—the entire force of the country—perished. His successor was the cardinal Dom Henrique, an imbecile old man, who died in January 1580, and with him the house of Avis became extinct.

The succession to the throne was disputed, but in April 1581 Filippe II of Spain added Portugal to his dominions, nominally as an independent kingdom with all its governmental machinery intact as before, really as a subordinate country, whose resources he drew upon for his wars in the Netherlands. To outward appearance Portugal might seem to occupy a more impregnable position after such a close union with her powerful neighbour, but it was not so in reality. The enemies of Spain now became her enemies also, her factories and fleets were exposed to attack, and she received no assistance in defending them.

The little kingdom had been drained of men, and was completely exhausted. It must be remembered that she never was in as favourable a condition for conducting enterprises requiring large numbers of sailors and soldiers as the Netherlands were at a later date. She had no great reservoir of thews and muscles to draw from as Holland had in the German states. Spain was behind her, as the German states were behind the Netherlands, but Spain found employment for all her sons in Mexico and Peru. Portugal had to depend upon her own people. She was colonising Brazil and Madeira too, and occupying forts and factories on the western coast of Africa as well as on the shores of the eastern seas. Of the hosts of men—

the very best of her blood—that went to India and Africa, few ever returned. They perished of fevers or other diseases, or they lost their lives in wars and shipwrecks, or they made homes for themselves far from their native land.

To procure labourers to till the soil of her southern provinces slaves were introduced from Africa. In the year 1441 Antão Gonçalves and Nuno Tristão brought the first home with them, and then the doom of the kingdom was sealed. No Europeans have ever treated negroes so mildly as the Portuguese, or been so ready to mix with them on equal terms. But even in Estremadura, Alemtejo, and the Algarve it was impossible for the industrious European and the indolent African to labour side by side, and so all of the most enterprising of the peasant class moved away. The slaves, on embracing Christianity, had various privileges conferred upon them, and their blood became mixed with that of the least energetic of the peasantry, until a new and degenerate stock was formed. To find the true descendants of the Portuguese heroes of the sixteenth century, one must not look among the lower classes of the southern and larger part of the country now.

Further, corruption of the grossest kind was prevalent in the administration everywhere. The great offices, including the captaincies of the factories and forts, were purchased from the favourites of the king. Such offices were held for three years, and the men who obtained them did their utmost to make fortunes within that period. They were like the monomotapa of the Kalanga tribe, no one could approach them to obtain anything without a bribe in his hand, every commercial transaction paid them a toll. They had not yet sunk in the deep sloth that characterised them at a later date, but they lived in a style of luxury undreamed of in the early days. Oftentimes the people in their governments were in insurrection against them, as was the case at Sena in 1601, when the inhabitants rose in revolt against the magistrate Lourenço de Brito.

In India many of the fortresses had fallen into partial decay, and commerce was declining. With a strange fatality, instead of keeping up the strength of places which were of real value, the principal military expenditure during recent years had been upon a new fort of the first class at Mozambique. It was evident that sooner or later other Europeans would try to make their way to the East, and the Portuguese seemed to think that if they were impregnable at their refreshment station, they would be able to block the road. They did not consider that another station could be formed to outrival theirs, nor did they realise that by a bolder course of navigation, such as some of their own sea captains had already adopted, Mozambique would be left far out of the Indian route.

The captain of this island still had authority over the other factories on the African coast, but, as before Barreto's time, he had again become subordinate to the viceroy of India. The new fortress, named S. Sebastião, was commenced in 1558, but was not completed until towards the close of the century. It was erected on the eastern extremity of the island, to command the anchorage and ships passing to and from it. The stronghold was quadrangular in shape, of great height, and on its ramparts from eighty to a hundred guns could be mounted. The want of fresh water was its principal defect, but this was remedied in course of time by the construction of enormous cisterns within the walls, which contained an ample supply to last from one rainy season to another.

This was the condition of matters in Portugal, in India, and on the East African coast, when other and hostile flags appeared beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the gigantic commercial monopoly was menaced with destruction.

CHAPTER VI.

APPEARANCE OF THE FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND DUTCH IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

CHAPTER VI.—*Contents.*

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CHAPTER VI.

APPEARANCE OF THE FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND DUTCH IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE French were the first to follow the Portuguese to India. The earliest known ship under their flag that passed round the Cape of Good Hope was one fitted out at Dieppe, which reached Diu in July 1527. She had a crew of forty Frenchmen, but was commanded by a Portuguese named Estevão Dias Brigas d'Alcuna, who had fled from his native country on account of misdeeds committed there, and had taken service with the strangers. The captain of Diu regarded this ship with great hostility, and as he was unable to seize her openly, he practised deceit to get her crew into his power. Professing friendship, he gave D'Alcuna permission to trade in the Portuguese territory, but took advantage of the first opportunity to arrest him and his crew. They were handed over as captives to a neighbouring Mohamedan ruler, and all who did not embrace Islam came to an evil end.

A little later three French ships, fitted out by merchants of Rouen, reached India, but avoided the Portuguese settlements, and nothing was known at Goa of their proceedings except what was told by a sailor who was left behind at Madagascar and was afterwards found there. This expedition was almost as unsuccessful as the preceding one. The ships were greatly damaged in violent storms, and with difficulty got back to Europe.

From that time until 1601 there is no trace of a French vessel having passed the Cape of Good Hope. Then two ships were sent out by a Bretagne company, and reached the Maldives safely, but were subsequently lost, and their commander was unable to return home until ten years had gone by.

In 1617 the first successful expedition to India under the French flag sailed from a port in Normandy, and from that date onward ships of this nation were frequently seen in the eastern seas. But the French made no attempt to form a settlement in South Africa, and their only connection with this country was that towards the middle of the seventeenth century a vessel was sent occasionally from Rochelle to collect a cargo of sealskins and oil at the islands in and near the present Saldanha Bay.

The English were the next to appear in Indian waters. A few individuals of this nation may have served in Portuguese ships, and among the missionaries, especially of the Society of Jesus, who went out to convert the heathen, it is not unlikely that there were several. One at least, Thomas Stephens by name, was rector of the Jesuit college at Salsette. A letter written by him from Goa in 1579, and printed in the second volume of Hakluyt's work, is the earliest account extant of an English voyager to that part of the world. It contains no information of importance.

The famous sea captain Francis Drake, of Tavistock in Devon, sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December 1577, with the intention of exploring the Pacific ocean. His fleet consisted of five vessels, carrying in all one hundred and sixty-four men. His own ship, named the *Pelican*, was of one hundred and twenty tons burden. The others were the *Elizabeth*, eighty tons, the *Marigold*, thirty tons, a pinnace of twelve tons, and a storeship of fifty tons burden. The last named was set on fire as soon as her cargo was transferred to the others, the pinnace was abandoned, the *Marigold* was lost in a storm, the *Elizabeth*, after reaching the Pacific, turned back through the straits of Magellan, and the *Pelican* alone continued the voyage. She was the first English ship that sailed round the world. Captain Drake reached England again on the 3rd of November 1580, and soon afterwards was made a knight by Queen Elizabeth on board his ship. The *Pelican* did not touch at any part of the South African coast, but there is the following paragraph in the account of the voyage:—

"We ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portuguese to be most false, who affirm that it is the most dangerous cape of the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers who come near the same. This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it on the 18th of June."

In 1583 four English traders in precious stones, acting partly on their own account and partly as agents for merchants in London, made their way by the Tigris and the Persian gulf to Ormuz, where at that time people of various nationalities were engaged in commerce. John Newbery, the leader of the party, had been there before. The others were named Ralph Fitch, William Leades, and James Story. Shortly after their arrival at Ormuz they were arrested by the Portuguese authorities on the double charge of being heretics and spies of the prior Dom Antonio, who was a claimant to the throne of Portugal, and under these pretences they were sent prisoners to Goa. There they managed to clear themselves of the first of the charges, Story entered a convent, and the others, on finding bail not to leave the city, were set at liberty in December 1584, mainly through the instrumentality of the Jesuit father Stephens and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, of whom more will be related in the following pages. Four months afterwards, being in fear of ill-treatment, they managed to make their escape from Goa. After a time they separated, and Fitch went on a tour through India, visiting many places before his return to England in 1591. An account of his travels is extant in Hakluyt's collection, but there is not much information in it, and it had no effect upon subsequent events.

Thomas Candish sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July 1586, with three ships—the *Desire*, of one hundred and twenty tons, the *Content*, of sixty tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, of forty tons—carrying in all one hundred and twenty-three souls. After sailing round the globe, he arrived again in Plymouth on the 9th of September 1588, having passed the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of May.

The first English ships that put into a harbour on the South African coast were the *Penelope*, *Merchant*

Royal, and *Edward Bonaventure*, which sailed from Plymouth for India on the 10th of April 1591, under command of Admiral George Raymond. This fleet put into the Watering Place of Saldanha at the end of July. The crews, who were suffering from scurvy, were at once sent on shore, where they obtained fresh food by shooting wild fowl and gathering mussels and other shell-fish along the rocky beach. Some natives had been seen when the ships sailed in, but they appeared terrified, and at once moved inland. Admiral Raymond visited Robben Island, where he found seals and penguins in great numbers. One day some hunters caught a native, whom they treated kindly, making him many presents and endeavouring to show him by signs that they were in want of cattle. They then let him go, and eight days afterwards he returned with thirty or forty others, bringing forty oxen and as many sheep. Trade was at once commenced, the price of an ox being two knives, that of a sheep one knife. So many men had died of scurvy that it was considered advisable to send the *Merchant Royal* back to England weak handed. The *Penelope*, with one hundred and one men, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, with ninety-seven men, sailed for India on the 8th of September. On the 12th a gale was encountered, and that night those in the *Edward Bonaventure*, whereof was captain James Lancaster—who was afterwards famous as an advocate of Arctic exploration, and whose name was given by Bylot and Baffin to the sound which terminated their discoveries in 1616—saw a great sea break over the admiral's ship, which put out her lights. After that she was never seen or heard of again.

It was not by Englishmen, however, though they visited India at this early period, but by the Dutch, that the Portuguese power in the East was overthrown. That power was like a great bubble, but it required pricking to make it burst, and our countrymen did not often come in contact with it. Sir Francis Drake indeed, who was utterly fearless, went wherever he chose, and opened fire upon all who attempted to interfere with him, but his successors, whose object was profit in trade, were naturally more cautious. The Indies were large, and so they avoided the Portuguese fortresses, and did what business they could with native rulers and people.

The merchants of the Netherlands had been accustomed to obtain at Lisbon the supplies of Indian products which they required for home consumption and for the large European trade which they carried on, but after 1580, when Portugal came under the dominion of Filippe II of Spain, they were shut out of that market. They then determined to open up direct communication with the East, and for that purpose made several gallant but fruitless efforts to find a passage along the northern shores of Europe and Asia. When the first of these had failed, and while the result of the second was still unknown, some merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a fleet of four vessels, which in the year 1595 sailed to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Before this date, however, a few Netherlanders had visited the eastern seas in the Portuguese service, and among them was one in particular whose writings had great influence at that period and for more than half a century afterwards.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten was born at Haarlem, in the province of Holland. He received a good general education, but from an early age he gave himself up with ardour to the special study of geography and history, and eagerly read such books of travel as were within his reach. In 1579 he obtained permission from his parents, who were then residing at Enkhuizen, to proceed to Seville, where his two elder brothers were pushing their fortunes. He was at Seville when the cardinal king Henrique of Portugal died, leaving the succession to the throne in dispute. The duke of Alva with a strong Spanish army won it for his master, and shortly afterwards Linschoten removed to Lisbon, where he was a clerk in a merchant's office when Filippe made his triumphal entry and when Alva died.

Two years later he entered the service of a Dominican friar, by name Viçente da Fonseca, who had been appointed by Filippe primate of India, the see of Goa having been raised to an archbishopric in 1557. In April 1583, with his employer he sailed from Lisbon, and after touching at Mozambique arrived at Goa in September of the same year. He remained in India until January 1589. When returning to Europe in the ship *Santa Cruz* from Cochim, he passed through a quantity of wreckage from the ill-fated *S. Thomé*, which had sailed from the same port five days before he left, and he visited several islands in the Atlantic, at one of which—Terceira—he was detained a long time. He reached Lisbon again in January 1592, and eight months later rejoined his family at Enkhuizen, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. From this date his name is inseparably connected with those of the gallant spirits who braved the perils of the polar seas in the effort to find a north-eastern passage to China.

Early in 1595 the first of Linschoten's books was published, in which an account is given of the sailing directions followed by the Portuguese in their navigation of the eastern waters. This was followed in 1596 by a description of the Indies, and by several geographical treatises drawn from Portuguese sources, all illustrated with maps and plates. These were collected in a single large volume, and the work was at once received as a text-book, a position which its merits entitled it to occupy.

The most defective portion of the whole is that referring to South Africa: and for this reason, that it was then impossible to get any correct information about the interior of the continent below the Zambesi. Linschoten himself saw no more of it than a fleeting glimpse of False Cape afforded on his outward passage, and his description was of necessity based upon the faulty maps of the geographers of his time, so that it was full of errors. But his account of India and of the way to reach its several ports was so correct that it could serve the purpose of a guide-book, and his treatise on the mode of navigation by the Portuguese was thus used by the commander of the first Dutch fleet that appeared in the eastern seas.

The four vessels which left Texel on the 2nd of April 1595 were under the general direction of an officer named Cornelis Houtman. In the afternoon of the 2nd of August the Cape of Good Hope was seen, and next day, after passing Agulhas, the fleet kept close to the land, the little *Duifke* sailing in front and looking for a harbour. On the 4th the bay called by the Portuguese Agoada de S. Braz was discovered, and as the *Duifke* found good holding ground in nine or ten fathoms of water, the *Mauritius, Hollandia,* and *Amsterdam* entered and dropped their anchors.

Here the fleet remained until the 11th, when sail was again set for the East. During the interval a supply of fresh water was taken in, and some oxen and sheep were purchased from natives for knives, old tools, and pieces of iron. The Europeans were surprised to find the sheep covered with hair instead of wool, and with enormous tails of pure fat. No women or habitations were seen. The appearance of the Hottentots, their clothing, their assagais, their method of making a fire by twirling a piece of wood rapidly round in the socket of another piece, their filthiness in eating, and the clicking of their language, are all correctly described; but it was surmised that they were cannibals, because they were observed to eat the half raw intestines of animals, and a fable commonly believed in Europe was repeated concerning their mutilation in a peculiar manner of the bodies of conquered enemies. The intercourse with the few natives seen was friendly, though at times each suspected the other of evil intentions.

A chart of the inlet was made,[1] from which it is seen to be the one now called Mossel Bay. A little island in it was covered with seals and penguins, some of each of which were killed and eaten. The variation of the compass was observed to be so trifling that the needle might be said to point to the north.

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[1] It is attached to the original journals, now in the archives of the Netherlands. I made a copy of it on tracing linen for the Cape government, as it differs considerably from the chart in the printed condensed journal of the voyage.

From the Watering Place of S. Braz Houtman continued his voyage to India, but it is not necessary to relate occurrences there. After his return to Europe several companies were formed in different towns of the Netherlands, with the object of trading to the East and wresting from the Portuguese that wealth which they were then too feeble to guard.

In the *Leeuw*, one of the ships sent out in 1598, and which put into the Watering Place of Saldanha for refreshment, the famous English seaman John Davis was chief pilot. He wrote an account of the voyage, in which he states that the Hottentots in Table Valley fell by surprise upon the men who were ashore bartering cattle, and killed thirteen of them. In his narrative Davis says that at Cape Agulhas the magnetic needle was without variation, but in his sailing directions, written after another voyage to India, he says: "At False Cape there is no variation that I can find by observing south from it. The variation of Cape Agulhas is thirty minutes from north to west. And at the Cape of Good Hope the compass is varied from north to east five and twenty minutes."

No fresh discoveries on the African coast were made by any of the fleets sent out at this time, but to some of the bays new names were given.

In December 1599 four ships fitted out by an association at Amsterdam calling itself the New Brabant Company sailed from Texel for the Indies, under command of Pieter Both. Two of them returned early in 1601, leaving the *Vereenigde Landen* and the *Hof van Holland* under charge of Paulus van Caerden to follow as soon as they could obtain cargoes.

On the 8th of July 1601 Van Caerden put into the Watering Place of S. Braz on the South African coast, for the purpose of repairing one of his ships which was in a leaky condition. The commander, with twenty soldiers, went a short distance inland to endeavour to find people from whom he could obtain some cattle, but though he came across a party of eight natives he did not succeed in getting any oxen or sheep. A supply of fresh water was taken in, but no refreshment except mussels could be procured, on account of which Van Caerden gave the inlet the name Mossel Bay, which it has ever since retained.

On the 14th, the *Hof van Holland* having been repaired, the two ships sailed, but two days later, as they were making no progress against a head wind, they put into another bay. Here natives were found, from whom the voyagers obtained for pieces of iron as many horned cattle and sheep as they could consume fresh or had salt to preserve. For this reason the commander gave it the name Flesh Bay.

On the 21st sail was set, but the *Hof van Holland* being found leaky again, on the 23rd another bay was entered, where her damages were repaired. On account of a westerly gale the ships were detained here until the 30th, when they sailed, but finding the wind contrary outside, they returned to anchor. No natives were seen, but the commander visited a river near by, where he encountered a party from whom he obtained five sheep in exchange for bits of iron. In the river were numerous hippopotami. Abundance of fine fish having been secured here, the commander gave the inlet the name Fish Bay.

On the 2nd of August the ships sailed, and on the 27th passed the Cape of Good Hope, to the great joy of all on board, who had begun to fear that they would be obliged to seek a port on the eastern side to winter in.

On the 5th of May 1601 a fleet of three vessels, named the *Ram*, the *Schaap*, and the *Lam*, sailed for the Indies from Vere in Zeeland, under command of Joris van Spilbergen. On the 15th of November the fleet put into St Helena Bay, where no inhabitants were seen, though many fires were observed inland. The only refreshment procurable was fish, which were caught in great quantities.

On the 20th Spilbergen sailed from St Helena Bay, and beating against a head wind, on the evening of the 28th he anchored off an island, to which he gave the name Elizabeth. Four years later Sir Edward Michelburne termed it Cony Island, which name, under the Dutch form of Dassen, it still bears. Seals in great numbers, sea-birds of different kinds, and conies were found. At this place he remained only twenty-four hours. On the 2nd of December he cast anchor close to another island, which he named Cornelia. It was the Robben island of the present day. Here were found seals and penguins in great numbers, but no conies. The next day at noon Spilbergen reached the Watering Place of Saldanha, the anchorage in front of Table Mountain, and gave it the name Table Bay, which it still bears.

The sick were conveyed to land, where a hospital was established. A few natives were met, to whom presents of beads were made, and who were understood to make signs that they would bring cattle for sale, but they went away and did not return. Abundance of fish was obtained with a seine at the mouth of a stream which Spilbergen named the Jacqueline, now Salt River; but, as meat was wanted, the smallest of the vessels was sent to Elizabeth Island, where a great number of penguins and conies were killed and salted in.

The fleet remained in Table Bay until the 23rd of December. When passing Cornelia Island, a couple of conies were set on shore, and seven or eight sheep, which had been left there by some previous voyagers, were shot, and their carcases taken on board. Off the Cape of Good Hope the two French ships which were afterwards wrecked at the Maldive islands were seen.

Spilbergen kept along the coast, noticing the formation of the land and the numerous streams falling into the sea, but was sorely hindered in his progress by the Agulhas current, which he found setting so strong to the south-westward that at times he could make no way against it even with the breeze in his favour. On the 17th of January 1602, owing to this cause, he stood off from the coast, and did not see it again.

The fleets sent out by the different small companies which had been formed in the chief towns of the Free Netherlands gained surprising successes over the

Portuguese in India, but as they did not work in concert no permanent conquests could be made. For this reason, as well as to prevent rivalry and to conduct the Indian trade in a manner the most beneficial to the people of the whole republic, the states-general resolved to unite all the small trading associations in one great Company with many privileges and large powers. The charter, or terms upon which the Company came into existence, was dated at the Hague on the 20th of March 1602, and contained forty-six clauses, the principal of which were as follow:—

All inhabitants of the United Netherlands had the right given to them to subscribe to the capital in as small or as large sums as they might choose, with this proviso, that if more money should be tendered than was needed, those applying for shares of over two thousand five hundred pounds sterling should receive less, so that the applicants for smaller shares might have allotted to them the full amounts asked for.

The chambers, or offices for the transaction of business, were to participate in the following proportion: that of Amsterdam one-half, that of Middelburg in Zeeland one-quarter, those of Delft and Rotterdam, otherwise called of the Maas, together one-eighth, and those of Hoorn and Enkhuizen, otherwise called those of the North Quarter or sometimes those of North Holland and West Friesland, together the remaining eighth.

The general directory was to consist of seventeen persons, eight of whom were to represent the chamber of Amsterdam, four that of Middelburg, two those of the Maas, two those of the North Quarter, and the seventeenth was to be chosen alternately by all of these except the chamber of Amsterdam. The place of meeting of the general directory was fixed at Amsterdam for six successive years, then at Middelburg for two years, then at Amsterdam again for six years, and so on.

The directors of each chamber were named in the charter, being the individuals who were the directors of the companies previously established in those towns, and it was provided that no others should be appointed until these should be reduced by death or resignation: in the chamber of Amsterdam to twenty persons, in that of Zeeland to twelve, and in those of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each to seven. After that, whenever a vacancy should occur, the remaining directors were to nominate three qualified individuals, of whom the states of the province in which the chamber was situated were to select one.

To qualify an individual to be a director in the chambers of the North Quarter it was necessary to own shares to the value of £250 sterling, and double that amount to be a director in any of the other chambers. The directors were to be bound by oath to be faithful in the administration of the duties entrusted to them, and not to favour a majority of the shareholders at the expense of a minority. Directors were prohibited from selling anything whatever to the Company without previously obtaining the sanction of the states provincial or the authorities of the city in which the chamber that they represented was situated.

All inhabitants of the United Provinces other than this Company were prohibited from trading beyond the Straits of Magellan, or to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the period of twenty-one years, for which the charter was granted, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. Within these limits the East India Company was empowered to enter into treaties and make contracts in the name of the states-general, to build fortresses, to appoint governors, military commanders, judges, and other necessary officers, who were all, however, to take oaths of fidelity to the states-general or high authorities of the Netherlands, who were not to be prevented from making complaints to the states-general, and whose appointments were to be reported to the states-general for confirmation.

For these privileges the Company was to pay £12,500 sterling, which amount the states-general subscribed towards the capital, for the profit and at the risk of the general government of the provinces. The capital was nominally furnished in the following proportions: Amsterdam one-half, Zeeland one-fourth, the Maas one-eighth, and the North Quarter one-eighth; but in reality it was contributed as under:—

Amsterdam		£307,202	10	0
Zeeland		106,304	10	0
The Maas	Delft	38,880	3	4
	Rotterdam	14,546	16	8
The North Quarter	Hoorn	22,369	3	4
	Enkhuizen	47,380	3	4
Total working capital		£536,683	6	8
The share of the states-general		12,500	0	0
Total nominal capital		£549,183	6	8

The capital was divided into shares of £250 sterling each. The shares, often subdivided into fractions, were negotiable like any other property, and rose or fell in value according to the position of the Company at any time.

The advantage which the State derived from the establishment of this great association was apparent. The sums received in payment of import dues would have been contributed to an equal extent by individual traders. The amounts paid for the renewal of the charter—in 1647 the Company paid £133,333 6s. 8d. for its renewal for twenty-five years, and still larger sums were paid subsequently—might have been derived from trading licenses. The Company frequently aided the Republic with loans of large amount when the State was in temporary need, but loans could then have been raised in the modern method whenever necessary. Apart from these services, however, there was one supreme advantage gained by the creation of the East India Company which could not have been obtained from individual traders. A powerful navy was called into existence, great armed fleets working in unison and subject to the same control were always ready to assist the State. What must otherwise have been an element of weakness, a vast number of merchant ships scattered over the ocean and ready to fall a prey to an enemy's cruisers, was turned into a bulwark of strength.

In course of time several modifications took place in the constitution of the Company, and the different provinces as well as various cities were granted the privilege of having representatives in one or other of the chambers. Thus the provinces Gelderland, Utrecht, and Friesland, and the cities Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, and Gouda had each a representative in the chamber of Amsterdam; Groningen had a representative in the chamber of Zeeland; Overyssel one in the chamber of Delft, etc. The object of this was to make the Company represent the whole Republic.

Notwithstanding such regulations, however, the city of Amsterdam soon came to exercise an immoderate influence in the direction. In 1672 it was estimated that shares equal to three-fourths of the whole capital were owned there, and of the twenty-five directors of the local chamber, eighteen were chosen by the burgomasters of the city. Fortunately, the charter secured to the other chambers a stated proportion of patronage and trade.

Such was the constitution of the Company which set itself the task of destroying the Portuguese power in the East and securing for itself the lucrative spice trade. It had no difficulty in obtaining as many men as were needed, for the German states—not then as now united in one great empire—formed an almost inexhaustible reservoir to draw soldiers from, and the Dutch fisheries furnished an adequate supply of excellent seamen. It sent out strong and well armed fleets, capable of meeting any force the enemy had to oppose them, and of driving him from the open seas. The first of these fleets consisted of three large ships, commanded by Sebald de Weert, which sailed on the 31st of March 1602, and it was followed on the 17th of June of the same year by eleven large ships and a yacht, under command of Wybrand van Waerwyk.

The Company soon wrested from the Portuguese their choicest possessions in the East, besides acquiring other valuable territory from native owners. Its dividends to the shareholders were enormous, owing largely to the spoil captured by its fleets. In one year they rose to seventy-five per cent of the paid-up capital, and for upwards of a century they averaged above twenty per cent.

But the Dutch, though they were soon in almost undisputed possession of the valuable Spice islands, were never able to eject the Portuguese from the comparatively worthless coast of South-Eastern Africa. That coast would only have been an encumbrance to them, if they had secured it, for its commerce was never worth the cost of its maintenance until the highlands of the interior were occupied by Europeans, and the terrible mortality caused by its malaria would have been a serious misfortune to them. It was out of their ocean highway too, for they steered across south of Madagascar, instead of keeping along the African shore. But they were drawn on by rumours of the gold which was to be had, and so they tried to make themselves masters of Mozambique, and with that island of all the Portuguese possessions subordinate to it.

On the 18th of December 1603 Steven van der Hagen left Holland for India with a strong armed fleet, consisting of the *Vereenigde Provincien*, *Amsterdam*, *Dordrecht*, *Hoorn*, and *West Friesland*, each of three hundred and fifty tons burden, the *Gelderland* and *Zeelandia*, each of two hundred and fifty tons, the *Hof van Holland*, of one hundred and eighty tons, the *Delft* and *Enkhuizen*, each of one hundred and fifty tons, the *Medenblik*, of one hundred and twenty-five tons, and a despatch boat named the *Duifken*, of thirty tons burden.

In those days such a fleet was regarded as, and actually was, a very formidable force, for though there were no ships in it of the size of the great galleons of Spain and Portugal, each one was much less unwieldy, and had its artillery better placed. There were twelve hundred men on board, and the equipment cost no less than £184,947 6s. 8d.

Van der Hagen arrived before Mozambique on the 17th of June 1604. Fort S. Sebastião contained at the time only a very small garrison, but it was considered too strong to be attacked, and the Dutch therefore proceeded to blockade the island. There was a carrack at anchor under the guns of the fort, waiting for some others from Lisbon to sail in company to Goa. The boats of the Dutch fleet cut her out, in spite of the heavy fire of the fort upon them. She had on board a quantity of ivory collected on the East African coast, but nothing else of much value.

On the 30th of June a small vessel from one of the factories, laden with rice and ivory, came running up to the island, and was too near to escape when she discovered her danger. She was turned into a tender, and named the *Mozambique*. Then, for five weeks, the blockade continued, without any noteworthy incident. On the 5th of August five pangaios arrived, laden with rice and maize, and were of course seized. Three days later Van der Hagen landed on the island with one hundred and fifty men, but found no sign of hunger among the people, and saw that the prospect of their surrender was remote. He did no other damage than setting fire to a single house, and as night drew on he returned on board.

He was now anxious to proceed to India, so on the

12th of August he set fire to the captured carrack, and sailed, leaving the *Delft*, *Enkhuizen*, and *Duifken*, to wait for the ships expected from Lisbon. These vessels rejoined him, but without having made any prizes, before he attacked the Portuguese at Amboina and Tidor, and got possession of the Spice islands. In this manner the first siege of Mozambique was conducted, and failed.

The next attempt was in 1607. On the 29th of March of that year a Dutch fleet of eight large ships, carrying one thousand and sixty men, commanded by Paulus van Caerden, appeared before the island. The fortress was in a better condition for defence than when it was blockaded by Van der Hagen, as it had recently received from Goa an ample supply of munitions of war and a reinforcement of a hundred and fifty soldiers. Estevão de Ataide was in command.

Van Caerden, in the *Banda*, led the way right under the guns of the fortress to the anchorage, where two carracks and the Sofala packet were lying. A heavy fire was opened on both sides, but, though the ships were slightly damaged, as the ramparts of S. Sebastião were of great height and the Portuguese guns could not be depressed so as to command the Dutch position thoroughly, no one except the master of the *Ceylon* was wounded on that or the next day. The three Portuguese vessels were made prizes, after their crews had escaped to the shore.

On the 1st of April Van Caerden landed with seven hundred men and seven cannons, in order to lay siege to Fort S. Sebastião. He took possession of the town, and made the Dominican convent his headquarters, lodging his people in the best houses. On the 6th his first battery was completed. All but the able-bodied blacks being considered an encumbrance by both combatants, the Dutch commander caused those who were living in the town to be transported to the mainland, and Ataide required those who were in the fort to leave it.

At this time a great galleon approached the island so close that the ships in the harbour could be counted from her deck, but put about the moment the Dutch flag was distinguished. Van Caerden sent four of his ships in pursuit, and she was soon overtaken. Her captain, Francisco de Sodre Pereira, a man worthy of a leading place in the history of naval heroes, made a gallant stand for the honour of his flag. The galleon was poorly armed, but he fought till his ammunition was all expended, and even then would not consent to surrender, though the ship was so riddled with cannon balls that she was in danger of going down. He preferred, he said to those around him, to sink with his colours flying. The purser, however, lowered the ensign without orders, and a moment afterwards the Dutch, who had closed in, took possession. The prize proved to be the *Bom Jesus*, from Lisbon, which had got separated from a fleet on the way to Goa, under command of the newly appointed viceroy, the count De Feira.

During the night of the 17th some of the garrison made a sortie, with the object of attempting to destroy the Dutch works, but were driven back after doing no more damage than wounding one man. And now fever and dysentery attacked Van Caerden's people. From his three completed batteries and his ships a fire was kept up on the fort, without any effect whatever, and during the night of the 29th in a sortie five of his men were killed and many were wounded. A few days later, therefore, he resolved to raise the siege, and on the 6th of May he removed his cannon.

War in those days was carried on in a merciless manner. The Dutch admiral sent to the fort to ask if the Portuguese would ransom the town, and received for reply that they would do nothing of the kind. They were too proud to redeem a portion of their property by purchase from their enemies. Van Caerden then burned all the boats, canoes, and houses, cut down all the cocoa-nut trees, sent a party of men to the mainland, who destroyed everything of value that they could reach there, and finally, just before embarking, he set fire to the Dominican convent and the church of S. Gabriel.

On the morning of the 16th of May, before daylight, the Dutch fleet set sail. As the ships were passing Fort S. Sebastião, every gun that could be got to bear was brought into use on both sides, when the *Zierickzee* had her tiller shot away, and ran aground. Her crew and the most valuable effects on board were rescued, however, by the boats of the rest of the fleet, though many men were wounded by the fire from the fort. The wreck was given to the flames when it was abandoned.

In the second attempt to get possession of Mozambique the Dutch lost forty men, either killed by the enemy or carried off by fever, and they took many sick and wounded away. But there can be little question that defeat was more advantageous to them than victory would have been, for if their design had succeeded a very heavy tax upon their resources and their energy would have been entailed thereafter. They did not realise this fact, however, and fifty-five years later another unsuccessful attempt was made to acquire the coveted East African possessions. Their ships continued to keep the factories on the coast in alarm and to capture Portuguese vessels trading along it, though, after the experience gained, they avoided attacking Fort S. Sebastião.

In the eastern seas they were by this time the dominant power, and were fast building up a commerce greater by far than the Portuguese had ever carried on. They distributed their spices and silks over Europe, whereas their predecessors were satisfied with making Lisbon a market, to which purchasers of other nations might come for whatever they needed.

On the 21st of November 1609 Pieter Both was appointed first governor-general of Netherlands India. He left Texel with the next fleet, which sailed in the following January. In a great storm off the Cape his ship got separated from the others, so he put into Table Bay to repair some damages to the mainmast and to refresh his men. In July 1610 Captain Nicholas Downton called at the same port in an English vessel, and found Governor-General Both's ship lying at anchor and also two homeward bound Dutch ships taking in train oil which had been collected at Robben Island.

In May 1611 the Dutch skipper Isaac le Maire, after whom the straits of Le Maire are named, called at Table Bay. When he sailed, he left behind his son Jacob and a party of seamen, who resided in Table Valley for several months. Their object was to kill seals on Robben Island, and to harpoon whales, which were then very abundant in South African waters in the winter season. They also tried to open up a trade for skins of animals with the Hottentots.

In 1616 the assembly of seventeen resolved that its outward bound fleets should always put into Table Bay to refresh the crews, and from that time onward Dutch ships touched there almost every season. A kind of post office was established by marking the dates of arrivals and departures on stones, and burying letters in places indicated. But no attempt was made to explore the country, and no port south of the Zambesi except Table Bay was frequented by Netherlanders, so that in the middle of the century nothing more concerning it was known than the Portuguese had placed on record.

In England an East India Company was also established, whose first fleet, consisting of the *Dragon*, of six hundred tons, the *Hector*, of three hundred tons, the *Ascension*, of two hundred and sixty tons, and the *Susan*, of two hundred and forty tons burden, sailed from Torbay on the 22nd of April 1601. The admiral was James Lancaster, the same who had commanded the *Edward Bonaventure* ten years earlier. The chief pilot was John Davis, who had only returned from the Indies nine months before. On the 9th of September the fleet came to anchor in Table Bay, by which time the crews of all except the admiral's ship were so terribly afflicted with scurvy that they were unable to drop their anchors. The admiral had kept his men in a tolerable state of health by supplying them with a small quantity of limejuice daily. After his ship was anchored he was obliged to get out his boats and go to the assistance of the others. Sails were then taken on shore to serve as tents, and the sick were landed as soon as possible. Trade was commenced with the natives, and in the course of a few days forty-two oxen and a thousand sheep were obtained for pieces of iron hoop. The fleet remained in Table Bay nearly seven weeks, during which time most of the sick men recovered.

On the 5th of December 1604 the *Tiger*—a ship of two hundred and forty tons—and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp* set sail from Cowes for the Indies. The expedition was under command of Sir Edward Michelburne, and next to him in rank was Captain John Davis. It was the last voyage that this famous seaman was destined to make, for he was killed in an encounter with Japanese pirates on the 27th of December 1605. The journal of the voyage contains the following paragraph:—

> "The 3rd of April 1605 we sailed by a little island which Captain John Davis took to be one that stands some five or six leagues from Saldanha. Whereupon our general, Sir Edward Michelburne, desirous to see the island, took his skiff, accompanied by no more than the master's mate, the purser, myself, and four men that did row the boat, and so putting off from the ship we came on land. While we were on shore they in the ship had a storm, which drove them out of sight of the island ; and we were two days and two nights before we could recover our ship. Upon the said island is abundance of great conies and seals, whereupon we called it Cony Island."

On the 8th of April they anchored in Table Bay, where they remained until the 3rd of the following month refreshing themselves.

From this date onward the fleets of the English East

India Company made Table Bay a port of call and refreshment, and usually procured in barter from the natives as many cattle as they needed. In 1614 the board of directors sent a ship with as many spare men as she could carry, a quantity of provisions, and some naval stores to Table Bay to wait for the homeward bound fleet, and, while delayed, to carry on a whale and seal fishery as a means of partly meeting the expense. The plan was found to answer fairly well, and it was continued for several years. The relieving vessels left England between October and February, in order to be at the Cape in May, when the homeward bound fleets usually arrived from India. If men were much needed, the victualler—which was commonly an old vessel—was then abandoned, otherwise an ordinary crew was left in her to capture whales, or she proceeded to some port in the East, according to circumstances.

The advantage of a place of refreshment in South Africa was obvious, and as early as 1613 enterprising individuals in the service of the East India Company drew the attention of the directors to the advisability of forming a settlement in Table Valley. Still earlier it was rumoured that the king of Spain and Portugal had such a design in contemplation, with the object of cutting off thereby the intercourse of all other nations with the Indian seas, so that the strategical value of the Cape was already recognised. The directors discussed the matter on several occasions, but their views in those days were very limited, and the scheme seemed too large for them to attempt alone.

In their fleets were officers of a much more enterprising spirit, as they were without responsibility in regard to the cost of any new undertaking. In 1620 some of these proclaimed King James I sovereign of the territory extending from Table Bay to the dominions of the nearest Christian prince. The records of this event are interesting, as they not only give the particulars of the proclamation and the reasons that led to it, but show that there must often have been a good deal of bustle in Table Valley in those days.

On the 24th of June 1620 four ships bound to Surat, under command of Andrew Shillinge, put into Table Bay, and were joined when entering by two others bound to Bantam, under command of Humphrey Fitzherbert. The Dutch had at this time the greater part of the commerce of the East in their hands, and nine large ships under their flag were found at anchor. The English vessel *Lion* was also there. Commodore Fitzherbert made the acquaintance of some of the Dutch officers, and was informed by them that they had inspected the country around, as their Company intended to form a settlement in Table Valley the following year. Thereupon he consulted with Commodore Shillinge, who agreed with him that it was advisable to try to frustrate the project of the Hollanders. On the 25th the Dutch fleet sailed for Bantam, and the *Lion* left at the same time, but the *Schiedam*, from Delft, arrived and cast anchor.

On the 1st of July the principal English officers, twenty-one in number,—among them the Arctic navigator William Baffin,—met in council, and resolved to proclaim the sovereignty of King James I over the whole country. They placed on record their reasons for this decision, which were, that they were of opinion a few men only would be needed to keep possession of Table Valley, that a plantation would be of great service for the refreshment of the fleets, that the soil was fruitful and the climate pleasant, that the natives would become willing subjects in time and they hoped would also become servants of God, that the whale fishery would be a source of profit, but, above all, that they regarded it as more fitting for the Dutch when ashore there to be subjects of the king of England than for Englishmen to be subject to them or any one else. "Rule Britannia" was a very strong sentiment, evidently, with that party of adventurous seamen.

On the 3rd of July a proclamation of sovereignty was read in presence of as many men of the six ships as could go ashore for the purpose of taking part in the ceremony. Skipper Jan Cornelis Kunst, of the *Schiedam*, and some of his officers were also present, and raised no objection. On the Lion's rump, or King James's mount as Fitzherbert and Shillinge named it, the flag of St George was hoisted, and was saluted, the spot being afterwards marked by a mound of stones. A small flag was then given to the natives to preserve and exhibit to visitors, which it was believed they would do most carefully.

After going through this ceremony with the object of frustrating the designs of the Dutch, the English officers buried a packet of despatches beside a stone slab in the valley, on which were engraved the letters O^{V}C, they being in perfect ignorance of the fact that those symbols denoted prior possession taken for the Dutch East India Company. On the 25th of July the

Surat fleet sailed, and on the next day Fitzherbert's two ships followed, leaving at anchor in the bay only the English ship *Bear*, which had arrived on the 10th.

The proceeding of Fitzherbert and Shillinge, which was entirely unauthorised, was not confirmed by the directors of the East India Company or by the government of England, and nothing whatever came of it. At that time the ocean commerce of England was small, and as she had just entered upon the work of colonising North America, she was not prepared to attempt to form a settlement in South Africa also. Her king and the directors of her India Company had no higher ambition than to enter into a close alliance with the Dutch Company, and to secure by this means a stated proportion of the trade of the East. In the Netherlands also a large and influential party was in favour of either forming a federated company, or of a binding union of some kind, so as to put it out of the power of the Spaniards and Portuguese to harm them. From 1613 onward this matter was frequently discussed on both sides of the Channel, and delegates went backward and forward, but it was almost impossible to arrange terms.

The Dutch had many fortresses which they had either built or taken from the Portuguese in Java and the Spice islands, and the English had none, so that the conditions of the two parties were unequal. In 1617, however, the kings of France and Denmark sent ships to the eastern seas, and there was a possibility that one or other of them might unite with Holland or England. Accordingly each party was more willing than before to make concessions, and on the 2nd of June 1619 a close alliance was entered into. The English Company was to bear half the cost of offensive and defensive operations in the Indian seas, and was to have one-third of the trade of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboina, the remaining eastern commerce to be free for each party to make the most of.

The rivalry, however,—bordering closely on animosity—between the servants of the two Companies in distant lands prevented any agreement made in Europe being carried out, and though in 1623 another treaty of alliance was entered into, in the following year it was dissolved. Thereafter the great success of the Dutch in the East placed them beyond the desire of becoming partners with competitors.

While these negotiations were in progress, a proposal was made from Holland that a refreshment station should be established in South Africa for the joint use of the fleets of the two nations, and the English directors received it favourably. They undertook to cause a search for a proper place to be made by the next ship sent to the Cape with relief for the returning fleet, and left the Dutch at liberty to make a similar search in any convenient way. In 1622 a portion of the coast was inspected for this purpose by Captain Johnson, in the *Rose*, but his opinion of Table Bay and the other places which he visited was such that he would not recommend any of them. The tenor of his report mattered little, however, for with the failure of the close alliance between the two Companies, the design of establishing a refreshment station in South Africa was abandoned by both.

Perhaps the ill opinion of Table Bay formed by Captain Johnson may have arisen from an occurrence that took place on its shore during the previous voyage of the *Rose*. That ship arrived in the bay on the 28th of January 1620, and on the following day eight of her crew went ashore with a seine to catch fish near the mouth of Salt River. They never returned, but the bodies of four were afterwards found and buried, and it was believed that the Hottentots had either carried the other four away as prisoners or had murdered them and concealed the corpses.

This was not the only occurrence of the kind, for in March 1632 twenty-three men belonging to a Dutch ship that put into Table Bay lost their lives in conflict with the natives. The cause of these quarrels is not known with certainty, but at the time it was believed they were brought on by the Europeans attempting to rob the Hottentots of cattle.

An experiment was once made with a view of trying to secure a firm friend among the Hottentots, and impressing those people with respect for the wonders of civilisation. A savage named Cory was taken from the Cape to England, where he was made a great deal of, and received many rich and valuable presents. Sir Thomas Smythe, the governor of the East India Company, was particularly kind to him, and gave him among other things a complete suit of brass armour. He returned to South Africa with Captain Nicholas Downton in the ship *New Year's Gift*, and in June 1614 landed in Table Valley with all his treasures. But Captain Downton, who thought that he was overflowing with gratitude, saw him no more. Cory returned to his former habits of living, and instead of acting as was anticipated, taught his countrymen to despise bits of copper in exchange for their cattle, so that for a long time afterwards it was impossible for ships that called to obtain a supply of fresh meat.

It has been seen what use the Portuguese made of convicts when they were exploring unknown countries, or when there were duties of a particularly hazardous or unpleasant nature to be performed. The English employed criminals in the same manner. In January 1615 the governor of the East India Company obtained permission from the king to transport some men under sentence of death to countries occupied by savages, where, it was supposed, they would be the means of procuring supplies of provisions, making discoveries, and creating trade. The records in existence—unless there are documents in some unknown place—furnish too scanty material for a complete account of the manner in which this design was carried out. Only the following can be ascertained with certainty. A few days after the consent of the king was given, the sheriffs of London sent seventeen men from Newgate on board ships bound to the Indies, and these were voluntarily accompanied by three others, who appear to have been convicted criminals, but not under sentence of death. The proceeding was regarded as "a very charitable deed and a means to bring them to God by giving them time for repentance, to crave pardon for their sins, and reconcile themselves unto His favour." In June the fleet arrived in Table Bay, and nine of the condemned men were set ashore with their own free will.