

The Case of the *Collector*: Michael Hogan's Illicit Slave Trade at the Cape of Good Hope in 1800

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Abstract

This chapter investigates the overlapping of public and private interests in the slave trade with reference to the fraudulent privateering voyage of the *Collector* financed by the British merchant Michael Hogan at the Cape of Good Hope at the turn of the nineteenth century. This incident demonstrates how British merchants based in Cape Town made arrangements with merchants at Mozambique to import enslaved Africans into the colony when the British colonial government was regulating the issuing of licenses for the importation of slaves.

Keywords: Cape of Good Hope, British commerce, Mozambique, Indian Ocean World, privateering

*'While I & all the world were disposed to abuse Egoism who is more guilty of it than the person who keeps something of a Journal? true, I am guilty of it but who knows I am? Nobody, my paper wont tell unless it is pressd to do so [sic]'*¹

¹ Lenta and Le Cordeur, eds., *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard, 1799–1800* Vol. 1, 9. Lady Anne Barnard née Lindsay arrived at the Cape in November 1797. She was married to the colonial secretary, Andrew Barnard. This chapter was presented at a seminar convened by Dr Samuel Sanchez at University Paris Diderot on 22 January 2015 and re-drafted for the African Studies Association, Philadelphia, panel presentation 'African and Malagasy Diasporas in the Indian Ocean' on 17 November 2022, chaired by Dr Jane Hooper (Mason University, Virginia). I would like to thank Professor Hans Hägerdal for allocating funding for my attendance at the conference which produced the present volume and Benjamin Crous, Nigel Penn and Gary Sturgess for their comments on the final draft. I would further like to thank Erika le Roux from the Western Cape Archives for her generous assistance now and over the years.

1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the overlapping of public and private interests in the slave trade with reference to the fraudulent privateering voyage of the *Collector* financed by the British merchant Michael Hogan at the Cape of Good Hope at the turn of the 19th century.² This incident reveals how British merchants based in Cape Town made arrangements with merchants at Mozambique to import enslaved Africans into the colony after the British colonial government began to regulate the issuing of licenses for the importation of slaves into the colony following Britain's Order in Council of 1796 and increased pressure from William Wilberforce's abolitionist movement. The Cape's first British Governor, George Macartney, limited the importation of slaves into the colony in order to uphold the Orders in Council, protect the East India Company's (EIC) trade charter east of the Cape and prevent the outflow of silver from the colony. Macartney, as we shall see, issued a proclamation in 1798 which levied fines against merchants who imported slaves into the colony without the express permission of the governor. This chapter shows how Michael Hogan bypassed Macartney's restrictions on the slave trade by bribing Macartney's successor, Sir George Yonge, in order to obtain a license to import slaves into the Cape colony. It further demonstrates how Hogan inveigled a number of Cape merchants and officials into his stratagems.

This chapter draws on a number of published and unpublished primary sources, viz. Michael Hogan's private papers, Lady Anne Barnard's diaries, the Kimberley Library's Macartney Papers, two Commissions of Inquiry, depositions of the Council of Justice at the Western Cape Archives in Cape Town and the records of the High court of admiralty records in Kew, London.³ The collections of the Hogan and Macartney's papers, along with Lady Barnard's journal, give us an insider's perspective on the *Collector* scandal which otherwise would have been a formal account based on the court proceedings of the Admiralty Court and Cape Town's Council of Justice.

² Hogan went to sea as a teenager. He later became an influential merchant in India, Cape Town and New York City. His biographer Michael Hogan Styles, the author of *Captain Hogan: Sailor, Merchant, Diplomat on Six Continents*, deposited transcripts of Hogan's personal papers at the British Library in London and the State Library of New South Wales in Sydney. British Library (BL) MSS EUR 489/1, Michael Hogan Family Papers (hereafter 'MHFP').

³ Lenta and le Cordeur, eds., *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard, 1799–1800*, Volume 2 (hereafter 'LAB 2'); Kimberley Library MS43 (KL), South Africa, Macartney Papers (Nigel Penn made his transcripts of these papers available to me and also encouraged me to research the slave trade during the first British occupation); MHFP; George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony* (RCC); Western Cape Archives, Cape Town (WCA), Council of Justice (CJ) 439, ff.231–341; and, National Archives (NA), Kew, High Court of Admiralty (HCA) 49/23/14, the *Collector*.

Background

The production and management of the colony's grain supply was a matter of prime importance to the administrators of the first British occupation of the Cape colony. Just as the Dutch at the Cape had supplied the French with grain during the Seven Years War (1756–63), there was an even greater demand for wheat during the first British occupation, with the presence of the British Royal Navy, soldiers and administrators trebling the number of mouths to feed in Cape Town after September 1795.⁴ The increased demand for wheat led to an increased demand for young male slaves to produce the wheat and then thresh it in the harvest season. The prices of both slaves and wheat was, therefore, at a premium during the first British occupation. The colony's free burghers and British merchants, like Hogan and Alexander Tennant, saw this as a good business opportunity.⁵ The situation was exacerbated in 1798 when a drought and failed wheat crop created the biggest demand for slaves in the history of the colony. Governor George Macartney not only restricted the importation of slaves into the colony, but he also made the importation of slaves without his permission a punishable offence.⁶ Macartney took it upon himself, in co-operation with the Royal Navy, to protect the English East India Company's (EIC) charter east of the Cape, prevent Spanish silver coin (the only means of exchange for slaves at Mozambique) from leaving the colony and Cape grain from being supplied to the French at Mauritius and Reunion. He regulated the importation of enslaved people to the Cape by issuing only two licenses for the importation of slaves into the colony during his brief term of office.

Michael Hogan approached the second governor of the Cape Sir George Yonge,⁷ shortly after he had assumed office, to import 600 enslaved Africans into the colony in 1799. Yonge granted Hogan permission to import 800 slaves (a fact that later came to light) into the port through his private secretary Richard Blake, who was married to his niece, rather than follow the formal route by conducting the business through the colonial secretary, Andrew Barnard. We shall see how Hogan offered Blake a bribe of a third of the profits of this venture in exchange for his license

⁴ For the Cape's supplying the French at Mauritius with grain during the Seven Years' War, see Thiébaud, 'An Informal Franco-Dutch Alliance', 128–47.

⁵ Tennant was a Scotsman who went on to become a prominent slave trader, auction master of prize goods (at five percent commission) and owner of Zonnebloem Estate after 1797. The price of an adult slave during the first British occupation was triple the average price of 380 *rijksdaalders* (Rd.) during the late VOC period.

⁶ Macartney (1737–1836) was governor of the Cape from 5 May 1797 to November 1798.

⁷ Sir George Yonge (1731–1812) was the second British governor of the Cape colony from 10 December 1799 to 20 April 1801.

which enabled Hogan to make arrangements with Joaquim do Rosário Monteiro⁸ to transport a shipment of enslaved Mozambicans to the Cape. Hogan was tempted to devise other ways of importing enslaved people into the port, since the Order in Council of 1796 (prohibiting the landing of slaves at British possessions without government permission) and Macartney's precedent of restricting licenses for the importation of slaves into Cape Town became British policy at the Cape. This policy coincided with unprecedented levels of Portuguese colonial slave traffic passing the Cape from 1793 onwards. Hogan, therefore, obtained letters of marque to outfit privateering vessels to capture French ships and merchandise, which included slaves, as 'prize' goods or spoils of war in the Mozambique Channel.⁹

2. The importation of slaves at the Cape during the first British Occupation, 1795–1803

Secondary literature

José Capela, Patrick Harries and Pedro Machado have shed light on the organisation of the slave trade and the networks between British merchants at Cape Town and Portuguese colonial merchants and Gujarati *vāṇīyās* at Mozambique Island, Quelimane and Inhambane during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.¹⁰ The port of Cape Town had serviced French slave ships on route to St. Domingue (Dominican Republic), Guadeloupe and Martinique from the mid-1770s until the hostility between Britain and France put a halt to French slave traffic in the Mozambique Channel with the onset of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1792.¹¹ Portuguese merchants, however, continued to transport slaves to the Cape, the Mascarene Islands, India and South America. Machado has traced the involvement of *vāṇīyā* merchants in the Portuguese colonial slave trade from 1746, along with the important role of supplying slave traders, such as Joaquim Monteiro, with credit for the purchase of enslaved Yao and Makua in exchange for Indian cotton

⁸ Monteiro, a native of Goa, settled at Mozambique Island c.1770. He was the most prominent slave trader in the history of the western Indian Ocean. See Capela, *Conde de Ferreira & Co.*

⁹ 'Prize' means to 'apprize' or 'seize.'

¹⁰ Harries, 'Mozambique Island, Cape Town and the Organisation of the Slave Trade in the South-West Indian Ocean, c.1797–1807,' 409–427; Capela, *O Tráfico de Escravos nos Portos de Moçambique*, and Machado, 'A Forgotten Corner in the Indian Ocean', 17–32 and *Ocean of Trade*. See also Ross, 'The Last Years of the Slave Trade to the Cape Colony', 209–220.

¹¹ Revolutionary France declared war on Britain soon after the beheading of Louis XVI on 21 January 1793. The war ended in 1802 but Britain and France continued to wage war on each other during the Napoleonic Wars from 1803–14.

and cloths.¹² The *vānīyās* traded silver for cloth, which the Portuguese colonials in Mozambique used for purchasing enslaved people. Machado, on the other hand, has convincingly demonstrated how *vānīyā* merchants like Sobhachand Sowchand, Jiv Sangaj, Laxmichand Motichand and Ramji Premji financed and outfitted slave trading voyages between Mozambique Island, Inhambane, Quelimane and Cape Town after 1788. Harries has expanded on Machado's thesis in his study of the organisation of the slave trading between Portuguese colonial merchants and *vānīyās* in Mozambique and British merchants at the port of Cape Town.

Richard Allen, Jean-Pierre Tardieu and Rafaël Thiébaud, on the other hand, have analysed the operations of human trafficking between Mozambique and the Mascarene Islands during the European colonial era.¹³ Alex Borucki has disentangled the trading relationships between South American Rio Platanese traders and North American merchants at the turn of the 19th century. While North American traders often traded goods, like hides and jerky, for slaves and silver, South American slave traders purchased slaves with silver at Mozambique; and that silver went on to circulate as far as India and China. The Americans completed their triangular trade by carrying enslaved Africans back to the Americas between 1798 and 1808.¹⁴ Borucki's research builds upon the foundational work of Om Prakash, who has argued that the trade route around the Cape to the Indies and the circulation of Spanish silver were the two major economic forces of the pre-modern 16th century, by explaining the circulation of goods, silver and slaves between the Americas and the Indian Ocean world during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.¹⁵ The importation of Mozambican slaves was an economic and political concern for the British because of their mandate to protect the EIC's charter, keep the limited supply of silver in the Cape and stop English merchants from encroaching on the EIC's trading monopoly under the flags of neutral nations.¹⁶

¹² Machado, *Ocean of Trade*, 209.

¹³ Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850*; Antunes, 'O Comércio com o Brasil e a Comunidade Mercantil em Moçambique (sec. XVIII)'; Capela, *O Tráfico de Escravos nos Portos de Moçambique*; Jean-Pierre Tardieu, 'Les Revers du Commerce Négrier entre l'Océan Indien et le Rio de la Plata (fin du XVIIIe siècle-début du XIXe siècle),' *Outre-Mers* (2014); and, Thiébaud, 'Traites des esclaves et commerce néerlandais et français, à Madagascar (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)'.

¹⁴ Borucki, 'The Slave Trade to the Río de la Plata, 1777–1812: Trans-Imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare' and 'The U.S. Slave Ship *Ascension* in the Río de la Plata', 630–657. Spain opened the slave trade with its colonies to foreigners in 1789 and expanded it in 1791. France opened its Indian Ocean trade to French private citizens in 1769 and foreigners in 1791. See also Allen, 'Merchant Capital and Labour Migration in the Colonial Indian Ocean World,' 129–153.

¹⁵ Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630–1720*, 3: 'The discovery of the Cape route to the East Indies and the growing import of American silver into Spain are generally recognized as the two major forces behind the rise of a premodern world economy in the 16th century.'

¹⁶ Jan Willem Janssens was governor of the Cape during the Dutch Batavian Administration from March 1803 to January 1806. He also tried to stop the outflow of silver from the colony.

The importation of slaves into the Cape, which tapped into the growing export markets of Mozambique, reached unprecedented levels from Commander James Henry Craig's first importation of slaves during the first British occupation in 1796 to the 1 January 1808 when Britain's Slave Trade Act officially banned slave importation throughout the British Empire.¹⁷ Harries, Michael Reidy and Christopher Saunders have demonstrated, however, that slaves were imported into the colony, subject to a fourteen-year term of indentured labour, as 'prize negroes' or 'negro apprentices' after 1808.¹⁸ The present author has identified the importation of a total of 8,328 enslaved people from 1796 to 1808, 3,326 of which were imported during the first British occupation.¹⁹ The British navy and merchants imported over 3,300 'prize slaves' into the Cape from 1796 to 1808,²⁰ and Monteiro imported at least 1,075 slaves during this time while Hogan imported over 2,300 into the colony.²¹

Hogan's schemes

Michael Hogan's personal papers yield detailed information on the methods which British merchants employed in the conducting of business at Cape Town. Hogan despatched a letter to the future EIC agent at the Cape John Pringle, on the eve of his departure from Portsmouth, expressing how the two would 'undoubtedly be as one from his official capacity,' but that Pringle would not be able to act in a public firm on account of his position in the East India Company.²² Hogan sent another letter to Pringle from the Canary Islands a month later, urging Pringle to

¹⁷ Craig was military Commander and acting-governor of the Cape from September 1795 to November 1797.

¹⁸ Harries, 'The Hobgoblins of the Middle Passage', 48–49; Reidy, 'The Importation of Slaves and 'Prize Negroes' at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797–1818' (hereafter 'Reidy, MA'); and Christopher Saunders, 'Liberated Africans in Cape Colony in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', 223–239, and Saunders, 'Free, Yet Slaves', 99–115.

¹⁹ Over 10,000 enslaved people were brought into the colony (Michael C. Reidy expanded dataset). The number of enslaved people imported into the colony from 1795 to 1803 is incomplete, since many ships did not list the number of people aboard or who had been imported into the colony. I counted 7,200 enslaved people imported into the colony during this period in my MA. Nigel Worden quoted this number in 'Indian Ocean Slaves in Cape Town, 1695–1807', 398.

²⁰ Reidy, 6–7.

²¹ See Reidy, MA 'Appendices I and II' and Harries, 'Mozambique Island,' 416. Sometimes Hogan and Monteiro worked together. Hogan imported enslaved Africans into the colony with the *Harbinger* (West Africa), *La Rose*, *La Africano*, the *Joaquim* and *Collector* between November 1799 and April 1800. He also disembarked enslaved people from the *Boa Caetano* (125 males and 25 females) and *San Josea de Indiana* in 1801.

²² MHFP, Letter 132, Michael Hogan (Portsmouth) to Dr Cleland (London), 3 October 1797.

connect with the colony's colonial secretary Hercules Ross.²³ Hogan, like the leading merchants of London, believed that profitable business could be done at the Cape and encouraged Pringle, by saying:

Command as many good bills as possible. You and I are strongly recommended to connect ourselves with Ross. Think of it. I know it would be to our advantage in Europe on account of his good mercantile connections, and his knowledge of business is good, though he cannot act publically while in Government service.²⁴

Hogan arrived at the Cape on 4 February 1798 with letters of introduction from the British Secretary of War and the Colonies and the Director of the EIC Board Henry Dundas. Hogan was well-connected in London and India; and worked with the House of David Scott & Sons who took a big share of the India trade. Hogan and Tennant, as we shall see in this case study, along with other Cape Town-based British merchants, harnessed their political influence and money in the form of 'gifts' (bribes) to secure licenses for the importation of slaves during the first and second British occupation governments of the Cape.

Wheat, silver and slaves

The first British governor of the Cape, Earl George Macartney, took measures to enforce the protection of the English East India Company's trade, which was the main strategic reason for Britain's occupation of the Cape, when he arrived at the colony in May 1797.²⁵ Henry Dundas received letters from Vice-Admiral George Keith Elphinstone a few weeks after Britain's occupation of the Cape, in October 1795, and his successor Admiral Thomas Pringle, in September 1796, who requested the establishment of a Vice Admiralty Court (VAC) at the Cape, on account of the large number of British merchants who were selling India goods to the French at Mauritius under neutral flags.²⁶ There were also failed attempts by Portuguese colonial merchants

²³ Hogan deputed Pringle to transport his personal effects to the Cape.

²⁴ MHFP, Hogan (Lat 35N Long 13W, near the Canary Islands on route to the Cape) to John Pringle (at the Cape), 19 November 1797.

²⁵ Armstrong and Worden, 'The slaves, 1652–1834', 109–168. See also Styles, *Captain Hogan*, Reidy, MA, and also Ross, 'The Last Years of the Slave Trade to the Cape Colony', 209–220. Ross summarises the case of the *Collector*. See Maurice Boucher and Nigel Penn, eds., *Britain at the Cape, 1795 to 1803* for an overview of slave importation to the Cape during the first British occupation.

²⁶ Van Niekerk, 'Judge John Holland and the Vice-Admiralty Court of the Cape of Good Hope, 1797–1803'.

to sell slaves at the Cape for grain, which they sold on to the French at Mauritius.²⁷ British officials discovered a false logbook aboard a Portuguese ship the *Diana*, which indicated that instead of the ship going to Brazil from its port of origin in Mozambique, it was headed for Mauritius to supply grain to the French military and navy. Commander Craig seized the ship as a 'prize,' confiscated its slaves and forbade British merchants from further contact with Mozambique.

Governor Macartney put his foot down at the slightest indication of Capetonian merchants conducting business, including the sale of slaves in exchange for Spanish *piastres*, with the French.²⁸ Macartney, therefore, requested that the VAC, which was established in January 1797, become active in July 1797.²⁹ He wanted to put an end to the skullduggery that was sabotaging British India trade and its war effort in the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, Macartney prioritised the control of slave importation into the colony upon his arrival there. He issued a proclamation that threatened to impose heavy fines on any merchants who either tried to import slaves into the colony or had purchased slaves without the express permission of the governor: 2,000 *rijksdaalders* (*Rd*) for the first offence, 5,000 *Rd* for a second, and forfeiture of both ship and slaves for a third violation.³⁰ The British government hoped that the presence of a VAC would discourage smuggling and piracy, while encouraging the capture of French, Spanish and United Provinces Dutch ships during the war against France.

The 'Negro-subject'

Macartney's tenth instruction dated December 1796 from King George III addressed the contentious issue of the importation of slaves into the colony. It was Macartney's duty to determine whether the importation of slaves at the Cape was necessary and there is a note in the marginalia of this instruction in Macartney's hand saying: 'must continue.'³¹ Macartney questioned the colony's *fiscaal*, or chief magistrate,

²⁷ RCC Vol. 2, John Pringle to Evan Nepean, 24 January 1796. Theal relates how Pringle reported the arrival of the *Diana*, flying neutral Portuguese and Danish colours, with a shipment of Mozambican slaves.

²⁸ WCA, British Occupation (BO), Series 90, 'Documents Pertaining to the Slave Trade at the Cape,' Macartney to unnamed correspondent, 3 April 1798.

²⁹ Van Niekerk, 'Judge John Holland and the Vice-Admiralty Court of the Cape of Good Hope, 1797–1803', 181.

³⁰ RCC, London, 5 April 1831, John Thomas Bigge, 'Report upon the Slaves and State of Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope,' December 1827–April 1831, Vol. 25, 353. Another hefty fine of 1000 *Rd*, over twice the cost of a slave at the time, would be levied against anyone who purchased slaves without the permission of the governor. Styles, 357: The *rijksdaalder* was worth 2 ½ Dutch guilders and about 1/5th the value of a pound sterling (one pound sterling could purchase four Spanish dollars).

³¹ Brentthurst Library (BL), Oppenheimer Collection, MS63f, 'Macartney Papers,' unpaginated; and, RCC Vol. 1, MS Instructions of article no. 10, 31 December 1796, 10: 'You are to transmit to one of

Willem Stephanus van Ryneveldt, on the state of slavery and the importation of slaves at the Cape until the first British occupation.³² Van Ryneveldt's responses are repeated in Macartney's report to Henry Dundas. Henry Dundas, who was the British secretary to the colonies, and Macartney were both in favour of the gradual abolition of the slave trade, since the profitability of the British sugar and shipping industries was dependent on the transatlantic slave trade. Dundas wrote to Macartney in a private correspondence that the abolition of the slave trade was one of the few subjects which he and Prime Minister William Pitt had disagreed on. Dundas and Macartney, on the other hand, considered Wilberforce and Clarkson and their abolitionist sympathisers to be fanatics and 'Jacobins'.³³

Van Ryneveldt responded to Macartney's question on the efficacy of slave importation to the Cape, by saying that slavery was a 'necessary evil' and that both wine and grain production would at first 'decay', then 'completely languish', should the importation of slaves be completely prohibited. Van Ryneveldt went to the Burgher Senate, which was a body of seven influential Cape-Dutch free burghers, who had informed acting-governor Craig that 'there is required a Treasure to purchase the necessary number of slaves' – even when the 'trade' was allowed. The free burghers petitioned the new government to allow the importation of slaves into the colony because the viticulture and viniculture of the Cape had grown reliant upon Malagasy and Mozambican slave labour in the second half of the 18th century. Van Ryneveldt and the members of the representative body of the colony's free burghers, the Burgher Senate, were the most prominent private owners of slaves at the Cape and the colony's leading wheat and wine farmers. The Burgher Senate, therefore, constituted the largest potential market for the purchase of highly priced enslaved Mozambicans. It is worth noting that Van Ryneveldt paid a bond as security for Hogan's privateering ventures on the *Collector*. We shall see below how Van Ryneveldt also presided over the court case that implicated Hogan in the fraudulent transaction which later took place, which is suggestive of further

our principal secretaries of state [Henry Dundas], for our information, an account of the regulations established at the settlement relative to the importation of slaves, of the particular laws and police under which they were obtained by the proprietors, of those to which they are subject and by which they are protected within the settlement, and the services which are derived from them there, together with your opinion whether the importation might not henceforth be prohibited, without material injury or inconvenience to the settlement.'

³² WCA A (Accessions) 455 Dundas-Melville Collection, 'Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope,' B.P. 12 (10), W.S. van Ryneveldt, 'Replies to the Questions on the Importation etc., of Slaves into the Colony; – proposed by His Excellency the Earl of Macartney etc., etc.,' dated 29 November 1797 (presented to the Cape Archives by G.W.A. Mears, the original mss. destroyed by fire). Van Ryneveldt (1765–1812) was the colony's *fiscaal*, or fiscal (chief justice or magistrate), at the time of British occupation.

³³ Royal Museums Greenwich, Caird Library, London, Michael Graham Stewart Slavery Collection (MGS)/60, 'Evidence of Lord Macartney on the Slave Trade' (1792) unpaginated pamphlet.

collusion between high-ranking government officials and merchants in the sale of Mozambican slaves at the Cape colony.

Macartney wrote that he had ‘purposely avoided the Negro-subject’ in his public correspondence with Dundas in order to avoid ‘discussion or inquiry’ on the matter or to ‘undergo the ordeal either of Parliament, or the India House’, all the more so, because Wilberforce’s abolitionist campaign was gathering momentum at Westminster and among the British public.³⁴ He also assured him that the importation of slaves into the colony was under his ‘immediate check and control’ and would ‘be managed with all caution and reserve.’ The new governor, however, had to ensure that there was enough grain to feed the colony’s existing population, as well as the British military and naval contingent at the Cape. The Burgher Senate constantly reminded him that the inflated cost of grain was commensurate with the insufficient numbers of slaves who ordinarily produced the grain; a demand that was exacerbated by shortages of wheat following a drought in 1798. Macartney, therefore, was prepared to allow for the importation of slaves into the colony but under the strict control of the colonial government.

Macartney's reluctance to grant licenses for the importation of slaves to British merchants at the Cape did not stop Hogan and Tennant from flooding his office with requests for licenses to import slaves to the Cape from 1797 to 1798. The pair had become acquainted with one another in Bombay and Calcutta c.1790; and may have sold Monteiro the 300-ton *Charlotte* in Calcutta sometime before 1793. Monteiro later renamed the *Charlotte* the *Joaquim*.³⁵ Monteiro, who conducted partnerships with *vāṇiā* merchants such as Motichand and Sobhachand, imported slaves from Mozambique to Daman and Diu, the Mascarenes, the Cape, Rio de Janeiro and Charleston.³⁶ Monteiro arrived at Table Bay on the *Joaquim* with letters of endorsement from the governors of Mozambique and Goa, in 1797.³⁷ He established lawyer Julio da Costa as his agent in Cape Town, while nurturing dealings with François Duminy, Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant.³⁸ Monteiro stayed at Duminy's townhouse 'Le Jardin' in 1801 and gifted the French captain's daughter with a '*petite*

³⁴ BL MS 063f, Macartney to Dundas, 7 May 1798. Dundas was unpopular among the abolitionist lobby for his gradualist policy towards the abolition of the slave trade. Dundas expressed that he was very glad Macartney 'had not introduced the subject of the importation of Negroes' at the Cape in his earlier correspondence dated 26 January 1798.

³⁵ University of Witwatersrand Library, Johannesburg, Gubbins Collection (GC) A (Accession) 88. The *Joaquim* was the most prolific slaver in the South-West Indian Ocean from 1793 to the 1810s.

³⁶ Monteiro delivered c.300 enslaved Mozambicans to Hogan north of Charleston on the *Excellentissimo Augusta* in 1804. See Phillip, *British Residents at the Cape, 1795–1819*, 182–184.

³⁷ GC A 24, General James Henry Craig's 'Homeward Letterbook,' enclosure dated November 1796.

³⁸ Harries, 'Mozambique Island,' 415. François Duminy (1747–1811) was the VOC's *commies* or commissioner for the slave trade from 1781–85.

negresse'.³⁹ British merchants sent their Capetonian agents, like Charles Jacks and Françoise de Lettre, with powers of attorney to Mozambique Island to arrange contracts for the sale of slaves with Mozambican slave traders. The issuing of a slave trading license to British merchants secured the arrangement and outfitting of slave trading voyages with slave traders at Mozambique, Inhambane and Quelimane.

3. Michael Hogan's slave imports, 1799–1800

The Joaquim, La Rose and La Africano

British slave traders could purchase slaves from Mozambican slave traders in Cape Town or obtain letters of marque to capture slaves as 'prize slaves' from French, Dutch and Spanish ships in the Mozambican Channel. This chapter focuses on Hogan's slave trading activities at the Cape between 1799 and 1800 with emphasis on the privateering voyages which he funded and outfitted from Cape Town during that time. Hogan and Tennant, however, had struck up business dealings with Monteiro at the Cape before that time. Tennant, in 1797; and Hogan, after 1798. Captain Manoel Gomes arrived at the Cape on Monteiro's behalf on the *Joaquim*, with a shipment of 450 enslaved people on 27 January 1799.⁴⁰ The *Joaquim* arrived at the Cape again, just over a year later in March 1800 – following Hogan's so-called 'prizes,' *La Rose* (November 1799), *La Africano* (December 1799) and *Collector* (January 1800). The ship had arrived at the port on the pretext of needing water and provisions. Alexander Tennant, however, had secured this shipment of Mozambican slaves in advance of its arrival at the Cape, through his agent Charles Jacks, whom he had sent to obtain a contract from Monteiro at Mozambique Island in 1798.⁴¹ Acting-governor Lieutenant-General Francis Dundas allowed the importation of these slaves into the colony a month later, in response to the Burgher Senate's advice that the production of grain could only be increased with more slaves.⁴² Dundas requested that the port-captain Donald Campbell allow the

³⁹ Reidy, MA, 21n59 (BO 126, Monteiro to Duminy, 3 November 1801).

⁴⁰ RCC, Vol. 3, Donald Campbell (port-captain of Table Bay) to Henry Dundas, 8 May 1800.

⁴¹ WCA Notarial Protocol Series (NCD) 1/32, March 1798: Monteiro outfitted the *Joaquim* to import slaves to the Cape. Jacks arrived at the Cape a year later on the *Joaquim* in March 1799.

⁴² RCC Vol. 3, Francis Dundas to Henry Dundas, 6 April 1799. The demand for slave labour was legitimised by the 'prize negro' apprentice system after the Slave Trade Act, which abolished the slave trade in the British Empire, came into effect on 1 January 1808. Sir Francis Dundas, Henry Dundas's nephew, was acting-governor of the Cape from 21 November 1798 to 9 December 1799 and, again, from 20 April 1800 to 20 February 1803.

enslaved people to be disembarked upon the favourable inspection of their health certificates.⁴³ The slaves belonged to the 'House of Tennant & Trail,' and Campbell surmised that Michael Hogan was their partner.⁴⁴ Campbell, significantly, attributes the admission of Hogan to a third share in the venture to the Irishman's connections with Hercules Ross and John Pringle, 'the Gentlemen most in the Lieut. Governor's confidence.'⁴⁵ Hogan had, after all, obtained 'letters of marque and reprisal,' signed by the acting-governor of the Cape, Lieutenant-general Sir Francis Dundas, and countersigned by the colonial secretary Hercules Ross, for the *Collector* – a two-masted, ninety-ton, Dutch-built ship with 'six carriage Guns carrying shot of six pounds weight, navigated by thirty seamen' – on 6 February 1799.⁴⁶ It is significant that Ross countersigned the 'letters of marque,' since Hogan had written to Pringle earlier that there was much business to be done between the three men – with Ross holding the keys to the acting-governor's office.

The *Collector* was despatched in March 1799 to capture 'such Prizes as she may take' in the Mozambique Channel.⁴⁷ Tennant and Peter Laurens Cloete, Cape Town's wealthiest free burgher and Hogan's agent after his 1804 departure from the Cape, put down £1,500 'bail and security' on February 11.⁴⁸ It is also worth noting that Willem van Ryneveldt and Laurens fronted the 36,422 *Rd* security required for Hogan and his prize *La Rose* on 5 December 1799.⁴⁹ The ninety-ton brig or French prize, *La Rose* – ostensibly captured by the privateer called the *Collector*, which belonged to the Irish merchant Michael Hogan – was brought to anchor in Table Bay by members of the *Collector*'s crew on 10 November 1799. Hogan inspected the

⁴³ The slaves from the *Joaquim* were quarantined on Robben Island until they had been inoculated against smallpox.

⁴⁴ KL, Campbell to Macartney, 8 May 1800: 'Messrs Tennant & Trail, the original proprietors of this Cargo, found it prudent to admit Mr Michael Hogan to a share, I believe, one third; this I apprehend in consideration of the influence Mr Hogan had with the Gentlemen most in the Lieut. Governor's confidence, Messrs Pringle and Ross.' The lieutenant-governor referred to here was Francis Dundas.

⁴⁵ Ibid. The fact that the *fiscaal* and the prominent burghers had petitioned Dundas, and that he had acquiesced to their petitions, also suggests that some of them may have been invested in Hogan and Tennant's slave trading ventures.

⁴⁶ NA HCA 49/23/14.

⁴⁷ BO 116, 'Memorials,' Memorial 23, Michael Hogan to Sir George Yonge, 16 April 1800. KL, Campbell to Macartney, 8 May 1800: 'Mr Hogan fitted out from this Bay a private Brig of War, called the *Collector*, commanded by a David Smart, who sailed about the beginning of March 1799 as stated, to cruise against the enemy, about Madagascar, the French Islands, and the adjacent seas.' See also Harries, 'Mozambique Island,' 415–416.

⁴⁸ Hogan appointed the brothers Laurens and Hendrik Cloete jr. to be his agents when he left the colony in 1804.

⁴⁹ NA HCA 49/34 (5B 1040), George Rex (marshal of the VAC), VAC Marshal's Report, 5 December 1799. Van Niekerk describes the role and activities of the VAC's personnel.

ship, which was being held by the VAC until its adjudication, on 26 November. He also asked the court if the forty-eight enslaved Mozambicans, or prize slaves, could be released from their quarantine on Robben Island since their health was at risk and their maintenance was expensive. *La Rose* and its 'prize slaves' were judged lawful prize by John Holland at the VAC in the Castle of Good Hope. Hogan advertised for the sale of prize slaves at his warehouse on the Heerenracht (present-day Adderley Street) for 6 December 1799. The adjudication procedure was repeated when the *Collector* sent *La Africano* to the port in December. This time Hogan asked the court if he could transfer the sixty-nine enslaved Mozambicans from the 60 ton 'small lugger' to his ship the *William* because they might become ill, owing to the waves crashing over the side of the lugger during the 'heavy southeast gales' in Table Bay. Royal naval officers and British merchants, who had noted that the two prize ships had arrived in the harbour with no prisoners of war or slave trading equipment, that the slaves had been obtained in contravention of Order in Council of the British Parliament of 1796 which forbade slave traffic to Britain's colonies without the consent of the government.⁵⁰ Hogan, nevertheless, went ahead and sold his prize slaves from *La Africano* in the first week of January 1800.

***'This beneficial traffick of Human nature': the Joaquim (March 1800)*⁵¹**

Joaquim Monteiro's slaving ship the *Joaquim* arrived at the Cape a mere two months after *La Africano* in March 1800. Lady Anne Barnard likened the 'strange' sight of the slaves at Cape Town's foreshore to 'Etruscan figures' on her return from the Castle of Good Hope to her home at Newlands on the outskirts of town.⁵² Michael Hogan intended to sell the slaves by public auction the next day – and disembark another 300 enslaved men and women the day after. Barnard, who sympathised with the abolitionist movement and Thomas Paine's rights of man, wrote: 'I sighd & thought of Willberforce, how it woud have agitated his nerves to have looked at them when it agitated mine who am not wound up as he is to vibrate to that key and who am accustomed to see Slavery all day long.' Lady Barnard, the nominal 'first lady' of the Cape in the absence of Macartney's wife, wrote: 'I drove home full of thoughts but without power to do them any good.' Her sense of powerlessness is ironic considering her intimate connection to two of the most powerful men in the British Empire at the time, Macartney and Dundas. Why did she not encourage

⁵⁰ KL, Acheson Maxwell (controller of customs) to Macartney, 15 July 1800. See Reidy, MA, 30ng2 and RCC, Vol. 3, Letters from Captains of the Royal Navy to John Hook Greene (collector of customs), 7 March 1800, 79.

⁵¹ LAB 2, 105.

⁵² Ibid., Sunday 10 March 1800, 69. Figures in Etruscan artworks are often thin.

them to abolish the slave trade? She sent two hampers of peaches to the newly arrived enslaved people, but her offering was refused because the peaches might be bad for their health. Lady Anne Barnard's journal entries from the 11th to the 15th of March (the 'Ides' of March) chronicle 'more tricks' and 'deceits' from Michael Hogan. The *Joaquim* arrived anchored at Table Bay on 10 February 1800. The entry in Barnard's journal of Saturday the 1st or Sunday the 2nd of March 1800 reports that Governor Macartney had been 'eminently averse' to issuing licenses for the importation of slaves to British merchants at the Cape and that, having granted one license for Hogan and Tennant to import slaves from West Africa, had 'positively refused' a second. Andrew Barnard was told by Hogan that he had 'reservd the choice of six good slaves of one for him [sic].'⁵³ Barnard refused Hogan's offer.

Barnard's investigation (March – April 1800)

The *Collector* arrived in Table Bay a month after the *Joaquim* in April 1800. Andrew Barnard became involved in this case soon after twenty-six-year-old Irishman, David Smart, and several of the young officers from the *Collector* testified before the Vice Admiralty Court that they had captured the 400 ton *L'Auguste* in the Mozambique Channel, having driven the ship to shore at Morondava River on the mid-western coast of Madagascar. They concurred, just as they had during the 'interrogatories' for *La Rose* and *La Africano*, that the vessel's French mariners had evaded capture by rowing away on the ship's boat.⁵⁴ The 164 enslaved people aboard the *Collector* were 'condemned' as prize on 11 April 1800 and sold shortly thereafter by Hogan.

Governor Yonge sent a letter, countersigned by his personal secretary Blake, to John Hooke Green the Collector of Customs approving of their sale on April 14. Campbell presented his letter to Governor Yonge, with evidence that the transaction was fraudulent, to the colonial secretary Andrew Barnard the next day.⁵⁵ The matter now only had to go to the Council of Justice. Anne Barnard wrote in her journal, entries dated 14 April ('and a few days more'), that 'a catastrophe' was unfolding because of the *Collector*: that 'the Ides of March were not passed.'⁵⁶ It was becoming apparent that Michael Hogan was personally embroiled in a fraudulent slave trading scam which had enabled him to sell 278 prize slaves at the Cape from *La Rose*, *La Africano* and the *Collector*. When Andrew Barnard met Michael Hogan

⁵³ Ibid., 7 March 1800, 63.

⁵⁴ Scarr, *Seychelles since 1770*, 4. Scarr has identified the *Collector*'s presence at the Seychelles in the Mauritian archives.

⁵⁵ Styles, 112.

⁵⁶ LAB 2, 251.

to ascertain if Campbell's accusations were true, the Irishman became very angry and, when the meeting was over, Hogan had convinced him that Campbell's accusations were untrue. Campbell, however, delivered the letter he had drafted for the governor to Barnard on March the 15th, with evidence from the captain and officers of the Danish ship, *Holger Danske*, that the *Collector's* 'prize' slaves had been purchased at Mozambique Island and Quelimane and taken from the *L'Auguste* at Madagascar.⁵⁷ Barnard, a consummate diplomat, cautioned Campbell to wait until the VAC had made its ruling before reporting his evidence to van Ryneveldt or Yonge. The Colonial Secretary reported, later, in his *Letterbook*, to the former governor, Earl Macartney how, 'At first the parties talked *big* and threatened Campbell with everything that was *terrible*'.

Yonge's reaction

Barnard delivered Campbell's letter to Yonge at Government House in the Company's Gardens after the VAC had adjudicated the *Collector's* slaves as prizes of war. The elderly governor's fit of rage was even more dramatic than Hogan's. He told Barnard that Campbell's accusations were 'unfounded' and that he doubted if he would 'permit the business to come before the Court of Justice or not'.⁵⁸ Yonge, who had instructed Campbell to report any suspicious shipping activity in the port, now accused the port captain of being 'invidious' and told Barnard that it was his duty as governor, 'to quash such dispositions in society'. Yonge threatened to thwart Campbell's attempt to persuade van Ryneveldt to bring the matter to court, by speaking with the fiscal himself. When Barnard told the governor that 'there was something illicit in the transaction and that it was the government's duty to squash the illicit transaction if Campbell could prove it', Yonge replied that merchants sometimes engage in activities that are considered 'illicit' and that 'men of eminence & ability are not to be sacrificed to a sett of dirty low informers [sic]'. It was then that Barnard realised 'that this same bribe can have gone to the governors own pocket [sic]'. Hogan later admitted to a Commission of Inquiry that investigated Yonge's transgressions that he had made a '*douceur*', or 'gift', to obtain his license from Yonge and his assistants to import slaves into the colony.⁵⁹ Lady Barnard suggests that Hogan's bribe, said to have been £3000, had put 'His

⁵⁷ KL, Maxwell to Macartney, 15 July 1800. *L'Auguste* was also called the *Mountain* while stationed at Mozambique Island.

⁵⁸ LAB 2, 70. This 'Court of Justice' was called the *Raad van Justitie* or 'Council of Justice' in Dutch.

⁵⁹ LAB 2, 64, 'I forgot to mention a very odd surmise which it seems is generally believed here, that Mr Blake has accepted a present from Mr Hogan to procure him this advantage which will be an immense one to the other.'

Excellency in [Hogan's] power'. Hogan stated before a secret committee (the COI that was assembled to investigate Yonge's infelicities) that:

finding the Governor disposed to acquiesce, I set my claim for the importation of slaves in the strongest point I could and begged to know whether I might write him on the subject, to which he replied he was ready to attend to what I chose to write to him, that he had heard of me in England and would be glad to be intimately and secretly acquainted with me and desired that I would speak to Blake.⁶⁰

Yonge tried to stop the case from going to court. He summoned Willem van Ryneveldt into his office and presented him with Campbell's letter which dealt with an 'unauthorised trade'. Yonge suggested that there was a money motive – a third share in the 18,147 *Rd* profits of the trade – for both Campbell and van Ryneveldt (with the last third going to the government).⁶¹ Van Ryneveldt told the governor that he was willing to forgo his share in Hogan's forfeited profits, but wanted only to be paid for his legal services. Barnard reassured the fiscal that Yonge would not obstruct the case, since it would leave an 'indelible stain' on his reputation because he had received a bribe from a merchant. Barnard and van Ryneveldt agreed that it was Campbell's duty as port-captain to produce any evidence of foul play in relation to the *Collector* before the court.

4. 'A vile dark finessing affair': The *Collector* scandal⁶²

Donald Campbell's determination to bring his allegations into the public sphere brought both Michael Hogan and the Vice Admiralty Court judge John Holland under scrutiny at the Cape. Holland visited Andrew Barnard a few days after Barnard met with Hogan. Holland spoke disparagingly of Hogan and Barnard felt perhaps, that he was trying to elicit information from him on Hogan's behalf. Anne Barnard reports that her husband was 'uncall'd on [sic]' but, finding himself at the heart of this intrigue, 'tried to rouse in each a sense of what was right', under the circumstances. She had also heard 'from various people' that Holland 'had condemned the slaves as prize property on the evidence of one black boy' who had

⁶⁰ Styles, 109. See MHFP, File Nr: En-159, 9 January 1801, 'Communications made to the Secret Committee at the [Cape of Good Hope] relative to Sir George Yonge.' The firm Walker & Robertson were granted similar permissions for contracts and licenses during Dundas's command of the Cape. KL, Barrow to Macartney, 20 December 1800 for the £3000 figure.

⁶¹ Commission of Inquiry, *RCC* Vol. 4, October 1801, 258.

⁶² LAB 2, 'The Vineyard' 14 April 1800, 102.

been dismissed during his second examination, at Hogan's request, because of his contradictory testimony. The High Court of Admiralty records document the 'standing interrogatory' of a certain Mohamet Bram dated 8 April 1800. Bram had stated that 'the cargo was taken from Mosambique in Boats to the ship *L'Auguste* a short time previous to the capture [sic]'.⁶³ He corrected his original statement by saying he had been taken as a prize slave by a French privateer called the *Marquis* a year before, and sent on with the *L'Auguste* on a slave trading voyage from Mauritius to Mozambique. He added that the ship and its cargo of enslaved Africans was captured during the return journey to the Isle de France. Lady Barnard summarised Hogan and Yonge's private agreement in her journal, writing:

Mr Hogan only obtaind leave by a lye to sell them, and had he *not* composed the lye he could not have done it unless he had obtaind permission from the Governor – this permission he happened to have obtaind a few weeks ago, to land 1800 slaves & meaning to avail himself of this beneficial traffick of Human nature had intended by a skillful manoeuvre to secure also the *sale* of 6 or 800 *more* as prize property – thus stood the business [sic].⁶⁴

The Barnard's were both convinced that Hogan would 'fail at present & between ourselves he will deserve it'.⁶⁵

The Council of Justice's proceedings, 21 April to 10 July 1800

The case of the *Collector* entered the public sphere when Van Ryneveldt opened a Commission of Inquiry (COI) from 15 to 20 April 1800 to investigate Campbell's allegations that the *Collector* had engaged in an illicit act of smuggling slaves into the colony. Van Ryneveldt received a letter written by George Yonge, with an 'original missive from the Port Captain Donald Campbell,' from Andrew Barnard on 15 April 1800.⁶⁶ Hogan met with Yonge at Government House on 16 April 1800 to get the governor to intercede in this matter for him. He claimed that the accusation that the slaves had been purchased was 'improbable'; and, in addition to this, no objections had been raised when the matter had been placed before the Vice-Admiralty Court.⁶⁷ Hogan told Yonge that these charges were a terrible slur on

⁶³ NA HCA 49/34, 8 April 1800, 'Re. Examination of Mohamet Bram on the 22nd Standing Interrogatory.'

⁶⁴ LAB 2, 105.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁶⁶ WCA CJ 439, 233.

⁶⁷ Styles, 113.

his reputation as a merchant. Yonge tried to dissuade van Ryneveldt from taking the matter before the Council of Justice, the more so because it had already been decided by the Vice Admiralty Court. The public nature of the accusations from Campbell, the British naval officers and Hogan's antagonists in the business sphere forced van Ryneveldt to bring the matter before the Council. The case entered the criminal justice roll on 21 April 1800.

The Council heard the statements of Captain Smit and officers from the Danish ship *Holger Dansche*, which had been at Mozambique at the same time as the *Collector*, as well as the 'interrogatories' of the *Collector's* crew.⁶⁸ Van Ryneveldt also questioned some of the enslaved Africans from the *Collector* and they testified that they had been purchased at Mozambique. Michael Hogan appeared in court on the first day of the hearings. His men repeated the testimonies which they had presented before the Admiralty Court, which dealt with matters at sea. The Council of Justice, on the other hand, dealt with civil and criminal matters on land. The Council of Justice was presented with a confusing 'equipoise of evidence', until the chief-mate confessed that there had been two sets of logbooks for the *Collector* – which Campbell seized from the chief-mate's trunk on the detained ship. The nine mariners who had testified before the Vice Admiralty Court during the adjudications of *La Rose*, *La Africano* and the *Collector* disappeared after the discovery of the 'original journal' ('*Origineel Journaal*'), along with the ship's captain, David Smart. Smart, who had met Donald Campbell after the discovery of the logbook, threatened to demonstrate to the Council of Justice how 'Hogan had formed and arranged the whole plan.'⁶⁹ Hogan's captain, understanding that 'it was a hanging matter', and, having received an alleged bribe of £2000 from Hogan, fled the colony.⁷⁰

The onus of guilt shifted from Hogan to Smart, after he failed to appear before the court three times – on 6 June, 24 June and 10 July 1800.⁷¹ Smart's departure exonerated Hogan from all blame, though Lady Anne Barnard, along with others, noticed 'the extreme dejection of Mr Hogans continance [sic]' on the evening of Friday May 2, upon his loss of 18,147 *Rd*.⁷² Now that the case was closed, Lady Anne Barnard mused, Hogan could recover his reputation and Cape Town's high society

⁶⁸ Peter Lindquist and Jervis Daniels Brödig were the Danish officers who testified with Captain Smit or Smith.

⁶⁹ LAB 2, 137.

⁷⁰ LAB 2, 261. Vice-admiral Roger Curtis issued a letter on 24 April 1800 to the captains of the naval vessels under his command for David Smart to be arrested should he be found on any of the ships in the colony.

⁷¹ WCA CJ 479, ff. 221-341.

⁷² LAB 2, Saturday 3 May 1800, 123.

could ‘see the affair blow over’.⁷³ The scandal, however, had revealed Yonge’s involvement in the affair – his ‘jobbing’ – and Lady Anne Barnard condemned his involvement in what she described was ‘only continuing the old practice here – and a practice by no means as despised by the Dutch as it is by us,’ the use of public office for private gain.⁷⁴ Armstrong and Worden have touched on VOC officials profiting from selling slaves on the internal market during the 17th and 18th centuries in their overview of slavery at the Cape; and, as we can see, this was a practice that continued as long as enslaved people yielded profits in the Cape.⁷⁵ This gave her a chance, once again, to praise her husband who was ‘not incensed at’ what had transpired but, by being principled, did much to ‘inspire awe’. Her journal reveals, when all is said and done, the measures the Barnards had taken to protect Andrew Barnard from being implicated in the scandal.

Given Machado’s research on the *vānīyās* of Mozambique, we can assume that Sobhachand Sowchand and Laxmichand Motichand, had both played a part in this slave trading transaction – since they were actively involved in the slave trade between Mozambique Island and Quelimane. Sowchand operated from Mozambique Island, in co-operation with Monteiro, and Motichand ran slave trading voyages between Mozambique Island and Quelimane. The logbook of the *Collector* documents that Captain Smart and his men had saluted the governor of Quelimane when they had docked there, and had invited him on board before embarking their shipment of enslaved Africans onto the ship.⁷⁶ There is every reason to believe that governor Yonge and Michael Hogan were trying to establish a secret slave trading relationship between Mozambique and the Cape, because Yonge had expressed his eagerness to meet the governor of Mozambique, Francesco Guedes de Carvalho Menezes, in a letter dated September 1801 to discuss ‘some politic affairs concerning these two Governments.’⁷⁷ Merchants could make arrangements to import slaves to the Cape if their activities were supported by the governors of the Cape and Mozambique. Campbell’s exposé, however, prevented this from happening.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ LAB 2, 103.

⁷⁵ Armstrong and Worden, ‘The Slaves,’ 115. Cape officials controlled the internal slave market in Cape Town from the beginning of the VOC settlement. Willem Adriaen van der Stel and his council took this practice to new heights from 1699–1707.

⁷⁶ WCA CJ 479, 243.

⁷⁷ Styles, 142.

The second Commission of Inquiry (October 1801)

A second Commission of Inquiry (COI) – composed of T.P. van de Leur (Brigadier-General), John Pringle (EIC agent and commissary-general), E. Buckley (civil paymaster) and John Barrow (auditor-general) – was convened to investigate Yonge's alleged misuse of office in October 1801. The COI convened to investigate, among other things, Governor Yonge's alleged acceptance of a bribe by Michael Hogan to import slaves into the colony.⁷⁸ The COI never sent their report to London and by the time their report had been submitted to the Cape authorities on 16 March 1802, Britain was preparing to exit the Cape. The Commission concluded that Yonge's private secretary, Blake, and his aides-de-camp, Cockburn, had processed the agreement between Hogan and Yonge to import enslaved Africans into the port. It transpired that Blake and Hogan had shares in a large proportion of Hogan's license and that 'a very strong degree of presumption appears in the several circumstances brought forward, that [Yonge] connived at and promoted the corrupt practices carried on in his family'.⁷⁹ Cockburn defended himself by stating that he had only profited from the sale of ten slaves; while Yonge informed Henry Dundas that he had consented to the completion of Hogan's license by March 1800.⁸⁰

The Commission blamed Hogan for the *Collector's* fraudulent privateering voyage, though Campbell had already dropped the charges he had made against the Irishman. The Commission concluded that John Holland had been aware of 'the possibility of earlier underhand slave dealings between Hogan and Yonge' and had made a cloak to cover the most iniquitous transaction.⁸¹ When Holland was asked why he had not taken steps to punish the perjurers in the VAC, he replied that no one had appeared to prosecute for perjury.⁸² The commissioners agreed that Holland had compromised the reputation of the VAC. Henry Dundas informed King George III that Yonge was to be recalled after only ten months of governorship on account of his 'wild and extravagant' behaviour. The disgraced governor was so unpopular that the Royal Navy refused him passage back to London.

⁷⁸ RCC, Vol. 4, 258.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ WCA Accessions (A) 1415 (74), Andrew Barnard to Macartney, 10 March 1800: 'I know that your rule of conduct so far from serving as a model for [Yonge] is seldom approved of, and still seldomer following.'

⁸¹ Van Niekerk, 'Judge John Holland and the Vice-Admiralty Court of the Cape of Good Hope, 1797–1803', 195n81.

⁸² Van Niekerk, 'Judge John Holland and the Vice-Admiralty Court of the Cape of Good Hope, 1797–1803', 195.

5. Hogan leaves Cape Town

British merchants reaped great profits from slave trading at the Cape and John Barrow reported to Macartney in December 1800 that slave importation was ‘in its Zenith’ while Yonge was governor there.⁸³ Harries notes that the formal inquiries and removal of Yonge from the position of governor did not deter Hogan from pursuing further slave trading opportunities.⁸⁴ Hogan represented a Mozambican physician Carlos José Guezzi in the aftermath of the *Collector* affair as his agent for the sale of slaves in January 1802. Guezzi arrived as supercargo of the *Calypso* with a letter of introduction from General Isidro de Almeida Souza e Sá requesting that the Lieutenant-governor, Francis Dundas, give all assistance to Guezzi and Monteiro’s *Ninfa do Mar*. Dundas issued a license to the British merchant firm Walker & Robertson to import 170 enslaved Africans from the *Calypso* and 245 from *Le Claire* in February 1802.⁸⁵ The slaves were transhipped from the *Joaquim*, which was lying in Table Bay – and were the last slaves imported under license at the Cape during the first British occupation. Hogan wound up his business activities at the Cape with the commencement of the Dutch Batavian Administration in 1803, arranged the shipment of a cargo of enslaved people to Charleston and liquidated his assets into four shiploads of Java coffee bound for New York. Alexander Tennant remained at the Cape, where he continued to import enslaved people into the colony until 1812.

6. Conclusion

The importation of Mozambican slaves to the Mascarenes and French West Indies by French merchants reached unprecedented levels between 1770 and the early 1790s. While the onset of the French Revolutionary Wars diminished the presence of French slave traffic in the western Indian Ocean after 1793, Portuguese and Spanish colonial slave traders increased the exportation of enslaved people to Cape Town and, later, the Americas from the mid-1790s to the 1850s. Britain’s occupation of the Cape in 1795 coincided with an unprecedented rise of Portuguese and Spanish colonial slave traffic across the western Indian Ocean and on to the slave markets of the Americas. Britain’s occupation of the Cape also coincided with the 1796 Order in Council which prohibited the importation of enslaved people into

⁸³ KL, Barrow to Macartney, 23 December 1800. Hogan imported 160 enslaved Mozambicans into the colony on 30 December 1800.

⁸⁴ Harries, ‘Mozambique Island,’ 417.

⁸⁵ BO 126, ‘Letters Received from various individuals,’ F. Dundas to Greene, 9 February 1802.

British possessions without the written permission of its colonial administrators. This ruling, along with increasing pressure from William Wilberforce's abolitionist movement, forced Britain's colonial administrators to keep the importation of slaves at a minimum. Enterprising British merchants like Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant were determined, however, to exploit the huge demand for slave labour at the Cape and came up with a number of creative schemes to import slaves into the colony. The *Collector* scandal represents a last ditch effort on the part of Portuguese colonial merchants, Spanish American slave traders and British merchants to bypass British imperial restrictions on the importation of slaves at the Cape in advance of the Slave Trade Act of 1807. The later activities of the Royal Navy's antislavery squadrons and Mixed Commission Courts at the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena accelerated Britain's dismantling of the Indian Ocean slave trade following the Palmerston Act of 1839. The Royal Navy's effective 'war on the slave trade' resulted in the last admissions of 'liberated Africans' into the Cape colony in the 1860s