

MADAGASCAR AND THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

by

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Madagascar and its slave trade in the seventeenth century have not yet been extensively studied. There exists no monographic treatment comparable to J.M. Filliot's study of the eighteenth century trade with the Mascareignes, a work which indeed deals with only a part of the history of the eighteenth century Madagascar slave trade(1).

G. Grandidier published in 1958 a summary account the trade at Madagascar providing a provisional list of about a hundred European vessels which were known or suspected to have traded with Madagascar in the period 1506 – 1776(2). J. Hardyman's brief paper on the Madagascar slave trade to the Americas (1963) adds to this account, though it does not draw on unpublished material(3). The account by P. Vérin in his *Histoire ancienne du nord-ouest de*

The Dutch East India Company documents found at the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague which are cited in this paper are all unless otherwise noted in the series *Overgecomen Brieven en Papieren van de Kaap*, and are prefixed KA, thus : KA 4009. Records of the Company from the South African Archives in Cape Town are from the Archives of the Council of Policy/Raad van Politie and are designated with a C, thus : C 29. Although the Company's correspondence was usually signed by the Cape governor and his entire council, only the governor's name is given in these citations.

- (1) J.M. Filliot, *La traite des esclaves vers les Mascareignes au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1974). (Memoires ORSTOM, n° 72).
- (2) G. Grandidier, *Histoire Politique et Coloniale*, tome III, fasc. 1. (Tananarive, 1958), pp. 205–213.
- (3) J.T. Hardyman, *The Madagascar slave-trade to the Americas (1632–1830)*, *Studia*, n° 11 (Janeiro 1963), pp. 501–521.

Madagascar gives a brief outline of the trade, without details(4).

This relative lack of primary research is of course reflected in secondary accounts which have little to say about the Madagascar slave trade, and in more specialized studies such as Philip Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade* or Raymond Kent's *Early Kingdoms in Madagascar 1500–1700*. The lack of research arises partially from the fragmentary and dispersed nature of the archival record, which in turn derives from the nature of the Madagascar slave trade itself.

Arabs, Portuguese, English and Dutch all traded significantly for Malagasy slaves in the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, French involvement was negligible, despite their settlement at Fort Dauphin. The *Arab* and European trade was chiefly with the northwest coast of Madagascar, although other parts of the island were also involved.

The *Arabs* have indeed left few trading records. The records of the Portuguese trade, notably from Mozambique, are also very scanty. Since Madagascar was outside the charter limits of the major slave trading companies the (English) Royal African Company and the Dutch West India Compagny, the archival records of these companies have little to say about the Madagascar trade. Although the island did come within the area of the English East India Company's trade monopoly in the Indian Ocean, this company paid relatively little attention to it(5).

The English trade with Madagascar, as will be seen, was largely an illegal interloper trade, conducted by individual venturers seeking to avoid the Royal African Company's trading monopoly in the West Indies. Primary records left by these interlopers are scarce, although New World records of slaves landed (e.g., as published by Donnan) throw considerable light on this trade(6).

However one trading nation did maintain extensive records of its slave trade with Madagascar in the seventeenth (and eighteenth) centuries. The Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), the Dutch East India Company, conducted a short-lived trade for Malagasy slaves from 1641–1647 from Mauritius, for a longer period from 1654–1786 from the Cape of Good Hope and intermittently for a few years from its Java headquarters, Batavia.

The Dutch trade with Madagascar, unlike that of other countries is quite well-documented. The Cape Archives, in Cape Town, and the Rijksarchief in the Hague have substantial VOC records. These pertain to the Dutch (primarily Cape) slave trade with Madagascar, and consist of ships's logs, trade journals (the richest source) and many miscellaneous other documents. Some of slave trade

(4) Pierre Vérin, *Histoire ancienne du nord-ouest de Madagascar. Taloha 5, Revue du Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie*, (1972).

(5) The East India Company's legal monopoly of trade was ended by a parliamentary declaration on January 11, 1694, permitting every British subject to trade with India. John F. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period Illustrative Documents* (New York : Macmillan, 1923), p. 166n.

(6) Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* Vols. I–IV (Washington, 1934–35).

material has appeared in the various published Cape archival sources including Leibbrandt's erratic *Précis*, the *Kaapse Archiefstukken* and the *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad* (7). But most remains unpublished.

A French glimpse of these Dutch records has been available in the Grandidiere's *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, but historians of Madagascar have too long treated these brief translations as a closed body of data (8). In fact they are but a tiny fraction of the whole, a fraction which went to the Grandidiere via H. Dehérain, who in turn derived them from H.C.V. Leibbrandt's English précis of the Dutch originals.

MASSAILLY : THE ARAB TRADE

For much of the seventeenth century the chief port for the Malagasy slave trade for both Arabs and Europeans was the town known variously as Nova Mazalagem (Port.), Magelage, Magelagie, Matele, Masaliet (Dutch), Musselage, Mathewledge, Mathaledge, Matuledge, Massilige (Eng.) and Massailly located on an island in Boina (Boeny) Bay. The location of Massailly has long proven a source of confusion to many writers on Madagascar, thanks to cartographic error and descriptive vagueness. But Massailly is clearly Nosy Antsoheribory, in Boina Bay, visited in 1897 by M. Jully and more recently the site of excavations by P. Verin (9). As a source of slaves it is frequently paired with Maringaon, Maningaande, Maragaan, Manigaar : etc., by which name the bay of Bombetoka was known to seventeenth century European traders who frequently called at both.

Massailly is described in the early seventeenth century (1613–14 and 1616–17) by two Jesuit fathers, d'Azevedo and Mariano (10). It then had 6000–7000 Muslim inhabitants. They give no figures on the volume of the slave trade, remarking only that vessels from Malindi and Arabia frequent this port each year, taking many captives (i.e., slaves) *para usos infames e abominaveis* (11).

(7) For a recent description of the VOC documents at the Cape Archives, see C.F.J. Muller, *The South African Archives as an important source for the history of the Indian Ocean*, 9p., a paper presented at ICIOS Conference, Perth, 1979. An older guide is C. Graham Botha, *A Brief Guide to the Various Classes of Documents in the Cape Archives 1652–1806* (Cape Town, 1918)

VOC archives in the Algemeen Rijkarchief are detailed in Marius P.H. Roessingh, *Guide to the Sources of the History of Africa South of the Sahara in the Netherlands*, (München, 1978), pp. 39–47. See also Om Prakash, *Dutch source materials on trade traversing the Indian Ocean in the early-modern period*, 9p., ICIOS conference paper, Perth, 1979.

(8) A. Grandidier et al., *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*. Vols. I–IX (Paris, 1903–1920). Abbreviated COACM.

(9) P. Verin, *Histoire ancienne*, p. 22–26. The recent thèse de doctorat de 3ème cycle, by Mme. Izane Razana Rasoa, *Cartographie littorale et la vie maritime à Madagascar aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* Sorbonne (Paris IV), 1980, was not available for this paper.

(10) Luis Mariano, *Exploração portuguesa de Madagascar em 1613*, *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (1887), pp. 313–356. Raymond K. Kent, *Early Kingdoms in Madagascar* (New York, 1970) analyses these voyages, pp. 71–74, 104, 167, 179–183.

(11) Mariano, *Exploração*, p. 319.

However, this Arab trade was subject to interruptions, as in 1635 and 1676, when the Portuguese sacked Masalagem, as noted below. A description from 1640 gives the population of *Mathewledge* being about 6000 *soules* and said that the *country people* the Hovas, came there in March and April to trade cattle and 2 or 3000 slaves with the inhabitants of the town, who then traded them to Portuguese and Muslim slavers(12).

In 1663, a Portuguese report gave the volume of the Moslem slave trade with Madagascar as 3000 to 4000(13). And in 1667, the Jesuit Manuel Barreto put the annual number at more than 3000(14).

The area which supplied these slaves was by no means limited to the region immediately adjacent to Boina Bay, but extended far inland. A Dutch vessel calling at Antongil Bay, on the east coast, in 1644 was frustrated to find that the local ruler Filu Bucon had been obliged to send all his slaves to the other side of the island (15). The Frenchman Martin in 1665 noted that the inhabitants of the territory of *Amboet*, lying 60 leagues west of Ghaleboule (i.e., Fénerive, south of Antongil Bay) were raiding their neighbours for cattle and slaves(16). The slaves were sold on the west coast to English ships, to the Arabs, and sometimes to the Portuguese.

A Dutch account from 1676 says that most of the inhabitants of Massailly fled inland from the Portuguese attack that year(17). The ruler was Sultan Hamet Boebachar, a *circumcised Arab* aged 36 who spoke Portuguese reasonably well. He had an Arab wife and several Malagasy concubines. His Muslim subjects numbered about 300 (sic) households. Various other local rulers, including the ruler of Manigaar were subject to him (18). An English account of the same year

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- (12) Account of a Voyage in the Ship *Frances* from Mozambique to St. Lawrence Madagascar, with a description of the natives of the island, 1640. Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson A 334, L 55. This MS has been recently published by Stephen Ellis, *Un text du XVIIe siècle sur Madagascar, Omaly sy Anio*, 9, (Jan.-Juin 1979), pp. 151-166. On the voyage of the *Frances* see also, William Foster, ed., *English Factories in India, 1637-41* (Oxford, 1912) pp. 226, 283, 294-99, and Eric Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1600-1700* (Johannesburg, 1969), p. 121. John Thornton's 1703 description of the northwest coast of Madagascar, *The English Pilot; the third Book* (Amsterdam, 1970-facsimile of London, 1703 ed.), relies in part on the account of the *Frances* (1640), although his information on Morondava is more up to date. It seems likely that the description of the Asada region is taken from the 1650 Wilde map.
- (13) Eric Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1600-1700* p. 141, citing Provedor da Misericordia, Moçambique, 1/10/1663, Arquivo Historico Ultramarino Caixa Moçambique.
- (14) Manuel Barreto, *Informação do estado e conquista dos rios de cuama vulgar e verdadeiramente chamados Rios de Ouro... Il de dezembro de 1667, Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 4a series, n° 1 (1883), p. 55.
- (15) K. Heeringa, *De Nederlanders op Mauritius en Madagascar, De Indische Gids* (1895) pp. 864-92 ; (1895) pp. 1005-36. Cf. pp. 1011, 1021.
- (16) F. Martin, *Memoires*, in COACM, IX, p. 552.
- (17) KA 1989, f. 704-705 ; *Appendix of cort relaas van't situatie vant'eijlant Mageloge [1676]*.
- (18) *Ibid.*

say that *Matheeus Ledge* has about 1500 houses and could field no less than 15 000 [(!!)] soldiers (19). If 1500 houses is accurate this would suggest a population perhaps three to four times as large.

In August 1686 the VOC ship *Jamby* traded at Maringando, and reported Magelagie was burned and deserted, having been at war with the mainland, i.e., with the *Sacalave* (Sakalavas), and Maringando was also under attack by the Sakalava (20). This August 15 1686 reference to the *Sacalave of lang oren* (= long ears) is perhaps the earliest written reference to this name.

According to Drury, this invasion was accomplished with about 800 men (21).

There is a dearth, itself suggestive, of specific references to Massailly in Dutch and English accounts from 1686–1694. The *Standvastigheid*, in a 1694 voyage from Batavia, arrived too late (August) and noted that the *Arabs* had already shipped about 400 slaves to the Red Sea (22). This voyage also resulted in Jerimiah Brons' early account of Andia Simanata (23).

However the Dutch at the Cape had not appreciated the significance of the Sakalava conquest and their instructions to their slaving captains (*Tamboer* 1694, *Soldaat* 1696) continue to refer to the ruler of Magelagie as an *Arabier van afkomst* (24). They continued to address diplomatic Latin greetings to the *Illustri nec non praepotenti Domino atq; Duci Magellagii*. However, for an abortive 1698 voyage, a cordial Latin epistle to *Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Domino Andia Simanata* was prepared thanking him for his trade and friendship in 1696 with the *Soldaat* (25).

The *Soldaat's* account of 1696 again mentions the presence of a great number of *Arab* traders and slaves at Magelagie (26). The supercargo, Abraham van Bogaard, was welcomed by an Arab captain of a ship stranded there, and by many others with more signs of friendship, he said, than he expected. He found that the Sakalava ruler, Simanata [Andrian Tsimanatona] did not maintain his residence on the island.

Van Bogaard reached Simanata's residence at Mirarewarte, on an elevated plain, in the Maringaar region ; he found that the king spoke Dutch, learned from a sailor fled from the *Tamboer*, in 1694 (27).

(19) KA 1989, f. 777, [*Society's Journal*,] 19 July 1676.

(20) KA 4000, f. 733 Dagregister gehouden int Jagt Jamby, 15 August 1686.

(21) *Madagascar or Robert Drury's Journal* (London, 1890) p. 274.

(22) KA 4011, f. 70v W. Outhoorn to Simon van der Stel, 4 February 1695.

(23) KA 4011, f. 102–109. *Een kort Berigt...* 14 January 1695. A translation appears in H.C.V. Leibbrandt ; *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope Letters Received 1695–1708*, (Cape Town, 1896) pp. 28–31.

(24) C702A, pp. 117–131 ; 134.

KA 4013, f. 674, ult. October 1696.

(25) KA 4017, f. 286, Simon van der Stel to Andian Simanata, 30 June 1698.

(26) KA 4014, f. 1173v. Dagregister [of *Soldaat*] 15 December 1696.

(27) *Ibid.* ; f. 1181.

In 1699 Massailly and Manigaar were reported not to have been visited by the *Arabs* for *a year or three*, and that the Dutch might thus expect good trade there, as indeed the *Peter & Paul* found later that year (28).

To summarize the *Arab* slave trade with Massailly, it is clear that the trade persisted throughout the seventeenth century, with apparent gaps of only a few years. The volume of traffic was, from several reports, as much as 3000 per year. Even if this figure is exaggerated, then other reported figures of several hundred a year from the latter decades still attest to a very considerable trade. Based on these figures one might make a *low* estimate of *ca.*40 000 slaves exported by the Arab trade from Massailly in the seventeenth century. A *high* estimate would certainly be well over 150 000.

THE PORTUGUESE

By comparison with the Arab trade the pattern of the Portuguese trade with Madagascar in the seventeenth century is less well-documented. What is clear is that the Portuguese trade was both of lesser volume and less continuous than the Arab trade.

It was chiefly conducted by small vessels going from Mozambique to Mazalagem and Assada for slaves, cattle and sandalwood (29). According to Mariano, Bueni (Mazalagem Nova) *est le port le plus fréquenté par nos navires* (30).

In 1621, a Dutch fleet captured a small Portuguese vessel laden with sandalwood coming from the *Ysle Masalagem* (31).

Massailly was sacked in 1635 by a Portuguese expedition led by Roque Borges, which was seeking Yusuf (Ghingulia) the apostate christian who led the Mombasa revolt on 1631 (32).

The English account of 1640 referred to above mentions the continuing trade of the Portuguese with Mathewledge for slaves and cattle.

Portuguese interests were signaled by the treaty of 12 June 1641 between Portugal and the States General, in which Madagascar's west coast was recognized as a Portuguese *sphere* and the east coast as a Dutch one (33).

The Portuguese raided Mazalagem again in April 1676 in retaliation of the deaths of seven Portuguese there. The *Nossa Senhora de Miragules*, [i.e., *Mila-*

(28) KA 4019, f. 489 Dagregister [of *Peter & Paul*] aa April 1699.

(29) Mariano, *Exploração*, *Bol Soc. da Geog.* 1887, p. 317, mentions *sandalo branco* as a product of Madagascar.

(30) Mariano, *Routier*, *COACM* III, p. 653.

(31) H.T. Colenbrander, ed., *Jan Pietersz. Coen Bescheiden Omtrent Zijn Bedrijf in Indië* I, p. 758. J.P. Coen to XVII, 20 June 1623.

(32) Axelson, *Portuguese*, p. 93.

(33) G.M. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa collected in various Archive Departments in Europe* (London, 1898), I. p. 407.

gros ?], Capt. Manuel Andrada Ferero, burnt the town and destroyed ten Arab vessels there (34).

For many years after 1676 there are apparently no English or Dutch archival references to Portuguese vessels on the Madagascar coast. It seems likely that the Portuguese left Madagascar to the English, the Dutch and to multinational pirates for the next half century.

There is indeed the well-known early eighteenth century Mortier map which bears the anachronistic note at Nova Mazalagem to the effect that the Portuguese trade there annually for slaves and cattle. But this anomalous legend is explicable by the fact that it appears on the earlier (1665) Ms. *Atlas* of João Teixeira Albernaz which has a similar annotation in Portuguese (35).

THE ENGLISH

English awareness of Madagascar in the seventeenth century was whetted by their ships' frequent passage through the Mozambique channel en route to Surat and later to Bombay and their consequent use of the Comoros, especially *Johanna* (i.e. Anjouan), as a refreshment stop.

In 1636 Charles I decided on an expedition to Madagascar, which in the event never took place. In 1640 Walter Hamond published his *Paradox...*, an exaltation of the good life of the natural savage and a call to colonize. In 1640 also the ship *Francis* called at northwestern Madagascar and left an informative account, recently published. Richard Boothby's *Description of the... famous Island of Madagascar*, appeared in 1644 and the same year was the departure of John Smart's colonizing expedition, which constructed a fort at St. Augustine Bay. Refusing to become involved in local conflicts they were boycotted and starved. One of the survivors P. Waldegraeve published a refutation of Boothby. In 1650 a new English attempt to colonize, under Col. Robert Hunt, was made at Assada, and Hunt and most of his party were massacred (36).

None of these efforts, with the partial exception of the *Francis*, reveal any significant slaving interest in Madagascar by the English until 1664. In that year the English *Little American* was hired (by the E.I. Co.) to make discovery for trade at Madagascar and the East African coast. It brought a number of Malagasy slaves to Surat; some of these were later destined for St. Helena (37).

The real spur to the English slave trade with Madagascar was an almost accidental consequence of the slaving monopoly granted to the Royal African

(34) KA 3989, f. 668v, 670v, 673v; cf. f. 777. Journal... van't Jachtje Voorhout, 24 June 1676.

(35) On the Albernaz atlas see Armando Cortesao and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (Lisboa, 1960), Vol. V, pp. 36–46.

(36) On early English interest in Madagascar see William Foster, *An English settlement in Madagascar in 1645–6*, *English Historical Review* (April 1912) pp. 239–250. See also, Mervyn Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered* (London, 1978) pp. 41–54.

(37) William Foster, *English Factories in India, 1661–64* (Oxford, 1923), p. 324; ... 1665–67 (Oxford, 1925), p. 11.

Company. By closing the western coasts of Africa to individual traders, the R.A.C. drove them to look for sources outside its monopoly area. For several decades Madagascar would be the main source of slaves for this *interloper* traffic. While the scale of this trade was slight compared with the main Atlantic slave trade, it offered an outlet for traders operating with low overheads: e.g., using small ships and crews and without the expenses of *factories* on shore. The interlopers were flexible as to where they traded, and could be venturesome in their involvement in local conflicts.

Aside from the *Little American*, the earliest voyage of record is that of the *Lion*, captain *Jan Houwert* (sic) and the *Eagle*, captain *Robert Houwert*, which stopped at the Cape in November 1664. The *Lion* carried 200 starving and naked children, the *Eagle* 135 slaves. Their slave port of origin is not mentioned, but *Mathewledge* seems likely, in view of the ages and numbers. The priority of this voyage is also suggested by the exorbitant price (£ 50 or f 500,) asked for the older slaves: there were no Cape buyers at this unrealistic price (38).

The number of English slavers in the next few years cannot have been large. H. Hugo reported, on his arrival in Magelagie in August 1672, that an English slaver [the *Johanna Catharina*] which had preceded them by a few weeks, and bought 270 *pieces* was only the fourth English ship to call there, the first having called only in 1666 or 7 (39). However the English slavers increased in the 1670's, calling at St. Augustine's and Magelagie, as the Cape archives record. Between 1675 and 1700, there are in the VOC archives at the Cape and in the Hague and in other sources, mention of over forty English voyages from Madagascar to the New World with slaves as cargo, a total which included a number of *pirates*. But this is a minimal figure as by no means all of these ships called at the Cape.

The pirate aspect has attracted a good deal of attention from various hands, and need not detain us here (40). It should not obscure the fact that during the last decade of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth, Madagascar continued to serve as a source of slaves for the New World and to a lesser extent, for the Cape.

A brief listing 1675–1692 of some of these English vessels, known to have traded in Malagasy ports, follows:

(38) A.J. Böeseken, ed., *Dagregister en Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer 1662–1666* (Pretoria, 1973) 8 November 1664, pp. 170.

(39) KA 3985 f. 706v. [*Pijl's Journal*], 30 August 1672.

(40) Among others, H. Deschamps, *Les pirates à Madagascar* (Paris, 1972) and M. Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered*, pp. 72–91. See also Jacob Judd, *Frederick Phillipse and the Madagascar Trade*, *The New York Historical Society Quarterly* (October 1971) pp. 354–374; Virginia B. Platt, *The East India Company and the Madagascar slave trade*, *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXVI (October 1969) pp. 548–577.

Table 1 : English slave ships and Madagascar, 1675–1692 (41)

Year	Vessel	Where Traded	No. of slaves
1675–6	<i>Bristwater</i> [Bridgewater ?]	Magelage, Mozambique	177
1675–6	Society	Moz., St. Augustine's, Magelage	?
1675–6	[<i>Sea Flower</i>]	Magelage	?
1676	Rebecca	Moz., St. Augustine's, Magelage	?
1678–79	<i>Zeeblom</i> [<i>Sea Flower</i>]	St. Augustine's	
1679–80	Bridgewater merchant	St. Augustine's ?	
1680–81	Daniel and Thomas	St. Augustine's Mathaledge	200–300
1680–81	<i>Robocq</i> [Roebuck ?]	[Madagascar]	330
1682–84	Francis	St. Augustine's	
1682	Philip	Lightfoots	[120]
1682	Dortemouth (= Darmouth)	Lightfoots	
1682–3	Firebrace	Magelagie	200
1682–3	Living Friendship	Lytvoets	200 or 230
1683–4	John and Mary	Lytvoets	[50]
1684–5	Tonqueene Merchant	St. Augustine's, Lytvoets ?	180 +
1684–5	Margriet	St. Augustine's & Lytvoets	
1685–6	John and Mary	<i>Malandara</i> (Morondava)	
1686–7	<i>Margarieta</i>		?
1686–7	Pelican	<i>Bäy van St. Laurens</i>	200
1687	Fortune		?
1689–90	Pearle	[Madagascar]	10
1689–93	Jacob	Madagascar, India	?
1689–90	John and Mary		laden with slave
1690	Tonqueene Merchant	Morondava	100
1692–3	Little Josiah	Morondava	

St. Augustine's Bay is mentioned by several English (and Dutch) slavers in the 1660s and 1670s as a source of slaves : it was favoured because prices were relatively low, but disfavoured because of the erratic supply. It seems probable that the slave trade at this port had not as organized a basis as was plainly the case at Massailly, but fluctuated with the fortunes of local conflicts (42).

The *Sea Flower* in 1679 reported good trading at St. Augustine's where *Dian Manangie* was at war with his neighbour *Lydvoet*, i.e., lahefoutsy [*Andrian-dahifotsy*] (43). The conflict between the St. Augustine ruler and the ruler of the Sakalava produced slaves from both sides. The *Sea Flower* made an

(41) This table is based on over thirty different primary sources.

(42) J.T. Hardyman, *Outline of the maritime history of St. Augustine's Bay (Madagascar) Studia*, n° 11 (Janeiro 1963) pp. 315–341, is a brief survey.

(43) KA 3992, f. 237v – 238v *Daghregister*, 20 February 1679.



abortive attempt at trading in Terra del Gadā (19¹²S), i.e. in Lahefoutsy's kingdom (44).

The earliest surviving report of a slaving voyage to Light foot's River, as Morondava was known to the English, was that of the *Philip*, supercargo James Barre, which obtained about 50–60 slaves there, another 59 having been acquired at St. Augustine's (45). The *Philip* reported trading muskets, powder, shot and Nuremburg trinkets and bought its slaves cheaply at an average price of less than 3 Spanish Reals, despite the presence of four other English ships there. Three versions survive of the trade journal of this venture, one English and two Dutch (46). It was copied by the Dutch at the Cape in exchange for water, casks, sail-thread, pump-nails, etc. Its significance has been quite overlooked by South African scholars, and its existence has not hitherto been known to historians of Madagascar. It gives a memorable description of Lahefoutsy, and even quotes him :

Light foot came to his town with what forces that might be useful, which were about 500 men, with about 200 small arms. I went and saluted him, he took me by the hand and asked me several questions, where the ship was from, what was her last port, [St. Augustine's] how many slaves we traded there...

«You are a stranger and were never here before, I will trade with you, but iff ye had bene here before & bound to mee to trade with mee from Rey vavan [i.e., ruler of St. Augustine's] I should not suffer you here, & none off my People should trade with ye».

So he dranck to me in spirrits & I pledged him afterward... he would build me a house in part by himself, of which I took not a little notice of so an ancient man as he is to werk... he being not lese then 68 years off adge – a tall strong properly man... with a great deal [of] reason ... alwayes in action when he is sober which is about 2 or 3 days a weeke. Hee is a man mightily given to smiting – off wilde hoghs [&] alligators which are here in abundance (47).

By late 1683 at the latest Lahefoutsy was dead, succeeded by his eldest son (48). The date comes from the English slaver *John and Mary* which called at the Cape in January 1684 en route for Barbadoes (49).

Other slavers at Morondava also found that flintlock muskets were the basic

(44) Ibid.

(45) KA 3995, f. 184r, [*Philip's Journal*] 12 Aug. 1682 ; KA 3995, f. 16v, Simon van der to XVII, 28 May 1683.

(46) KA 3995, f. 171–194v (English) ; f. 195–208 (Dutch) ; 0660, pp. 341–392 (Dutch)

(47) KA 3995, f. 194.

(48) Cf. R.K. Kent, *Early Kingdoms*, p. 201, where 1685 is tentatively given as the date of Lahefoutsy's death.

(49) KA 3997, f. 109v, *Daghregister*, January 18, 1684.

trade goods desired. The *Little Josiah*, Capt. Dering, traded at Morondava in April 1692 (50). The price for slaves they found to be :

<i>for a man or woman</i>	<i>1 gunn</i> <i>7 catheridges of powder</i> <i>20 shott & 20 flints</i>
<i>for a boy or girl</i>	<i>1 gunn</i> <i>4 catheridges of powder</i>

In the supply of these weapons the English (and Dutch) traders held a distinct advantage over the *Arabs* who had few or no such weapons to trade. There are in the various accounts of the Morondava trade in the 1680's no mention of *Arabs* trading, a fact which may also be explained by the navigational problems faced by dhows which ventured past Cape St. Andre.

It is clear that the trade in slaves for guns transformed the Sakalava into a formidable military power, and doubtless contributed to their rapid military expansion. Their conquests created a continuing supply of prisoners for sale as slaves at west coast ports. The number of weapons and the proficiency in their use gained by the Sakalava was remarkable, as the crew of the *Barneveld* witnessed in 1719... *a whole regiment of at least a thousand wild savages, each with a musket in hand...* (51).

This trade in guns to the Sakalava is in partial contrast with the trading pattern with the Islamic rulers of Massailly prior to 1686, who sought specie and novelties. Firearms were also traded, however, and held in some numbers by the *Arabs* of Massailly as the *Voorhout's* account of 1676 related :

In time of war, [the ruler of Magelagie] could muster 3-4000 men, including inhabitants and their slaves, some of them using blunderbusses, others muskets and diverse long swords which they mostly purchased from the English, though the slaves are armed with spears and shields(52).

With the Sakalava conquest of Boina by Andrian Simanata [Andrian Tsimanatonana], the demand was for guns, not specie, at Massailly and Maningaar. By 1699, at Maningaar, the price of slaves was defined thus :

For an able young adult slave man	2 muskets
	5 small boxes of powder
	5 balls
	5 flints

valued at 22 Sp. Reals.

For an able young adult woman	1 musket
	10 boxes of powder
	10 balls
	10 flints

(50) Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson 334 f. 58-60.

(51) *Reyze van het Oostindish Schip Barneveld, uyt Holland tot an de Kaap der Goede Hoop in't Jaar 1719*, 3rd ed. (Dordrecht, 1764) p. 165.

(52) KA 3989, f. 704, *Appendix of cort relas...* [1676].

valued at 18 Sp. Reals (53).

By 1715 the price for a man slave at Maningaar was :

1 musket, clean and bright *van de lange boekens*

3 lb. powder

12 flints

For a woman, and boys or girls of 8–10,

1 musket (54).

THE DUTCH

As with the English, Dutch knowledge of Madagascar was a by-product of their voyages to the Indies, starting with that of Cornelis de Houtman in 1595–97. But their early contacts were chiefly limited to Antongil Bay and, rarely, to St. Augustine Bay, as the VOC fleets rarely used the Mozambique Channel. After 1617 the east-bound VOC fleets kept in far southerly latitudes (the *roaring forties*) and were specifically enjoined to avoid a course *inside* Madagascar or even close outside. Return fleets and Ceylon vessels did pass by eastern Madagascar, but the inside passage was rarely taken by Dutch ships. The presence of the Portuguese on the western shore of the Mozambique channel, and their presumed strength there, was a natural deterrent. The Dutch were at war with Portugal several times in the seventeenth century and it was natural they would avoid the Mozambique Channel (55).

Occasionally, a storm or distress-driven vessel, usually homeward bound, would seek refuge in the Comoros, or even on Madagascar. Such sojourns did yield intelligence about trading conditions, e.g., when the *Arnhem* put in at Antongil in 1657 (56), in 1659, the *Erasmus* put in at Ansuany (Anjouan) and at an unidentified bay (15°–16° S.) near Massailly on the northwest coast of Madagascar, but erroneously reported the region to be unpopulated (57). Later, in 1674, the *Middelburgh*, which refreshed at Anjouan for four months, reported the arrivals there of two *Moorish* slavers as well as two English East India Co. vessels, which may have served to confirm other contemporary reports (see below) (58).

Certainly the impression given by contemporary Dutch references to Madagascar, until the 1660s, is that there was a dearth of hard information except regarding Antongil. St. Augustine's was, despite a few contacts in the 1630s,

(53) KA 4020, f. 1114 [*Peter & Paul's Journal*] 28 Oct. 1699.

(54) Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Rademacher n° 518 [2] *Memorie voor de reyse meent te doen na het Eylant Madagascar...* [1715].

(55) C. Halls, *Dutch navigation off the East African coast, Tanzania Notes and Records*, n° 67 (June 1967) pp. 39–48 is useful, though very incomplete, account of its subject.

(56) J. van Riebeeck, *Daghregister*, ed. H.B. Thom (Cape Town, 1955) II, p. 207, 17 December 1657.

(57) Van. Riebeeck, *Daghregister*, III, p. 462.

(58) KA 3988, f. 300–311, Extract uyt het *Journal*.

unfamiliar to the Dutch and the rest of the west coast was a blank, a rumored Portuguese ground.

However, Dutch interest in the possibility of obtaining slaves from Madagascar is found early in the seventeenth century. In 1617 Van den Broecke made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Madagascar to get slaves intended for Surat (59). Reference to the possibility of obtaining slaves there is found in a 1616 Resolution of the Heren XVII, and in 1617 (60).

However only after the Dutch settlement of Mauritius in 1638 did Madagascar play any considerable role as a source of slaves for the Dutch (61). As noted above, a 1641 treaty between Portugal and the States General, recognized Madagascar's East coast as a Dutch *sphere*. It seems unlikely, however, that Dutch activity at Antongil Bay in the 1640's can be regarded as a direct consequence of this treaty. In 1641, 1644, 1645, and 1646 voyages were made from Mauritius, chiefly to Antongil Bay, for slaves. The slaves were brought back to Mauritius, some retained and some were sent on to Batavia. These voyages are tabulated on Table 3.

The Dutch experience at Antongil Bay in the 1640s also illustrates the extent to which the slave trade on the opposite Northwest coast had developed. Adrian Van der Stel had bought 105 slaves from the Antongil ruler Filu Bucon in early 1642 for the low average price of 2 1/8 Reals each (62). A *treaty* was signed in which the ruler and his chief men agreed to sell slaves and rice only to the Dutch. When Van der Stel, who left 2 men behind as agents, returned again in mid-1644, he was told that the king had thrice assembled groups of slaves, but had been obliged to send them in charge of his son to the other side of the island to sell to the Portuguese for cloths and cows. Nevertheless the Dutch were able to get 97 more slaves. Two more successful voyages were made in 1645 from Mauritius. A later Dutch voyage to Antongil in 1646 actually encountered a slave trading expedition of 120 men and 200 cattle sent from the other side of the island, and led by a *lucorongh* of king *Ronetans*. The local ruler protested to the Dutch that he preferred to trade with them, but could not refuse slaves to these strangers when they came (63).

By 1646, however, it was plain to Batavia that the Madagascar voyages were uneconomic, despite the low prices paid, and they were then discontinued.

Serious Dutch interest in Madagascar as a source of slaves came only with the VOC's settlement of the Cape in 1652. The first Cape commander, Jan Van

(59) H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie (Suratte, Arabië, Perzië)* ('s Gravenhage, 1918) pp. 63-64.

(60) KA 249, f. 358v, Resolutions of 4 to 17 August 1616, n^o 42.

(61) Heeringa, *De Nederlanders* remains the standard account.

(62) Heeringa, p. 1006.

(63) Jan Ernst Heeres, *Corpus-Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, vol I (1596-1650) *Bijdragen tot de Taal - Land -, en Volkenkunde*, ser. VII, vol 3, n^o 57 (190) pp. 360-362, gives text of agreement between *Sijn Majesteit Filu Bucon Coninck in Antongill and Adrian Van der Stel, 8 March 1642*. Also Heeringa, pp. 1011, 1022.

Riebeeck, soon concluded that slave labour was essential for the new post, and within a few weeks of his arrival wrote to Batavia for slaves (64). Batavia could not supply them, however, and Van Riebeeck then sought to supply both the Cape and Batavia with slaves from Antongil.

The first slaving voyage was attempted in 1654 by the *Roode Vos*, which was to proceed to Mauritius and thence to Antongil Bay, where it was ordered to buy thirty or forty slaves, including ten girls twelve to fifteen years of age (65). This effort failed. The *Tulp* was dispatched in the same year from the Cape to Antongil, but obtained only two slaves (66).

Three successive voyages in the 1660s to Antongil and St. Augustine's Bay also failed. The Dutch at the Cape did not yet have the key to unlock the Malagasy trade.

In the same period efforts were made both by Batavia and the Heren XVII to tap the Madagascar trade.

In 1660 the flute *de Postillon* was leased to the Batavian burger Jacques de Boulan for trading to Madagascar (67). De Boulan went first to Fort Dauphin, arriving there on 2 April 1661. He traded for 170 slaves, and set out for the Cape of Good Hope, but lost his passage. After touching at Antongil, he returned to Batavia via Tutucorin, with only 29 of his slaves, and a quantity of hides (68). De Boulan's initiative was encouraged by the enthusiastic reports of Madagascar's riches spread by one Pierre Gilton [Gelton], who had been shipwrecked on a Nantes vessel at the Cape in May 1660. Gilton, who had intended to establish a colony at St. Augustine's Bay, went instead to Batavia, where officials heard his reports with some scepticism. In 1661, he went to Amsterdam, where the XVII were rather more impressed; they suggested to Van Riebeeck that he obtain salt-meat from Madagascar, but the latter demurred (69).

The Comoro Islands attracted one voyage from Batavia during the 1660s. In October 1666, a small vessel, the *Goede Hoop*, owned by private persons, set out after it reached Madagascar, and did not reach its goal (70).

- (64) C493, p. 435, J. van Riebeeck – Raad van Indië, 24 May 1652 ;
C493, p. 70, J. van Riebeeck – XVII, 14 April 1653. Van Riebeeck *Daghregister*, I, pp. 212, 2 April 1654.
- (65) Van Riebeeck, *Daghregister*, I, 222–23, 225, 248, 446. Also *Instructie voor d'Op-
perhoofden van't Calijot de Rode Vos...* 8 May 1654 in *Precis of the Archives of the
Cape of Good Hope, Letters Despatched 1652–1662*, ed., H.C.V. Leibbrandt (Cape
Town, 1900) I, 300–305.
- (66) Van Riebeeck, *Daghregister*, I, 235, 268–70.
- (67) *Realia*, II ('s Hage : Marts. Nijhoff, 1885), p. 175, s.v. Madagascar, resolution of
10 December 1660.
- (68) *Dagh-Register Gehouden in't Kasteel Batavia... 1661* (Batavia, 19) pp. 306–07.
Entry for 15 October 1661.
- (69) W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-General en Raden aan Heren
XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. Deel III : 1655–1674: Rijks Geschied-
kundige Publicatiën*, 125 ('s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), p. 349.
J. Maetsuyker et al. to XVII, 16 December 1660.
C410, I, p. 236. XVII to J. van Riebeeck et al., 23 August 1661.

Somewhat later the XVII's attention was also directed towards the same source of slaves for the Cape and Batavia. They had been (mis) informed that slaves were plentiful in the Comoro Islands, and in September 1670 advised the Cape to send a vessel to the *Majottes* (71). The Cape despatched the *Sandlooper*, with a small cargo, and instructions to secure a good number of slaves aged 18 to 30, men or women. The *Sandlooper* got good refreshments, but no slaves, at Anzuany, despite the fact that it had a supply of silver reals along (72).

A second attempt was made in 1672, with the *Pijl*. The *Pijl's* voyage with its companion the *Boogh* is noteworthy because it was the first Dutch attempt which traded for slaves in north-west Madagascar, which thenceforth became the primary destination of Cape slaving voyages for the next century. The Captain of the *Pijl* was an ambitious and influential adventurer, Hubert Hugo (73). Hugo had persuaded the Heren XVII to appoint him as the new Commander of Mauritius, to establish a productive colony there, and to initiate a slave trade with the *Majottes* (74).

With Hugo sailed the widely travelled author, Joan Nieuhof, who was supposed to become the factor resident in the Comoros (75).

The two vessels sailed in company to St. Augustine's Bay. After some desultory trading, they went to Mozambique, where they were well received. Here they obtained some ivory, and learned that slaves were not to be had at the

(70) *Dagh-Register... Batavia... 1666*, p. 159, 9 Oct. 1666.

(71) I have not traced the source of the Heren XVII's belief on this point. English East India Company vessels frequently stopped at Anjouan, which served as a refreshment point for Arab slavers enroute from northwest Madagascar to Kilwa and beyond, and some report of their slaves may have reached the Heren XVII. It is possible that the Heren XVII were given this information by Hubert Hugo (vide infra) whose firsthand knowledge of the western India Ocean was extensive, and who definitely in contact with the Heren XVII by early 1671.

(72) KA 3984, f. 60v–62v, *Sandlooper's* Instructions. Also C 495, II, Uit. Br., 1668–1671, pp. 118–85. The *Sandlooper* departed on 17 June 1671.

KA 3984, 457v, Joan Maetsuyker to Pieter Hackius, 18 December 1671. Maetsuyker also reported the outcome of this voyage to the Heren XVII in his general missive of 19 December 1671, published in *Generale Missiven... 1655–1674*, R.G.P. 125, p. 778. The *Batavia Dagregister 1670–1671*, p. 475–6 notes the arrival of the *Sandlooper* there on 21 November 1671, and lists its cargo, worth only f. 2130.

(73) On Hugo, see F.W. Stapel, *Hubert Hugo, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van het Koninklijk Instituut LXXXVI* (1930) pp. 615–635, which concentrates on his last years on Mauritius. Hugo's career was a varied one, and deserves more attention than it has received. Stapel's account does not utilize French archival material. There are also some published Arabic sources relating to Hugo's piracies in R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, (Oxford, 1963).

(74) Stapel, *Hubert Hugo*, p. 622.

(75) Nieuhof was the widely travelled author of *Die Gesantschaft der Ost-indischen Gesellschaft in den Vereinigten Niederländern, an den Tartarischen Cham*, Amsterdam 1666, and of the posthumous *Gedenkwaardige Zee en Lant Reize door de voornaemste Landschappen van West en Oostindien*. Included in this latter work is an account of the *Pijl's* slaving voyage, which is based on the *Pijl's* log, kept by Reyner Classz and transmitted to Nieuhof's brother and editor, H. Nieuhof.

Comoros, but that the Portuguese obtained slaves at a price of 10, 12, or 15 Reals from Magelagie, on the northwest coast of Madagascar (76). On going there they found 3 or 4 *moorish* vessels and learned that an English flute from London had recently bought 270 slaves.

But Hugo's slaving venture soon ended in failure with Nieuhof's disappearance and death, and the *Pijl* sailed on to Mauritius with only 22 slaves. However, despite its apparent failure, Hugo's voyage had opened the way.

The Dutch subsequently (18 January 1673) took, at St. Helena, an English prize, the *Johanna Catharina*, which proved to be the same ship that Hugo had reported trading at Magelagie. Its cargo of 270 had been depleted by death to 184, but it confirmed Hugo's reports that Magelagie was a good source of slaves (77). The Heren XVII, on being informed, were amazed that the English should come so far for slaves (78).

For a time the Dutch war with England and France precluded any further voyages from the Cape for slaves, despite the immediate need for them at the Cape for the construction of the fortified *castle*.

No sooner was a truce with England concluded than the Heren XVII urged (12 May 1674) the resumption of the Cape's Madagascar voyages (79). At the same time they withdrew from their previous urgency in completing the construction of the Castle at the Cape. The major purpose of the resumed voyages was to exploit this presumably cheap source of slaves for the general gold mines at Salida on the west coast of Sumatra (80). The Cape received the news in October 1674, but no voyage was attempted in 1675, the Cape's Council of Policy claiming that there was no suitable vessel available. They did attempt to get the *Helena* (*ex-Johanna Catharina*) for the purpose, but no voyage was made until the following year, when the *Voorhout*, well stocked with Spanish reals, cloth, glass beads, Japanese copper, iron bars and brandy was sent to Magelagie (81).

The voyage of the *Voorhout* in 1676 was the first successful slaving voyage originating at the Cape (82). The *Voorhout* traded at Magelagie and Marangaan,

(76) KA 3985, f. 664, H. Hugo to XVII, 29 December 1672.

(77) *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, ed. by A.J. Böeseken, (Cape Town, 1959) II, pp. 66, Res. of 15 June 1671.

KA 3985, F. 248, I. Goske to J. Maetsuyker, 14 April 1673.

(78) C411, p. 1012, XVII (at Middelburg) to I. Goske, 17 May 1673.

(79) KA 3988, f. 65r, I. Goske to Joan Maetsuyker, 20 Oct. 1674.

(80) On the early history of the Salida mines, see N. MacLeod, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie op Sumatra in de 17 de Eeuw. IV, De Westkust van 1671 to 1683 De Indische Gids*, XXVII, i, (1905) pp. 125–142; 470–486 and J.E. De Meyier, *De Goud - en Zilvermijn ter Sumatra's Westkust, De Indische Gids*, XXXIII, i (1911) pp. 28–67; XXXIII, ii, (1911) pp. 1090–1092.

(81) KA 3989, f. 515v-516v.

(82) Cf. the wholly erroneous statement in A.J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658–1700* (Cape Town, 1977), p. 66 that *no slaves were brought back*.

obtaining 279 slaves for which the average price paid was over 12 Reals (83). After refreshing at Anzuany the vessel returned to the Cape with 257 slaves on 29 November 1676. A contemporary document noted that : *Among the women one saw many fat ones, as the sailors (it is said) had pleasure by night for kindnesses done by day, who when brought on land could not part from the sailors without much weeping and crying* (84).

When the *Voorhout* returned to Magelagie in 1677, it found no competing English slavers, but another VOC ship, the *Hassenburgh*, sent from Batavia, in the wake of the *Voorhout's* success. And to the *Voorhout's* dismay, the *Hassenburgh* was buying slaves at a much higher price than that which had prevailed the previous year (85).

There were three *Arab* vessels there for slaves as well, but they offered no serious opposition. Indeed, before their departure the *Voorhout's* ship's council issued the three Arab captains, Ajuijn Alim, Achmet Muzaret and Salem van Suratta each a passport, should they encounter any other Dutch vessels (86). It seems plain that the *Arabs* welcomed the Dutch presence at this time, as obviously did the ruler of Magelagie, Sultan Hamet Boebachar.

Official VOC-sponsored slaving voyages from the Cape to Madagascar continued, on a sporadic basis, for more than a century. The following table summarizes these voyages, as well as those to other destinations :

Table 2 Company-sponsored slaving voyages, 1652–1795 (87)
(Number of slaves delivered to Cape underscored in parentheses)

Region	1652–1699	1700–1749	1750–1795	Totals
Madagascar	12 (1.064)	9 (779)	12 (977)	33 (2.820)
Mozambique, East African coast, and Zanzibar	—	—	5 (974)	5 (974)
Delagoa Bay	—	several (c.280)	—	several (c.280)
Dahomey	1 (226)	—	—	1 (226)
Totals	13 (1.290)	9 + (c.1.059)	17 (1.951)	39 + (4.300)

(83) KA 3989, f. 7r, J. Bax to XVII, 14 March 1677.

(84) D.B. Bosman, ed. *Briewe van Johanna Maria van Riebeeck en ander Riebeeckiana*. (Amsterdam, 1952), p. 49.

(85) KA 3990, f. 503, R. van Goens to J. Bax, Feb. 1678. KA 3990, f. 1000r, *Voorhout's Journal*, 9 August 1677, quoting *Hassenbergh's* supercargo : *Ick moet slaven hebben, al sou ick 20 Rds. geven want sonder slaven ick op Batavia niet mejn te comen*.

(86) KA 3990, f. 1011v, *Voorhout's Journal*, 25(?) Aug. 1677.

(87) From James C. Armstrong, *The Slaves, 1652–1795*, in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee, eds., *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820* (Cape Town, 1979), p. 78.

From the above it is evident that Madagascar furnished the Cape with over one thousand slaves for the Company's use in the seventeenth century. The results of the individual voyages in this period are summarized in Table 3.

Virtually all the slaves obtained on these Company-sponsored voyages were destined for use by the Company. In addition to those traded on Company account, however, some slaves were obtained by Company personnel in private trading. From evidence in the Deeds Office, Cape Town, it seems likely that roughly 10 per cent should be added to the official figures to include slaves obtained in this manner(88). This private trade was conducted without the knowledge or approval of the Heren XVII or the Council of India. It was not mentioned in official correspondence, nor were the numbers of slaves acquired privately included in the official reports on these voyages. Indeed, it was only after the Company ceased making slaving voyages, near the end of its administration, that the Heren XVII took any official cognisance of this individual trading by its Cape officials. It was defended as a customary usage, without any specific known authorisation, which compensated the ship's officers and supercargoes for the dangers and discomforts they underwent in the trade, and as an encouragement for them to go on future voyages(89).

In 1678 another pattern of slaving voyages starting from the Cape began, which would continue for a decade. In 1667 the VOC had acquired the gold mines at Salida, on the west coast of Sumatra and from 1670 they had attempted to exploit them(90). From the first, difficulties were encountered and results were disappointing. Returns were low and expenses were high. German mining experts were sent. Slave labor was used, and a major limitation on the mining effort was the high level of sickness and mortality among the slaves. Indonesian slaves were used at first from the nearby island of Nias, but without success. By 1674, Governor General Maetsuyker wrote to the Heren XVII that Macassarese, Buginese and Bimanese slaves were also unsuitable for the work at Salida(91). It seems very likely that working conditions in the mines themselves, which were notoriously wet, were largely responsible for the mortality among the slaves, rather than any deficiency in the slaves' physical constitutions. However that may be, the success of the *Voorhout* in 1676 in securing slaves from Magelagie encouraged the Heren XVII to believe that a solution to their labour supply problems at Salida lay in Madagascar. Batavia dispatched the *Hassenburgh* to Madagascar in 1677(92).

The *Elisabeth* was sent out from the Netherlands in 1678, and set out for Madagascar from the Cape on 15 November, with a cargo worth f 13.625,.

(88) See Boëseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks*, Addendum 2, *A brief summary of transactions pertaining to slaves...* pp. 121–194.

(89) This paragraph revised from Armstrong, *Slaves*, pp. 78–79.

(90) References as in note 60.

(91) MacLeod, *De Westkust*, p. 138.

(92) KA 3990, f. 502v, R. van Goens to J. Bax, 15 February 1678.

chiefly in Mexican reals (93). The Cape provided its experienced interpreter, Sijmon and supercargo Albert van Breugel (94). At Magelagie 114 slaves were bought, but on a slow voyage to Sumatra 51 died (95). Batavia then suggested to the Heren XVII that the Cape be used as a refreshment post for slaves.

In a letter of 20 June 1680, the Heren XVII announced their decision to continue with the trade (96). A new vessel, the *Sillida*, designed especially for the slave trade, was sent out in December 1680 (97). It left the Cape for Madagascar on 25 June 1681, with a cargo worth f 21.306. chiefly in reals, which were in demand at Magelagie (98). Sijmon again served as interpreter. The *Sillida* obtained 168 slaves at Magelagie and another 68 at nearby Manigaar (99). Of these slaves most were women and girls, despite its instructions to secure males, 16–24 years of age. It delivered only 144 at Padang, the port closest to the Salida mines. Of these half died within 4 months at Padang (100).

Similar details could be supplied for each successive voyage. Table 3 summarizes these voyages.

In 1687, the trade for slaves for Salida was abandoned, on grounds of cost, slave mortality, and the danger of piracy in Madagascar waters. There was a brief resurgence in the eighteenth century, for Batavia tried again in 1732 and 1733.

(93) KA 3991, f. 6, H. Crudop to XVII, 20 Fev. 1679.

(94) KA 3991, f. 311r, H. Crudop to R. van Goens, 14 Nov. 1678.

(95) KA 3992, f. , R. van Goens to H. Crudop. 11 Oct. 1679.

(96) C414, p. 633, XVII to Cape, 20 June 1680.

(97) KA 3994, f. 170v, Dagregister, 10 May 1681.

(98) KA 3994, f. 3, S. va der Stel to XVII, 23 Apr. 1682.

(99) KA 3994, f. 68–94 [*Sillida's Journal*].

(100) KA 3996, f. 493v.



Table 3 : VOC SPONSORED SLAVING VOYAGES TO MADAGASCAR 1641-1699

Year	Vessel	From	Where Traded	No. Traded	(a) Mauritius	(b) Cape	(c) Batavia/ Padang	Remarks
1641	Eendracht & Klein Mauritius	Mauritius	Antongil	105			50 (1644)	
1644	Welsing	Mauritius	Antongil	97		?		
1645	Welsing & Dolphijn	Mauritius	Antongil	126	8	101		
1645	Welsing	Mauritius	Antongil	110				
1646	Welsing & Jonge Saijer	Mauritius	Antongil	60	?	51	?	
1647	Zeemeuw	Mauritius	Antongil		7			Carried orders to halt the Trade
1654	Roode Vos	Cape	Mauritius	0				Failed to reach Madagascar.
1654	Tulp	Cape	Antongil	4		2		
1663	Waterhoen	Cape	St. Augustine's			7		

1664	Waterhoen	Cape	Antongil	1	
1667-8	Westwout & Poelsnip	Cape	Antongil	3	Children
1672	Pijl	Cape	<i>Verraders Batij</i>		
			Mozambique & Magelage	22	
1676	Woorhout	Cape	Magelage	257	
			Maringaan		
1677	Voorhout & Quartel	Cape	St. Augustine's, Magelage, Moz.	77	
1677	Hassenburgh	Batavia	Magelage	?	248
1678	Elisabeth	Cape	Magelage	114	63
1681	Sillida	Cape	Magelage	236	144
1682	Eemlant	Cape	Magelage ?	[271]	[220]
1683-4	Hoogergeest	Cape	Magelage ?	274	108
1684-5	Baeren	Cape	Magelage, Mari-gaar, Anjouan	117	
1685-6	Westerwijk	Cape	Magelage	-	Captured by pirates
1686	Jamby	Cape	Maringando	212	164
1687	Jamby	Cape	Magelage ?	43	
1694	Tamboer	Cape	Magelage ?	41	
1694-5	Standvastigheid	Batavia	Magelage	41 ?	37
1696-7	Soldaat	Cape	Maringaar	121	120
1699	Peter & Paul	Cape	Maringaar	198	184

A NOTE ON INTERPRETERS

Although the Dutch found English speakers at St. Augustine's and the Comoros, and the *Arab* ruler of Massailly knew some Portuguese, the Dutch did not rely on such linguistic accidents, but provided their own interpreters. H. Hugo introduced the practice of using Malagasy slaves as interpreters and on his 1672 voyage took *Louwijs* and his wife.

Thereafter, it was the usual practice of the Dutch to use Malagasy Company slaves as interpreters on their slaving voyages to Madagascar. Most of these interpreters are known only by their names, plus a phrase describing their command of Dutch, (and sometimes Portuguese). In the instructions given to the slaving captains on departure, they are mentioned, usually with the admonition that they were to be *rather gently handled*, presumably to ensure their loyalty once on Madagascar. On virtually every voyage recorded, they did as was required of them.

One of them deserves more than passing notice, as his career yields several insights into the conduct of the Cape's slaving ventures. His name was Sayyid (*Zeijde*), or as he was usually called, Sijmon die Arabier. Sayyid spoke both Arabic and Malagasy, and his actual place of origin is uncertain, despite his name (102).

Sayyid had already served as an interpreter on several English slaving voyages, and was on the English slaver *Joanna Catharina* when it was captured by the Dutch at St. Helena in 1673. He was thus well versed in the Madagascar trade. He was at first used by the Company at the Cape as an overseer of its Malagasy slaves (103).

At the Cape he was not regarded as a slave but rather as a prisoner of war at liberty. He was advanced credit by the Company, as was done for free burgers, but his name never appeared on the burger rolls. He had a house about a mile from the fort, where his wife, a slave who was excused from the Company's work, and his children lived, and where he maintained a garden. His house was fired one night and an escaped slave was suspected (104).

He was the interpreter on the first wholly successful Cape slaving voyage to Madagascar in 1676, and went again in 1677, 1678 and 1681. There are numerous favorable references to his services in the Cape-Batavia correspondence of this period. On one occasion he lived in the house of Governor General

(101) Based on numerous VOC primary sources.

(102) Once he is called an *africannse caffer*. *Bat. Dagh-Register, 1680*, p. 108. Anna J. Böeseken, in a rare slip, notes that he *was waarskynlik van die stad Mokka afkomstig*, basing this on a misunderstanding of the work Mockodan. South Africa. State Archives. (Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke) *Belangrike Kaapse Dokumente. Memoriën en Instructien 1657-1699*. Ed. by A.J. Böeseken. (Cape Town, 1966) p. 135.

(103) KA 3987, f. 22v, I. Goske to XVII, 20 May 1674.

(104) KA 3994, f. 119r, Daghregister, 10 Jan. 1681.

Speelman in Batavia, and once he went to Holland in a return ship which sailed past the Cape. He returned to the Cape in the new *Sillida* in 1681, and went on with it to Madagascar for more slaves (105). On this last voyage, the ship's officers said they would have been unable to govern the slaves without him. His death was reported in 1683 by Batavia. The Cape commander, Simon van der Stel, regretted his loss (106).

(105) P. van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, F.W. Stapel, ed., ('s Gravenhage, 1929) I, ii, p. 655.

(106) KA 3997, f.464, S. van der Stel to Cornelis Speelman, 21 May 1684.