

THE DUTCH PARTICIPATION IN THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE;  
SLAVING ON THE GUINEA COAST,  
1675 - 1795

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
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JOHANNES POSTMA  
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## ABSTRACT

### THE DUTCH PARTICIPATION IN THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; SLAVING ON THE GUINEA COAST, 1675-1795

By

Johannes Postma

This dissertation is an assessment of the nature and dimension of the Dutch involvement in the African slave trade, specifically the trade on the Guinea Coast during the years 1675-1795. Since the literature relating to this subject is sparse, most data for this study was collected from archives in the Netherlands, particularly from the State Archives (Rijksarchief) at The Hague. The initial years (1629-1674) of the Dutch participation in the slave trade are difficult to evaluate due to a dearth of documentary evidence, but the period following the reorganization of the Dutch West India Company in 1675 can adequately be documented.

The primary objective of this study is to determine the quantitative share of Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade. In addition, institutions and techniques of the trade and its impact on international relations, especially on Afro-European relations, have been evaluated. Finally, unique contributions of the Dutch and of Dutch sources regarding the slave trade have been examined.

Throughout the 1675-1795 period the Dutch carried an annual average of approximately 3,500 slaves across the Atlantic, which amounted to about ten per cent of the overall African slave trade. The level of trading fluctuated annually, but during the five decades following 1675 it averaged 2-3,000 slaves per year. This signified a



1. The first step in the process of identifying a problem is to recognize that a problem exists. This is often done by comparing current performance with a desired state or goal. Once a problem is identified, the next step is to define the problem more clearly. This involves determining the scope of the problem, the resources available, and the constraints that may be affecting the problem. The third step is to analyze the problem. This involves identifying the causes of the problem and the factors that are contributing to it. The fourth step is to develop a solution. This involves brainstorming ideas and evaluating them to determine which one is the most feasible and effective. The fifth step is to implement the solution. This involves putting the solution into action and monitoring its progress. The sixth step is to evaluate the results. This involves comparing the results of the solution with the desired state or goal to determine if the problem has been solved.

2. The first step in the process of identifying a problem is to recognize that a problem exists. This is often done by comparing current performance with a desired state or goal. Once a problem is identified, the next step is to define the problem more clearly. This involves determining the scope of the problem, the resources available, and the constraints that may be affecting the problem. The third step is to analyze the problem. This involves identifying the causes of the problem and the factors that are contributing to it. The fourth step is to develop a solution. This involves brainstorming ideas and evaluating them to determine which one is the most feasible and effective. The fifth step is to implement the solution. This involves putting the solution into action and monitoring its progress. The sixth step is to evaluate the results. This involves comparing the results of the solution with the desired state or goal to determine if the problem has been solved.

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relative decline since the English and the French intensified their slaving activities during the same period. In the 1720's the Dutch also began to increase the volume of their trade, reaching a peak during the 1760's when they carried an annual average of more than 7,000 slaves across the ocean. The American Revolutionary War, precipitating the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, brought the Dutch slave trade temporarily to a halt and ultimately signalled the demise of the Dutch participation in the African slave trade.

The increase in the volume of the Dutch slave trade during the eighteenth century can be attributed largely to the termination of the commercial monopoly of the Dutch West India Company in 1730. Subsequently, free traders carried the majority of the Dutch share of the slave trade, although the company continued to function in a middleman capacity. The Dutch policy of neutrality vis-à-vis other European states during the greater part of the eighteenth century also contributed to the increase of the Dutch slave trade.

While the European demand for slaves brought political instability to Africa, Dutch agents continually tried to further peaceful relations among Africans and between Africans and their own nation. The reason for this was that warfare impaired the normal channels of commerce and halted the transportation of merchandise to and from the trading stations on the coast.

The Dutch acquired nearly one-third of their slaves on the Loango-Angola Coast. The remainder were purchased on the Guinea Coast, initially on the Slave Coast, but gradually the Dutch markets shifted westwards. During the 1720's the Gold Coast became their principal area of supply, and with the onset of the free trade, the Dutch acquired



the majority of their slaves on the Windward Coast.

All evidence indicates that Dutch slave traders treated the slaves in the same dehumanizing manner as slavers from other nations. Death rates among the slaves transported by the Dutch were among the lowest hitherto recorded; the cause for this was not humanitarianism, however, but more efficient business practices of the Dutch slavers.

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By  
Johannes Postma

A THESIS

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## PREFACE

An investigation of the Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade is long overdue. That the Dutch merchant marine was actively involved in the slave trade has never been questioned; instead, it often has been assumed that at times the Dutch dominated the slave trade, although the degree of their involvement has remained a matter of conjecture. Professor Philip Curtin, in his recent book on the Atlantic slave trade, repeatedly calls attention to the fact that the Dutch archives have not yet been scrutinized.<sup>1</sup> This study is based on such an examination and is aimed toward determining the nature and degree of Dutch involvement in the Atlantic slave trade.

When the idea of this dissertation was conceived, only five articles and one book had been published that dealt specifically with aspects of the Dutch slave trade. Three of these articles consisted of a few published documents each with relevant commentaries,<sup>2</sup> and another (the only one written in the English language) was based on

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<sup>1</sup>Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 55, 85 and 117.

<sup>2</sup>G. W. Kernkamp, "Een contract tot slavenhandel van 1657," Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap, Vol. XXII (1901); W. R. Manckman, "Nederlandse en vreemde slavenvaart," De West-Indische Gids, Vol. XXVI (1944-45); S. van Brakel, "Bescheiden over de slavenhandel der WIC," Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek, Vol. IV (1918).



the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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Spanish documents.<sup>3</sup> The book by Vrijman (1937) represented an effort to synthesize the information available in the literature of that time into a general account of the Dutch involvement in the slave trade.<sup>4</sup> Recently (1968) an updated and greatly improved popular account was published by Van Dantzig.<sup>5</sup> By far the most valuable contribution to the knowledge of the Dutch slave trade has been Unger's study based on the papers of an eighteenth century Dutch slaving company.<sup>6</sup> This is still by no means a comprehensive assessment of the subject, since Unger took only a cursory look at the crucially important archives of the Dutch West India Company. The latter constitutes by far the principal source for this study. However, other documentary deposits such as the municipal archives of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middelburg (centers of the slave trade), as well as one private collection in Rotterdam,<sup>7</sup> were consulted during the year that I did research in the Netherlands.

In order to make the topic manageable as a dissertation project and at the same time cover as wide a chronological span as possible, the topic had to be restricted in other areas. Also, I wanted to adjust

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<sup>3</sup>I. A. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento, 1685-1689," Bijdragen voor vaderlandse geschiedenis en oudheidkunde, Vol. VI (1924).

<sup>4</sup>L. C. Vrijman, Slavenhalers en Slavenhandel (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen & Zn, 1937).

<sup>5</sup>A. Van Dantzig, Het nederlandse aandeel in de slavenhandel (Bussum, Netherlands: Van Dishoeck, 1968).

<sup>6</sup>W. S. Unger, "Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse slavenhandel," Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek, Vol. XXVI (1956), and Vol. XXVIII (1958-1960).

<sup>7</sup>Cited in this study as the Hudig Archief Rotterdam (HAR).

a noticeable imbalance in much of the slave trade literature (particularly that of the Dutch), viz. the preoccupation with the so-called middle passage and the fate of the slaves after their arrival in the Western Hemisphere. The resulting scope finds expression in the subtitle: "Slaving on the Guinea Coast, 1675-1795." The emphasis on Guinea, at the expense of Angola, is due to a dearth of documentary evidence of the latter region. Availability of documents was also the key factor in determining the dates of 1675 and 1795.<sup>8</sup>

In the first chapter the topic is introduced, some relevant concepts and terms are defined, and the beginning of the Dutch participation in the slave trade is discussed. The second chapter is devoted to a description of the area where slaving took place, as well as an analysis of the principal institutions of the trade such as the West India Company. After this follows an assessment of the various techniques employed in the slave trade, including the practice of monopoly versus free trade, the factory system, the activities of interlopers, and the role of African middlemen. Chapters IV and V should be seen as a unit covering the same period, 1675-1735. The first is an assessment of the dimension of the trade while the latter presents an evaluation of the various forces and circumstances that influenced the fluctuating level of trade. Chapter VI fulfills the same purpose as the previous two chapters, except that it covers the subsequent period of 1730-1795. The final chapter is concerned with the principal victims of the trade, the slaves themselves. Here an attempt is made to find answers to questions such as: Who were the slaves, where did they

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<sup>8</sup>For a discussion of these dates, see pp. 93-94 and 173.



come from, what was their worth, and how were they treated.

Several persons and institutions have contributed to the completion of this study. An NDEA, Title VI, Fellowship supplemented with a grant from the African Study Center of Michigan State University made it possible for me to spend nearly a year (1967-68) for research in the Netherlands. For the generous advice and aid from both academic and service personnel at the various archives in the Netherlands, I am most appreciative. This holds true in particular for the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague, where I spent most of my time. I would also like to acknowledge the courtesy of the Fa. Hudig Dzn. of Rotterdam for allowing me to consult a collection of family papers. The hospitality of the History Faculty of the University of Leiden was also greatly appreciated. The advice and encouragement of one of their number, Dr. J. R. Bruyn, was invaluable.

I would like to acknowledge the influence of Dr. Norman Rich, now at Brown University, for directing me to the subject. At Michigan State University my thanks go to Dr. James Hooker for his advice and encouragement and for directing the writing of the dissertation, and finally to Dr. Donald Baker and Dr. Paul Sweet for reading the manuscript.

Throughout this dissertation there are numerous translations from the Dutch language. I take responsibility for all of these, except for those borrowed from printed works already translated into English.



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#### ABBREVIATIONS OF SOURCE CITATIONS

OWIC	Archief van de Eerste West-Indische Compagnie (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague)
WIC	Archief van de Tweede West-Indische Compagnie (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague)
NBKG	Archief van de Nederlandse Bezittingen ter Kuste van Guinea (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague)
VWIS	Verzameling Verspreidde West-Indische Stukken (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague)
AAC	Archieven der Admiraliteitscolleges (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague)
AMK	Archief van het Ministerie van Kolonien (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague)
HAR	Hudig Archief Rotterdam (Private collection of Fa. Hudig Dzn., Rotterdam)
AMA	Archief der Maatschappij van Assurantie . . . (Gemeente Archief, Rotterdam)
GAR	Buitenlandse Handel (Gemeente Archief, Rotterdam)
NAA	Notarieel Archief Amsterdam (Gemeente Archief, Amsterdam)
MCC	Archief der Middelbugsche Commercie Compagnie (Provinciaal Archief, Zeeland, at Middelburg)

## CHAPTER I

### THE EARLY ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

As one of the largest migrations in human history,<sup>1</sup> the Atlantic slave trade caused the transfer of millions of Africans to the Western hemisphere and influenced the histories of the continents of Africa, Europe and the Americas. Africa supplied the labor, "involuntary black emigrants," as one of the slave captains called them;<sup>2</sup> Europe supplied the means of transportation, ships and crews, and the organs of trade and finance to facilitate the transaction; the Americas provided an always eager market for cheap black labor for mines and plantations.

The slave trade was probably "the most important single factor in the history of Africa since the fifteenth century."<sup>3</sup> And devastating though it was (Collins calls it "one of the greatest crimes committed against Africa, and one of the most disastrous episodes of its

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<sup>1</sup>Basil Davidson, The African Slave Trade (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1961), p. xiv. (Originally published under the title, Black Mother.) Davidson calls it the "greatest and most fateful migration in the history of man." However, in the light of the massive European migration to the "new world" and the phenomenon of modern urbanization, Davidson's assessment may be too strongly worded.

<sup>2</sup>Averil Mackenzie-Grieve, The Last Years of the English Slave Trade (London: Putnam and Co., Ltd., 1941), p. 109.

<sup>3</sup>David Birmingham, The Portuguese Conquest of Angola (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 1.



history")<sup>4</sup> it provided a most important link between Africa and the world for at least two centuries (1650-1850),<sup>5</sup> and interlocked the histories of the Atlantic continents indefinitely.<sup>6</sup>

The slave trade created a market for Europe's manufactured goods and brought in capital to boost the industrial revolution.<sup>7</sup> The triangular trade,<sup>8</sup> of which the Atlantic slave trade was a component, provided the Europeans with an excellent opportunity to acquire the highly desired agricultural products of the Western hemisphere, goods largely produced by the labor of the black slaves.<sup>9</sup> Had it not been for the slaves supplied by Africa, European traders would have been

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<sup>4</sup>Adu Boahen, Topics in West African History (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1966), p. 113.

<sup>5</sup>Philip D. Curtin and Jan Vansina, "Sources of the Nineteenth Century Atlantic Slave Trade," Journal of African History, Vol. II (1964), p. 185.

<sup>6</sup>Daniel F. McCall, "Introduction," in Georg Nørregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 1658-1850 (Boston: Boston University Press, 1966), p. xxiv.

<sup>7</sup>Davidson, p. 64; Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (Richmond, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. vii. Williams goes so far as to assert that the profits made on the slave trade provided the capital to finance the industrial revolution in England.

<sup>8</sup>Davidson, pp. 51 and 62. These triangular voyages have also been called the "Great Circuit" trade. They involved taking goods manufactured in Europe to the African coast, where they were exchanged for slaves. In the west, the slaves were traded for various American products, such as sugar, tobacco, etc. The triangular trade may have been started in the 1530's. The English captain and pirate John Hawkins participated in the triangular trade in the 1550's, but it did not become common practice until the 1630's when the slave trade became more prominent. The triangular trade was definitely linked to the trade in slaves. See W. R. Menkman, "Nederland in Amerika en West Afrika," in Nederlanders over de zeeën, ed. H. J. de Graaf (Utrecht: W. de Haan, 1955), p. 24.

<sup>9</sup>Williams, pp. 52-54.

[illegible][illegible]

the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older has increased by 50 percent, and the number of people 75 years of age or older has increased by 100 percent. The number of people 85 years of age or older has increased by 200 percent. The number of people 95 years of age or older has increased by 400 percent. The number of people 100 years of age or older has increased by 1,000 percent. The number of people 105 years of age or older has increased by 2,000 percent. The number of people 110 years of age or older has increased by 4,000 percent. The number of people 115 years of age or older has increased by 8,000 percent. The number of people 120 years of age or older has increased by 16,000 percent. The number of people 125 years of age or older has increased by 32,000 percent. The number of people 130 years of age or older has increased by 64,000 percent. The number of people 135 years of age or older has increased by 128,000 percent. The number of people 140 years of age or older has increased by 256,000 percent. The number of people 145 years of age or older has increased by 512,000 percent. The number of people 150 years of age or older has increased by 1,024,000 percent. The number of people 155 years of age or older has increased by 2,048,000 percent. The number of people 160 years of age or older has increased by 4,096,000 percent. The number of people 165 years of age or older has increased by 8,192,000 percent. The number of people 170 years of age or older has increased by 16,384,000 percent. The number of people 175 years of age or older has increased by 32,768,000 percent. The number of people 180 years of age or older has increased by 65,536,000 percent. The number of people 185 years of age or older has increased by 131,072,000 percent. The number of people 190 years of age or older has increased by 262,144,000 percent. The number of people 195 years of age or older has increased by 524,288,000 percent. The number of people 200 years of age or older has increased by 1,048,576,000 percent. The number of people 205 years of age or older has increased by 2,097,152,000 percent. The number of people 210 years of age or older has increased by 4,194,304,000 percent. The number of people 215 years of age or older has increased by 8,388,608,000 percent. The number of people 220 years of age or older has increased by 16,777,216,000 percent. The number of people 225 years of age or older has increased by 33,554,432,000 percent. The number of people 230 years of age or older has increased by 67,108,864,000 percent. The number of people 235 years of age or older has increased by 134,217,728,000 percent. The number of people 240 years of age or older has increased by 268,435,456,000 percent. The number of people 245 years of age or older has increased by 536,870,912,000 percent. The number of people 250 years of age or older has increased by 1,073,741,824,000 percent. The number of people 255 years of age or older has increased by 2,147,483,648,000 percent. The number of people 260 years of age or older has increased by 4,294,967,296,000 percent. The number of people 265 years of age or older has increased by 8,589,934,592,000 percent. The number of people 270 years of age or older has increased by 17,179,869,184,000 percent. The number of people 275 years of age or older has increased by 34,359,738,368,000 percent. The number of people 280 years of age or older has increased by 68,719,476,736,000 percent. The number of people 285 years of age or older has increased by 137,438,953,472,000 percent. The number of people 290 years of age or older has increased by 274,877,906,944,000 percent. The number of people 295 years of age or older has increased by 549,755,813,888,000 percent. The number of people 300 years of age or older has increased by 1,099,511,627,776,000 percent. The number of people 305 years of age or older has increased by 2,199,023,255,552,000 percent. The number of people 310 years of age or older has increased by 4,398,046,511,104,000 percent. The number of people 315 years of age or older has increased by 8,796,093,022,208,000 percent. The number of people 320 years of age or older has increased by 17,592,186,044,416,000 percent. The number of people 325 years of age or older has increased by 35,184,372,088,832,000 percent. The number of people 330 years of age or older has increased by 70,368,744,177,664,000 percent. The number of people 335 years of age or older has increased by 140,737,488,355,328,000 percent. The number of people 340 years of age or older has increased by 281,474,976,710,656,000 percent. The number of people 345 years of age or older has increased by 562,949,953,421,312,000 percent. The number of people 350 years of age or older has increased by 1,125,899,906,842,624,000 percent. The number of people 355 years of age or older has increased by 2,251,799,813,685,248,000 percent. The number of people 360 years of age or older has increased by 4,503,599,627,370,496,000 percent. The number of people 365 years of age or older has increased by 9,007,199,254,740,992,000 percent. The number of people 370 years of age or older has increased by 18,014,398,509,481,984,000 percent. The number of people 375 years of age or older has increased by 36,028,797,018,963,968,000 percent. The number of people 380 years of age or older has increased by 72,057,594,037,927,936,000 percent. The number of people 385 years of age or older has increased by 144,115,188,075,855,872,000 percent. The number of people 390 years of age or older has increased by 288,230,376,151,711,744,000 percent. The number of people 395 years of age or older has increased by 576,460,752,303,423,488,000 percent. The number of people 400 years of age or older has increased by 1,152,921,504,606,846,976,000 percent. The number of people 405 years of age or older has increased by 2,305,843,009,213,693,952,000 percent. The number of people 410 years of age or older has increased by 4,611,686,018,427,387,904,000 percent. The number of people 415 years of age or older has increased by 9,223,372,036,854,775,808,000 percent. The number of people 420 years of age or older has increased by 18,446,744,073,709,551,616,000 percent. The number of people 425 years of age or older has increased by 36,893,488,147,419,103,232,000 percent. The number of people 430 years of age or older has increased by 73,786,976,294,838,206,464,000 percent. The number of people 435 years of age or older has increased by 147,573,952,589,676,412,928,000 percent. The number of people 440 years of age or older has increased by 295,147,905,179,352,825,856,000 percent. The number of people 445 years of age or older has increased by 590,295,810,358,705,651,712,000 percent. The number of people 450 years of age or older has increased by 1,180,591,620,717,411,303,424,000 percent. The number of people 455 years of age or older has increased by 2,361,183,241,434,822,606,848,000 percent. The number of people 460 years of age or older has increased by 4,722,366,482,869,645,213,696,000 percent. The number of people 465 years of age or older has increased by 9,444,732,965,739,290,427,392,000 percent. The number of people 470 years of age or older has increased by 18,889,465,931,478,580,854,784,000 percent. The number of people 475 years of age or older has increased by 37,778,931,862,957,161,709,568,000 percent. The number of people 480 years of age or older has increased by 75,557,863,725,914,323,419,136,000 percent. The number of people 485 years of age or older has increased by 151,115,727,451,828,646,838,272,000 percent. The number of people 490 years of age or older has increased by 302,231,454,903,657,293,676,544,000 percent. The number of people 495 years of age or older has increased by 604,462,909,807,314,587,353,088,000 percent. The number of people 500 years of age or older has increased by 1,208,925,819,614,629,174,706,176,000 percent. The number of people 505 years of age or older has increased by 2,417,851,639,229,258,349,412,352,000 percent. The number of people 510 years of age or older has increased by 4,835,703,278,458,516,698,824,704,000 percent. The number of people 515 years of age or older has increased by 9,671,406,556,917,033,397,649,408,000 percent. The number of people 520 years of age or older has increased by 19,342,813,113,834,066,795,298,816,000 percent. The number of people 525 years of age or older has increased by 38,685,626,227,668,133,590,597,632,000 percent. The number of people 530 years of age or older has increased by 77,371,252,455,336,267,181,195,264,000 percent. The number of people 535 years of age or older has increased by 154,742,504,910,672,534,362,390,528,000 percent. The number of people 540 years of age or older has increased by 309,485,009,821,345,068,724,781,056,000 percent. The number of people 545 years of age or older has increased by 618,970,019,642,690,137,449,562,112,000 percent. The number of people 550 years of age or older has increased by 1,237,940,039,285,380,274,899,124,224,000 percent. The number of people 555 years of age or older has increased by 2,475,880,078,570,760,549,798,248,448,000 percent. The number of people 560 years of age or older has increased by 4,951,760,157,141,521,099,596,496,896,000 percent. The number of people 565 years of age or older has increased by 9,903,520,314,283,042,199,193,993,792,000 percent. The number of people 570 years of age or older has increased by 19,807,040,628,566,084,398,387,987,584,000 percent. The number of people 575 years of age or older has

The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in urban areas. This is a result of the process of urbanization, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The second is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in the South and West. This is a result of the process of migration, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The third is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in the middle class. This is a result of the process of social mobility, which has been going on since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

less interested in Africa; the bulk of the African trade, not counting the slaves, was much smaller than that of the West Indies and America.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the slave trade provided Europeans with a cover to penetrate the mercantilistic Spanish empire and smuggle European manufacturing into the Spanish colonies.<sup>11</sup> Not only had the slave trade widespread economic consequences for the European nations, it was also a decisive determinant in international relations.<sup>12</sup>

The American hemisphere undoubtedly benefitted most from the Atlantic slave trade. Regardless of the ugly problems of racial tension it bequeathed, it brought millions of workers who for many generations contributed their labor for the accumulation of wealth and received as remuneration only the bare sustenance necessary for life. Even if one ignores the cultural contributions of Afro-Americans, their labor in exploiting the resources of the American continents has been of essential importance, and their economic contribution was assessed as "the strength and sinews of the western world" as early as 1663.<sup>13</sup>

Both the years 1441 and 1444 have been cited as the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade. During the former a Portuguese raiding party captured ten blacks on the west African coast, apparently in what

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<sup>10</sup>K. G. Davies, The Royal African Company (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957), p. 38.

<sup>11</sup>G. Scelle, "The Slave Trade in the Spanish Colonies of America," The American Journal of International Law, Vol. IV (1910), p. 618.

<sup>12</sup>Elisabeth Dornan, Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America (4 vols.; New York: Octagon Books, 1965 - originally published in 1931), Vol. II, p. xiii.

<sup>13</sup>David B. Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 10.



1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

2. Once the problem is identified, the next step is to define the objectives and goals of the project. This helps to clarify what needs to be achieved and provides a clear direction for the team.

3. The third step is to develop a plan or strategy to address the problem. This involves breaking down the problem into smaller, manageable tasks and determining the resources needed to complete each task.

4. The fourth step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the strategy into action and monitoring progress to ensure that the project is on track.

5. The final step is to evaluate the results of the project. This involves assessing the outcomes against the objectives and goals and identifying any areas for improvement.

is now either the Spanish Sahara or Mauritania, and disposed of them at the Lisbon slave market.<sup>14</sup> In 1444 the Portuguese started sending regular trading expeditions and before the end of that year, 235 slaves were carried from Africa.<sup>15</sup> Within a few years the Atlantic slave trade had become an accepted element of European commerce, and in 1448 Prince Henry of Portugal decreed it to be a state monopoly.<sup>16</sup>

The institutions of slavery and the slave trade were, of course, no novelty in the fifteenth century. Various forms of human bondage had been practiced nearly everywhere from ancient to modern times.<sup>17</sup> The "great Mediterranean slave trade," as Davis calls it, reached its peak during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and slave markets were held in many of the south European commercial capitals such as Venice, Seville, and Lisbon.<sup>18</sup> Among the slaves sold at these markets were also black slaves transported across the Sahara desert, and this may well account for the eagerness of the Portuguese to acquire black slaves now that they had discovered a direct route to the source of these slaves.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Davidson, p. 33; Donnan, Vol. I, p. 1. Actually, the Portuguese had captured a few Africans as early as 1434, but this was not done for commercial purposes.

<sup>15</sup>Donnan, Vol. I, p. 1; James Pope-Hennessy, Sins of the Fathers (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1968), p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>Donnan, Vol. I, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup>See Davis, Chapter 2, for a survey of the history of slavery prior to the Atlantic trade, and Philip Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 17-21, for an assessment of the dimension of the trade to the Old World.

<sup>18</sup>Davis, pp. 42-44. In Venice alone, ca. 1,000 slaves were sold between the years 1414-1423.

<sup>19</sup>Boahen, p. 108. By 1460, the Portuguese were importing

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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Slavery was no uncommon phenomenon in African societies, and thus it was possible for the Portuguese to buy as well as capture black slaves.<sup>20</sup> Early Arabic accounts confirm that both the institutions of slavery and the slave trade existed in the Western Sudan before the Europeans appeared on the Guinea Coast.<sup>21</sup> It seems quite evident, however, that the Africans were initially unprepared to meet the massive demand for slaves that occurred when the transatlantic slave trade came in full swing during the seventeenth century. This would support the notion that the trade in slaves was not an extremely significant economic institution in traditional African societies, at least not sufficient to meet the growing demands of foreign export.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, Fage has recently suggested that before the arrival of the Europeans on the African coast some West African societies were undergoing political and economic transformations that encouraged the mobilization

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between 700 and 800 black slaves. Davidson (p. 49) claims that by 1540 that number had risen to several thousands per year.

<sup>20</sup>Davidson, p. 38. For insight on slavery in traditional African societies see A. E. M. Gibson, "Slavery in Western Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. III (1955), and Arthur Tuden, "Ila Slavery," Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 24, 1958.

<sup>21</sup>J. D. Fage, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History," Journal of African History, Vol. X, No. 3 (1969), p. 395.

<sup>22</sup>Phyllis Martin, "The Trade of Loango in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," unpublished essay, 1969. Soon to be published in Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa Before 1900, edited by Richard Gray and David Birmingham (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). Unfortunately, our knowledge of African societies is largely limited to the period when the European demand for slaves had already drastically influenced African social and economic institutions, and it is thus difficult to determine the nature and extent of the trade in slaves as practiced in traditional Africa. The study of Mrs. Martin points out that the Vili traders of the Loango Coast required several decades (ca. 1640-70) to rearrange their trade links in order to supply the European demand for slaves.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

of slave labor on a large scale, thus creating a "slave economy." The subsequent European demand for slaves then merely accentuated an already existing trend.<sup>23</sup> Conflicting interpretations regarding this historical phenomenon will undoubtedly continue to appear in the future.

Aside from the quantitative aspects of the slave trade, the nature of slavery in Africa differed considerably from the "chattel" slavery that developed in the Western Hemisphere. According to the latter, a slave's status was much like that of a condemned criminal devoid of legal rights and with little hope of manumission.<sup>24</sup> African slaves, as a rule, had various liberties and rights, including the freedom to marry, own property, and rise to prominent positions of leadership.<sup>25</sup> One freed slave described the condition of slaves in Africa in his memoirs as follows:

. . . but how different was their condition from that of the slaves in the West Indies! With us they do no more work than other members of the community, even their masters; their food, clothing and lodging were nearly the same as theirs, (except that they were not permitted to eat with those who were free-born), and there was scarce any other difference between them than a superior degree of importance which the head of a family possesses in our state, and that authority which, as such, he exercises over every part of his household. Some of these slaves have even slaves under them as their own property and for their own use.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Page. pp. 397 and 404.

<sup>24</sup>H. A. Wyndham, The Atlantic and Slavery (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 222. Slavery as practiced in the Western Hemisphere was not totally unique; it had a precedent in Ancient times, and perhaps also on occasions in the African past.

<sup>25</sup>Davis, p. 31.

<sup>26</sup>Olaudah Equiano, Equiano's Travels (New York: Praeger, 1967), p. 10. (This autobiography, abridged and edited by Paul Edwards, was first published in 1789.) See also Robert I. Rotberg, A Political History of Tropical Africa (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965), p. 150, where Rotberg quotes approximately the same passage.



Davidson considers slavery as practiced in African societies much like vassalship and serfdom in medieval Europe, with African slaves, like European serfs, having various privileges and a chance of emancipation.<sup>27</sup> In some societies, slaves were frequently adopted as legitimate members of the family.<sup>28</sup>

Initially, African slaves were obtained for the European markets, and used there primarily as domestic servants.<sup>29</sup> Had it not been for the discovery of America and the attendant demand for cheap labor for mines and plantations, the export of African slaves might never have developed into a significant commercial activity. It is ironic that at about the same time (ca. 1600) when slavery disappeared in Europe it became prominent in the Americas.<sup>30</sup>

The first Africans going to America were personal servants of the early explorers.<sup>31</sup> In 1501 the first group of black slaves was transported from Lisbon to the Americas,<sup>32</sup> but for several years American Indians and white indentured servants were used for cheap labor along with black slaves. Van Dantzig arranges the use of forced labor in the Americas in the following chronological order: Indians,

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<sup>27</sup>Davidson, pp. 11-13; Gibson, p. 29.

<sup>28</sup>Tuden, p. 71.

<sup>29</sup>W. S. Unger, "Bijdragen to de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Slavenhandel," Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek, Vol. XXVI (1956), p. 136. Hereafter cited as Unger I, in order to distinguish it from a follow-up article in volume 28 (1958) of the same journal.

<sup>30</sup>Davis, p. 44.

<sup>31</sup>Scelle, p. 619; Davidson, pp. 44-45.

<sup>32</sup>Boahen, p. 109; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 46.





indentured servants, prisoners, and Negroes.<sup>33</sup> Although initially mixed and proportionately differing from one locale to the other, during the seventeenth century increasing demands for cheap labor on the plantations caused the African negro slave gradually to outnumber and replace the other groups.<sup>34</sup>

The year 1518 is generally taken as the opening of the negro slave trade to the west,<sup>35</sup> since in that year, the Spanish King Charles V granted the first of a long series of trade monopolies on the importation of black slaves into the Spanish colonies. That same year, the first cargo of black slaves was taken to the West Indies directly from Africa.<sup>36</sup> Donnan, echoing Scelle, points to the year 1510 as the beginning of the trade, since during that year the Spanish King Ferdinand approved the transport of 250 black slaves from Lisbon to the west.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>A. Van Dantsig, Het Nederlandse aandeel in de slavenhandel (Bussum, Netherlands: Van Dishoeck, 1968), p. 26.

<sup>34</sup>Scelle, p. 615; Williams, pp. 23ff.; and Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, Black Cargoes (New York: Viking Press, 1962), pp. 2-3. Scelle claims that planters valued the labor of one black slave equal to that of four Indians. Williams argues convincingly that the notion of negroes being better suited for hard labor in the tropics is indefensible, but that it was simply a question of supply and demand between white and black labor.

<sup>35</sup>Two of the recent works on the slave trade, Davidson (p. 48) and Mannix (p. 3) confirm this date.

<sup>36</sup>Davidson, p. 48.

<sup>37</sup>The British colonies which later became the United States of America received their first black slaves in 1619. Most of the slaves entered these colonies via the West Indian islands; the first shipment directly from Africa to the North American mainland took place in 1654. Between 1619 and 1690 the importation of black slaves to this area was negligible, however. Not until ca. 1700 was there a sharp increase in the negro population here. See Peter Duignan and Clarence Clendenen, The United States and the African Slave Trade 1619-1862 (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Studies, 1963), p.103.



In 1513, the first royal revenues of two ducats per slave were levied on the slave trade.<sup>38</sup> After the second decade of the sixteenth century the Atlantic slave trade gradually grew into an accepted and lucrative institution. By the year 1540, several thousand black slaves were shipped across the Atlantic annually; one source even suggests a figure as high as 10,000 per year.<sup>39</sup>

An enormous expansion of the slave trade occurred during the 1640's; during this decade a "tide became a flood," according to Davidson.<sup>40</sup> Polanyi characterizes this change as the "explosion of the slave trade."<sup>41</sup> The introduction of sugar plantations in Brazil and the West Indian islands appears to have been the crucial factor in generating this change. Some authors have referred to this as the "sugar revolution."<sup>42</sup> Sugar cultivation required extensive cheap labor and, in turn, brought the planters sufficient returns to enable them to purchase large numbers of slaves.<sup>43</sup> The island of Barbados illustrates this clearly: in 1641 the island counted only a few hundred slaves among its population but four years later the number had increased to approximately 6,000.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Donnan, Vol. I, p. 15.

<sup>39</sup>Davidson, p. 49.

<sup>40</sup>Davidson, p. 59.

<sup>41</sup>K. Polanyi and A. Rotstein, Dahomey and the Slave Trade (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), p. 17.

<sup>42</sup>Curtin, p. 126.

<sup>43</sup>Donnan, Vol. I, p. 97; Davidson, p. 59; Davies, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup>Davies, p. 118.

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to determine what consumers are looking for and what problems they are trying to solve. Once a need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept that addresses that need. This is often done through brainstorming sessions with a team of designers and engineers.

2. The second step is to create a prototype. This is a physical model of the product that allows designers to test and refine their ideas. Prototyping can be done in a variety of ways, from simple 3D printing to more complex methods like CNC machining. The goal is to create a functional model that can be used to gather feedback from potential users.

3. The third step is to conduct a feasibility study. This involves evaluating the technical, financial, and market viability of the product. Technical feasibility involves determining whether the product can be built with current technology. Financial feasibility involves estimating the costs of production and determining whether the product can be sold at a profit. Market feasibility involves assessing the size of the market and the level of competition.

4. The fourth step is to develop a business plan. This is a document that outlines the company's strategy for producing and selling the product. It includes information about the company's goals, its target market, its marketing strategy, and its financial projections. A business plan is essential for securing funding from investors and lenders.

5. The fifth step is to manufacture the product. This involves setting up a production line and sourcing the materials and components needed to build the product. Manufacturing can be done in-house or outsourced to a third-party manufacturer. Once the product is manufactured, it is ready for distribution.

6. The sixth step is to launch the product. This involves marketing the product to potential customers and getting it into stores or online marketplaces. Launching a new product can be a challenging task, but it is essential for the success of the business.

7. The seventh step is to monitor the product's performance. This involves tracking sales, customer feedback, and market trends. Monitoring performance allows the company to make adjustments to its product and marketing strategy as needed.

8. The eighth step is to iterate. This involves making improvements to the product based on customer feedback and market trends. Iteration is a key part of the product development process, as it allows the company to stay competitive and meet the needs of its customers.

9. The ninth step is to scale the product. This involves increasing production and expanding the product's reach into new markets. Scaling a product can be a complex task, but it is essential for the long-term success of the business.

10. The tenth step is to maintain the product. This involves ensuring that the product remains functional and safe over time. Maintenance can involve anything from simple repairs to more complex overhauls. Maintaining the product is essential for building a reputation for reliability and quality.

11. The eleventh step is to discontinue the product. This involves stopping production and removing the product from the market. Discontinuing a product can be a difficult decision, but it may be necessary if the product is no longer profitable or if there are better opportunities for the company.

12. The twelfth step is to evaluate the product's success. This involves assessing the product's performance against its goals and objectives. Evaluating success allows the company to learn from its experience and make improvements for future products.

After 1640 the Atlantic slave trade expanded with leaps and bounds, reaching its peak about a century later. The most intensive years of slaving occurred during the 1700-1850 period. Curtin estimates that in this century-and-a-half an average of 50,000 slaves per year, and about eighty per cent of the total number of slaves were taken across the Atlantic.<sup>45</sup>

The total number of Africans forced across the Atlantic will undoubtedly remain a matter of conjecture. Estimates have varied widely between fifteen and fifty million, and in some cases even higher.<sup>46</sup> For many years the figures suggested by the demographer Robert Kuczynski, totalling nearly fifteen million, were widely accepted as the most reliable estimate. Recently, however, a comprehensive evaluation by Philip Curtin has established that the previous estimates were far too high and that the total number of slaves most likely did not reach the ten million mark.<sup>47</sup>

Since this study is primarily concerned with the contribution or participation of a certain European nation in the Atlantic slave trade, it seems appropriate to review briefly the relative involvement of rival nations. By controlling the West African coast, or the source of supply for slaves, the Portuguese initially monopolized the slave trade. They provided their own colonies in Brazil with cheap black

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<sup>45</sup>Curtin, pp. 265-66.

<sup>46</sup>Davidson, p. 79; Robert O. Collins, ed., Problems in African History (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 341.

<sup>47</sup>Curtin, p. 87; see pp. 3-13, for a valuable discussion of quantitative sources for the slave trade.

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labor, and for the greater part of the seventeenth century they supplied the Spanish colonies as well.<sup>48</sup> It has been estimated that during the 1580's the Portuguese were exporting approximately 5,000 a year from Angola.<sup>49</sup> In the early part of the seventeenth century this figure had increased to 15,000 a year according to Dutch observers in Angola.<sup>50</sup>

Throughout the sixteenth century the Portuguese maintained a monopoly on the export of slaves from Africa. During the 1560's however, the English privateer John Hawkins tried to make inroads into this monopoly and carried out three successful triangular slaving expeditions. On his first expedition in 1562, he carried approximately 900 slaves, most of whom had been taken from captured Portuguese vessels, to the new world.<sup>51</sup> But when the fourth expedition failed, the English ignored the slave trade until its revival during the 1630's.<sup>52</sup> The acquisition of the sugar islands of Barbados and Jamaica during the middle of the century prompted a growing demand for slaves, and the creation of the

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<sup>48</sup>Donnan, Vol. II, p. xvii. The Spanish had been denied access to the West African coast by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which assigned all territories east of longitude 50° west to the Portuguese. They made various efforts to establish factories on the African coast, but did not succeed in this until the end of the eighteenth century.

<sup>49</sup>Donnan, Vol. I, p. 7.

<sup>50</sup>C. R. Boxer, Salvador de Sa and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1668 (London: Athlone Press, 1952), p. 225. Donnan (Vol. I, p. 7) suggests that the Portuguese exported as many as 20,000 per year, while other sources go as high as 28,000 (see Pope-Hennessy, p. 44). The figures quoted by Boxer appear to have the most reliable foundation.

<sup>51</sup>Davidson, pp. 50-52.

<sup>52</sup>Donnan, Vol. I, p. 79; Gibson, p. 24. The English explorer Jobson reported in 1620 that the English did not make it their business to trade in slaves. Gibson, however, maintains that Jobson did take slaves across the Atlantic, although the number may have been very small.



chartered Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa in 1663 may be seen as the English response to meeting these demands.<sup>53</sup>

In fierce competition with the Dutch, particularly during the decades of the 1660's and 1670's, the English gradually captured the lion's share of the Atlantic slave trade. They experienced some reversals toward the end of the seventeenth century due to wars with rival European maritime states,<sup>54</sup> but by the middle of the eighteenth century they had become by far the greatest transporters of slaves. During the 1750's and 1760's the annual average rose to about 25,000, and during the final decades (1780-1808) of the English participation more than 30,000 slaves on the average per year were transported by English ships.<sup>55</sup>

The French tried to undermine the initial Portuguese monopoly of the slave trade even before the English, but they also failed. Repeatedly French merchants tried to gain a foothold on the lower Guinea Coast, but their participation in the slave trade remained very small until after the peace of Utrecht in 1713.<sup>56</sup> From that time until the unsettling repercussion of the French Revolution, however, the French became active participants in the slave trade, averaging about 10,000 slaves per year during this eighty year period.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Mannix, p. 28; Van Dantsig, p. 56.

<sup>54</sup>See Chapter V, p. 123.

<sup>55</sup>Curtin, pp. 136 and 212.

<sup>56</sup>Curtin, p. 163; Unger I, pp. 49-50; Dorman, Vol. I, pp. 13 and 95-98. Until 1669, the Dutch frequently supplied the French colonies with slaves.

<sup>57</sup>Curtin, pp. 163-203; Dorman, Vol. II, pp. xxii-xxv.



The European states most actively engaged in exporting slaves from Africa before the nineteenth century were Portugal, England, France, and Holland in that order in terms of the quantities of slaves involved.<sup>58</sup> The involvement of the American Colonies was obviously under the British flag, and did not become substantial until after the American Revolution. Prior to the nineteenth century the governments of Sweden, Denmark, and Brandenburg-Prussia were also interested in the African slave trade and chartered trading companies for that purpose. As early as the 1640's the Swedes had trading posts on the Gold Coast, but they were replaced by the Danes during the following decade.<sup>59</sup> The Brandenburgers established a stronghold there during the decade of the 1680's.<sup>60</sup> All of these companies were to a large extent either funded or manned by Dutch subjects who resented the monopoly of the Dutch West India Company.<sup>61</sup>

The participation of these three states in the Atlantic slave trade never attained large proportions. Of the three the Danes were most actively and persistently involved in the traffic. They carried their first slaves across the Atlantic in 1675 and made the slave trade a regular part of their activities after 1697. Still, their participation hardly amounted to more than one per cent of the total traffic,

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<sup>58</sup>See Curtin, pp. 211-12, and the conclusion of this study.

<sup>59</sup>Georg Nørregård, Danish Settlements in West Africa (Boston: Boston University Press, 1966), chapters I and II.

<sup>60</sup>G. P. L'Honore Naber, "De Kolonien," in Geschiedkundige Atlas van Nederland (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1937), p. 35.

<sup>61</sup>G. W. Kernkamp, "Een contract tot den slavenhandel van 1657," Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap, Vol. XXII (1901), p. 446; Naber, p. 34. The nature and role of the West India Company will be treated in Chapter II.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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and seldom did they dispatch more than one or two ships per year.<sup>62</sup>

Since the Dutch participation in the slave trade is the principle subject of this inquiry, their early involvement in that trade also deserves a more extensive introduction. Slave trade literature in the United States has perpetuated the tradition that the Dutch started the slave trade to the North American mainland, when in 1619 a "Dutch man of war" sold seventeen black slaves to the settlers at Jamestown.<sup>63</sup> It has been clearly established since then that this was an incidental commercial transaction, since the slaves had been taken from a captured enemy vessel.<sup>64</sup> Actually, the Dutch did not start practicing slaving on a regular basis until the 1630's, when they created a market for slaves by capturing portions of Brazil from the Portuguese.<sup>65</sup> Before this decade, however, there were several incidents of Dutch participation in the trade of slaves. In 1606, for example, the Dutch captain Isaac Duverne supplied Spanish planters on the island of Trinidad with a cargo of slaves.<sup>66</sup> During that same

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<sup>62</sup>Curtin, pp. 86 and 211; Nørregard, pp. 50, 84 and 87; Donnan, Vol. II, p. xv.

<sup>63</sup>Lerone Bennett, Before the Mayflower (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1966 - first published in 1962), pp. 29-30.

<sup>64</sup>Unger I, p. 137.

<sup>65</sup>See C. R. Boxer, The Dutch in Brazil (Oxford: University Press, 1957). In 1630 the Dutch established their first stronghold at Pernambuco. They never succeeded in driving out the Portuguese completely, and in 1654 they were forced to surrender the last of their vestiges, Recife, back to the Portuguese.

<sup>66</sup>W. R. Menkman, "Nederlandse en vreemde slavenvaart," De West-Indische Gids, Vol. XXVI (1944-45), p. 102; W. R. Menkman, De West-Indische Compagnie (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen, 1947), pp. 26-27. According to this last citation Dutch merchants participated in the triangular slave trade before 1600 at the rate of three voyages per

Figure 1. The effect of the number of trials on the number of correct responses. The number of correct responses was significantly higher than the number of incorrect responses for all groups. The number of correct responses was significantly higher than the number of incorrect responses for all groups. The number of correct responses was significantly higher than the number of incorrect responses for all groups.

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year another Dutch captain, Pieter van den Broecke, sold sixty captured slaves to an English vessel because he did not know quite what to do with them.<sup>67</sup> Between the years 1623 and 1636 ships of the West India Company (hereafter referred to as WIC) captured 2,356 slaves from foreign vessels and took them to Brazil. The compiler of these statistics, a director of the WIC, made no reference to the company's involvement in the slave trade, and thereby insinuates that these captured slaves had become the possession of the WIC by accident rather than by design.<sup>68</sup>

When in 1621 the Dutch WIC was organized, its directors discussed the merits of the slave trade, but they decided not to engage in it. The reasons given for this decision were biblical opposition to the trade in human beings, and a lack of markets for them. The latter was undoubtedly the real reason, for as soon as slaving became profitable the ethical objections ceased to be mentioned.<sup>69</sup>

Not until 1626 did the WIC send a small ship to Angola with the specific authorisation to purchase slaves. And yet, during that same year, the WIC captain, Cornelis Jol, allowed a captured Portuguese slaver with 600 slaves aboard to go free, because Jol was not interested in slaves.<sup>70</sup> Gradually the WIC's interest in the slave trade increased.

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year, and the first Dutch slaving voyage was undertaken in 1582. More recent scholarship, however, does not support these allegations; see Unger I, p. 137.

<sup>67</sup>Unger I, p. 136.

<sup>68</sup>K. Ratalband, ed., Vijf dagregisters van het kasteel Sao Jorga Da Mina aan de Goudkust, 1645-1647 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1953), p. lxxx.

<sup>69</sup>Unger I, p. 138.

<sup>70</sup>B. B. van Overeem, "De reizen naar de west van Cornelis

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In 1629 it officially accepted the responsibility of supplying Dutch planters in the Americas with African labor.<sup>71</sup> In 1635 the company received its first official encouragement for participation in the slave trade from the States-General, the highest legislative body in the Dutch Republic.<sup>72</sup>

The capture of Brazil was undoubtedly the primary reason for the increased Dutch involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. In this role the Dutch followed the precedent of the Portuguese. Beginning in 1635, Dutch planters on the sugar plantations of Brazil greatly increased their requests for slaves. Six years later, Johan Maurits, the Governor of Brazil, requested the importation of 15,000 black slaves annually. The WIC was not able to comply with these demands, however. During the year 1644, only 5,565 slaves were reportedly shipped to Brazil. For the years of 1636-1645, a most active slaving period for the Dutch, the total number of slaves was 23,163,<sup>73</sup> or less than 3,000 per year. Pieter Mortamer, the Dutch director at Luanda, reported in 1642 that the Portuguese could more easily transport 500 slaves in a caravel than the Dutch 300 in a large ship.<sup>74</sup> This would suggest that the Dutch were still inexperienced in the techniques of slaving at that time.

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Cornelisz. Jol, alias Kapitein Houtebeen, 1626-1640," De West-Indische Gids, Vol. XXIV (1942), p. 3.

<sup>71</sup>Unger I, p. 138.

<sup>72</sup>Van Dantsig, p. 31.

<sup>73</sup>Unger I, pp. 138-40, and 142.

<sup>74</sup>Menkman, "Nederlandse en vreemde slavenvaart," p. 101.



If the years between the mid-1630's and mid-1640's saw an increase in Dutch involvement in the slave trade, a period of decline followed. This was due to a variety of factors, including financial difficulties of the WIC,<sup>75</sup> resilience of the Portuguese, and the entrance of other European powers in the slave trade. In 1655 the WIC sent a new Director-General, Jacob Ruychaver, to the African coast with specific instructions to revive the slave trade from its recent decline.<sup>76</sup> Although the Dutch came to replace the Portuguese as the most powerful European nation on the west African coast, they were never able to establish as tight a monopoly as their predecessors had held for more than a century. As hard as they tried, the Dutch WIC could not prevent the development of mutual toleration among Europeans on the African coast.<sup>77</sup>

The acquisition of Brazil plantations caused the Dutch to engross themselves in the slave trade, and the slave trade in turn prompted them to seek control of the west African coast. Dutch merchants had frequented the African coast regularly since 1593.<sup>78</sup> The

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<sup>75</sup>Menkman, De West-Indische Compagnie, p. 125; F. Snapper, Oorlogsinvloeden op de Overzeese handel van Holland (Amsterdam, dissertation, 1959), p. 77.

<sup>76</sup>Ratelband, p. 1. Ruychaver had held this position during the 1640's, and as such had gained considerable experience in the slave trade.

<sup>77</sup>Davies, pp. 8-11; and Ratelband, p. L.

<sup>78</sup>L'Honore Naber, pp. 8-12. The Dutch captain Barend Ericksz is generally credited with the inauguration of the trade with Africa, as he was the first to make a successful trading mission to the Guinea coast in 1593. An occasional Dutch ship may have sailed to Africa before this time (Naber points out that a Flemish ship went to Africa as early as 1475) but after 1593 the trade with Africa became an ordinary phenomenon for Dutch sailors. In 1600 Amsterdam merchants organized the



first Dutch base, the fortress of Nassau, was established near the town of Mori in 1612. Other trading depots or "factories," as they were usually called, were added gradually. In 1625, the Dutch made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Elmina,<sup>79</sup> the principal Portuguese fortress on the Gold Coast. Twelve years later, however, they managed to take the stronghold. Luanda and other Portuguese bases on the Angola and Loango coastal area were taken in 1641. When the Gold Coast fort at Axim fell to the Dutch in 1642, their replacement of Portuguese hegemony on the west African coast had been completed. Elmina and Luanda were responses to the urgings of the Dutch planters in Brazil,<sup>80</sup> which supports the notion that the demand for slaves was a prominent motive for the Dutch establishment on the African coast.

Even when the Portuguese reasserted their hegemony in the Angola-Loango region by recapturing Luanda in 1648 and driving the Dutch from Brazil in 1654, the slave trade continued to preoccupy the WIC. Its strong position on the Guinea coast allowed sufficient access to the source of slaves. This, combined with the experience gained from the trade to Brazil, enabled the Dutch to retain a leading role in the

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first Dutch Africa company, one of the many predecessors of the Dutch WIC. For the early Dutch contact with Africa consult also the works by Ratelband and P. W. Klein's, De Trippen in de geveentiende eeuw (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965).

<sup>79</sup>The official Portuguese name of the castle was Sao Jorge da Mina, which was frequently abbreviated to A Mina, and later to Elmina. The African town adjoining the fortress was also known by this last name. Da Mina means mine, and alludes to a gold mine. While no gold was ever mined there, this was the place where the Portuguese first bought gold from the Africans in 1471, and where ten years later they built their principal stronghold on the west African coast. See Ratelband, pp. lxxiv-lxx.

<sup>80</sup>Unger I, pp. 139-40.

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Atlantic slave trade. Although there are no statistics to prove it, it is reasonable to assume that during the middle of the seventeenth century Holland and Portugal jointly dominated the traffic in slaves.<sup>81</sup> The Portuguese separation from Spain in 1640, and the termination of the Eighty Year War between Holland and Spain aided in opening another slave market for the Dutch, viz. the Spanish colonies. Periodically Dutch ships also supplied English and French West Indian islands with slaves.<sup>82</sup>

In 1642, the WIC director at Luanda, Arnoud van Liebergen, suggested to his superiors in Holland that the Antilles' island of Curacao would serve as a convenient depot for the slave trade with the American mainland.<sup>83</sup> Because Brazil was so much closer to Africa, and the planters there demanded slaves continually, the company directors at first ignored the suggestion.<sup>84</sup> Correspondence from Curacao confirms, however, that by 1657 the island was being used for purposes suggested by Van Liebergen.<sup>85</sup> In 1668 some 3,000 black slaves were counted on the island, and since the island itself did not need such a large slave population, it may be assumed that the majority were

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<sup>81</sup>Snapper, p. 117.

<sup>82</sup>Menkman, "Nederland in Amerika en West Afrika," p. 41.

<sup>83</sup>Overeem, pp. 15-16. Curacao had been captured by the Dutch in 1634. Since it was not very suitable for plantation agriculture, it was used primarily for a general depot and naval base of the WIC.

<sup>84</sup>Menkman, "Nederlandse en vreemde slavenvaart," pp. 98, 100 and 102.

<sup>85</sup>Donnan, I, p. 137.





intended for re-exportation to the mainland.<sup>86</sup> Roessingh claims that for the period of 1660-1713 Curacao functioned as one of the most important slave trade import depots for the new world.<sup>87</sup>

During the 1660's the Dutch began to establish plantation colonies in the Guianas, primarily in the valleys of the Suriname, Berbice, and Essequibo rivers. These, in addition to a few West Indian islands under Dutch control, also became important slave markets for the Dutch. The colony of Surinam (Dutch Guiana) in particular attracted a large number of slaves.<sup>88</sup>

During the second half of the seventeenth century Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade grew steadily and may have outdistanced the Portuguese. Several authorities have speculated that toward the end of the century the Dutch Republic had become the most prominent slaving nation.<sup>89</sup> The acquisition of the Spanish Asiento,<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Unger I, p. 144.

<sup>87</sup>Menkman, "Nederlandse en vreemde slavenvaart," p. 100; and M. P. H. Roessingh in a shortly to be published encyclopedia on Dutch West-India, under the entrances "Asiento" and "Curacao." Most of the slaves were fetched from Curacao in small Spanish boats from the Spanish colonies on the mainland. On a few occasions Dutch slaving ships were allowed to embark in the Spanish ports of Cartagena, Vera Cruz, and Porto Belo, but according to the treaty of Munster (1648) Dutch and Spanish ships were instructed to avoid each other's harbors.

<sup>88</sup>Van Dantsig, p. 78; Unger I, p. 143.

<sup>89</sup>Unger I, p. 153; S. van Brakel, "Bescheiden over de slavenhandel der WIC," Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek, IV (1918), p. 53; Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 73.

<sup>90</sup>Asiento is a Spanish legal term designating contracts between the Spanish government and private individuals. The most comprehensive study of the nature and history of the Asiento is contained in Scelle's article cited above, and also in his uncompleted three volume study on the slave trade: Histoire politique de la traité Negrière aux Indes de Castille, 1906. See also Curtin, p. 21.



a contract or license to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves, by the WIC in 1662 was an important breakthrough and contributed to Dutch prominence in the slave trade. The contract of 1662 called for the importation of 2,000 black slaves annually. By 1675, the periodically renewed contract committed the Dutch to the transportation of 4,000 slaves a year.<sup>91</sup> Although conclusive statistical evidence is lacking, it is frequently claimed that the Dutch dominated the slave trade during the following decade, and perhaps during the remainder of the century.<sup>92</sup> The importance of slaving during this period is confirmed by the elaborate WIC instructions regulating this trade.<sup>93</sup> Spanish agents of the Asiento admitted in 1681, and again in 1685, that the Dutch were the "sole satisfactory source of blacks," and that they "controlled the slave trade with America." By contrast, French and English companies were unable to meet the obligations of their Asiento agreements during this period.<sup>94</sup> Although Dutch participation in the slave trade continued to be formidable during the early part of the

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<sup>91</sup>Van Brakel, p. 53; Unger I, p. 146.

<sup>92</sup>Unger I, p. 147; Van Brakel, p. 53; and I. A. Wright, "The Coymans Assiento, 1685-1689," Bijdragen voor vaderlandse geschiedenis en outheidkunde, Vol. VI (1824), p. 24. See p. 102 below.

<sup>93</sup>Unger I, p. 153. The WIC published an instruction sheet, consisting of 44 articles, for captains of slaving ships. The publication date of the original document is in doubt, but it appeared at least after 1674. See WIC (see list of documentary abbreviations, p. xiii), Vol. 832, pp. 367-78. This 20 page handwritten copy dates to 1682.

<sup>94</sup>Wright, p. 24. The quotations are taken from Miss Wright's article, not from the Spanish correspondence.

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eighteenth century, and numerically increased,<sup>95</sup> their role in the traffic was gradually eclipsed by the French and the English, who stepped up their slaving activities drastically during this century.

In view of the facts that the North American colonies did not require large numbers of slaves before 1700, that the slave labor of Brazil was supplied largely by the Portuguese, and that Spain had no direct access to Africa, the Spanish American colonies were the most coveted slave markets for the European maritime powers. This made the Spanish *Asientos*, often termed Asiento de Negros, extremely desirable for European traders and nations, and also a significant institution for the Atlantic slave trade.

In 1528 the Spanish crown issued the first of these *Asientos* to two Flemish merchants. It called for the importation of 4,000 black slaves over a period of four years for a payment of 20,000 ducats to the Spanish treasury.<sup>96</sup> As a rule, the asientista or *asientists* (the persons obligating themselves to the crown) sold licenses to individual merchants or trading companies to carry out part or all of the contract.<sup>97</sup> Initially, the Portuguese bought most of these

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<sup>95</sup>Menkman, in Nederlanders over de zeeën, p. 60. According to Menkman's estimates, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Dutch were carrying approximately 8,000 slaves across the Atlantic. But this definitely is an inflated figure, as will be shown in Chapter IV, pp. 102-103.

<sup>96</sup>Unger I, p. 125; and Scelle, p. 620. The *Asientos* constituted a major source of income for the Spanish crown.

<sup>97</sup>Unger I, p. 144; and Scelle, p. 620. Licenses granting governmental sanction for the importation of slaves into the Spanish colonies were issued by the Spanish government for the greater part of the sixteenth century. The licenses differed from the *Asientos* in that the latter were contractual agreements between two parties.

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licenses. After the political union of Spain and Portugal in 1580, the Portuguese increasingly monopolized the slave trade to the Spanish colonies. In 1595, the Portuguese (in the person of Pedro Gemez Reynal) came to control the Asiento, and they continued to do so until their independence from Spain in 1640.<sup>98</sup>

During the two decades following the Spanish-Portuguese separation, no new Asientos were contracted. Spanish planters in the new world needed slaves, however, and widespread smuggling with English, Dutch, and other European traders resulted.<sup>99</sup> When in 1662 a new Asiento was issued to two Genoese merchants, Grillo and Lomelin, the Dutch WIC had become the logical supplier of slaves for the Spanish colonies. For the remainder of that century the WIC was the most active subcontractor of the Asientists.<sup>100</sup> After 1670 the administration of the Asiento was financed by Dutch bankers, and during the following decade (1685-1689) it was even administered by Dutch subjects.<sup>101</sup>

After 1640, the Asiento became an important element in international diplomacy. It constituted a significant factor in Dutch-Spanish relations during the 1670's and subsequent decades, and European powers vied for its control; in 1701 the French King Louis XIV

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<sup>98</sup>Unger I, p. 135; and Scelle, p. 622.

<sup>99</sup>Scelle, p. 628.

<sup>100</sup>A number of these contracts with the WIC have been published by Van Brakel and Kernkamp (see articles cited above). In addition, a whole volume of unpublished "slave contracts" can be found in the archives of the Second WIC (Vol. 783).

<sup>101</sup>Wright, pp. 23ff. This was the so-called Coyman's Asiento, which is the subject of Miss Wright's article.

coerced the Spanish government into granting the asiento to the French Company of Guinea. In 1713, it was made an integral part of the Treaty of Utrecht, which stipulated that the privileges of the asiento should be enjoyed by the English nation.<sup>102</sup> The Dutch involvement with the asiento during the years 1675-1701 will be discussed at greater length in Chapter V.

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<sup>102</sup>Scelle, pp. 631-38 and 651-52.



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## CHAPTER II

### THE WIC ON THE GUINEA COAST

Commercial profit was the principal inducement for Europeans to visit and live on the West African coast prior to the nineteenth century. This primacy of trade was reflected in the European nomenclature of West Africa's coastal regions. Rather than adopting terms of African derivation, Europeans tended to name coastal regions after the principal commercial items acquired in a specific area. Hence, such names as Ivory Coast, Gold Coast, and Slave Coast were commonly applied to the various regions of the Guinea Coast.<sup>1</sup>

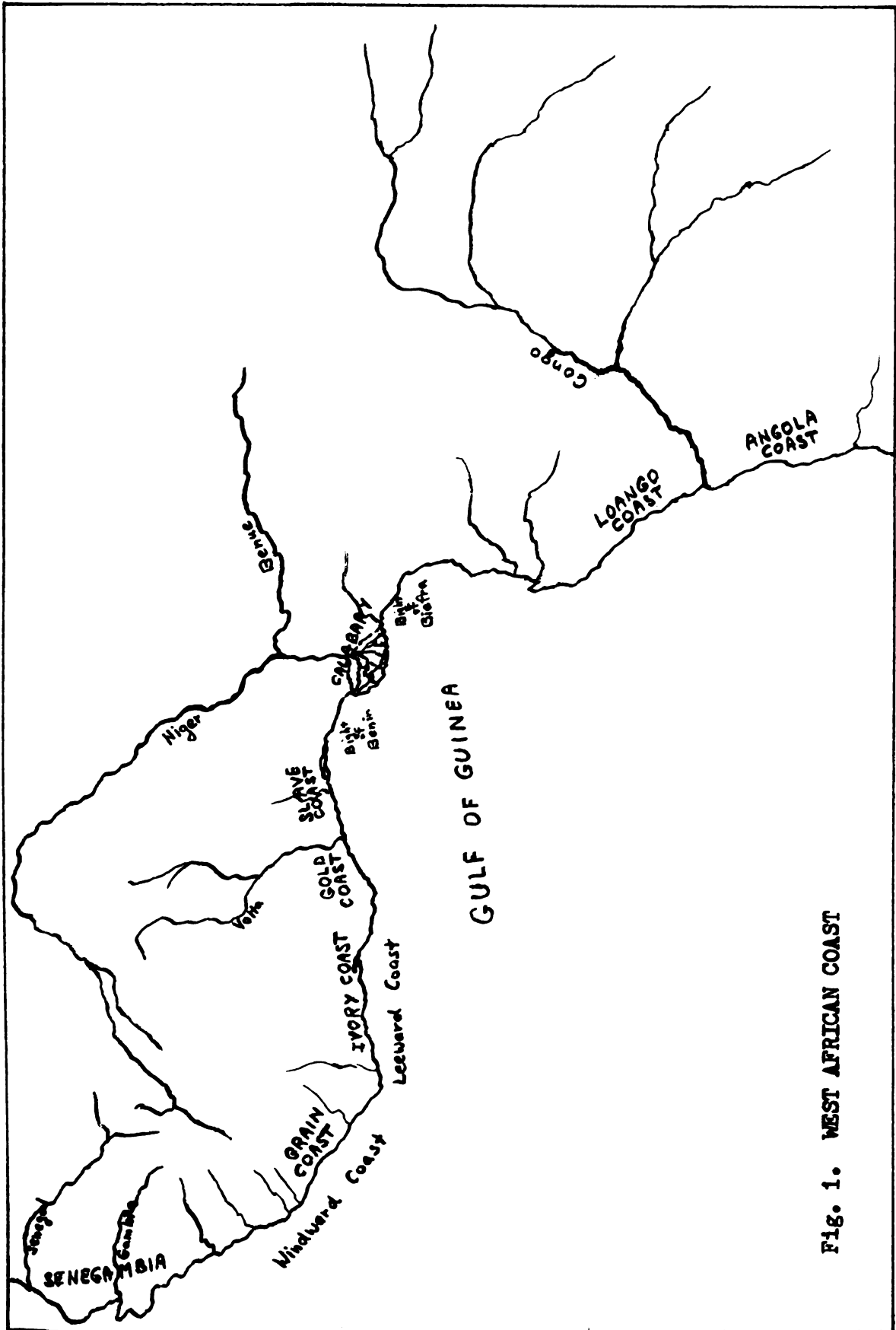
The term Guinea was generally applied to the West African coastline between the Senegal river and Cape Lopez. The coastal area in the immediate vicinity of the Gambia and Senegal rivers was commonly referred to as Senegambia. The name Angola, prior to the establishment of the Portuguese colony by that name, was usually applied to the area between Cape Lopez and the Kalahari desert. The northernmost portion

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<sup>1</sup>Several descriptions of the African coastal regions made by Europeans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have survived. Chief among these are the following writings by Dutch traders and writers: P. de Marees, Beschrijvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninkryck van Guinea (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1912 - originally published in 1602); Olfert Dapper, Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten (Amsterdam: 1668); Willem Bosman, Naukeurige beschrijving van de Guinese goud- en slavekust . . . (Utrecht, 1704). The works of Marees and Bosman have been translated into English; see Bibliography below.

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of this area has also been called the Loango Coast, after a seventeenth-century port in that region. The Dutch traded mostly in the Loango region, although they usually referred to this as Angola.<sup>2</sup>

The Senegambia Coast apparently held little commercial attraction for the Dutch WIC during the period covered by this dissertation. A WIC document of 1679 makes reference to a lodge or factory at the Gambia river and one at Cape Lopez,<sup>3</sup> but after this date significant references to this area are lacking in WIC correspondence.

The major scene of Dutch trading activities was the Guinea Coast, and it therefore deserves more detailed consideration. The western portion of the Guinea Coast, from the Gambia to modern Ghana, is often referred to as the Windward Coast.<sup>4</sup> Like Senegambia, this area was largely by-passed by WIC ships, as the onshore winds and ocean currents made coastal trade very difficult for the small sailing vessels of the company. An unpublished seventeenth century Dutch document, describing the commercial merits of the West African coast, commences its description with the Ivory Coast, the eastern portion of the Windward Coast.<sup>5</sup> It was not until the eighteenth century that the

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<sup>2</sup>See p. 5 above and also the article by Mrs. Martin cited on that page. Mannix (pp. 14-19) divides the West African coast into Senegambia, Upper Guinea and Lower Guinea. He includes Angola in Lower Guinea, and places the demarcation line between the two Guineas at Calabar, the area where the river Niger flows into the Gulf of Guinea.

<sup>3</sup>WIC, Vol. 832, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>The Windward Coast corresponds with the coasts of the modern states of Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ivory Coast. For further discussion of the Windward Coast, see Mannix, p. 15, and Wyndham, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup>GAR, Folder 802. This citation refers to a document entitled "Corte memorie in het generaal van de tegenwoordige behandeling van de limiten van den Octroye van de Geoctroyeerde West Indische Compagnie



WIC began to trade in this area on a regular basis. After the 1730's Dutch free traders (vessels not sailing under the auspices of the WIC) began to buy large numbers of slaves while sailing along the Grain Coast (modern Liberia) and the Ivory Coast.<sup>6</sup>

The coastal area of greatest interest to the Dutch as well as other Europeans was the Gold Coast, an area roughly coterminous with modern Ghana. Here most of the European forts, including the Elmina castle, and lodges were located. As indicated by its name, gold was the principal commodity sold here by African traders. Trade was not limited to gold, however; there was a variety of other commercial transactions, slave trading included. A report from Africa in 1669 indicates that at that time the Gold Coast factories were offering very few slaves.<sup>7</sup> But during the eighteenth century, when the trade in gold declined, the slave trade increased in this region. In 1726, the WIC director reported to his superiors in Holland that the "Gold Coast . . . had become a slave coast."<sup>8</sup>

During the second half of the seventeenth century the coastlines of the present republics of Togo and Dahomey acquired the name

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dezen landes." From the contents it appears to have been written between the years 1659 and 1667, most likely at the end of this period. Dapper's description of Africa starts the Guinea Coast with the Grain Coast.

<sup>6</sup>The role of the free traders is discussed extensively in subsequent chapters, particularly in Chapter VI.

<sup>7</sup>NAA, Vol. 2231, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup>WIC, Vol. 387, p. 63. Van Dantzig (p. 48) confirms the same notion in reference to the middle of the eighteenth century.





Slave Coast.<sup>9</sup> This area, east of the Gold Coast, was generally bypassed by European ships until the slave trade became a formidable aspect of the European commerce with Africa. After the rapid expansion of the Atlantic slave trade in the 1640's European slavers went to the Slave Coast regularly. The document just cited states that the WIC alone (during the mid-1660's) bought between 2,500 and 3,000 slaves in this area annually.

The Portuguese had purchased slaves on the Slave Coast as early as the sixteenth century. The small number of slaves involved were taken either to Brazil or employed in Africa on the Gold Coast or on the island of São Thomé.<sup>10</sup> In 1639 the Dutch WIC sent an agent to supervise slaving to the Slave Coast area. The arrangement continued to be tentative, however, as slaving was carried on primarily from ships permanently anchored in a lagoon.<sup>11</sup> By 1647 the Dutch still had not established an onshore lodge, although the local African authorities had allowed them to store merchandise on the beach.<sup>12</sup> Shortly thereafter, however, they joined the Portuguese, the French, and the English in establishing permanent lodges on the Slave Coast.<sup>13</sup> The slave trade

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<sup>9</sup>GAR, Folder 802. This Dutch document (see note 5), apparently written during the mid-1660's, does not use the term Slave Coast. Instead, it employed the broader description "Bochte" or Bight in reference to the coast between the river Volta and Cape Lopez.

<sup>10</sup>Ratelband, p. lxxix; Van Dantzig, p. 62.

<sup>11</sup>The Dutch called these ships "leggers." See p. 65 below.

<sup>12</sup>Ratelband, pp. lxxx-lxxxi.

<sup>13</sup>Van Dantzig (p. 63) points out that the Spanish also tried to get a foothold on the Slave Coast in 1658, but without success.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the author to the reader, explaining the purpose of the study and the methods used. The letter is dated 1st January 1998 and is addressed to the reader.

2. The second part of the document is a list of references, which includes the following works:

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- 2. Jones, P. (1998) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 2(2), 1-10.
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- 4. White, B. (2000) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 4(4), 1-10.
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- 24. Brown, V. (2020) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 24(24), 1-10.
- 25. White, W. (2021) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 25(25), 1-10.
- 26. Black, X. (2022) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 26(26), 1-10.
- 27. Green, Y. (2023) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 27(27), 1-10.
- 28. Grey, Z. (2024) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 28(28), 1-10.
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- 43. White, OO. (2039) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 43(43), 1-10.
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- 98. Green, RR. (2094) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 98(98), 1-10.
- 99. Grey, SS. (2095) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 99(99), 1-10.
- 100. White, TT. (2096) The effects of stress on the human body. *Journal of Human Stress*, 100(100), 1-10.

increased rapidly in this area during the second half of the seventeenth century. A French slaver estimated that at its zenith in 1716 as many as 14,000 slaves were transacted at Whydah, the major port on the Slave Coast.<sup>14</sup>

The Dutch showed relatively little interest in the area east of the Slave Coast, the Bights of Benin and Biafra. Small WIC boats traded in these regions periodically, but no large quantities of slaves were purchased. At Benin, where the WIC had a lodge on occasions during the period between 1660 and 1740,<sup>15</sup> rubber (gom) and sandalwood (roothout) were the principal export products.<sup>16</sup> Once in a while a WIC coastal boat would fetch a few slaves from here and bring them to Elmina.<sup>17</sup>

It does not appear that the WIC ever had a permanent foothold at the Niger Delta and Rio Calabar; however, coastal yachts of the company purchased a variety of goods at Calabar, including some slaves. On a few occasions small slaving ships were even sent to Calabar, but these slaves were employed as laborers for the company on the Gold Coast forts and not for the regular slave trade.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>C. W. Newbury, The Western Slave Coast and its Rulers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 22.

<sup>15</sup>GAR, Folder 802; and NBKG, Vol. 1, Minutes of 7/11/1704, 10/1/1716, and 10/15/1738.

<sup>16</sup>ANBG, Vol. 236, p. 61. In 1715 the WIC signed a contract with the king of Benin agreeing to send three or four ships annually to this port.

<sup>17</sup>WIC, Vol. 102, p. 427; WIC, Vol. 103, p. 153. The first of these citations dates to 1715 and makes reference to twelve slaves purchased at Benin. The second reports that from May through August, 1716, one slave had been bought at Benin.

<sup>18</sup>ANBG, Vol. 5, Minutes 11/14/1710; and WIC, Vol. 485, p. 327.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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Before the middle of the eighteenth century WIC documents repeatedly refer to Angola and the Slave Coast as the prime slaving areas for the company.<sup>19</sup> It was from the Angola-Loango Coast that in 1626 the Dutch officially started their participation in the slave trade. During the following year the WIC sent its first factor to Loango for the purpose of supervising the slave trade there.<sup>20</sup> Although trade progressed only slowly at first, a report of the 1660's indicates that the WIC was exporting 3,000 slaves from this area annually.<sup>21</sup> The same report makes mention of lodges at Malemba, Angooy and Sonho, but apparently these were not maintained because in 1679 the WIC directors in Holland decided to establish a second Angola lodge at either Angooy or Malemba.<sup>22</sup> Sometime during the 1680's the WIC lodges on the Angola-Loango coasts were discontinued,<sup>23</sup> but in 1722 WIC directors again decided to re-establish a lodge at Loango.<sup>24</sup> As late as 1748 correspondence from Africa still made reference to a lodge at Loango.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>See Appendix A, which lists most of the Dutch slavers dispatched to Africa.

<sup>20</sup>Martin, p. 11. See also p. 27 above.

<sup>21</sup>GAR, Folder 802.

<sup>22</sup>WIC, Vol. 832, p. 11; H. Herman, "Onze bezittingen op de Kust van Guinea en de krijgsverrichtingen aldaar, 1598-1872," Vol. II (The Hague: typewritten manuscript at Rijksarchief, 1925), p. 30. Herman points out that there was a lodge at Malemba in 1675.

<sup>23</sup>WIC, Vol. 268. The triennial WIC ledger of the years 1684-1686 shows a loss of F.6007:12:8 (guilders) as a result of discontinuation of the lodges at "Angola."

<sup>24</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 192.

<sup>25</sup>MCC, Vol. 488.



Unfortunately, very little data on the Loango slave trade has been preserved. The primary reason for this is that the slave trade in this area was administered differently from that on the Guinea Coast. WIC ships slaving on the Guinea Coast had to report their transactions to the Director-General at Elmina, who in turn reported back to Holland. This meant that at least three copies were made of the commercial transactions, which greatly increased the chances of their survival.<sup>26</sup> Slavers sailing to Angola, however, usually stopped at Elmina for refreshments and repairs, but once they left Elmina the captains were on their own in the transaction of trade; they were not required to report to Elmina and sailed directly from Angola to the Americas.<sup>27</sup>

With their hegemony on the West African coast, the Dutch were well suited for the systematic exploitation of the Atlantic slave trade. Their merchant marine grew larger than that of any other nation during the seventeenth century,<sup>28</sup> and wealthy Dutch merchants and bankers were eager to invest their capital in lucrative trading ventures.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>ANBG, Vol. 236, Minutes 3/16/1716.

<sup>27</sup>WIC, Vol. 102, p. 350; and Vol. 99, p. 430.

<sup>28</sup>J. C. Mollema, Geschiedenis van Nederland ter Zee (4 vols.; Amsterdam: N. V., Joost van den Vondel, 1939), Vol. I, p. 44. The Dutch merchant fleet was estimated to number 20,000 vessels in 1672. For a history and evaluation of the Dutch maritime strength see Snapper, pp. 77, 156, and 177-80.

<sup>29</sup>C. R. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800 (New York: A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 90-92, 105, and 112. The Dutch achieved the height of their power and colonial expansion in 1648, when their independence from Spain was internationally recognized in the Treaty of Westphalia, known to the Dutch as the Peace of Munster. Thereafter the Republic experienced periodic decline and growth, until after the Peace of Utrecht in 1713-14 it was decisively outdistanced in colonial expansion by England and France. Boxer's book is a valuable assessment of the Dutch colonial empire.

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Like other European nations, the Dutch Republic had sponsored the organization of two powerful chartered companies, the East India Company in 1602, and the WIC in 1621. Organizationally patterned after the East India Company, the WIC received a governmental monopoly for trade on the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>30</sup> But unlike the successful and profitable East India trading company, the WIC had from the outset a dual function; it was involved in the commerce across the Atlantic, but its "foremost task was to carry on hostilities against Spain," the enemy of the United Republic.<sup>31</sup> Until 1648 the WIC's most lucrative activities were piracy, or "honest piracy" (eerlijcke kaepvaart), as the government-sanctioned<sup>32</sup> capture of foreign ships was dubbed by contemporaries.<sup>33</sup>

The rapid expansion of the Atlantic slave trade as a result of the spread of sugar plantations came thus at an opportune time, and provided the WIC with a new lease on life that was eagerly grasped by

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<sup>30</sup>For the founding and history of the WIC see Menkman's De West-Indische Compagnie, and the biography of the founder of the WIC, C. Ligtenberg's Willem Usselinx (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1914). David Hannay, The Great Chartered Companies (London: Williams and Norgate, 1926), provides a brief analysis of the Dutch chartered companies in English.

<sup>31</sup>Pieter Geyl, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century (2 vols.; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 189-90.

<sup>32</sup>P. W. Klein, De Trippen in de zeventiende eeuw, p. 140. The Dutch States-General institutionalized this piracy (kaapvaart) in a resolution in 1604, even before the existence of the WIC.

<sup>33</sup>Van Dantsig, p. 20; Overeem, p. 9; and Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire, p. 25. Overeem states that the WIC captain Jol, on his expedition to Brazil in 1631, had explicit instructions to do as much harm to the enemy (Spain and Portugal) as possible. The most lucrative prize ever captured by the WIC was the 30 vessel Spanish silver fleet in 1628, which immortalized the name of the WIC commander, Piet Heyn, for posterity.



its directors. In a short time the slave trade became the most important branch of the company's commercial activities; the Director-General called it in 1705 the "true cornerstone" of the WIC, a sentiment that was repeatedly echoed during the following year.<sup>34</sup> The slave trade was continued as a company monopoly longer than any other branch of commerce.<sup>35</sup>

The general administration of the WIC was in the hands of ten directors (before the WIC's reorganization in 1674 there were nineteen directors) who were appointed by the five regional chambers<sup>36</sup> and by the States-General of the Republic. The directors, or "The Ten" (Tienen) as they were usually called, met only once every two or three years to decide on extremely important issues, while the day to day administration was carried out by the directors of the regional chambers of Amsterdam or Zeeland.<sup>37</sup>

The highest authority and representative of the WIC in Africa was the Director-General (Directeur-Generaal),<sup>38</sup> stationed at the castle

<sup>34</sup>ANBG, Vol. I, Minutes 2/4/1705; WIC, Vol. 56, p. 206 (1724); and VWIS, No. 13 (1787).

<sup>35</sup>Roessingh, "West Indische Compagnie."

<sup>36</sup>These regional chambers were: Amsterdam, Zeeland, Maze (the Rotterdam area), Noorderkwartier (the towns north of Amsterdam), and Stad en Lande (the northern provinces of Groningen and Friesland).

<sup>37</sup>As a rule, the Amsterdam chamber (by far the most prestigious and wealthiest) chaired the WIC for periods of six years, alternated by two years of administrative supervision of the Zeeland chamber. These years of supervision reflect the relative influence of the two most powerful WIC chambers, which frequently feuded over major policy of the WIC.

<sup>38</sup>This position dates back to 1637, when the Dutch captured the Elmina stronghold. Other titles such as Commander, Captain, and Admiral-General have also been employed during the early years. A



at Elmina.<sup>39</sup> Appointed by The Ten, the Director-General had jurisdiction over all political, military, judicial, and commercial activities of WIC personnel stationed in Africa and WIC ships on the African coast. He was assisted by a council, consisting of the Director-General himself, the Fiscal (Fiscaal),<sup>40</sup> plus several of the highest ranking company officials stationed in Africa.<sup>41</sup> The Council met at irregular intervals (after 1760 six times annually)<sup>42</sup> to discuss the execution of policies and orders sent from The Ten or the presiding chamber. In theory, decisions were made by a plurality of votes (the Director-General possessing two).<sup>43</sup> But in essence, as Willem Bosman complains, the Director-General had absolute authority; the other members of the

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complete list (barring a few inaccuracies) of the years of service of the various Director-Generals is printed in Brodie Cruickshank, Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa (London: Cass, 1966), pp. 1-5. This work was first published in 1853, but this list was added in the new edition of 1855.

<sup>39</sup>From 1642 until 1648 the WIC's interests in Africa were administered (in theory at least) by three separate commanders, one for the Guinea Coast, one for the Angola Coast, and one for the island of São Thomé. In 1648 the areas were reduced to two, the Southern and the Northern African Coasts. In practice there was usually only one Director-General who continued to boast both titles for several decades after 1648.

<sup>40</sup>Besides being a high ranking member of the Council of the Director-General, the Chief Fiscal supervised matters pertaining to revenues and the judiciary. A considerable portion of his income was drawn from confiscations and fines leveled against Africans. See Ratelband, p. lviii.

<sup>41</sup>WIC, Vol. 109, pp. 52-53.

<sup>42</sup>WIC, Vol. 57, p. 78. A nearly complete set of the council meetings held after 1700 has been preserved in the ANBG collection in the Archives at The Hague. A number of the council members were stationed at the outer forts and had to travel a considerable distance to the meetings at Elmina.

<sup>43</sup>WIC, Vol. 109, p. 53.



Council were merely "yes men" used by their superior to cover up for his mistakes.<sup>44</sup> On a few occasions, however, the Council members actually placed restrictions on the Director-General and in one instance they simply boycotted the Council meetings.<sup>45</sup>

On the average, the company had 200 to 300 persons on the payroll who were stationed on the African coast.<sup>46</sup> About one-fourth of these men were considered civil servants,<sup>47</sup> engaged in either administrative and/or commercial activities. The remaining 75 per cent of the WIC personnel was primarily made up of soldiers, sailors, and a few craftsmen. Figure 2 on page 37 illustrates the ranking system used for the civil servants employed by the WIC. The accompanying diagram charts the most prominent functions immediately subordinate to the Director-General.<sup>48</sup> With the exception of the Factory Masters (the local agents of the WIC), all of the persons assigned to the functions listed were stationed at Elmina.

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<sup>44</sup>Bosman, pp. 100-102. Bosman was a member of the Council for several years and was undoubtedly resentful of his subordination to the Director-General.

<sup>45</sup>ANBG, Vol. 4, Minutes, 10/1/1708; and Vol. 8, Minutes, 8/12/1738. Bosman's allegation repeatedly finds support in the Council minutes. Nearly every new administration leveled severe criticism against the faults of the one that preceded.

<sup>46</sup>This is confirmed by the numerous personnel rosters dispersed throughout the WIC papers.

<sup>47</sup>Bosman, pp. 4 and 99. Bosman suggests that of the 200 to 300 persons on the company payroll between 40 to 60 were civil servants, engaged in administrative and commercial activities.

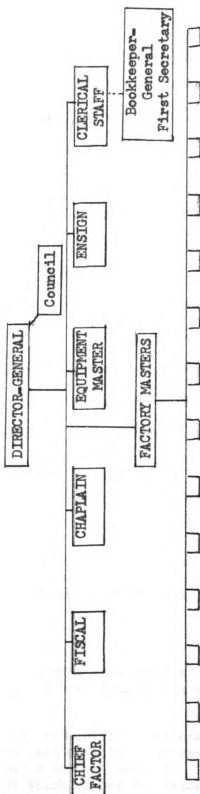
<sup>48</sup>The information on the chart is largely derived from Bosman, pp. 94-99. A few adjustments have been made in the translations. The original Dutch ranks are given in parentheses.

**Fig. 2. RANKS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE WTC IN AFRICA**

### Ranks of WIC Personnel

- 1 DIRECTOR-GENERAL or PRESIDENT  
2-3 CHIEF-COMMISSIONERS (Opercommiss)  
7-8 COMMISSIONERS (Commiss)  
9-10 SUB-COMMISSIONERS (Ordercommiss)  
18-20 ASSISTANTS (Assistant)

### Prominent Functions in the WIC Administration





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The Fiscal, the Chief Commissioners (including the Chief Factor),<sup>49</sup> and the Superintendent were members of the Council. Factory Masters of the most prominent factories, who held the rank of Commissioner, were as a rule also made members of the Council. Promotions were made by authorities in Holland, on the recommendation of the Director-General.<sup>50</sup>

When a Director-General died and no specific directives regarding the succession had been received from Holland, the Council named a temporary successor with the title of President. Eventually, the President was either replaced or confirmed as Director-General by The Ten.<sup>51</sup> The Fiscal has often been considered the second in command on the coast, but from the Council minutes it appears that the Chief Factor had greater influence and succeeded to the highest post more frequently.<sup>52</sup>

The post of Chief Factor went as a rule to the most influential Chief-Commissioner. His function was similar to that of the Factory Masters, except that his duties were confined to matters of trade, whereas the Factory Masters were in complete charge of their factories.

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<sup>49</sup>Ratelband, p. lxiii. Considerable confusion concerning these terms has been created in the literature, particularly in the English translations where the term Factor is used for either Chief Factor at Elmina, Commissioner, or Factory Master.

<sup>50</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, p. 204.

<sup>51</sup>Communications between Holland and Africa were usually extremely slow; an exchange of letters might take as long as six months, and in time of war even longer.

<sup>52</sup>Ratelband, p. lviii; Bosman, p. 95; ANBG, Vol. 1, Minutes, 12/4/1704; Vol. 4, Minutes, 3/31/1711. The last citation confirms an order from The Ten that the Chief Factor was second in command, reversing a decision of the Council in 1704 which placed the Fiscal in that position. Personal rivalries may have been at stake in this conflict.

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Being stationed in Elmina, however, the Chief Factor's prestige was coupled with greater responsibility, and he generally functioned as the adjutant to the Director-General as well.<sup>53</sup>

The Equipment Master (Equipage Meester)<sup>54</sup> supervised food supplies, building materials, and was also in charge of the Service Corps of the WIC establishment on the coast. The latter included the sailors on the coastal vessels, the craftsmen, and the slaves which the company kept for manual labor at the factories.<sup>55</sup>

The Ensign (Vaandrig) was the highest ranking and only military officer on the coast. He supervised the military establishment on the coast and was in charge of the Elmina garrison.<sup>56</sup> The clerical staff consisted of several civil servants who worked as administrators at Elmina. Chief among them were the Bookkeeper-General or First Bookkeeper and the First Secretary, each of whom had a number of assistants. The function of Chaplain (Predikant) was usually vacant or occupied by an unordained minister -- a Reader or Councillor (Ziekentrooster) -- who preached and officiated at funerals and other religious ceremonies

<sup>53</sup>Bosman, p. 95.

<sup>54</sup>It is difficult to find a meaningful English translation for this title. The translators of Bosman used the term Warehouse Keeper, however, the Equipment Master had a Warehouse Keeper as a subordinate. His function may be compared to that of Quartermaster General in the army, but since this term is strictly related to the army the more literal translation of Equipment Master (Equipage Meester) has been used here.

<sup>55</sup>WIC, Vol. 113, p. 596; ANBG, Vol. 278, No. 4; and Ratelband, p. lxi. The first citation lists the various functions subordinate to the Superintendent.

<sup>56</sup>WIC, Vol. 488, pp. 190-91. In 1736 military personnel on the coast numbered 142 out of a total of 244; 43 of the 142 were stationed at Elmina.

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of the Dutch community on the coast.<sup>57</sup>

Approximately half of the WIC personnel in Africa were stationed at Elmina;<sup>58</sup> the remainder lived on the "outer forts" (Buiten Forten), as the Dutch usually referred to the castles and lodges along the coast with the exception of Elmina. The accompanying map indicates the approximate locations of the Dutch factories.<sup>59</sup> The difference between the status of a fort and a lodge is that the former had a well fortified walled-in area or castle designated by a separate name. On occasions forts were demoted to lodges by drastically diminishing the number of WIC servants stationed at the place; this was done to several WIC forts in the years 1768 and again in 1717.<sup>60</sup> The WIC only established strongly fortified factories on the Gold Coast, and limited their factories elsewhere on the West African coast to lodges. By 1700 the Dutch had eight fair sized forts and two small ones on the Gold Coast.<sup>61</sup> Nearly all of the company lodges on the Gold Coast were developed into forts during the eighteenth century, while the Dutch abandoned their

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<sup>57</sup>Bosman, p. 97.

<sup>58</sup>The rosters of WIC personnel on the African Coast can be located in WIC, Vols. 101-115 and 487-491.

<sup>59</sup>A few of the forts and lodges of rival European nations have been listed along with those of the Dutch, since they will be mentioned repeatedly in the text. The names of the Dutch castles or fortified places are given in parentheses. The years during which the Dutch held possession of the factories is also indicated in the chart. The sources consulted for this chart are: William E. F. Ward, A History of Ghana, (2nd ed.; London: Allen and Unwin, 1958), p. 92; Van Dantzig, p. 56; John D. Fage, An Atlas of African History (London: E. Arnold, 1958), p. 18. These sources have been supplemented with a variety of incidental information from documentary evidence.

<sup>60</sup>Herman, p. 65; NEKG, Vol. 6, Minutes, 4/2/1717.

<sup>61</sup>A. W. Lawrence, Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa (London: J. Cape, 1963), p. 51.



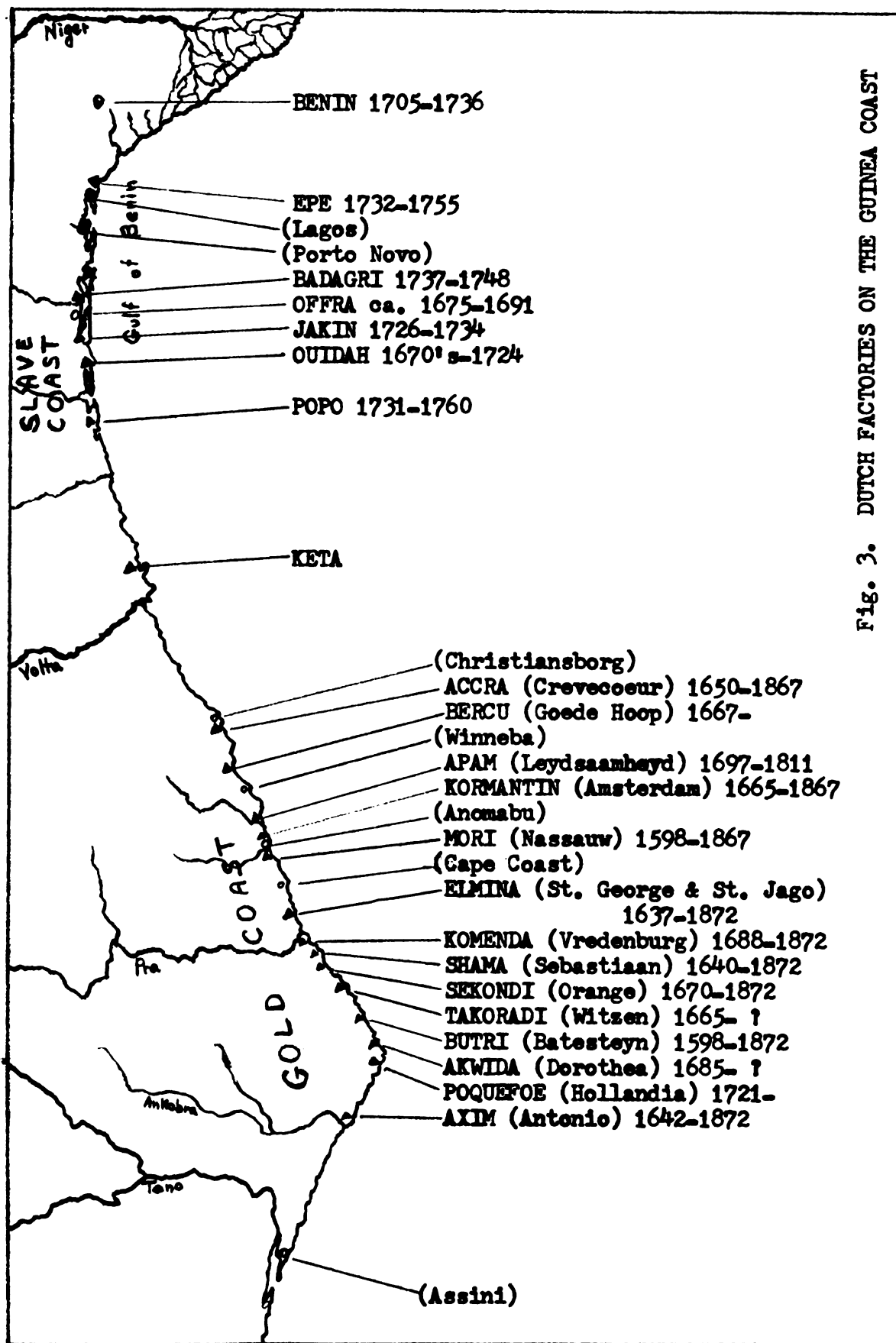


Fig. 3. DUTCH FACTORIES ON THE GUINEA COAST



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lodges elsewhere on the African coast during the same time.

The Europeans serving the WIC in Africa were by-and-large a pitiable lot; the frequently used designation of "dregs of the nations" is quite appropriate. Drawn from various European countries, they included convicts and beggars. Employment with the WIC was considered inferior to that of the Dutch East India Company, and the disease-ridden West African coast was one of the least desirable stations of the WIC territories. A chance for rapid promotion for those fortunate enough to survive was one of the major attractions for service in Africa.<sup>62</sup> The qualifications for ranking civil service status were therefore minimal; apparently one had to be able to read and write, because complaints from Factory Masters indicate that some assistants barely met those standards.<sup>63</sup>

It is safe to surmise that most of the Europeans who served on the Guinea Coast lost their lives there. This was due largely to the incompatible tropical climate to which Europeans were unaccustomed. Elmina, which housed the largest European colony, was a particularly unhealthy place.<sup>64</sup> The tropical heat, the excessive humidity, and

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<sup>62</sup>Bosman, pp. 50-54; Ward, p. 90.

<sup>63</sup>ANBG, Vol. 12, Minutes, 10/29/1769 and 1/19/1767. The last citation reveals that no member of the Council was able to read either English or French, and that they had to postpone action for several days until a letter from the English at Cape Coast had been translated.

<sup>64</sup>J. A. de Marrée, Reizen op en beschrijving van de Goudkust van Guinea (2 vols.; The Hague: Van Cleef, 1817-1818), Vol. II, pp. 5-8. Marrée gives a vivid description of the unhealthfulness of Elmina castle.

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the unpredictability<sup>65</sup> of the climate made life in Africa extremely unpleasant for Europeans. Added to this affliction were several deadly tropical diseases, of which, according to Bosman, malaria and "worms" (a parasite on the exterior of the human body) were the worst.<sup>66</sup>

To make matters worse, Europeans were unwilling to adopt African standards and practices such as eating native food. They continued to live primarily on salted and dried food imported from Holland. When food shipments were tardy, as was the case in 1730, the Director-General lamented to his superiors in Holland as follows:

. . . for to subsist on what grows here in this dry and forlorn land, without shipments from the fatherlands, is one of the saddest conditions in the world, closely akin to famine.<sup>67</sup>

In addition to the unpleasant climate and the poor diet the Europeans tended to drink excessively, lived in miserable quarters, were treated by unskilled physicians, and received savage punishments when apprehended in a criminal offense.<sup>68</sup>

The average career expectancy of company servants on the African coast has been estimated at four to five years. Those who were fortunate enough to survive the first few years frequently served the company twenty years or more.<sup>69</sup> On the whole death rates on the coast were

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<sup>65</sup>Bosman, pp. 104-11. Having spent more than ten years on the Guinea Coast, Bosman was still unable to determine a predictable pattern of the seasons. He finally concluded that there were two rainy, two misty, and two windy seasons. Bosman's negativism reflects the attitude of the Dutch civil servants appropriately.

<sup>66</sup>Bosman, p. 108. Bosman presents a detailed description of the symptoms and remedies for these diseases.

<sup>67</sup>WIC, Vol. 487, p. 359.

<sup>68</sup>Lawrence, p. 62. <sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 61-62.

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staggeringly high; frequently as many as twenty-five per cent of the men died in one year.<sup>70</sup> An analysis of a list of Directors-General for the years 1638-1852 shows that fifty per cent died while in office.<sup>71</sup> On the average they served approximately two years and seven months. The Director-General serving the longest term of office was Pieter Woortman, who served nearly thirteen years (1767-1780).<sup>72</sup>

One might assume that under such unpleasant working conditions Europeans were lured to Africa through very high salaries. This was not the case, however, for compared to the East India Company, service for the WIC in West Africa was rewarded poorly. This was particularly true for military personnel and low ranking civil servants. Promotion was therefore the only avenue for making service in West Africa financially beneficial.

High ranking civil servants received sizable monthly salaries,

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<sup>70</sup>Complete statistics on the death rate are not available, therefore a random selection will have to suffice. During the year 1729, 76 out of 335 persons serving on the coast died. In 1750, the figures were 49 out of 212. While the roster of the year 1774 is missing, during the first nine months of that year as many as 72 persons had died. See respectively WIC, Vol. 487, p. 361; Vol. 490, p. 175; and Vol. 294, pp. 3-9.

<sup>71</sup>Cruickshank, pp. 1-5. This calculation is based on the list of Directors-General appended by the editors to Cruickshank's book.

<sup>72</sup>Some of the Directors-General were appointed when they had already served several years on the coast. Their time of service in the capacity of Director-General does not therefore accurately reflect their lifespan on the coast. This is outbalanced by the fact that these persons usually lived a more comfortable life, and were often selected from those servants on the coast who had already survived the initial exposure to the tropics.



plus fringe benefits and other emoluments.<sup>73</sup> Fringe benefits included wages for black servants, free room and board for the most prominent officials residing at Elmina, and other revenues peculiar to one's function.<sup>74</sup> In addition, those involved in trade received special emoluments consisting of either a commission on transacted merchandise, a percentage of the company's net gain in Africa, or special "advances" for the promotion of commerce. The higher the rank or position of civil servants, the greater the opportunities for fringe benefits. Factory Masters, for example, received special advances to be used as gifts or bribes for indigenous chiefs to earn their goodwill and thus encourage the company's trade in the area.<sup>75</sup>

The Director-General was in a particularly good position to add to his earnings. For every slave transacted by the company on the Guinea Coast he received an emolument of one Askey, the equivalent of

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<sup>73</sup>The following table shows approximately how monthly salaries ranged from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. Sources are: WIC, Vol. 111, p. 70; Vol. 114, p. 37; Bosman, pp. 94-98; and Ratelband, pp. lx-lxii. For a discussion of comparative monetary values in use on the African coast see p. 195.

Director-General	f. 300
Chief Factor	100
Fiscal	50
Commissioners and Chief Commissioners	36-f.70
Sub-Commissioners	24
Assistants	16
Warehouse Keeper	80
Ensign	39
soldiers	8
sailors	9
craftsmen	15-f.28

<sup>74</sup>The Fiscal, for example, received a percentage of all confiscated goods plus the fines levied on Africans.

<sup>75</sup>ANBG, Vol. 25, Minutes, 12/6/1699. Factory Masters were frequently accused of keeping the advances for themselves.





about two and one-half guilders.<sup>76</sup> When a percentage of the company's gain in the African trade was given as an emolument, the Director-General received 2-1/2 per cent as compared to 3/4 per cent divided among twenty-four Assistants.<sup>77</sup>

A few of the high ranking officials were apparently quite successful in accumulating capital, as evidenced by a considerable degree of independence of some of the Factory Masters. In 1706, Commissioner P. C. Le Candele was permitted by the Council to undertake a military expedition against the Africans at Shama at his own cost. If successful he would receive the post of Factory Master at Shama as a reward.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, in 1745, Commissioner B. Coejmans was allowed to establish a new lodge east of Accra at his own expense.<sup>79</sup>

On the other hand, prominence could also bring costly responsibilities. Jan de Pauw, Factory Master at Ouidah in 1712, complained that his board wages were far too low to cover his responsibility of feeding and entertaining visiting captains and officers of slaving ships. English and French officials in his capacity received much more generous compensations from their companies, he complained.<sup>80</sup>

All of the company employees not benefitting from the "free table" at Elmina received the so-called board wages in addition to

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<sup>76</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 134. In 1714 this emolument was reduced to one-half of an Ackey, leaving the other half for the local Factory Master. See p. 195 for some comparative currencies.

<sup>77</sup>ANBG, Vol. 6, Minutes, 9/25/1722.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., Vol. 2, Minutes, 1/2/1706.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., Vol. 9, Minutes, 7/1/1745.

<sup>80</sup>WIC, Vol. 102, p. 43.

their salaries. These board wages were graduated according to rank, as were salaries, and as a rule were paid in kind. Low ranking employees were therefore at a considerable financial disadvantage, which encouraged indebtedness,<sup>81</sup> heavy drinking, and other forms of debauchery. On occasion such "unChristian" behavior would draw a strong denunciation from the Chaplain.<sup>82</sup> Director-General Pieter Nuyts (1706-1709) went so far as to call for special prayer days, during which "cursing, wrestling, drinking, and gambling" were prohibited.<sup>83</sup> But more often the superiors on the coast would justify the behavior of their subordinates, claiming that life in Africa was different and could not be subjected to the rules of morality operative in Holland. Chaplains were urged to preach sermons of encouragement, not of denunciation.<sup>84</sup>

Thus far the European element of the WIC establishment in Africa has been the subject of analysis. Although Europeans occupied the positions of leadership, numerically they constituted only a small minority of the total labor force of the WIC. Actually, the personnel of the WIC, and those whose lives were strongly influenced by the presence of the WIC, could be divided into three different categories, Europeans, mulattoes (tapoejers), and blacks (zwarten), the term generally used by the Dutch in referring to the indigenous

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<sup>81</sup>ANBG, Vol. 1, Minutes, 4/25/1704. This is evidenced by the often repeated announcement that the making of secret debts was against the policies of the Company.

<sup>82</sup>WIC, Vol. 57, p. 13.

<sup>83</sup>ANBG, Vol. 2, Minutes, 7/27/1706.

<sup>84</sup>WIC, Vol. 487, Correspondence, 2/3/1729; WIC, Vol. 57, p. 13.

African population.

The number of Europeans serving the WIC on the African coast is difficult to estimate. During the seventeenth century the majority of those listed on the official rosters, some 200 to 300 persons, were born in Europe. With the passing of time more and more mulattoes (or tapoejers, as the Dutch called them) entered the service of the WIC and replaced Europeans, particularly in the military establishment.<sup>85</sup> Toward the end of the eighteenth century mulattoes were even allowed to be promoted into the ranks of the civil service, but not higher than the rank of Assistant, since the Dutch saw the mulatto as a threat to their privileged position.<sup>86</sup>

Long before the eighteenth century mulattoes had started to play an influential role on the African coast, mostly as independent traders and diplomatic liaisons between Africans and Europeans. The Dutch sometimes referred to them as Portuguese, as this was frequently their origin and because they helped to perpetuate Portuguese as the commercial lingua franca of the West African coast.<sup>87</sup> The Council minutes of 1716 reveal an interesting anecdote of a mulatto named Willem Bosman, apparently fathered by the author of the book so often

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<sup>85</sup>Mulattoes usually adopted European names and were therefore impossible to distinguish from Europeans, unless their place of birth or the prefix "tapoejer" was indicated.

<sup>86</sup>ANBG, Vol. 13, Minutes, 1/7/1781; and Herman, p. 106. See K. Y. Daaku, "Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1640-1720" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1964), pp. 237-40 for a discussion on mulattoes.

<sup>87</sup>WIC, Vol. 100, p. 535. According to this citation a "Portuguese residing at Jakin" served as liaison between the Dutch and African rulers on the Slave Coast.



cited in this work, who also appeared to enjoy considerable influence as an independent merchant.<sup>88</sup> Reading the correspondence from Africa one gets the impression that the Dutch civil servants felt threatened by mulattoes such as Bosman.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century mulattoes such as Jan Nieser and Jacob Ruhle had become quite wealthy and influential in the WIC establishment. By this time the rank of Assistant was no longer a limit, as both these men had attained membership in the Council.<sup>89</sup>

While mulattoes were treated as inferiors and looked upon with suspicion, in some instances they received treatment equal to Europeans. This was never the case with Africans or blacks. WIC policy was that company servants listed on the rosters should always maintain distance between themselves and blacks. WIC personnel were not allowed to spend the nights outside of the locked gates of the European castles, and African women were not permitted to spend the nights inside.<sup>90</sup> Company authorities condemned the lending of money to blacks on a private basis

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<sup>88</sup>ANBG, Vol. 5, Minutes, 2/12/1716. At the time Bosman was allegedly in the service of the Brandenburg Company, the reason for which the Dutch accused him of trading with interlopers. For this offense he had to pay a fine or face perpetual expulsion from WIC territory. See also Daaku, p. 240.

<sup>89</sup>AMK, No. 4030, 11/18/1815; de Marrée, Vol. II, p. 35; Wyndham, p. 24, lists a number of mulattoes who gained prominence in the English establishment in Africa. Before Nieser and Ruhle were absorbed by the structure of the WIC they were regarded as serious commercial threats to the company. See ANBG, Vol. 13, Minutes, 3/2/1787.

<sup>90</sup>ANBG, Vol. 8, Minutes, 4/19/1741; Vol. 5, Minutes, 1/21/1716 and 7/21/1716; Vol. 2, Minutes, 1/31/1707; Lawrence, p. 64. In practice, however, concubinage with African women was quite common, as evidenced by the increasing number of mulattoes on the coast. This is understandable considering that very few European women were willing to face the vicissitudes of living on the Guinea Coast.



as "bad behavior,"<sup>91</sup> and in 1683, two WIC civil servants were reprimanded because they were drinking in the company of Negroes.<sup>92</sup>

Regardless of this condescending attitude WIC officials were repeatedly admonished by authorities in Holland that they "live in good harmony with the natives,"<sup>93</sup> and many African traders and their dependents were allowed to live near the walls of Dutch castles, where they enjoyed the company's protection against their African adversaries. Africans residing in coastal areas that were regarded as WIC territories were promised protection against arbitrary maltreatment by individual servants of the company.<sup>94</sup> Free Negroes under WIC protection were also guarded by the company against panyaring (kidnapping) and enslavement. WIC records reveal many incidents of free Negroes being freed through efforts of company officials.<sup>95</sup> All of these measures, however, were motivated by the desire to further commerce with the Africans, and not by a genuine interest in their well-being.

Compared with other Europeans, the Dutch exercised perhaps the least effort to educate and Christianize the African population under their control; only a few feeble efforts were made in this direction.

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<sup>91</sup>WIC, Vol. 57, p. 226.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., Vol. 1024, Doc. 14.

<sup>93</sup>ANBG, Vol. 235, Minutes, 11/12/1713, art. 21. This is included in a list of instructions, quite representative of its kind on the African coast.

<sup>94</sup>ANBG, Vol. 5, Minutes, 3/6/1710. This document confirms that soldiers and sailors who illegally took merchandise from Africans without paying the demanded price would be severely punished.

<sup>95</sup>See particularly ANBG, Vol. 9, Minutes, 6/27/1746, 6/1/1751, 2/21/1747, 6/19/1758, and 11/1/1754.





In 1737 WIC officials decided to send three or four Negro boys to Holland to be trained in crafts.<sup>96</sup> Seven years later the king of Ashanti requested that fourteen Ashanti children be sent to Holland to be educated in "reading, writing, and music." WIC officials on the coast, however, refused to comply with this request; The Ten in Holland applauded that decision.<sup>97</sup> No doubt, there were other incidents like this, but on the whole the record of the Dutch was very unimpressive.

The most publicized success of Dutch efforts in educating Africans occurred in the first half of the eighteenth century, when a young black man known as Jacobus Eliza Capiteyn was educated as a Protestant minister at the University of Leiden and returned to Elmina as a teacher and preacher. Capiteyn started a school for children, but his educational as well as his missionary efforts soon ended in failure.<sup>98</sup> The fame of Capiteyn among the Dutch was due in part to the fact that he was a curiosity, but primarily because he wrote and spoke out in favor of the slave trade. Dutch slavers used this as a justification for the remainder of the century.<sup>99</sup>

The attitude of the Dutch toward the Negro race was openly

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<sup>96</sup>WIC, Vol. 57, Correspondence, 9/31/1737. It is not certain that this decision was actually carried out.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., Vol. 489, p. 98; and Vol. 57, p. 63.

<sup>98</sup>Capiteyn was involved in various activities, including trading, on the coast from 1742 until 1747, when he died at the age of 30. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire, p. 161. See also the biographical study of Capiteyn by A. Eekhof, De negerpredikant Jacobus Eliza Capitein, 1717-1747 (The Hague: Nederlandsarchief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, Nieuwe Serie 13, 1917).

<sup>99</sup>L. C. Vrijman, Slavenhalers en slavenhandel (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen, 1937), pp. 51 and 58.

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arrogant and condescending. When in 1722 the WIC directors in Holland ordered that some young black slaves be taught a trade, the Director-General responded that he would try to carry out the order but that Negroes could never become independent craftsmen but would always need the supervision and direction of a white craftsman.<sup>100</sup>

In regard to Christian missionary activity the same condescending attitude was evident. The feeble efforts made during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century were completely halted by the middle of the eighteenth century. WIC servants ridiculed Capiteyn for his efforts to train African children in the Christian religion, which undoubtedly contributed to his failure.<sup>101</sup> When in 1769 officials in Holland urged their subordinates in Africa to resume missionary activities, the Council responded that the "natives are disinclined to accept Christianity," and that in any event "their heathen lives would bring shame to Christianity." In 1745 the Director-General wrote the following on this subject to his superiors in Holland:

. . . the more time I spend here and the more I penetrate the nature of the natives, the more difficult, if not impossible, it appears to me that--unless a miracle occurred--the natives could be converted to Christianity.<sup>102</sup>

Regardless of the attitudes the Dutch held toward the Africans, a large number of Negroes were employed by the company. The group of Africans most intimately connected with the WIC establishment were the

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<sup>100</sup>WIC, Vol. 486, p. 252. This proved to be quite an inaccurate evaluation, because in the end company craftsmen were almost exclusively blacks.

<sup>101</sup>WIC., Vol. 57, p. 66.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., Vol. 113, p. 319.

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so-called Castle Slaves.<sup>103</sup> Generally, the company owned about three hundred of these slaves.<sup>104</sup> They were exploited as manual laborers at the various forts. Their tasks included loading and unloading ships, quarry work, rowing canoes, etc., and as time passed there was an increasing number of craftsmen among the Castle Slaves.<sup>105</sup> Some of the Castle Slaves were employed at experimental cotton and indigo plantations, or in even rarer pursuits such as the six slaves who were taken to Benin in 1729 to prospect for gold.<sup>106</sup>

Castle slaves were as a rule brought to the Gold Coast from either the Slave Coast or the Niger delta region. Periodically, when the supply of Castle slaves was dwindling, a small coastal vessel of the company would be sent eastward to purchase several dozen or more slaves.<sup>107</sup> The apparent reason for not selecting Castle Slaves from Gold Coast acquisitions was to avoid their fraternizing with the free Africans in the area.

Compared to the multitude of slaves that were bought and taken

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<sup>103</sup>These slaves have been referred to by various other names such as Coast Slaves (Kustslaven), Company Slaves, and Service Slaves (Trainslaven). Castle Slaves seems to be the more accepted English designation. See Wyndham, p. 229.

<sup>104</sup>In 1722 the company owned 275 Castle Slaves; three years later there were 348 slaves, and in 1727 they numbered 304. See respectively WIC, Vol. 105, p. 318; Vol. 107, p. 268; Vol. 108, p. 62.

<sup>105</sup>ANBG, Vol. 1, Minutes, 2/4/1705; WIC, Vol. 107, p. 226. This last citation lists 23 different occupations of Castle Slaves. Of the 348 slaves in 1722, 34 were listed as craftsmen, including carpenters, masons, coopers, and smiths.

<sup>106</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, pp. 373-74, 495, and 729.

<sup>107</sup>For example see ANBG, Vol. 240, p. 53; WIC, Vol. 1024, Doc. 17.

across the Atlantic, the Castle Slaves enjoyed a relatively fortunate position. Not only were they permitted to remain in the familiar surroundings of the Guinea Coast, but they tended to possess more freedom and a chance of manumission. The WIC provided them protection, housing, and board wages (although no salaries) like other employees of the company, and they had an opportunity to learn a craft or be promoted to a supervisory position such as that of Bumboy.<sup>108</sup> The status of Castle Slaves was attractive enough that one Negro decided in 1723 to become a slave of the company voluntarily.<sup>109</sup>

The operation of the WIC establishment depended a great deal on the work of the Castle Slaves. Being aware of this, the slaves were bold enough to demand reasonable treatment. On at least two occasions, in 1785 and 1789, they refused to work and rebelled against the company on grounds of dissatisfaction about board wages.<sup>110</sup>

One advantage of Castle Slavery was the opportunity for manumission. Several "letters of release," granting freedom to Castle Slaves can be found in WIC documents. Freedom could be granted for a

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<sup>108</sup>A Bumboy or Bombaas was a type of slave foreman who guarded and supervised slaves kept in stock for export to the Americas. See Lawrence, p. 61; and Appendix E, which describes in part the role of the Bumboy.

<sup>109</sup>WIC, Vol. 107, pp. 494-95. This particular slave was called Ammo, and the company paid him 3 Ounces and 8 Ackeyes for surrendering his freedom. The document does not reveal the motive of the slave, but in accordance with an African practice it seems reasonable to assume that Ammo settled a financial debt while gaining the protection of the company.

<sup>110</sup>ANBG, Vol. 13, Minutes, 10/13/1785; and AAC, Vol. 2419, Correspondence, 9/15/1789. WIC, Vol. 488, p. 153. According to the last citation castle slaves received 1-1/2 Ackey per month in board wages compared to four Ackeyes for soldiers and craftsmen and eight for civil servants.

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variety of reasons such as ransom payment by the slave himself or another interested African or European, replacement by another slave, of a favor by the company for faithful service.<sup>111</sup> The latter occurred frequently with older slaves who were either freed or retired while retaining board and wages.<sup>112</sup>

The law was applied to Castle Slaves with mildness, but when they committed serious misdemeanors or criminal offenses the punishment was usually death. Frequently, however, the execution of such penalties was avoided, and instead the officials on the coast would sell the convicted slave for transportation across the Atlantic along with other slaves.<sup>113</sup> This should not be interpreted as humanitarianism, a virtue rarely encountered among slave traders, but as sound business practice. This practice also supports the notion, however, that transportation to the West was considered far worse than serving as a slave in Africa.

A large number of so-called free Negroes were also in the employment of the WIC. Many of them served as personal servants and in general in similar capacities as did Castle Slaves, except that the free Negroes were wage earners. Some undertook diplomatic missions for the WIC into the interior or to indigenous chiefs on the coast.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>ANBG, Vol. 237, p. 33; Vol. 238, p. 73; Vol. 241, pp. 10, 38, and 39.

<sup>112</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 45; ANBG, Vol. 1, Minutes, 2/4/1705. See also p. 203 below.

<sup>113</sup>Wyndham, p. 230; WIC, Vol. 113, p. 711; Vol. 501, pp. 57 and 120.

<sup>114</sup>WIC, Vol. 99, p. 20; and Vol. 98, p. 3. The last citation refers to two "blackboys" (zwarte jongens) taking letters to the king of the Ashanti in 1702.

Many of those chiefs received a remuneration agreed by treaty from the company. Since most of these functions were commercial in nature they will be discussed at greater length in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER III

#### TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE SLAVE TRADE

For about one century, from the 1630's until the 1730's, the Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade was almost exclusively executed by the WIC.<sup>1</sup> Protected by a governmental charter, the WIC started with a commercial monopoly on the African and American shores of the Atlantic. The range of this monopoly was gradually cut back,<sup>2</sup> but until 1734 the company retained its monopoly on the Gold Coast, and until the company's abolition in 1791, it exercised considerable control over the acquisition of slaves on the Guinea Coast after 1734.

Initially, the various chambers of the WIC directed the slave trade quite independently, but in 1668 a special fund was set up within the organization of the WIC to finance the slave trade.<sup>3</sup> When the WIC was reorganized in 1674 the special fund disappeared, but the slave trade continued to be administered centrally and as a major concern of the company. Annual assignments of slaving voyages (tourbeurten) were

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<sup>1</sup>No doubt a few interlopers managed to break through the well-guarded monopoly of the WIC, but as will be clarified later in this chapter, the activities of Dutch interlopers did not significantly affect the slave trade.

<sup>2</sup>The company charter was renewed in the years 1647, 1674 (reorganization), 1700, 1730, 1760, and expired in 1791.

<sup>3</sup>Van Brakel, p. 54.



made to the various chambers, stipulating the conditions of the missions.<sup>4</sup> The important Asiento contracts were approved by The Ten and signed by representatives of the various chambers, although the chamber of Amsterdam negotiated some of the minor contracts and may have negotiated the preliminaries of many other contracts.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to other European chartered companies the Dutch WIC persistently maintained its commercial monopoly. In 1672 and 1698 respectively, the French and the English had permitted all their national subjects to participate freely in the slave trade on payment of certain duties.<sup>6</sup> The Dutch States-General paid increasingly higher governmental subsidies to the WIC, in order to keep the company's monopoly intact and thus to maintain the declining Dutch colonial empire.<sup>7</sup>

As early as 1630, however, several Dutch merchants were pressuring the States-General to end the WIC's monopoly. These pressures and the declining commercial successes of the WIC caused the company to allow a few small private companies to participate in the slave

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<sup>4</sup>See Appendix C, which lists a large number of these assignments.

<sup>5</sup>WIC, Vol. 832, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup>Davies, pp. 20 and 46. The duty on English subjects was ten per cent on the goods exported from England. For this reason the English free traders were frequently called "ten per cent men."

<sup>7</sup>VWIS, Folder 36, pp. 7-8. This source lists the various reasons why the WIC should keep its monopoly. In 1729 the WIC was receiving 38,000 guilders annually in governmental subsidies, but in 1788 this figure had increased to 250,000 guilders. See Donnan, Vol. II, p. xix, and VWIS, Folder 711, 8/27/1788.



trade during the 1660's.<sup>8</sup> The company monopoly was cut drastically at its reorganization in 1674, but the slave trade was affected conversely; slaving became even more firmly under the WIC's monopolistic control.

Pressures from the private sector of the economy continued to threaten the WIC. It became particularly strong during the 1720's, and when the WIC's charter was renewed again in 1730, the company's monopoly was decreased to its bare minimum; only Curaçao, Berbice, and Surinam in the West Indies, and the Gold Coast in Africa remained.<sup>9</sup>

The WIC Council in Africa was alarmed by these concessions to private traders, because the company was obligated to supply the colony of Surinam with 2500 slaves annually.<sup>10</sup> This number could not possibly be acquired on the small monopoly territory of the Gold Coast, the Council members claimed. In addition, they feared that the arrival of large numbers of free traders would inflate the price of slaves immensely.<sup>11</sup>

Free traders in Holland, on the other hand, were not satisfied with the concessions of 1730; they wanted the Gold Coast also opened up to free trade, since their French and English competitors were

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<sup>8</sup>Unger I, pp. 148-49; Kernkamp, p. 449; GAR, Folder 802. This last document contains a pamphlet encouraging private traders to trade on the African coast on payment of duties to the WIC.

<sup>9</sup>VWIS, Folder 1199, 5/8/1757; and Folder 36. This last folder contains many statements pro and con on the issue of WIC monopoly.

<sup>10</sup>This was a guarantee the WIC made to the Surinam planters in 1882, when the company took over the control of this colony. See WIC, Vol. 41, Documents 35-43, 1/28/1744.

<sup>11</sup>WIC, Vol. 487, p. 421; Vol. 109, Correspondence, 8/1/1731. According to this last citation only 1184 slaves had been taken to Surinam during the past year.

allowed to trade on the whole Guinea Coast. As a result of their protests the States-General forced the WIC into another concession in 1734, viz. opening all of the African coast to Dutch subjects on payment of certain duties to the WIC.<sup>12</sup>

While the WIC continued to operate the Dutch forts on the Gold Coast and served as a middleman between African and Dutch traders, the Regulations of 1734 mark the end of the WIC as a slaving company. After this date Dutch private companies, large and small, carried the Dutch share of black slaves across the Atlantic.<sup>13</sup> For the privilege of trading on the African coast and enjoying the convenience and protection of the WIC forts, free traders had to purchase a slaving permit from the company, or in other words, pay a fee (lastgeld) for the privilege of buying slaves in former WIC monopoly territory.<sup>14</sup> These fees constituted a sizable percentage of the WIC's income during the remainder of its existence.

Thus far the WIC monopoly vis-à-vis the interests of private companies has been considered, but WIC monopoly gave rise to still another important conflict, one between the company and its employees on the African coast. According to a regulation articulated in the so-called General Contract Letter (Generale Artikel Brief), servants

<sup>12</sup>VWIS, Folder 903. This folder contains a protest about the 1730 concessions to the WIC signed by about forty Amsterdam merchants.

<sup>13</sup>The WIC continued to send a few slavers to the West, but the greatest share of the Dutch trade was carried by the free traders. Their participation will be the topic of Chapter VI.

<sup>14</sup>This fee or lastgeld (occasionally also referred to as recognitie) was determined by the size of the ship. See VWIS, Folder 388, for measurements of slaving vessels. See also Table 6 for a comprehensive list of such fees received by the WIC.



of the WIC had to promise under oath not to trade privately with either African or European merchants.<sup>15</sup> This policy was operative in 1675 and was repeatedly reaffirmed in directives from Holland and by posters at the WIC factories on the African coast.<sup>16</sup> Company employees were allowed to take only "legitimate private goods" to Africa, and merchandise of any sort was kept from private possession as much as possible.<sup>17</sup>

The purpose of the policy was to maximize the company's efficiency and profit by having its employees work as a team, regarding the company's interests above their own. But considering the low salaries of company employees, the temptation to earn some money on the side was, of course, very strong. From the frequent references in the records one is tempted to conclude that private trade was practiced regularly; however, it became an issue only when the directors in Holland began to complain about the poor performance of the WIC in Africa, blaming this on private trade and urging the Director-General to enforce the regulations.<sup>18</sup>

On occasions very prominent company officials violated the rules regarding free trade; in 1710 a Chief-Commissioner and an assistant Bookkeeper were convicted of this offense.<sup>19</sup> The prominent Chief

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<sup>15</sup>WIC, Vol. 746, Correspondence, 7/29/1675. This citation represents the oldest reference to the Contract letter found by this author, although the policy defined was most likely inherited from the old WIC.

<sup>16</sup>See for example WIC, Vol. 56, p. 82. The records also use the term sluykhandel or smuggling in reference to this type of illicit trade. See NBKG, Vol. 8, Minutes, 4/26/1736, and Vol. 12, Minutes, 2/27/1768.

<sup>17</sup>NBKG, Vol. 235, Minutes, 11/21/1713; WIC, Vol. 56, pp. 60, 82, and 116.

<sup>18</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 156. <sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

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Factor Willem Bosman had been accused of private trade, and it seems evident that this was the reason for his repatriation to Holland.<sup>20</sup>

When a company servant was found guilty of practicing illicit private trade, the penalty could be rather severe. The regulations called for confiscation of the merchandise involved, the loss of salary, and repatriation to Holland.<sup>21</sup> A type of honor system was introduced in 1721, obligating all company servants to report any kind of private trade practices by fellow civil servants; the informer would receive one-third of the confiscated goods as reward.<sup>22</sup>

Prompted by the freeing of the trade for private companies, in 1740 the Factory Masters (but not lower ranking servants) also were given the liberty to trade at their own risk, in addition to their obligations to the WIC. For the slave trade this caused the creation of a sort of "commission in reverse," which demanded of company servants the payment of a fee of eight Ackeys (or twenty guilders) for every slave bought from an African middleman and sold to a European ship.<sup>23</sup> Initially this was an unofficial arrangement which was not approved by The Ten until 1754.<sup>24</sup> In 1762 subordinate civil servants also were allowed to trade in gold, etc. but still not in slaves. The latter was not approved until 1768.<sup>25</sup>

These new arrangements had an implicit source for new friction

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Vol. 98, p. 9.    <sup>21</sup>NBKG, Vol. 25, Minutes, 5/18/1691.

<sup>22</sup>WIC, Vol. 109, p. 54.    <sup>23</sup>VWIS, Folder 41, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup>NBKG, Vol. 9, Minutes, 4/11/1747; WIC, Vol. 57, p. 79.

<sup>25</sup>WIC, Vol. 57, p. 82; and Herman, p. 73.

between the company and its employees, viz. that the latter would try to avoid paying the required fees. There were several such violations, and in 1769 a captain of a WIC ship was convicted of this crime and sentenced to twenty-five years exile from WIC territories, while all his possessions were confiscated by the company.<sup>26</sup>

During the second half of the eighteenth century the more prominent company officials began to act more and more as independent traders who sent slaves to the West on their own risk and bought shares on private slaving ships.<sup>27</sup> In response to a complaint from Holland about selling slaves to an English slaver, the Factory Master of Cormantin, Jan Woortman, responded that as long as he paid his fees to the company, he could sell to whomever he pleased.<sup>28</sup>

Returning to the earlier period, the extent of the WIC monopoly on the African coast is well illustrated by the use of the so-called Price Table (Marktbrief),<sup>29</sup> which listed the current purchase and sale prices of all merchandise transacted on the Guinea Coast as evaluated by WIC authorities. This Price Table was posted at all company factories, and WIC servants were not allowed to pay more than indicated on the Price Table.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>NBKG, Vol. 12, Minutes, 12/13/1769. See also WIC, Vol. 113, p. 188.

<sup>27</sup>HAR, Bundle 41-42, Correspondence, 7/15/1733, 5/13/1773, 9/15/1773, and 9/5/1773.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., Correspondence, March, 1779.

<sup>29</sup>Marktbrief literally translates to Market Letter, but the freer translation Price Table connotes more accurately its function.

<sup>30</sup>WIC, Vol. 831, Minutes, 1/18/1675; and Vol. 109, p. 56.

Initially, the Price Table was composed in Holland, although the Director-General had the authority to make alterations.<sup>31</sup> By 1721 WIC directors recognized that persons closer to the scene of action were in a better position to evaluate the fluctuating market, and they allowed the Council at Elmina to compose the Price Table.<sup>32</sup> As the WIC monopoly declined, the function of the Price Table also became less important. It was still in use in 1739, but its listing could then easily be adjusted.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, there also existed a conflict of authority between the WIC directors in the United Provinces and the Council at Elmina. Slaving ships, for instance, were sent to Africa with rather specific instructions as to their destination, the size of the slave cargo, and the period they should remain on the African coast. Various unforeseen circumstances would often force the Council to alter these instructions, such as returning a slaver to Holland with African merchandise instead of sending it to Angola for slaves, not allowing a slaver to go on to the Slave Coast, or increasing the stipulated cargo of slaves.<sup>34</sup> There were numerous other conflicts of this nature for which the Council had to give a reasonable justification. In one letter the Director-General apologized for sending a small vessel containing 124 slaves to Curaçao, which had not been ordered by the authorities in Holland.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Vol. 746, Correspondence, 1/11/1677; and Vol. 56, p. 115.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., Vol. 109, p. 56.    <sup>33</sup>Ibid., Vol. 57, p. 49.

<sup>34</sup>NBKG, Vol. 1, Minutes, 8/10/1703; Vol. 6, Minutes, 7/19/1721; and WIC, Vol. 486, p. 320. After 1735 the Council was allowed to direct slave ships to a specific destination. See WIC, Vol. 57, p. 30.

<sup>35</sup>WIC, Vol. 484, p. 114; Vol. 487, p. 101.

Although monopolistic in its orientation, the WIC allowed considerable flexibility in its trading practices. In regard to the slave trade, three basic techniques of acquiring slaves had developed on the African coast: trading from ships along the coast, often referred to as "interloping trade,"<sup>36</sup> the factory system, and the so-called "logger system." The WIC practiced all three of these and developed several variations of each. According to the latter, trade was transacted on permanently stationed ships (later also called "floating barracoons") in a lagoon or estuary.<sup>37</sup> The first of these techniques, the interloping trade, involved a slaver that would sail along the coast and anchor wherever there was a promise of purchasing slaves. The factory system implied that a company managing factories would purchase slaves from African merchants at the factory and store the slaves in anticipation of an affiliate ship arriving for a cargo of slaves.

The bulk of WIC trade was carried out within the factory system, with WIC officials directing the trade at forts and lodges. The Dutch headquarters at Elmina provided coordination and leadership for the system. As a rule, ships arriving from the United Provinces would unload their cargos at Elmina; from there the goods were distributed to the other factories by small coastal vessels.<sup>38</sup> Merchandise

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<sup>36</sup>Davidson, pp. 53 and 86. The term interloper is derived from the monopoly avoiding ships that traded in that fashion.

<sup>37</sup>Daaku, p. 29; Davidson, p. 86. The Dutch made little use of this practice after the initial days on the Slave Coast (see p. 29 above) and it deserves, therefore, no further elaboration.

<sup>38</sup>NBKG, Vol. 6, Minutes, 1/30/1719; Vol. 85, 7/26/1718; WIC, Vol. 109, p. 57.

purchased from the Africans at the various forts was returned with the same boats to Elmina.<sup>39</sup> WIC ships often received their export cargo at Elmina. Facilities for repairing ships were available here also; such final preparations as the fixing of water barrels was done at Elmina.<sup>40</sup> If a sufficient number of slaves had not been accumulated by the company to justify an immediate crossing of the Atlantic, the slaver might receive instructions from the Director-General for interim duties on the coast such as coastal trade, transportation, or naval maneuvers against interlopers, pirates, or other enemies of the company.<sup>41</sup> Elmina's influence also was evident at the outer forts; Factory Masters received their appointments and directives from the Council at Elmina.

A number of exceptions to the standard practices outlined above should be noted, however. A change of policy in 1702, authorized by The Ten, allowed the captains of slaving ships to supervise the buying of slaves, thereby replacing the Factory Masters who formerly had this authority. This action greatly upset the company's merchants on the coast, who complained sorely and accused the captains of inadequate knowledge of Africans and African trade.<sup>42</sup>

The result of this conflict was an ill-defined policy according to which various slavers left Elmina with a different set of

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<sup>39</sup>NBKG, Vol. 240, p. 9; NBKG, Vols. 82-167 contain correspondence between Elmina and the outer forts and supplies ample evidence of this activity.

<sup>40</sup>NBKG, Vol. 7, Minutes, 3/31/1734.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Vol. 233, Correspondence, 3/13/1700; Vol. 234, Instruction, 5/26/1702; WIC, Vol. 487, p. 373.

<sup>42</sup>Bosman, p. 96; WIC, Vol. 97, p. 463; Vol. 98, p. 11. According to these last citations, a certain Captain named Simon Roem in particular became a target of criticism.

instructions. It became common practice that a Chief-Commissioner or other ranking WIC servant was placed on a slaver at Elmina to supervise the purchasing of slaves at the outer forts and the Slave Coast. The merchant would return to Elmina when the ship's slave cargo was complete.<sup>43</sup>

On other occasions, captains of slavers were given the authority to buy slaves as they sailed along the coast from Elmina to the Slave Coast; but on their arrival at Ouidah, the Factory Master there would assume the commercial responsibility for filling the ship with slaves.<sup>44</sup> Sometimes small coastal boats were instructed to deliver a quantity of slavers on their way to Ouidah.<sup>45</sup> On other occasions the Director-General instructed the captain of a slaver to turn over his incomplete cargo to another company slaving ship, so that the latter could begin its Atlantic crossing with a full cargo.<sup>46</sup>

Whereas most company slavers were directed to fetch a cargo of slaves from one place, either Angola, the Slave Coast, or Elmina, after 1700 it became a common practice for slavers to get slaves from several different places. After stopping over at Elmina, which was never neglected, a slaver would often sail eastward, stopping at various WIC forts to pick up slaves in stock and complete the cargo at the Dutch lodge on the Slave Coast. In this manner the slaves did not need to

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<sup>43</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 43; NBKG, Vol. 85, Instruction, 5/5/1718; Vol. 233, Instruction, 6/16/1699; Vol. 235, Instruction, 11/21/1713.

<sup>44</sup>NBKG, Vol. 233, Correspondence, 3/13/1700.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Vol. 85, Instruction, 5/5/1718.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., Vol. 236, Instruction, 2/15/1715.



be transported to Elmina.<sup>47</sup>

Another variation from the standard practice was the so-called coastal trade. In reports from Africa the company's commercial activities were frequently divided into three separate categories; the Gold Coast trade, the slave trade (referring primarily to the Slave Coast and Angola), and coastal trade.<sup>48</sup> Initially the latter referred to the Bights of Benin and Biafra, but beginning in the second decade of the eighteenth century, the coastal trade began to flourish on the Ivory and Grain Coasts as well.<sup>49</sup> These coastal traders had instructions to buy a variety of merchandise, including ivory, gold, and slaves. On occasions they would return several dozens of slaves; this number did not greatly affect the slave trade as a whole, however.<sup>50</sup>

This coastal trade may be regarded as a form of the interloper trade, the second most important slave trading technique. The only area where the WIC practiced interloping trade on a broad and regular basis was Angola, at least during those periods when the company did not have lodges on the Angola-Loango coast. Because of the nature of the Angola trade, Dutch documents also record the expression of

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Vol. 2, Minutes, 10/15/1706; Vol. 233, Instruction, 10/17/1700, WIC, Vol. 180, pp. 153 and 171.

<sup>48</sup>WIC, Vol. 97, pp. 462-64. These terms were meaningfully applied during the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, but not after the 1820's.

<sup>49</sup>These areas were often referred to as the Upper Coast (bovenkust) as compared to the Lower Coast (benedenkust), the area east of Elmina.

<sup>50</sup>WIC, Vol. 105, p. 121; Vol. 107, pp. 210 and 212; NBKG, Vol. 85, Instruction, 6/3/1718; Vol. 235, 12/26/1713; Vol. 238, pp. 56 and 64.

trade "like in Angola" when referring to interloper trade.<sup>51</sup>

After free traders were allowed to trade on the Guinea Coast, the interloping trade became a common practice in this region also. But prior to this the company, particularly the officials on the African Coast, had resisted the practice vigorously. On a few occasions, however, the directors in Holland allowed some experiments with interloping trade. By and large these turned out to be failures commercially, and the WIC officials in Africa were very happy to call this to the attention of their superiors in Holland.<sup>52</sup> Like slavers destined for Angola, these experimental interloper ships were not subject to the Council at Elmina and did not have to be unloaded there, which eliminated the opportunity for profit for the officials at Elmina.<sup>53</sup>

Although the Slave Coast was some three hundred miles from Elmina, the Council maintained control over the Slave Coast trade for most of the period of WIC monopoly. Due to distance, correspondence and transportation between Elmina and Ouidah were often irregular, however, and this impaired Elmina's control over that area. Reports from the Slave Coast were usually delayed or did not arrive at all,<sup>54</sup> and the factory master there seldom benefitted from the Council's advice on short range problems. This meant that factory masters on

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<sup>51</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 328.

<sup>52</sup>Records of at least five such experiments have been preserved. They took place during the years 1710, 1714, 1720, 1724 and 1725. These experiments suggest that the WIC directors were attempting to find profitable alternatives to their declining monopoly. See WIC, Vol. 56, p. 74; Vol. 485, p. 328; Vol. 486, pp. 75, 328 and 524-26.

<sup>53</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 150.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., Vol. 485, p. 496; NEKG, Vol. 235, Instructions, 11/21/1713.



the Slave Coast as a rule were more independent than their peers elsewhere. As was the case with the Angola trade, the company's representative on the Slave Coast often demanded that the cargos of slavers arriving from the United Provinces would not be unloaded at Elmina but immediately dispatched to him.<sup>55</sup> Under unusual circumstances he also was given the authority to give the signal of departure to slavers ready for the Atlantic crossing.<sup>56</sup>

For a short period during the years 1714-1715 the Slave Coast factory master enjoyed complete autonomy from Elmina. During this time he was allowed to use the title "Director," and received a commission of one-half Ackey on every slave sold to a Dutch slaver. This commission was deducted from the customary one Ackey that the Director-General had been receiving, so one can well imagine the resentment in Elmina and the reason why the experiment was only short-lived.<sup>57</sup>

One of the most serious infringements on the WIC monopoly in Africa was the activity of the so-called interlopers (called lorredraayers or enterlopers by the Dutch), or Dutch ships trading on the West African coast without authorization of the WIC. Frequently these ships flew foreign flags and operated under the auspices of other European governments.<sup>58</sup> They often found refuge at foreign forts when

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<sup>55</sup>WIC, Vol. 180, p. 55; Vol. 486, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup>NBKG, Vol. 235, Instructions 6/8/1713.

<sup>57</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 491.

<sup>58</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 528; Menkman, De West-Indische Compagnie, p. 129; Unger, p. 148; Kernkamp, pp. 445-47. As was pointed out in chapter I, the African companies of Sweden, Denmark, and Brandenburg-Prussia were essentially started in this fashion. English merchants also hired Dutch ships for the Africa trade, but the vast majority of

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

molested by WIC vessels.<sup>59</sup> In 1680 interlopers even had their own agent stationed at Ouidah.<sup>60</sup>

African traders and middlemen often welcomed trade with interlopers, as wider competition provided a more favorable bargaining power. When the African chief John Konny dominated the affairs of the Prussian company, (1711-1724) Fort Gross Friedrichsburg at Poquefoe might well be considered an interloper fort as so many of them did business there.<sup>61</sup>

The number of Dutch interlopers on the African coast fluctuated considerably. On one occasion more than twenty were sighted, and as a rule more than a dozen could be expected to be on the African coast.<sup>62</sup> In 1718, however, only one was known to be there, and two years later there was not one interloper on the Guinea coast, though some were sighted at Angola.<sup>63</sup> Director-General Sevenhuysen complained in 1700 that "interlopers and foreign ships carried all the gold from the land (Africa)."<sup>64</sup> For the eleven year period of 1714-1725 the WIC is reported to have captured eighteen tons of gold from interlopers of the

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interlopers were outfitted by Dutch merchants and companies, especially from the province of Zeeland. For this reason they were frequently called Zeeland (Zeeuwse) interlopers.

<sup>59</sup>NKBBG, Vol. 3, Minutes 7/11/1708; WIC, Vol. 97, pp. 119 and 135. This often caused friction between the Dutch and the English. In 1708, however, the two nations signed an agreement by which interlopers were no longer allowed to find refuge at each other's forts.

<sup>60</sup>Davies, p. 121.

<sup>61</sup>Daaku, pp. 292-93, and 301; Van Dantzig, p. 53.

<sup>62</sup>VWIS, Folder 36.

<sup>63</sup>Donnan, Vol. I, p. 392; WIC, Vol. 102, p. 166; Vol. 104, p. 480; Vol. 484, p. 268; Vol. 485, p. 713.

<sup>64</sup>WIC, Vol. 97, p. 142.



province of Zeeland alone.<sup>65</sup>

The WIC fought these unauthorized intruders vigorously. Cruisers were dispatched with the specific mission of "hunting" interlopers.<sup>66</sup> Captured interlopers were brought to Elmina where the crew was imprisoned and the ships and cargo assessed and confiscated.<sup>67</sup> In 1710 the WIC threatened Dutch subjects with the death penalty if they traded in Africa without the authorization of the company.<sup>68</sup> As a rule, however, interloper crews received quite favorable treatment. They benefitted from the fact that the WIC was always short of personnel, and they often ended up as servants of the WIC on the same ship--now renamed and operated by the company.<sup>69</sup> On a few occasions interloper officers were even given a commission on a WIC ship; one interloper officer was named captain of a WIC slaver.<sup>70</sup>

During the year 1715 the WIC instigated a special drive to curb the activities of interlopers. No fewer than thirteen such ships were captured during that year.<sup>71</sup> Crews of WIC ships were encouraged to capture interlopers by promising them ten per cent of the confiscated

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<sup>65</sup>VWIS, Folder 10, Memoranda of 1760.

<sup>66</sup>NBKG, Vol. 2, Minutes 3/22/1706.

<sup>67</sup>NBKG, Vol. 233, 8/17/1700, and 4/6/1701; Vol. 3, Minutes 6/26/1707.

<sup>68</sup>WIC, Vol. 29-30, Minutes 9/4/1710.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., Vol. 484, p. 39; NBKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 12/25/1713, 7/26/1714, and 2/26/1716.

<sup>70</sup>NBKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 9/24/1715; and WIC, Vol. 484, pp. 39 and 47.

<sup>71</sup>See Appendix H.



cargo and two months extra salary.<sup>72</sup>

Most of the Dutch interlopers were small ships and therefore easily overpowered by the larger company vessels. But on occasions quite sizable interlopers came to Africa, so large that they defended themselves successfully against WIC cruisers. In 1701 such a cruiser was forced to retreat by two large interlopers mounted with 30-36 and 20-24 cannons respectively.<sup>73</sup> One of the WIC's most embarrassing and costly encounters with interlopers occurred in 1718 when the reputable WIC cruiser De Faam (or Vliegende Faam), which had captured more than ten interlopers during the preceding three years, was blown up in a fight with two large interlopers on the Angola coast. Of the 135 man crew of De Faam only seventeen survived, and the honor of the company was severely damaged.<sup>74</sup>

Although the interlopers made grave inroads into the profits of the WIC, they do not seem to have been deeply involved in the slave trade. Much of the literature dealing with interloping and the slave trade, especially with respect to the English, emphasizes its harmful

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<sup>72</sup>Daaku, p. 173; WIC, Vol. 463, 1/8/1715; NBKG, Vol. 5, 5/13/1715. Such rewards had been handed out before, but apparently not on a regular basis. See NBKG, Vol. 3, Minutes 7/1/1707. Later the reward was reduced to one month extra salary; see WIC, Vol. 746, 12/20/1725.

<sup>73</sup>The captured interloper Amerikaanse Galey (see Appendix H) had fourteen cannon and thirty crew members. This may be regarded as a larger than average interloper. See WIC, Vol. 485, p. 169. In 1730 the company cruiser Beschutter captured an interloper mounted with as many as forty cannon. See WIC, Vol. 109, p. 90.

<sup>74</sup>For an account of the incident see WIC, Vol. 485, pp. 732 and 786-88; NBKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 1/15/1719.

effects on legitimate trade.<sup>75</sup> But since interloping was illicit, these ships have left none or very few records by which the nature and volume of their trade can be assessed.<sup>76</sup> Surviving papers of captured interlopers from Holland indicate that they were mostly interested in African products for export to the United Provinces; gold and ivory rank high among the confiscated cargos. Whenever slaves were on board their number was limited to a few or a few dozen.<sup>77</sup> Only one case has been recorded, and this was at the conclusion of the WIC's monopoly, where there were several hundred slaves aboard an interloper.<sup>78</sup>

The reason interlopers did not capitalize on the slave trade may well be that as part of the triangular trading system, the slave trade required considerable capital and organization in order to be profitable. The WIC was far better suited for such an undertaking than the various small companies, particularly when the latter had the added obstacle of being legally barred from the African coast. When the WIC opened the African coast to private companies in the 1730's, they virtually took over the slave trade completely, for then they were allowed to utilize the facilities, forts, personnel, etc., of the WIC.

For obvious reasons, the ship was one of the most essential instruments of the Atlantic slave trade. The WIC employed a large

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<sup>75</sup>Menkman, West-Indische Compagnie, p. 60; Mannix, pp. 29-30; Curtin, pp. 54, 64, and 125; Davies, p. 225. Davies calculated that during the 1679-82 period the English interloping trade constituted 29 per cent of the English slave trade.

<sup>76</sup>WIC, Vols. 255-260 contain a sizable collection of documents from interlopers captured by the WIC.

<sup>77</sup>See Appendix H for a listing of captured interlopers.

<sup>78</sup>NBKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 11/17/1730. In 1730 one interloper ship was captured which had 323 slaves on board.

variety of vessels for the traffic, both for the Atlantic crossings and for the coastal branch of that trade. The total number of sea-going vessels owned by the WIC ranged between fifty and one hundred,<sup>79</sup> but not all of these were used for the slave trade. Several ships were assigned to specific charter regions, such as the West Indies, or were employed for transport directly between the United Provinces and Africa or the West. Each year three or four ships were expected to arrive in Holland laden with African products such as ivory, gold, sandalwood, etc.<sup>80</sup> On the average about six, and seldom more than ten, company slavers crossed the Atlantic annually, and as a rule, this number was lower.<sup>81</sup>

The ships employed for the slave trade were ordinary merchant ships. There is no evidence that the Dutch ever designed a special slaving ship like their counterparts in Liverpool;<sup>82</sup> however, a few ships were exclusively put to use for the Atlantic slave trade. One WIC ship, the Leusden, made as many as ten triangular slaving voyages in a period of eighteen years (1720-1737), but the majority went on one or a few slaving voyages and apparently were used for other purposes

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<sup>79</sup>G. C. E. Crone, Onze schepen in de gouden eeuw (Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1939), p. 69. In 1626 the WIC had a fleet of 72 ships.

<sup>80</sup>WIC, Vol. 487, p. 171. At least this was the policy in 1729.

<sup>81</sup>A detailed calculation of the number of ships can be found in chapters IV and VI.

<sup>82</sup>Unger II, p. 19 (see p. 7, note 29); Mannix and Cowley, p. 70. The frequently published blueprints of the Brookes of Liverpool is an example of a slave ship specifically designed for this purpose.

as well.<sup>83</sup>

No exact description of the types of ships used for slaving is feasible as WIC correspondence generally recorded merely "ship" or "little ship" (scheepje). The infrequently used smaller vessels were often designated as to type, but it was apparently assumed that recipients of WIC correspondence were sufficiently familiar with the large ships that further distinction was not necessary.

For transportation between WIC factories and for coastal trade small craft were usually used. Styles most frequently mentioned included the sloop (sloop), smack (pink), galjoot, snauw, buys, and jacht. Most of these were typical three-masted, shallow-bottomed vessels between thirty and one hundred feet in length, which were regularly used as fishing boats in the North Sea waters.<sup>84</sup> Some of the smaller craft, such as the sloop, were navigable by oar as well as sail, and these, together with the numerous native canoes, were paddled by black African slaves or hired African rowers, called rimadoors by the Dutch.<sup>85</sup> Canoes were most commonly used to transport slaves and other merchandise between the beach and the ships anchored off the shore.

The vessels carrying slaves across the Atlantic, though less frequently identified by type, also included a variety of styles.

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<sup>83</sup>See Appendixes A and B for an alphabetical listing of the slaving ships of both the WIC and private companies.

<sup>84</sup>Crone's book, Onze schepen in de gouden eeuw, offers an excellent analysis of Dutch ships in use during the seventeenth century.

<sup>85</sup>A few Africans were also hired as sailors, and some of the Castle Slaves were listed as sailors (matrozen). See WIC, Vol. 113, p. 590; and Vol. 107, pp. 494-95.

Initially, the WIC may have employed the flute (fluit)<sup>86</sup> and its descendants the katschip and hekboot or hoeker extensively for the slave trade. Although slow in appearance with its bulging sides, the flute was an efficient carrier.<sup>87</sup> Occasionally small craft such as yachts and barques also were used for the Atlantic crossing. Cruisers were commonly designated as frigates (fregat). Their function was primarily naval patrol, but on occasions frigates also were employed as slavers.

Cargo capacity is equally difficult to determine from the available records, at least during the period of WIC monopoly. WIC slavers generally were geared to carry approximately 500 slaves across the ocean, but often they carried many more.<sup>88</sup> During the 1720's WIC officials in Africa urged their superiors in Holland to send smaller slaving vessels. They requested specifically the fast sailing frigates of about 70-80 feet in length that would carry 250-300 slaves. These ships, they argued, could be employed for coastal trade while the slave trade was slow, rather than waiting for a cargo of slaves.<sup>89</sup> This idea

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<sup>86</sup>This model was designed at the end of the sixteenth century and was widely used in the Dutch merchant marine, particularly in the Baltic trade but also elsewhere. See Crone, pp. 69, 72 and 86-91.

<sup>87</sup>Van Dantzig (pp. 16-17) asserts that flutes were used widely for the slave trade. There is, however, very little reference to flutes in the WIC documents. Two flutes are mentioned in a document of 1720, but the reference leaves the impression that these ships were a rarity on the African coast. See WIC, Vol. 56, p. 182. Unger (II, p. 19) states that flutes were not used by the MCC free trade company during the eighteenth century.

<sup>88</sup>See chapters IV and V for more thorough analysis of the size of slavers and slave cargos.

<sup>89</sup>WIC, Vol. 486, pp. 466-67 and 532.

apparently stemmed from the Brazilians who customarily used small boats for the slave trade.<sup>90</sup> The free trade slaving ships used after 1730 were also of smaller size, averaging cargos of 300 slaves.<sup>91</sup>

The crews of ordinary WIC slavers were standardized at thirty-four persons, but on occasions the company tried to cut down this number in order to meet rising foreign competition. Such actions precipitated complaints from the Director-General who feared that undermanned slavers would be prone to encourage slave rebellions.<sup>92</sup> Free trade ships, while considerably smaller, maintained approximately the same number of crew members or even slightly more.<sup>93</sup> The debased qualities ascribed to the WIC personnel serving on the African coast (see p. 42) can equally be applied to crews of slave ships. And while there is no evidence of Dutch slaving crews mutinying as was the case with the English,<sup>94</sup> Dutch crews did undermine the WIC monopoly by participating in illicit trade.<sup>95</sup> Exposure to the slaves and to unfamiliar climates caused the death rates of Dutch slaving crews to be extremely high. Unger puts it at 17.9 per cent, which is higher than the death rate of slaves during the middle passage on the same ships.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid., Vol. 487, pp. 7 and 128; Vrijman, p. 85.

<sup>91</sup>Unger II, p. 63. See pp. 149-50 below.

<sup>92</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, pp. 135 and 783.

<sup>93</sup>Unger II, p. 21. Of the 106 ships studied by Unger the crews ranged from 26-44, with an average of 36 per ship.

<sup>94</sup>Mackenzie-Grieve, p. 96.

<sup>95</sup>NBKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 7/14/1731; WIC, Vol. 832, p. 239.

<sup>96</sup>Unger II, pp. 26-27. It should be taken into consideration, of course, that the voyage lasted about three times as long for the crew as for the slaves.

The captain of a slaving ship occupied an important function in the slave trade which required great skill. In addition to being a good navigator and leader of an unruly crew, he had to be an able merchant and manager in order to acquire and transport his cargo of live merchandise. Some slaving ships took in a WIC merchant at Elmina to direct the purchase of slaves. Other ships brought a specialist from Holland, generally called a supercargo, who took charge of the commercial transactions of the slaver.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, the captain still had to examine and approve of the slaves purchased.<sup>98</sup> When a captain was in charge of trade he had to be familiar with the customs and practices of Africans, knowing the right persons and the proper respects and duties due to African leaders and traders.<sup>99</sup> Free traders in particular were faced with these predicaments; WIC captains more often enjoyed the guidance provided by the WIC establishment on the African coast.<sup>100</sup>

The captain also had to take in consideration the market conditions, climatic cycles and fluctuations, and international relations. All of these could affect the outcome of his commercial venture. Due to the short supply of slaves, some ships had to wait as long as six months to complete their cargo, while a more fortunate captain completed it in two weeks.<sup>101</sup> Free traders not benefitting equally from

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<sup>97</sup>VWIS, Folder 720; WIC, Vol. 833, pp. 128-33. Both documents include instructions to a supercargo.

<sup>98</sup>NBKG, Vol. 233, Instructions 1/20/1700, art. 3.

<sup>99</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 159.

<sup>100</sup>See Appendix D for a set of such guidelines.

<sup>101</sup>WIC, Vol. 99, p. 340; Vol. 100, pp. 580-82.





the WIC institutions took even longer to fill their ships. Unger averages the stay of Middelbugsche Commercie Compagnie (MCC) slavers on the African coast at seven and one-half months.<sup>102</sup> During the months of June through August, the rainy season, the heavy surf made the water on the coast usually so rough that ships could not be loaded and unloaded.<sup>103</sup> And finally, ships of hostile nations might capture and confiscate a slaver,<sup>104</sup> while African traders often withheld merchandise unless additional duties or higher prices were paid.<sup>105</sup> All of these factors had to be taken into account by the captain.

In return for all these inconveniences a captain was rewarded with considerable prestige, and relative to his time, with a good salary. In 1732 the monthly salary of an MCC captain was five times that of one of his sailors--65 and 12 guilders respectively.<sup>106</sup> In addition to their salaries slave captains could earn extra on a successfully completed slaving voyage. According to WIC regulations set up in 1675 the captain of a slave ship received a monthly salary of 50 guilders, plus a special premium on slaves delivered in the West

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<sup>102</sup>Unger II, p. 39.

<sup>103</sup>WIC, Vol. 57, p. 38; Vol. 488, pp. 189, 193 and 197.

<sup>104</sup>International relations will be discussed in Chapters V and VI.

<sup>105</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 156.

<sup>106</sup>Unger II, pp. 24-25. Unger made an extensive analysis of the crews of MCC slavers.

Indies.<sup>107</sup>

This lucrative remuneration of slave captains aroused the envy of WIC personnel in Africa. In 1712, Commissioner Jan de Pauw at Ouidah complained to the Director-General that the "greedy" captains were eating freely from his table, a courtesy he owed them, while they were making far greater profits than he on the slave trade.<sup>108</sup>

The bulk of the slaves transacted by the Dutch were not purchased by captains of slave ships, however, but by agents of the WIC stationed at the various forts and lodges. This fort system, as these European trading stations are often termed, served a very significant function in the commercial relations between Europe and Africa.

When the Europeans first arrived on the West African coast a vast network of trade existed in the interior connecting the Sudan with North Africa via caravan routes across the Sahara. Consequently, the centers of political power and concentrations of population were in the interior. The Guinea coast was only sparsely populated with an occasional fishing or salt gathering village. One of the few exceptions to this was the city of Benin, which made a striking impression on Europeans, but otherwise no organized commercial network appears to have existed along the coast.<sup>109</sup> European demands

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<sup>107</sup>WIC, Vol. 835, p. 113. The following scale of special premiums was set up by the WIC:

f.1:--	per slave	1 - 50
f.2:--	" "	51 - 100
f.3:--	" "	101 - 150
f.4:--	" "	151 - 200
f.5:--	" "	201 - 250

<sup>108</sup>WIC, Vol. 102, p. 43.

<sup>109</sup>J. D. Fage, A History of West Africa (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 54-61.



for African products, aided by the decline of political stability in the western Sudan, precipitated a radical shift in the commercial and political orientation of West Africa. By the 1670's trade patterns had shifted mostly southward, toward the coast, furthering the decline of central authority in the western Sudan and giving rise to several new states in the coastal regions.<sup>110</sup>

Various agreements, or treaties, were made between European trading companies and the rulers (kings or chiefs, as the Europeans styled them) of the early coastal communities. Copies of some of these treaties between the WIC and African rulers have been preserved in Dutch archives.<sup>111</sup>

Trade was always the principal concern of these treaties. The Dutch were particularly insistent on excluding other European nations and interlopers from the trade with Africans. In return for a monopoly on trade the WIC promised to provide African rulers with arms and to protect the contracting community against their enemies.<sup>112</sup> There were many occasions on which African communities begged the WIC to establish a fort and provide them with the attendant securities.<sup>113</sup>

For the privilege of using African land for a trading station

<sup>110</sup>Ivor Wilks, The Northern Factor in Ashanti History (Cape Coast, Ghana: Institute of African Studies, 1961), pp. 10-20.

<sup>111</sup>See WIC, Vol. 122; and J. K. J. de Jonge, De Oorsprong van Neerland's bezittingen onder de kust van Guinea (The Hague: 1871), pp. 44-49.

<sup>112</sup>WIC, Vol. 109, p. 58.

<sup>113</sup>The following documents contain requests for such WIC protection: NBKG, Vol. 2, Minutes 12/21/1706 and 1/4/1706; Vol. 5, 2/12/1716; Vol. 7, 11/20/1734; WIC, Vol. 99, p. 14.



as well as for other services that African rulers rendered, the WIC also paid monetary remunerations (costgeld) on a regular basis. Numerous references to such payments occur in WIC documents.<sup>114</sup> This practice of regular payments gave rise to the so-called "(Elmina) Note" or "Book" which entitled the holder to an annual tribute from the WIC, and was often the cause of disputes between African rulers.<sup>115</sup> Africans at Cormantin received a tribute of one Mark in goods from Dutch ships that anchored there, a practice that dated back to 1664 when the famous Dutch admiral de Ruyter promised this tribute in return for assistance from the Cormantin Africans in ousting the English.<sup>116</sup>

One of the most significant changes resulting from the establishment of European forts was that they attracted sizable numbers of Africans for labor and protection offered by the towns adjoining the forts. The lives of these people in the castle towns were totally linked to the company, which provided them with a job such as craftsmen, rowers, interpreters, and traders. In Daaku's words they came to constitute a "new class" which drastically influenced African societies on the coast.<sup>117</sup>

From among this new class the WIC appointed a prominent member to the position of broker (makelaar). This influential post existed

<sup>114</sup>See for example NEKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 12/23/1712; Vol. 13, 1/12/1781.

<sup>115</sup>Daaku, pp. 49-50; and Mannix and Cowley, p. 30.

<sup>116</sup>WIC, Vol. 98, p. 5.

<sup>117</sup>Daaku, Chapter V. See also Harvey Feinberg, "Elmina, Ghana: A History of its Involvement and Relationship with the Dutch in the Eighteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1969).

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wherever the company traded regularly. Elmina had even more than one; the documents mention a chief broker (oppermakelaar) and an assistant broker (ondermakelaar).<sup>118</sup>

The role of the broker was to represent the WIC in matters of trade to the Africans, and to function as an intermediary between African traders and the company. Installation ceremonies were held at Elmina and included the swearing of an oath of allegiance to the WIC.<sup>119</sup> When in 1741 the Elmina caboceer (leader, or person of prominence), Amba, was recommended to succeed the diseased chief broker, Abbocan, the function of broker was described by WIC officials as "furthering the trade, and the general well being of the company." Amba was to receive a monthly salary of one ounce in gold.<sup>120</sup> The position of broker was frequently transferred from father to son.<sup>121</sup>

One of the functions of the broker was to collect unpaid debts for the company. In 1767 an unnamed WIC broker was sent to the island of Shipon, near Chama, to collect payment for four slaves, which had been kidnapped by Jan Tin, a prominent Negro of the island. The end result of the mission was that the king of the island, Cobbena Apo, agreed to trade with the WIC exclusively on payment of a monthly subsidy (costgeld) of six Ackeys in merchandise.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>118</sup>NEKG, Vol. 7, Minutes 1/-/1735, p. 5. See also Feinberg, pp. 93-94 for a discussion on brokers.

<sup>119</sup>NEKG, Vol. 14, Minutes 11/3/1788. This, at least, was the case with the successor to broker Apetta Coffy of Apam.

<sup>120</sup>NEKG, Vol. 240, p. 45.

<sup>121</sup>NEKG, Vol. 290, Document 50.

<sup>122</sup>NEKG, Vol. 12, Minutes 11/14/1767.





Some of these brokers became extremely wealthy and influential. Daaku has amplified the roles of a number of them, such as John Conny (Brandenburg broker), John Kabes (English), and Pieter Pasop (Dutch). They commanded power equal to contemporary African kings; Daaku dubs them "merchant princes."<sup>123</sup> According to a report from the Director-General in 1703, Pieter Pasop, who was related to the king of Akwamu, had sufficient power and influence to effect the end of hostilities between the Akwamu and neighboring states.<sup>124</sup>

Beyond the castle towns, European control over the African population was quite restricted before the nineteenth century. As Wyndham suggests, "their effectiveness was restricted to the range of their guns."<sup>125</sup> And even this limited degree of control was not always certain, as was shown in 1660 and 1694 when Africans captured forts from the Danes, and also during the early part of the eighteenth century when the WIC was unable to wrest the control of the Brandenburg fort Gross Friedrichsburg from John Conny.<sup>126</sup>

For the above reasons Europeans were forced to adjust their trade to the existing commercial systems initiated by the Africans. Actually, there were many basic similarities between African and European trading practices. Both tried to maintain commercial monopolies and had strong mercantilistic tendencies.<sup>127</sup> Trade monopolies were resented equally by Africans and Europeans, but neither had a choice

<sup>123</sup>Daaku, p. 304.    <sup>124</sup>WIC, Vol. 484, p. 238.

<sup>125</sup>Wyndham, p. 59.    <sup>126</sup>Nørregaard, p. xxiv.

<sup>127</sup>Davidson, p. 86; Nørregaard, p. xxiii.

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but to accept the restrictions imposed by them. African as well as European nations quarreled and fought wars with each other over control of the trade.<sup>128</sup>

As a result of the restricted European control of the African mainland, the former depended on the latter not only for supplies but also for information about the interior. Brokers were often employed as "roving ambassadors" to African rulers.<sup>129</sup> Other free Africans and castle slaves were sent on missions to the interior for information and messages of goodwill. In 1702, for example, two "black boys," named Affa and Jan (presumably castle slaves who were employed as messengers) were sent on a mission to the courts of Denkyira, Accany, and Ashanti.<sup>130</sup>

On a few occasions only did Europeans venture into the interior. One of the earliest penetrations of the Gold Coast mainland by Europeans occurred in 1701, when the WIC employee David van Nyendaal traveled to the court of the Ashanti at Kumasi and stayed there for more than one year. WIC documents refer to it as his "imprisonment." Nyendaal returned to Elmina at the close of 1702 or early in 1703, but unfortunately for posterity the account of his journey and stay at Kumasi was lost.<sup>131</sup> Several decades later, in 1703, Chief Commissioner Jacob Elet spent several months at the court of the king of Dahomey. This

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<sup>128</sup>Davidson, pp. 94-95.

<sup>129</sup>WIC, Vol. 99, p. 20; Daaku, p. 110.

<sup>130</sup>WIC, Vol. 98, p. 3. See the map for West African states in Figure 5, p. 130.

<sup>131</sup>NEKG, Vol. 1, Minutes 6/4/1702 and 5/1/1703.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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account has fortunately been preserved.<sup>132</sup>

African trade was highly specialized and operated by skilled professionals, as many European traders were willing to attest.<sup>133</sup> The trading profession was frequently organized like the crafts in Europe, with certain tribes specializing in trade. Sundström speaks of "Middlemen societies."<sup>134</sup>

One trading society or tribe frequently mentioned in WIC documents was the Akani (Accanisten). The Akani apparently had their own state about one hundred miles north of Elmina, until their demise at the beginning of the eighteenth century resulting from the wars between the declining Denkyira and the rising Ashanti empires.<sup>135</sup> Their role on the Gold Coast was much like that of the Hausa in the area later to become modern Nigeria.<sup>136</sup> The disappearance of the Akani traders as a result of the aforementioned rivalry was greatly regretted by the merchants of the WIC, who in 1705 were still hoping for the return of Akani traders.<sup>137</sup> The Akani were particularly influential in the gold trade, but by the time the slave trade took on significance in the Gold Coast,

<sup>132</sup>See WIC, Vol. 139.

<sup>133</sup>Wyndham, p. 63; Eric Tylleman, "The Gold Coast at the End of the Seventeenth Century Under the Danes and the Dutch," abridged and introduced by Matthew Nathan, Journal of the African Society, Vol. XIII (October, 1904), p. 31.

<sup>134</sup>Lars Sundström, The Trade of Guinea (Lund, Sweden: Hakan Ohlsson, 1965), Chapter II.

<sup>135</sup>Daaku, pp. 310 and 345; Tylleman, pp. 20-31. Daaku claims that Akani were later known by the name Adansi, and that the Fante replaced them in their commercial role on the Gold Coast.

<sup>136</sup>Ratelband, p. xciii.

<sup>137</sup>WIC, Vol. 97, pp. 452-53; Vol. 98, p. 454.



they were no longer mentioned in the WIC correspondence.

Related to the intense organization of African trade was the fact that political authorities exercised extensive control over it. African states could grant or refuse passage to traders from the interior, and when passage was allowed, they collected tolls and transit duties.<sup>138</sup> Control of the trade routes was frequently the cause of war, and once such wars had started, they tended to stagnate trade even further.<sup>139</sup>

In African societies trade was usually under complete or partial monopoly of its political leaders. Kings often appointed agents, "royal merchants," to direct the commercial transactions of the state.<sup>140</sup> This is perhaps best illustrated by the trade on the Slave Coast. Before the rise of Dahomey when the supreme king of the Aja states was still residing at the capital Allada (or Great Ardra), the best of European merchandise of each slaving ship had to be carried to the capital twenty-five miles inland so that the king could have first choice.<sup>141</sup> As the kings of the coastal towns, such as Ouidah, became more independent, they also insisted that they be given preferential treatment. From a directive compiled by the often cited Willem Bosman,<sup>142</sup> we learn that the king of Ouidah received the value of six

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<sup>138</sup>Sundström, pp. 8-9

<sup>139</sup>The relationship between war and trade will be assessed in chapters V and VI.

<sup>140</sup>Sundström, pp. 62 and 65; Daaku, p. 130; Martin, p. 22.

<sup>141</sup>Ratelband, p. lxxxi.

<sup>142</sup>NEKG, Vol. 233-234, Instructions 10/3/1700. A translation of this document is included as Appendix D.





slaves in duties plus two slaves for services from each slaving ship. In addition, the captain was obligated to buy the first slaves from the king, paying approximately 10-20 per cent more than on the free market and offering as payment cowry shells, the preferred currency on the slave coast. On occasions the king demanded additional duties and higher prices after 500 slaves had been delivered to the slaver.<sup>143</sup>

A number of "big merchants" (grote negotianten) or captains, as the Dutch were prone to call them, also received preferential treatment. This was due in part to their favorable relationship to the king (some documents refer to these merchants as "favorites of the king")<sup>144</sup> and also to their services rendered to the WIC. Like the king, they received gifts and a higher price for their slaves. While not in regular service of the company, they enjoyed the WIC's trust and esteem equal to brokers on the Gold Coast. They, too, functioned as links between Europeans and Africans, informing WIC captains of market conditions and serving as interpreters. Names such as Captain Carte (or Carter) and Agou can repeatedly be found at the head of slave ship purchase accounts during the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>145</sup> Carte held on to his position of prominence for many years, for in a report of 1720 we find the wish expressed that "he may yet live many years" because he "renders much friendship, since he has great influence

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<sup>143</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 156. See also Appendix D.

<sup>144</sup>NBKG, Vol. 234, Instruction 6/6/1703.

<sup>145</sup>WIC, Vol. 102, pp. 21-44. In this purchase account of ship St. Clara the king is listed as purchasing 36, Carte as 72, and Agou as 27 slaves.



with the king."<sup>146</sup>

Thus far the middlemen function of African merchants and societies has been emphasized. The WIC establishment in Africa, however, also performed that role viz. as middleman between African traders and maritime merchants from the Portuguese colony of Brazil. These Brazilians, usually referred to as Portuguese in Dutch records, came in large numbers throughout most of the eighteenth century to buy slaves at the WIC factories. An average of fifteen of these relatively small Brazilian ships anchored at Elmina annually. In 1727, a peak year, there were as many as thirty-three ships.<sup>147</sup> The Brazil trade became so significant by 1721 that a separate accounting book was created for this activity.<sup>148</sup> Three years later the Director-General ordered that no more than two Brazilians could be serviced at one time since this trade caused a shortage of slaves for WIC slaving ships.<sup>149</sup> The Brazil trade meant so much to the WIC, however, that in 1744 the company built a chapel for Brazilian sailors in which they could practice their Roman Catholic religion. This was quite a concession for the anti-Roman Calvinists and was approved only after several years of weighing the merits of the trade with Brazil.<sup>150</sup>

In return for slaves large quantities of Brazilian products,

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<sup>146</sup>WIC, Vol. 104, p. 486.

<sup>147</sup>WIC, Vol. 108, p. 74; Vol. 113, p. 432; NEKG, Vols. 240 and 241. A more extensive appraisal of the dimension of the Brazil trade follows on pp. 108 and 124-25.

<sup>148</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 190.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., Vol. 57, p. 59; Vol. 113, p. 209.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial data. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses, income, and any other financial activity.

The second part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the company's revenue. It lists the various sources of income, such as product sales, service fees, and licensing agreements. Each source is analyzed to determine its contribution to the overall revenue and to identify any trends or patterns.

The third part of the document focuses on the company's expenses. It categorizes the costs into fixed and variable expenses, allowing for a more precise analysis of the company's cost structure. This section also includes a discussion of the company's profit margins and the factors that influence them.

The fourth part of the document discusses the company's financial position and its ability to meet its obligations. It includes a balance sheet and a cash flow statement, which provide a snapshot of the company's financial health at a given time. This section also addresses the company's liquidity and its ability to generate cash from its operations.

The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the company's financial performance over the reporting period. It includes key financial ratios and metrics that are used to evaluate the company's performance relative to its goals and to industry benchmarks. This section also discusses the company's future prospects and the challenges it faces.

The sixth part of the document discusses the company's financial policies and procedures. It outlines the company's approach to budgeting, forecasting, and financial reporting. This section also includes a discussion of the company's internal controls and the measures it takes to ensure the accuracy and reliability of its financial data.

The seventh part of the document provides a conclusion and a list of recommendations. It summarizes the key findings of the financial analysis and provides suggestions for areas where the company can improve its financial performance. This section also includes a list of references and a glossary of terms.

The following table provides a summary of the company's financial performance over the reporting period. The table includes key financial ratios and metrics that are used to evaluate the company's performance relative to its goals and to industry benchmarks.

Metric	Value	Target	Industry Benchmark
Revenue	\$1,234,567	\$1,200,000	\$1,150,000
Expenses	\$789,012	\$800,000	\$820,000
Profit	\$445,555	\$400,000	\$330,000
Profit Margin	36.1%	33.3%	28.5%
Current Ratio	1.5x	1.2x	1.0x
Debt to Equity Ratio	0.8x	0.6x	0.5x

The table shows that the company's revenue is above target and industry benchmark, while its expenses are slightly above target. The company's profit margin is significantly higher than the industry benchmark, indicating a strong ability to generate profit from its operations. The company's current ratio is also above target, suggesting a strong ability to meet its short-term obligations. However, the company's debt to equity ratio is higher than the industry benchmark, indicating a higher level of financial risk.

principally tobacco, sugar, gold, and hides, were carried to the West African coast.<sup>151</sup> In addition to slaves the Brazilians bought some European goods and cowry shells, which they traded again for slaves on the Slave Coast.<sup>152</sup> The WIC began to rely on these Brazilian products, particularly tobacco and gold. As the eighteenth century progressed tobacco became an essential commercial product much in demand by Africans.<sup>153</sup> And ironically, there were occasions when Gold Coast traders demanded gold in payment for slaves.<sup>154</sup>

Not all Brazilian ships went to Elmina to buy slaves, however. Most of them went there merely to pay a duty, amounting to ten per cent of the cargo, extending to them the privilege to trade on the Guinea Coast under Dutch protection. This practice was justified by the Dutch-Portuguese treaty of 1661 and was rigorously enforced by the WIC, even though other European nationals were unmolested by the Dutch.<sup>155</sup> Many a Brazilian ship, failing to pay the required ten per cent, was captured and confiscated. Their fate was similar to that of captured interlopers. Indeed, numerous WIC ships completed their slave cargo with slaves taken from captured Brazilian vessels. In 1717, the slaver Companies Welvaren acquired 464 slaves in this manner.<sup>156</sup> Two years later a total of 680 slaves were rebbed from two

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<sup>151</sup>Ibid., Vol. 106, p. 438; Vol. 486, p. 447.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., Vol. 113, pp. 266 and 319.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid., Vol. 115, p. 95; Vol. 117, pp. 389-90.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid., Vol. 107, p. 3; Vol. 105, pp. 39-40.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid., Vol. 1275, Document 1725.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., Vol. 103, p. 352.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

2. Next, it is important to gather relevant information and data. This can be done through research, consultation with experts, or by analyzing existing data sets.

3. Once the information is gathered, the next step is to analyze it. This involves identifying patterns, trends, and relationships that can help in understanding the problem.

4. After analysis, the next step is to develop a solution or plan. This involves identifying the most effective approach to address the problem and outlining the steps to be taken.

5. Finally, the solution is implemented and the results are evaluated. This involves monitoring the progress of the implementation and assessing the effectiveness of the solution in addressing the problem.

Brazilian ships.<sup>157</sup> While the booty was not always this lucrative, hardly a year passed during the first quarter of the eighteenth century that not one or more Brazilian ships fell prey to the monopolistic WIC.

On rare occasions the WIC also sold slaves to French and English ships,<sup>158</sup> but this never became a regular practice. A few Americans also stopped at Elmina and bought slaves.<sup>159</sup> When in 1778 the WIC officially encouraged the trade with Americans the WIC's participation in the slave trade was about to terminate.<sup>160</sup> But only in the trade with the Brazilians did the Dutch WIC truly and significantly function in a middleman capacity.

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<sup>157</sup>Ibid., Vol. 485, p. 731; Vol. 56, p. 168.

<sup>158</sup>See for example WIC, Vol. 99, p. 11; NEKG, Vol. 8, Minutes 12/19/1737; Vol. 2, Minutes 12/2/1706.

<sup>159</sup>WIC, Vol. 490, p. 597. The first recorded arrival of an American ship was in 1754.

<sup>160</sup>NEKG, Vol. 14, Minutes 9/4/1787. See also AAC, Document 2419.



1. *Pharmaceutical industry* – The pharmaceutical industry is a major player in the healthcare sector, responsible for the development, production, and distribution of drugs. It is a highly competitive and regulated industry, with significant research and development costs. The industry is often criticized for high prices and lack of transparency.

2. *Healthcare providers* – Healthcare providers, including hospitals, clinics, and individual practitioners, are responsible for delivering medical services to patients. They are often the primary point of contact for patients seeking medical care. Healthcare providers are typically paid through a combination of insurance reimbursements and out-of-pocket payments.

3. *Insurance companies* – Insurance companies play a central role in financing healthcare. They collect premiums from individuals and businesses and use the funds to pay for medical services. Insurance companies often negotiate rates with healthcare providers and pharmaceutical companies to reduce costs.

4. *Government* – The government is a major player in the healthcare system, particularly in the United States. It regulates the industry, sets policy, and often provides funding for healthcare programs. The government is also a major purchaser of healthcare services, particularly for Medicare and Medicaid.

5. *Patients* – Patients are the ultimate recipients of healthcare services. They play an active role in their own care, making decisions about treatment and lifestyle. Patients often face financial barriers to care, particularly if they are uninsured or underinsured.

6. *Pharmaceutical industry* – The pharmaceutical industry is a major player in the healthcare sector, responsible for the development, production, and distribution of drugs. It is a highly competitive and regulated industry, with significant research and development costs. The industry is often criticized for high prices and lack of transparency.

7. *Healthcare providers* – Healthcare providers, including hospitals, clinics, and individual practitioners, are responsible for delivering medical services to patients. They are often the primary point of contact for patients seeking medical care. Healthcare providers are typically paid through a combination of insurance reimbursements and out-of-pocket payments.

8. *Insurance companies* – Insurance companies play a central role in financing healthcare. They collect premiums from individuals and businesses and use the funds to pay for medical services. Insurance companies often negotiate rates with healthcare providers and pharmaceutical companies to reduce costs.

9. *Government* – The government is a major player in the healthcare system, particularly in the United States. It regulates the industry, sets policy, and often provides funding for healthcare programs. The government is also a major purchaser of healthcare services, particularly for Medicare and Medicaid.

10. *Patients* – Patients are the ultimate recipients of healthcare services. They play an active role in their own care, making decisions about treatment and lifestyle. Patients often face financial barriers to care, particularly if they are uninsured or underinsured.

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## CHAPTER IV

### THE DIMENSIONS OF THE WIC SLAVE TRADE, 1675-1735

Only one decade after the WIC acquired a sizable stake in the Atlantic slave trade through the Asiento contracts (1662), the United Provinces were invaded by French armies and suffered a costly defeat in their third naval war against England. These political reversals also precipitated enormous economic losses, one of which was the bankruptcy of the WIC during the year 1674. Aware of the profits the Atlantic trade promised, however, Dutch merchants immediately created a new company. The new WIC, organized in September, 1674, resembled the old company so much that the change can appropriately be called a reorganization.<sup>1</sup>

The WIC slave trade suffered considerably as a result of these national disasters, although the trade itself may never have come to a complete standstill. At least two WIC slavers, with a total of 585 slaves aboard, departed from the Guinea coast during the first five months of 1674, and one Dutch slaver was captured by the English in the West Indies.<sup>2</sup> But no slaving activity can be verified through the WIC

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<sup>1</sup>Menkman, West Indische Compagnie, pp. 56 and 148; Unger I, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup>WIC, Vol. 101, p. 291; NEKG, Vol. 24, Correspondence 8/20/1774.

1. The first group of people who were involved in the  
 2. development of the program were the staff of the  
 3. various departments who were responsible for the  
 4. day-to-day operations of the program. These people  
 5. were the ones who had the most direct contact with  
 6. the students and were the ones who were most  
 7. familiar with the needs of the students. They were  
 8. the ones who were most likely to be involved in  
 9. the development of the program. They were the ones  
 10. who were most likely to be involved in the

*Journal of Management Studies*, 19(1), 67-80.

the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 30 million, and the number of people 75 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10 million to 15 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996).

documents during the last half of 1674 and the first half of 1675. The Asiento contract also slipped temporarily from the hands of the WIC, although the directors of the new WIC soon authorized a new Asiento contract to be negotiated.<sup>3</sup>

The resumption and expansion of the slave trade was high on the list of considerations of The Ten, the board of directors of the new WIC.<sup>4</sup> A new Asiento contract was signed on April 19, 1675. It was the largest to date, calling for eight slaving vessels each carrying 450-500 slaves during the first year. Four other slaving voyages had already been assigned,<sup>5</sup> and it is not clear whether these were subsequently employed for Asiento commitments or in addition to the other eight. From the scanty record it appears that only a small number of slaves were transacted by the WIC during the year 1675; the record of only one ship has been preserved, and the accounting of slave purchases on the African coast did not commence until September, 1675.<sup>6</sup> By the end of that year and during the following year the WIC was deeply involved in the trade, carrying an estimated 3,000 slaves across the Atlantic in a sixteen month period.<sup>7</sup> Unger claims that at this point the United Provinces may well have become the leading slave trading nation.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>WIC, Vol. 831, pp. 89 and 95.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 24 and 247. The slave trade was listed as point #10 on a comprehensive 23 point program of reorganization.

<sup>5</sup>WIC, Vol. 831, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup>VWIS, Folder 928, p. 1. See also Table 2.

<sup>7</sup>See Tables 2 and 3, and Appendixes A-1 and C.

<sup>8</sup>Unger I, p. 142.



The creation of the new WIC and the temporary halt followed by a more intensive involvement in the slave trade make the year 1675 a reasonable starting point for this study. But an even more important reason for beginning this study with that year is the increased availability of documents that followed the creation of the new company. Very few papers of the old WIC have been preserved, and it is therefore impossible to make a comprehensive assessment of its participation in the slave trade. Documents of the first quarter of the new WIC are still far from abundant, but from the beginning of the eighteenth century a wealth of documents has been preserved.

On the whole, the WIC archives are a delight to the researcher. Dutch merchants and administrators developed highly rationalized and efficient institutions of commerce and left numerous legal papers and commercial accounts that were copiously duplicated and preserved. Periodic reports of the company's commercial pursuits on the African coast and minutes of the Council's meetings had to be sent to The Ten in Holland in duplicate and by different ships.<sup>9</sup> The Bookkeeper-General had to prepare and send in similar fashion annual, semi-annual, and bimonthly accounts of the trade on the Guinea Coast.<sup>10</sup> Each item of trade, including slaves, had to be accounted for. If a slave died, even an infant, a death warrant (attestatie) was drawn up and signed by two employees of the WIC.<sup>11</sup> Obviously this was not for genealogical

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<sup>9</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, pp. 6 and 27; Vol. 109, p. 59.

<sup>10</sup>NEKG, Vol. 228, No. 2. Unfortunately, the main ledger containing a complete record of all financial transactions in Africa has not been preserved.

<sup>11</sup>WIC, Vol. 180, p. 192. See Appendix F for a translation of



purposes, since no names were recorded, but simply because a slave was a valuable commercial article.

If a slave captain failed to sell all his European merchandise in Africa, a WIC agent had to sign an affidavit verifying the remnant.<sup>12</sup> When a ship had boarded a complete cargo of slaves, the captain had to sign three receipts (Cognossement), specifying the nature (male, female, etc.) of the slave cargo. The captain kept one copy, one was kept in Elmina, and the third copy was sent to Holland.<sup>13</sup> In 1712 the book-keeping of the slave trade was further complicated by the requirement of detailed accounts (Reekening) of the purchasing of slaves. The accounts had to include the type and price of the slaves, and when and from whom the slaves were bought.<sup>14</sup> When in 1719 two slavers left Ouidah without these accounts, the negligent WIC servants were reprimanded by officials in Holland.<sup>15</sup> Such a system virtually guaranteed that every slave was accounted for. And when a captain did not possess the slaves indicated by the books, the authorities in either Elmina or the United Provinces could order an investigation. Only a few such investigations have reportedly taken place.<sup>16</sup>

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an attestatie. WIC, Vol. 108 contains several of these documents for the period of April, 1728 to April, 1730.

<sup>12</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 87.

<sup>13</sup>NEKG, Vol. 235, Instructions 11/21/1713. See Appendix E for a translated cognossement.

<sup>14</sup>WIC, Vol. 101, pp. 363-67. The document cited is an example of such an account or reekening.

<sup>15</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 173.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Vol. 484, pp. 346-49; NEKG, Vol. 2, Minutes 2/25/1706.



1. The first step in the process of the scientific method is to make an observation or ask a question. For example, you might notice that plants in a sunny location grow faster than plants in a shady location. This leads to the question: "Does the amount of sunlight affect the growth rate of plants?"

2. Next, you formulate a hypothesis, which is a tentative answer to your question. In this case, you might hypothesize: "If a plant receives more sunlight, then it will grow faster."

3. To test your hypothesis, you design an experiment. You would need to select two groups of identical plants. One group would be placed in a sunny location (the experimental group), and the other group would be placed in a shady location (the control group). You would then measure the growth rate of the plants in each group over a period of time.

4. After collecting data, you analyze the results. If the plants in the sunny location grew significantly faster than the plants in the shady location, your data would support your hypothesis. If not, your data would contradict your hypothesis.

5. Finally, you draw a conclusion based on your analysis. If your hypothesis was supported, you might conclude: "The amount of sunlight does affect the growth rate of plants; more sunlight leads to faster growth." If your hypothesis was contradicted, you might conclude: "The amount of sunlight does not affect the growth rate of plants."

6. The scientific method is a systematic approach to investigating a question or problem. It involves making observations, asking questions, forming hypotheses, testing hypotheses through experiments, analyzing data, and drawing conclusions. This process allows scientists to gain a better understanding of the natural world and to develop new technologies and treatments.

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While a large portion of the new WIC papers have been preserved, it is still not possible to arrive at an accurate count of the volume of the WIC slave trade. Too many documents were either lost or discarded, particularly of the years before 1700. However, on the basis of the available data, several model figures can be calculated, such as the average number of slaves carried on WIC ships and the average number of slaving ships dispatched during a given period. At least for the period of 1675-1735, which is characterized by considerable continuity in documentation and slaving techniques, these model figures can serve as a basis for reasonable estimates. Three types of data have been collected for this sixty year period of WIC monopoly, and while not one of these sets of data is complete, by correlating them, some meaningful conclusions can be drawn regarding the Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade.

The largest and most valuable collection of data used for this study is a list of 241 WIC slaving voyages, listed in accordance with the names of the ships in Appendix A. The information on this list was drawn from numerous reports and letters from Africa, as well as various other company papers. One of the results of this method was to determine the absolute minimum of WIC slavers that carried slaves from Africa. Not every slaving voyage could be detected by this method, however, particularly not for the period of 1675-1699 where a dearth of documentary evidence made this effort virtually meaningless. The incomplete record revealed only sixty ships, or slightly more than two per year, which is perhaps only one-third of the actual total.

For the years 1700-1735, however, the list of slaving ships gives a more accurate reflection. Virtually all the reports from Africa

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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for this period have been preserved, and the Director-General was usually very eager to report the departure of a loaded slaver. For these thirty-six years a total of 158 slaving voyages, or slightly more than four per year, can be documented. This still is by no means a complete record, however, since many voyages were either not recorded or the reports were lost. This is particularly the case with slavers sailing to the Loango-Angola Coast, which did not have to report their departure from Africa to Elmina. So, while this kind of evidence provides us with an absolute minimum, the actual number of voyages can be determined only with the aid of additional evidence to be discussed below.

The data on the list of slaving voyages are most valuable in determining an average for the number of slaves transported by WIC ships. Most company ships were geared to carry a cargo of approximately 500 slaves, particularly during the seventeenth century. During the following century this figure gradually expanded; the largest recorded WIC cargo was carried by the Beekesteyn in 1733, and amounted to 866 slaves. Only two other cargos comprising 800 or more have been found recorded by this study. These large cargos were balanced by small yachts that the company sent across the Atlantic with slaves. Of the seventeen yachts recorded, the smallest carried 100 slaves, while the overall average was 171. The great majority of the yachts, fifteen out of seventeen recorded, crossed the Atlantic in the 1700-1735 period. Since this mission was authorized by Elmina,<sup>17</sup> it seems

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<sup>17</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 88. The WIC authorities in Holland assigned slaving missions, but small yachts could be initiated by the Council at Elmina. It was not until 1710, however, that the Council was encouraged



unlikely that any of the yachts have been left unrecorded. The tabulations of WIC slaving ships in Table 1 should aid in determining a meaningful model for an average slave cargo.

TABLE 1  
THE SIZE OF SLAVE CARGOS

Category	Ships	Slaves	Average per Ship
Grand Total	159	83,594	525.8
Yachts	17	2,902	170.7
1675-1699	37	18,024	487.1 <sup>a</sup>
After 1735	13	6,772	520.6 <sup>b</sup>
Total 1700-1735	108	58,378	545.7

<sup>a</sup>This figure includes one yacht carrying 173 slaves.

<sup>b</sup>After 1735 the WIC dispatched slaving vessels only periodically (see chapter V). These 13 slavers, including one yacht with 171 slaves, have been included in the grand total.

Source: Appendix A.

Assuming that the later activities were more accurately recorded, several yachts may have been unrecorded in the pre-1700 period; only one yacht was reported during this period. A more representative number of ships for the early period would tend to lower the overall average. Since one can only speculate on this, the grand total average of 525 slaves per ship seems a reasonable model to apply when the specific capacity of a ship is unknown.

A second compilation of data that aids in determining the

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to do so, which may well account for the small number of yachts dispatched before that date.



dimension of the Dutch slave trade consists of the assignments (tourbeurt) of slaving voyages to the various chambers of the WIC. These assignments were made by The Ten or the directors of the presiding chamber, and the information can be gleaned from the minutes of meetings or from correspondence from these bodies to the Directors-General in Africa. Only about half of the assignments could be verified, and these data therefore fail to give a comprehensive picture of the slaving activity of the WIC.<sup>18</sup> Still, a number of meaningful conclusions may be drawn from this information. A most useful conclusion deduced from these assignments is the relative importance of the areas from which the Dutch acquired their slaves. Out of a total of 140 recorded voyages, 42 were destined for Angola, 74 for the Slave Coast (Aja), 7 were sent to Elmina and 4 to either Elmina or the Slave Coast. A total of 3 were dispatched to Rio Calabary, and the remaining 10 had either optional or mixed destinations, or their African destination was not recorded in the available sources. Since the WIC archives supply little information regarding the Angola trade, this data drawn from the slaving assignments supplies a broad sample from which a reasonable estimate of the volume of the Angola trade can be deduced. According to the assignments the Angola trade constituted nearly one-third of the total WIC slaving effort (42 out of 130 known destinations), and amounted to nearly half the magnitude (42 compared to 85) of the Slave and Gold Coast trade combined.<sup>19</sup>

The third set of data employed to evaluate the dimension of the

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<sup>18</sup>The slaving assignments (tourbeurten) are listed in Appendix C.

<sup>19</sup>See Table 5 for a tabulation of overall estimates.





Dutch slave trade constitutes one of the most valuable finds in this research project. It consists of a tabulation of merchandise purchased by the WIC on the African coast during the period of 1675-1731, covering nearly the whole period treated in this chapter. These "return goods," (retourwaren) as the Dutch styled them, included African products such as gold, ivory, slaves, etc., as well as merchandise bought from Brazilian traders who frequented the Guinea Coast. Apparently a WIC servant compiled this information from the main ledger, now no longer in existence. Its reliability cannot be tested accurately, but a few surviving bimonthly accounts, as well as a tally of individual slave cargos (see Tables 2 and 3), tend to confirm the reliability of the figures on this list.<sup>20</sup>

Pertinent elements of the three sets of data discussed thus far have been combined in Tables 2 and 3. A separate table has been made for the last quarter of the seventeenth century, since the information regarding assignments and recorded slaving voyages is scanty for this period, and its comparative value is thereby impaired. As the tables show, however, the decade of the 1680's and the final years of the seventeenth century are an exception to the rule, which is due largely to the preservation of two volumes of correspondence from the WIC factors stationed on the Slave Coast.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Few bimonthly accounts in consecutive order have been preserved, but WIC, Vol. 108, pp. 32, 41, 46, and 53 contain the accounts for a consecutive period of eight months of the year 1727. During this period 2,052 slaves were recorded purchased at the various WIC factories, as compared with 2,900 slaves indicated on the list of "return goods" for the whole year.

<sup>21</sup>See WIC, Vols. 180 and 1024.



TABLE 2

## ACCUMULATED DATA ON WIC SLAVING, 1675-1699

	I	II	III	IV	V
1675	-	8	1	344	
1676	2877	3 (6) <sup>a</sup>	1	343	(1 Ang.)
1677	1923	-	1	525	
1678	2009-1/4	-	-	-	(2 Ang.)
1679	826-11/12	5 (4)	-	-	
1680	2285	8	2	966	(1 Ang.)
1681	869	2 (2)	3	1546	
1682	410-3/5	8 or 11	2	988	
1683	1212	4 (3)	2	1025	
1684	1565-1/4	-	2	1000	
1685	666	6 (2)	5	2025	(2 n.s.)
1686	2123	2 (1)	4	2046	(1 n.s.)
1687	1102	-	4	2026	
1688	1595	-	3	1170	
1689	15	-	-	-	
1690	63	-	1	499	
1691	740	-	4	2036	(1 Ang.)
1692	2487-1/2	-	-	-	
1693	989-1/2	-	1	525	
1694	599	-	-	-	
1695	1037	-	-	-	
1696	1115-1/3	-	2	1050	(2 n.s.)
1697	852-1/2	-	2	1050	
1698	3134-1/2	1	1	540	(1 Ang.)
1699	2416	2	7	3228	(2 n.s.)

<sup>a</sup>The figures in this column indicate the number of months for which the assignments were made. Additional assignments may have been made for such years, but the evidence for this is lacking.

Note: The five columns in the table represent the following:

- I. The number of slaves purchased according to the list of "return goods."
- II. The number of slaving assignments that can be documented.
- III. The number of specific slaving voyages that can be documented, but not including ships to Angola.
- IV. The number of slaves, known or estimated, that were carried by the ships mentioned in III. An average of 525 slaves has been calculated when the number of slaves in a given ship was not reported.
- V. The number of Angola slavers of which there is a record (Ang.), as well as the slavers of which the African port or area of departure is not specified (n.s.).



TABLE 3

## ACCUMULATED DATA ON WIC SLAVING, 1700-1737

	I	II	III	IV	V
1700	969-1/2	8	4	1654	(2 n.s.)
1701	323	-	4	1774	
1702	299	4 (5)	-	-	
1703	424	-	2	952	(1 Ang.)
1704	1578	-	4	1677	(2 Ang.)
1705	1995-1/6	-	4	1821	
1706	2269	8 (4)	4	1823	(1 Ang.)
1707	2430-1/2	3	6	2710	(1 Ang. 1 n.s.)
1708	2194	8	3	1485	
1709	1908	5	4	2105	
1710	1334	-	4	1685	
1711	35	-	3	1252	
1712	1912	4	2	1154	
1713	716	2	2	1109	(1 Ang.)
1714	1557	2	4	1921	
1715	1606	5	4	1563	(1 Ang.)
1716	1452	1	3	1234	
1717	1011	1	4	2137	
1718	2212	6	5	2602	
1719	2586	3 (6)	2	1050	(2 Ang.)
1720	1446	5 (7)	1	596	(1 Ang.)
1721	1648	7	4	2161	(2 Ang. 1 n.s.)
1722	1352	3 or 5	2	1062	
1723	2071-1/4	-	5	2165	(1 Ang.)
1724	3165-1/6	6	4	2076	
1725	2890	9	5	2615	(1 Ang.)
1726	2752	9	3	1478	
1727	2900	-	5	3025	
1728	1936	-	5	2827	
1729	3263	-	4	2597	
1730	1440	5	2	732	
1731	1874	5	6	3065	
1732	-	-	6	3077	
1733	-	-	5	3303	
1734	-	-	6	2740	
1735	-	-	7	3724	
1736	-	-	4	2270	
1737	-	1	2	1078	

Note: The key to this table is identical to Table 2, p. 102.

Sources for Tables 2 and 3: Appendixes A and C, and VWIS, Folder 928.

[illegible]

The occasional use of fractions (see column I) in the list of slaves among the "return goods" is indicative of a serious effort toward accuracy. Obviously there were no fractions of slaves or partially free slaves. Fractions resulted from the fact that slaves were regarded as merchandise, and since their economic value varied, a fictional unit of measurement for a full-fledged slave and fractions thereof were developed during the seventeenth century. A healthy male or female slave between the ages of 15 and 35 was considered a full-fledged slave and usually referred to as piezas de India. In Dutch documents this generally abbreviated to pieces (pees or ps.), and the expression "deliverable piece" (leverbaar stuk) also was used. When the term "heads" (koppen) was employed, it was in reference to individual slaves regardless of their economic value, although occasionally the terms were used interchangeably for the same unit. Adult slaves with serious physical disabilities were placed in a separate category and labeled macroons or manquerons. Fractional designations were used primarily for the evaluation of children below the age of fifteen.<sup>22</sup>

The number of child slaves purchased by the Dutch appears to have been very low during the seventeenth century, but the ratio increased gradually during the subsequent century. According to a sample of fifty-six WIC slave cargos, no children were recorded during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but during the first third of the following century, 7-1/2 per cent were registered in fractions of a piezas de India. An estimated discrepancy of 5 per cent between piezas de India and individual human beings would therefore seem reasonable for

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<sup>22</sup>Unger I, pp. 145-46; Curtin, pp. 22-23.





the period of 1675-1731, and could therefore be added to the list of "return goods" in order to arrive at the total number of slaves.<sup>23</sup>

Without complete documentation it is impossible to arrive at a definitive conclusion regarding the dimension of the Dutch slave trade. However, the available data contained in Tables 2 and 3 enable one to make some reasonable estimates and draw meaningful conclusions.

First, it appears that the slave trade fluctuated considerably; some years nine or more slaving vessels crossed the Atlantic and other years none at all or very few. Secondly, the average annual volume of trade of the first third of the eighteenth century was higher than that of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, as the list of "return goods" illustrates.

By comparing the statistics contained in the list of "return goods" (column I) to the slaving voyages recorded (columns III and IV) the reliability of the former is actually enhanced, even if the numbers of corresponding years often differ considerably. Comparison by years is actually not too valuable since the exact date of departure of the slaving ships is not always recorded, with the result that many ships actually left during the end of the previous year or during the beginning of the following year. In addition, slaves bought at the end of a given year often were stored for several months and sold during the first months of the following year. By comparing the two sets of data for the period of 1700-1735, the years for which quite a comprehensive record of slaving ships has been collected, the result shows considerable

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<sup>23</sup>See Table 13, and p. 177. During the free trade period the percentage of child slaves was much higher, see chapter VII, p. 181.



harmony. After five per cent of estimated loss for counting in pièces d'India on the list of "return goods," the following comparison can be made:

Slaves bought according to WIC records	55,547
Add five per cent for loss due to piece accounting	<u>2,780</u>
Total	58,327
Slaves shipped by WIC vessels	<u>56,106</u>

For the above mentioned reasons the statistics drawn from the list of "return goods" appear to provide the most reliable set of data that can be used as a basis for meaningful estimates of the dimension of the Dutch slave trade. In addition to the five per cent adjustment already mentioned, however, these figures should be augmented by the following supplemental data before overall conclusions can be drawn. First, since the list of "return goods" concludes with the year 1731, the recorded slave shipments of the years 1732-1735 can be added in order to cover the whole period of 1675-1735. Second, since the list of "return goods" represents the Guinea trade only, and since the WIC slaving assignments show a 2-1 ratio for the Guinea-Angola slave trade, the figure derived from the list of "return goods" can be raised by 50 per cent in order to arrive at a realistic estimate of the total volume of the Dutch slave trade for the given period.

The list of "return goods" does not include the slaves acquired through confiscation. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, WIC vessels captured a large number of interlopers and Brazilian ships. The latter yielded a large number of slaves, as is indicated in Table 4. The total of 4,250 actually accounted for undoubtedly does not represent all confiscated slaves, but judging from the WIC records, this should



TABLE 4  
CONFISCATED SLAVES AND SLAVES SOLD TO BRAZILIANS

	I	II		I	II
1707	100	-	1722	96	-
1711	74	-	1723	128	-
1714	120	-	1724	-	-
1715	389	473	1725	268	-
1716	-	-	1726	100	-
1717	800	199	1727	51	412
1718	1055	-	1728	250	252
1719	-	1490	1729	143	-
1720	130	-	1730	323 <sup>a</sup>	-
1721	155	18	1731	10	-
			1733	59	-

<sup>a</sup>These 323 slaves were actually confiscated from a captured Dutch interloper, but since this was the only sizable catch of this type, the figure has been entered among the statistics relating to Brazil. See Chapter III for a discussion on the activities of interlopers.

Note: Column I lists the slaves confiscated, and Column II the slaves sold to Brazilian merchants.

Sources:

Column I, WIC, Vol. 101, p. 300; Vol. 102, p. 429; Vol. 104, pp. 282, 284, 288, and 473; Vol. 105, p. 49; Vol. 107, pp. 8, 391, 393, 395, and 535; Vol. 485, pp. 360, 411, 500, 671, and 731; Vol. 486, pp. 150, 314, and 444; Vol. 487, pp. 28-30, 103, and 634; Vol. 1024, 11/23/1717; NEKG, Vol. 85, 7/16/1718, 9/14/1718, 9/30/1718, 11/30/1718; Vol. 138; p. 155.

Column II, WIC, Vol. 56, p. 175; Vol. 102, pp. 538 and 563; Vol. 103, pp. 204 and 428; Vol. 104, pp. 166 and 291; NEKG, Vol. 5, 7/13/1716; Vol. 236, dispersed through the whole volume.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

A		B		C	
1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36
37	38	39	40	41	42
43	44	45	46	47	48
49	50	51	52	53	54
55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66
67	68	69	70	71	72
73	74	75	76	77	78
79	80	81	82	83	84
85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96
97	98	99	100	101	102

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

not be too far from the absolute total. Few confiscations are recorded for the first decade of the eighteenth century, although there is evidence of captured Brazilian ships between the years 1702-1704.<sup>24</sup> An estimate of 5,000 confiscated slaves for the 1700-1735 period would therefore seem reasonable. There is no evidence that Brazilian ships frequented the Guinea Coast in large numbers during the last quarter of the seventeenth century; at least the available WIC records do not reveal any large catches of slaves.

While the confiscated slaves raise the number of slaves transacted by the Dutch, they should not be added to the number taken across the Atlantic by WIC ships as about an equal number of slaves was sold to Brazilian captains by the agents of the WIC at Elmina. Table 4 shows the balance of this two-way relationship between the WIC and Brazilian traders.

One additional and somewhat obscure factor needs to be considered before a global estimate of the WIC slave trade can be made. It appears that during the decade of the 1720's the WIC allowed a number of free trade ships to participate in the slave trade. These vessels were either hired or allowed to go on payment of a fee to the company, although WIC documents are mute on the subject. The participation of these ships can be verified only from their insurance policies, in which one of them is listed as a WIC ship.<sup>25</sup> A total of ten such ships

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<sup>24</sup>WIC, Vol. 98, pp. 259-60. This document records that during this three year period, the value of 62,188 guilders in Brazilian ships was confiscated by the WIC. Although not specifically reported, there were undoubtedly also slaves among the confiscated goods.

<sup>25</sup>AMA, Vol. 215, p. 162; Vol. 216, pp. 27, 95, 107, 203, 207, and 218; Vol. 217, p. 42. See also Appendix A-4.



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can be documented, but more vessels may have been involved. Added to this uncertain variable is the fact that no information is available concerning the size of the cargos and the time of departure from Africa. Allowing an average cargo customary for free trade slavers, these ten ships alone would boost the volume of the Dutch trade by at least 3,000 slaves before the trade was officially freed.

Table 5 illustrates the process used for arriving at overall estimates of the dimension of the Dutch slave trade during the monopoly period of the second WIC. The list of "return goods" is employed as a basis and is supplemented by other data as enumerated in the preceding pages. By subtracting the estimated 5,000 slaves sold to Brazilian captains, the remaining grand total of 161,000 slaves would have required the WIC to dispatch an average of five slaving ships per year. Since the slave cargos increased in size with the passing of time, the average number of slaving ships did not alter, although the annual export rates grew by about 50 per cent if one compares the first third of the eighteenth century to the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

As is evident from the foregoing, the dimension of the Dutch slave trade from the Loango-Angola Coast remains the most speculative. Since so little documentary evidence of this trade has been preserved, the estimate of 50 per cent of the Guinea Coast trade, based on the assignments of WIC ships to specific areas, is the only reasonable foundation from which meaningful estimates can be deduced.

While the WIC did not maintain permanent lodges on the Loango Coast, WIC slavers continued to acquire their cargos in this region with little interruption. One reason for this was that the planters



TABLE 5

## ESTIMATED DIMENSION OF THE WIC SLAVE TRADE, 1675-1735

	1675-1699	1700-1735	TOTALS 1675-1735
Slaves purchased and listed as			
"Return Goods," 1675-1731 . . . . .	32,909	55,547	88,456
Five per cent adjustment for discrepancy			
in accounting (piezas vs. heads) . . . . .	1,646	2,776	4,422
Slaves transported in WIC ships, 1732-1735 . . . . .		12,844	12,844
Total number of slaves from the Guinea Coast . . . . .	34,555	71,167	105,722
Estimated purchases on the Loango-Angola			
Coast (50% of the Guinea trade) . . . . .	17,277	35,579	52,856
Guinea and Loango-Angola trade combined . . . . .	51,832	106,746	158,578
Transports on hired free traders . . . . .		3,000	3,000
Confiscated slaves . . . . .		5,000	5,000
Grand total estimates of the WIC trade . . . . .	51,832	114,746	166,578
Annual averages . . . . .	2,073	3,187	2,731

Sources: Tables 2, 3, and 4; Appendixes A and C; Text, pp. 105-109.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008	1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022	1023	1024	1025	1026	1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036	1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062	1063	1064	1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078	1079	1080	1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092	1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106	1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116	1117	1118	1119	1120	1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134	1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188	1189	1190	1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218	1219	1220	1221	12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of the Dutch colony of Surinam preferred "Angola" slaves.<sup>26</sup> On at least one occasion, however, the Loango-Angola trade may have been interrupted for a few years. This occurred in the period of 1702-1705 when the French seemed to dominate much of the West African coast. In 1705, the WIC sent a yacht to examine the commercial prospects at Loango again. During the following year two of the eight slaving assignments were destined for Loango-Angola again.<sup>27</sup> If at times WIC slavers confined their acquisition to the Guinea Coast, this may well have been offset by other occasions when a dearth of slaves here forced WIC authorities to reassign slavers to the Loango-Angola Coast.<sup>28</sup>

Table 5 shows that Dutch participation in the slave trade increased when the first part of the eighteenth century is compared to the last quarter of the previous century. This growth did not come gradually, however. On the contrary, the slave trade was characterized by immense fluctuations, as is illustrated in Figure 4. The data employed in this chart is drawn primarily from the list of "return goods" and supplemented by a tally of WIC slavers leaving the Guinea Coast. Since the Loango-Angola trade estimates are derived from the Guinea Coast statistics, the former has not been included in the chart. If a year to year account of the Loango-Angola trade were available, the trade pattern might actually level out somewhat, since the trade in this area was not always subject to the same events, particularly developments

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<sup>26</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., Vol. 484, p. 265; Vol. 56, p. 4; NEKG, Vol. 1, Minutes 12/11/1702 and 9/14/1703; Vol. 2, Minutes 10/26/1705.

<sup>28</sup>WIC, Vol. 464, Correspondence 4/8/1723; Vol. 484, p. 357.



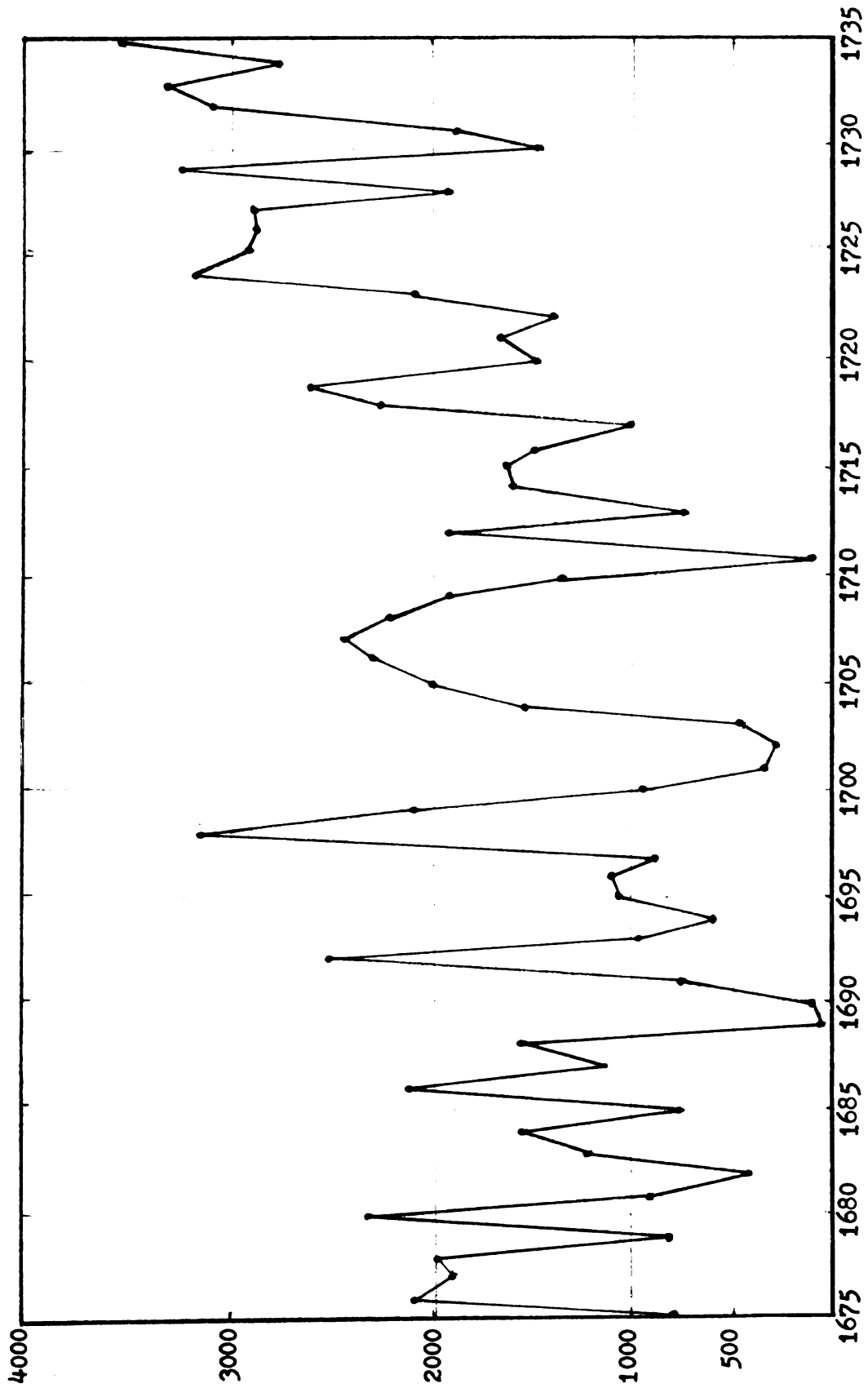


Fig. 4. FLUCTUATIONS OF THE WIC SLAVE TRADE ON THE GUINEA COAST



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on

in Africa. The causal factors for the fluctuations of the slave trade on the Guinea Coast will be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### SLAVING UNDER WIC MONOPOLY, 1675-1730

A variety of economic and political factors influenced the WIC participation in the slave trade, causing a rather erratic fluctuation in the volume of trade. This is well illustrated in Figure 4, which is based on the annual turnover of slaves by WIC merchants on the Guinea Coast. The following is a list of the most prominent factors that were responsible for the fluctuations of the trade. They are not listed in order of importance, but rather in the approximate sequence in which they are analyzed in this chapter.

1. Asiento contracts
2. Other market conditions in the Western Hemisphere
3. Trade with Brazilian slavers
4. War and diplomatic relations between the United Provinces and other European nations
5. Commercial competition between the European maritime powers
6. Piratical activities
7. Market conditions in Africa
8. War and other political conditions on the African coast and in the interior
9. Efficiency and financial viability of the WIC

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The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This can be done through market research, which involves gathering information about the target market and its needs. Once a market need has been identified, the next step is to develop a product concept. This involves creating a detailed description of the product, including its features, benefits, and target market. The product concept is then used to develop a business plan, which outlines the company's strategy for producing and marketing the product. The business plan is then used to secure funding from investors or lenders. Once funding has been secured, the company can begin production and marketing of the product.

- 1. Identify a market need
- 2. Develop a product concept
- 3. Develop a business plan
- 4. Secure funding
- 5. Begin production and marketing
- 6. Monitor sales and customer feedback
- 7. Adjust the product and marketing strategy as needed
- 8. Expand the product line and market reach
- 9. Establish a strong brand identity
- 10. Build a loyal customer base

The control of the Spanish Asiento, one of the most "coveted and bitterly contested plums of international diplomacy" during the century before 1750,<sup>1</sup> was an important factor in determining the dimension of the Dutch slave trade. The Spanish colonies, which were supplied by these contracts, were among the most coveted slave markets in the Western Hemisphere. As was pointed out in the first chapter, the Dutch acquisition of an Asiento contract in 1662 signalled their beginning as a prominent slave trading nation.

All too frequently, however, discussions of the Asiento have tended to oversimplify the topic by stating that a certain nation controlled this trade,<sup>2</sup> leading to the erroneous conclusion that such a nation carried the contracted number of black slaves (generally between 3,000-4,000 per year) to the Western Hemisphere. International tensions and disagreements between the Asientists and the parties contracted to do the slaving often upset the intended commercial transactions. This is illustrated very well in the relations between the WIC and the Asientists.

The five year contract of April, 1675, called for the shipment of 4,000 slaves per year to the island of Curaçao, from which ships of the Asientist Don García would fetch the slaves. One year later, however, the Asiento agents in Holland, Balthazar and Joseph Coymans, were summoned to appear before the directors of the WIC because the company

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 20-24 of this study, and also the afore-mentioned articles by Scelle and Wright and the first two volumes of Donnan concerning the Asiento.

<sup>2</sup>Van Brakel, pp. 73 ff. For additional references to this contract see WIC, Vol. 831, pp. 239 and 313; and Vol. 746, Minutes 4/8/1675.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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failed to receive the contracted payments for slaves delivered in the West. When the brothers Coymans attended the meeting of The Ten in June, 1676, an agreement seems to have been reached. But two years later relations between the directors of the WIC and the agents of the Asientists became so strained that a completely new contract had to be negotiated, which was completed in March, 1679.<sup>3</sup> This contract was apparently even less successful than the previous one, for WIC documents make references to a new Asiento contract during the year 1680, which the WIC directors refused to accept.<sup>4</sup>

An account of the Asiento trade covering the year 1676 shows payment for 1,790 piezas de India, which had been transported in six WIC ships.<sup>5</sup> This appears to represent the first payment for Asiento deliveries for the contract of April, 1675.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these and subsequent Asiento transactions is that these contracts seldom, if ever, were carried out in their entirety. Asiento contracts were repeatedly renegotiated, which implies that the preceding contract did not operate satisfactorily or had been abandoned completely. For example, in May, 1683, a six year contract for a total of 18,000 slaves (3,000 per year) was signed by the directors of the WIC and the agents of the Asientist in Spain,<sup>6</sup> but in less than two years--in April, 1685--a new contract

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<sup>3</sup>WIC, Vol. 831, pp. 244-45, 313, 503, and 520; Vol. 783, Contracts 1, 2, and 3.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Vol. 832, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Vol. 831, pp. 47 and 401.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Vol. 783, Contracts 13 and 14.





was agreed upon by the same parties.<sup>7</sup>

No doubt, the modification of the Asiento contract in 1685 resulted in part from the appointment of a new Asientist. During that year the Spanish Crown endowed the Dutch merchant Balthazar Coymans, member of a wealthy Amsterdam banking family, with the Asiento de Negros. By that act the Asiento became almost exclusively a Dutch affair. Within a few years, however, Coymans' position was challenged by anti-Protestant interests in Spain, which put so much pressure on the Crown that by 1679 the previous Asiento holder, Porcio, was reinstated.<sup>8</sup>

The difficulties of the Coymans' Asiento and the ultimate ouster of Coymans are definitely reflected in the volume of slave transactions of the WIC. During the years 1688-1689 the WIC slave trade virtually came to a standstill. The outcome of other Asiento contracts is reflected also in the level of WIC trade, as illustrated in Figure 4. After each new contract (1675, 1679, 1683, and 1685) the volume of trade rose sharply, but after one or two years it declined again.

The end of the Coymans' Asiento did not conclude WIC participation in the Atlantic slave trade, however. In 1691 the company negotiated a new Asiento,<sup>9</sup> after which followed a rapid increase in the slave trade. During the succeeding five years WIC papers are mute on

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., Contracts 10, 15, 16, and 17.

<sup>8</sup>For an analysis of the Coymans' Asiento see the article by I. A. Wright.

<sup>9</sup>WIC, Vol. 783, Contract 22.



the Asiento until 1697 when a new contract was signed, which called for the delivery of 2,500-3,000 slaves per year at Curaçao.<sup>10</sup> This contract also caused a steep rise in the WIC slave trade during the following year.

When in 1699 another two-year contract was negotiated, the WIC apparently was experiencing stiff competition from other nations, since the contract called for only 1,500 slaves annually. During the following year the second year of the contract was revised twice and scaled down first to 1,000 and later to 500 slaves.<sup>11</sup> These negotiations were handled by directors of the WIC and agents of the Portuguese Cacheu Company, which had acquired control of the Asiento in 1693.<sup>12</sup>

At the turn of the century the WIC slave trade was faring poorly. A special meeting of The Ten was called in March, 1701, because the company was not receiving payments for the last Asiento delivery.<sup>13</sup> This year is generally regarded as the conclusion of Dutch Asiento contracts and the beginning of French control of that trade.<sup>14</sup> However, single nations did not completely control the Asientos, for in 1703 the WIC agreed to another Asiento contract, and in 1707 the company was trying again for the Asiento.<sup>15</sup> The WIC papers

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., Contracts 23 and 24.

<sup>11</sup>NAA, Vol. 1352; WIC, Vol. 783, Contracts 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32; NBKG, Vol. 25, No. 3 and 5.

<sup>12</sup>Curtin, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup>WIC, Vol. 746, Correspondence 3/9/1701.

<sup>14</sup>Scelle, "Asiento," pp. 637 and 641.

<sup>15</sup>WIC, Vol. 746, Correspondence 11/20/1702, 1/1/1704, 7/2/1707, and 11/11/1707.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the author to the reader, explaining the purpose of the study and the methods used. The author states that the study is a qualitative research project aimed at understanding the experiences of people who have been affected by a natural disaster. The methods used are interviews and focus groups, which allow the researcher to gather rich, detailed data from the participants.

2. The second part of the document is a description of the study area. The author provides a detailed account of the location, the population, and the social and economic conditions of the area. This information is important for understanding the context of the study and the experiences of the participants.

3. The third part of the document is a description of the participants. The author provides a detailed account of the age, gender, and social background of the participants. This information is important for understanding the experiences of the participants and the results of the study.

4. The fourth part of the document is a description of the data collection process. The author provides a detailed account of the interviews and focus groups, including the questions asked and the responses received. This information is important for understanding the data collection process and the results of the study.

5. The fifth part of the document is a description of the data analysis process. The author provides a detailed account of the methods used to analyze the data, including the use of thematic analysis. This information is important for understanding the data analysis process and the results of the study.

6. The sixth part of the document is a description of the results of the study. The author provides a detailed account of the findings, including the experiences of the participants and the themes identified. This information is important for understanding the results of the study and the implications for practice.

7. The seventh part of the document is a conclusion. The author provides a summary of the findings and a discussion of the implications for practice. This information is important for understanding the overall results of the study and the implications for practice.

do not confirm if these agreements were actually carried out, but the level of the WIC slave trade was high and stable between the years 1704 and 1710, which implies that the company had dependable markets for her slaves.

Although the Asiento trade appears to have been a decisive factor in determining the dimension of the Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade, it was not the only important factor. The loss of these contracts caused only temporary decline in the WIC slave trade, particularly during the second decade of the eighteenth century when the English came in complete control of the Asiento trade. Once the WIC had adapted her establishment to the slave trade and became aware of the profits of trade with the Spanish Main, the company continued to trade there surreptitiously and expanded her own colonial slave markets, particularly that of the colony of Surinam.<sup>16</sup> On occasions the WIC even sold slaves in the French West Indies.<sup>17</sup> The WIC slave trade continued to fluctuate, but on the whole the volume gradually grew. It reached an all-time high of nearly 6,000 slaves in one year at the close of its monopoly of the African trade.<sup>18</sup>

Much as the Asiento contracts were coveted by the European maritime powers, the profits were often illusory. Asientists often went bankrupt and contracting companies frequently incurred losses.

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<sup>16</sup>Scelle, "Asiento," p. 645. For a variety of small contracts with planters in the Dutch colonies see: WIC, Vol. 746, Correspondence 11/7/1715, 1/19/1705, 2/20/1716, and 10/18/1720; Vol. 783, Contract 20; VWIS, Vol. 975, Document 9/14/1713.

<sup>17</sup>WIC, Vol. 746, Correspondence 2/14/1702 and 10/8/1708.

<sup>18</sup>See Figure 4, and Tables 2 and 3.



This is evidenced by both the English Royal African Company and the South Sea Company.<sup>19</sup> WIC documents also are full of complaints about losses resulting from Asiento contracts.<sup>20</sup> In one instance, the WIC chamber of Zeeland even refused to participate in an Asiento contract.<sup>21</sup> Still, Dutch diplomats greatly resented the fact that the English gained complete control over the Asiento trade through the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.<sup>22</sup> The primary reason for this, no doubt, was not so much the loss of the slave trade but rather the loss of the illicit trade with the Spanish colonies that accompanied the slave trade.<sup>23</sup>

If quantitative fluctuations in the slave trade were concomitant with the Asiento contracts, this does not mean that they were caused by them. On the contrary, the success or failure of Asientos often were dependent on other factors, viz. relations with other European states and political and economic conditions in Africa. Diplomatic relations between European powers obviously influenced maritime transportation and communication. Competition among European states often made the accessibility of slaves uncertain because of rising prices. Political turmoil among and between African peoples often interfered with transportation and communication to the coast and on the coast. Each of these factors, and their influence on the Dutch slave trade, will be evaluated subsequently.

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<sup>19</sup>Scelle, "Asiento," pp. 623, 630, and 656; Davies, p. 14; Curtin, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup>WIC, Vol. 783, Document 24; Vol. 1024, Document 4.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Vol. 746, Correspondence 11/14/1689.

<sup>22</sup>Wright, p. 64.

<sup>23</sup>Curtin, p. 21.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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The impact of diplomatic relations between European powers on the Atlantic slave trade is most clearly evident in the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674). This conflict precipitated the bankruptcy of the old WIC and brought the Dutch participation in the slave trade virtually to a halt. For more than a century after this war, however, the Dutch and the English remained at peace with each other, which greatly facilitated Dutch maritime activities. Periodic frictions occurred in various regions of their respective colonial empires, but these tensions were easily offset by the cooperation between the two powers. This cooperation was particularly evident during the period of 1674-1713, when these two Protestant nations were drawn together by their mutual apprehension of the expansionist policies of the French King Louis XIV.

On the West African coast this cooperation was expressed most clearly in 1703, when the WIC made a defensive treaty with the Royal African Company and the Brandenburg Company against a possible attack from the French.<sup>24</sup> This did not prevent the French navy from capturing several WIC ships and hindering the Atlantic slave trade on various occasions during the period of 1698-1713.<sup>25</sup>

Periodically, the rapport deteriorated between the English and the Dutch on the African coast. The companies of the two nations often rivalled for the friendship of African states, in order to gain commercial monopolies with the latter. In 1699, tension between the two companies rose so high that the respective governments in Europe

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., Vol. 98, p. 116.

<sup>25</sup>NEKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 5/30/1710; WIC, Vol. 101, p. 338; Vol. 484, p. 266; Vol. 485, pp. 196 and 207.

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ordered the companies to negotiate their differences and strive for greater cooperation.<sup>26</sup> When during the years 1706 and 1707 new conflicts arose, a more permanent relationship was finally negotiated between the Director-General Willem Nuyts and the English Director Dalby Thomas. This agreement was subsequently referred to as the "Convention of 1708."<sup>27</sup> But even this did not preclude further conflicts. In 1721 the English captured the Dutch fort at Cormantin, and the Dutch threatened to retaliate by taking English ships.<sup>28</sup> From 1728 through 1731 the two companies were virtually at war with each other and actually captured a few of each other's ships.<sup>29</sup> By 1733, however, relations between the companies had improved sufficiently that an English subject was allowed passage to Europe on a WIC ship.<sup>30</sup>

Regardless of the occasional frictions between the WIC and the Royal African Company, the Dutch had much more fear of French infringements on the West African coast. The French tended to concentrate their commercial activities on the Slave Coast and never gained a permanent foothold on the Gold Coast. When in 1693 near the port of Lagos a French fleet captured a large share of a combined Dutch-English convoy returning from the East Indies, and considerable decline in Dutch and

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<sup>26</sup>WIC, Vol. 484, pp. 72-73; Vol. 97, p. 377.

<sup>27</sup>NBKG, Vol. 2, Minutes 1/23/1706, 2/13/1706, 2/29/1706, 7/27/1706, 1/31/1707, 2/6/1707; Vol. 3, Minutes 4/7/1708, 7/11/1708; Vol. 5, Minutes 5/5/1713, 12/4/1714; Vol. 9, Minutes 3/28/1747.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., Vol. 6, Minutes 7/4/1721.

<sup>29</sup>WIC., Vol. 57, p. 12; Vol. 487, pp. 152, 177, and 286; NBKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 2/9/1728, 6/2/1728, 1/30/1729; Vol. 7, Minutes 7/18/1731; Vol. 237, 2/9/1728.

<sup>30</sup>NBKG, Vol. 7, Minutes 3/27/1733.

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

2. Once the problem is identified, the next step is to define the objectives and goals of the project. This helps to clarify what needs to be achieved and provides a clear direction for the team.

3. The third step is to develop a plan or strategy to address the problem. This involves breaking down the problem into smaller, manageable tasks and determining the resources needed to complete them.

4. The fourth step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the strategy into action and monitoring progress regularly to ensure that the project is on track.

5. Finally, the fifth step is to evaluate the results of the project. This involves assessing the outcomes against the objectives and goals to determine the effectiveness of the intervention.

English maritime activities resulted.<sup>31</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century the French naval strength on the West African coast became so formidable that the Dutch Director-General feared the French might take exclusive control of the Slave Coast.<sup>32</sup> The same fear was evident from 1702 to 1704.<sup>33</sup> These factors may well have contributed to the sharp decline in the WIC slave trade during these periods. At least three Dutch slavers were captured and confiscated by French vessels during the first decade of the eighteenth century, and several other WIC ships were detained on the African coast because of the French threat.<sup>34</sup>

While the French suffered a severe setback in the Treaty of Utrecht, they continued to haunt the Dutch on the African coast. In 1716, for example, it was feared that the French might take the Danish Fort Christiansburg, and thus establish themselves on the Gold Coast.<sup>35</sup>

The Danish and Brandenburg presence on the Gold Coast did not constitute a grave threat to the WIC, except that they regionally undermined Dutch relations with the African population and trade with them. In 1702 WIC agents still expected an expansion of the Brandenburg Company, but subsequently that company declined until it sold out to the WIC in 1717.<sup>36</sup> The Danish consistently participated in the slave

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<sup>31</sup>Snapper, pp. 194, 205, and 207.

<sup>32</sup>WIC, Vol. 97, p. 7; Vol. 484, p. 30.

<sup>33</sup>NBKG, Vol. 1, Minutes 3/10/1702 and 3/10/1704.

<sup>34</sup>WIC, Vol. 99, p. 14; Vol. 98, p. 456; Vol. 484, pp. 231 and 266; Vol. 485, p. 169; NBKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 5/30/1710.

<sup>35</sup>NBKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 7/25/1716.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., Vol. 1, Minutes 5/19/1702.

[illegible]

trade, but their volume seldom exceeded two vessels per year, and many years no slaver was dispatched.<sup>37</sup>

The WIC managed to bar Portuguese ships from the Guinea Coast during the greater part of the last half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the meantime the company developed a beneficial relationship with Luso-Brazilian merchants by charging duties and confiscating ships that lacked a WIC permit to trade on the coast. In 1718, the government in Lisbon again ventured to send a number of large slaving vessels to the Guinea Coast which did considerable damage to the WIC trade on the Slave Coast. Encouraged by the protection of these large vessels and the friendship of the Ouidah king, Brazilian slavers led by Captain Joseph de Torres established a lodge at Ouidah during that year.<sup>38</sup> At this juncture, WIC ships were ordered no longer to molest Brazilian ships that were trading at Ouidah.<sup>39</sup>

Throughout the decade of the 1720's the presence of Portuguese slavers on the Guinea Coast increased. In 1725 the Portuguese were so bold as to capture two WIC vessels, one of which was the large slaver Sonnestejn with 550 slaves aboard.<sup>40</sup> And though the WIC retaliated by

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<sup>37</sup>See Nørregaard's detailed treatment of the Danish participation in the slave trade.

<sup>38</sup>NBKG, Vol. 85, Correspondence 7/16/1718, 7/19/1718, and 5/29/1718; A. F. C. Ryder, "The Reestablishment of Portuguese Factories on the Costa da Mina to the Mid-Eighteenth Century," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. I, (October, 1958), p. 160. Ryder gives the year 1721 for the establishment of the Ouidah lodge, but according to WIC sources De Torres was successfully trading at Ouidah as early as 1718.

<sup>39</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 685.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Vol. 486, p. 533.

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destroying the Portuguese lodge at Cape Lopez,<sup>41</sup> within two years three additional WIC slavers fell victim to the Portuguese navy, causing the company enormous losses.<sup>42</sup> These Portuguese attacks constituted such a menace for WIC activities that for several years to follow, the company's captains were given special instructions about guarding themselves against Portuguese war ships and vessels of the Corisco Company.<sup>43</sup> Thus, during the last decade of WIC monopoly, the Portuguese brought the company considerable loss.

In as far as European political affairs influenced the Dutch participation in the slave trade, the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) was undoubtedly the greatest setback between the Third (1672-1674) and Fourth (1781-1784) Dutch wars with England. The Dutch economy suffered greatly, leaving an enormous national debt, and the WIC required increasingly larger subsidies from the state.<sup>44</sup> Toward the end of the war the WIC slave trade dropped sharply, and it continued to languish during most of the decade following the war.

Political pressures in the form of wars and poor diplomatic relations between European states hampered the commercial activities of the WIC, but economic competition from European powers was in the long run even more damaging to the company. Correspondence from Africa, particularly after 1689, was filled with reports on the foreboding

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Vol. 487, pp. 34-36 and 40-43.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., Vol. 107, p. 522; Vol. 269, Account 1726-1728.

<sup>43</sup>NBKG, Vol. 237, Instructions 9/15/1729; Vol. 238, Instructions 12/25/1732 and 8/28/1733.

<sup>44</sup>Snapper, pp. 268-77; Boxer, Dutch Seaborne Empire, p. 105.

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increase of competition from foreign ships. The English free traders, or "ten per cent ships" (after the ten per cent duty they paid for the privilege of trading on the African coast) were particularly numerous. They "killed" the trade, according to a report of the Dutch Director-General. The same official complained in 1701 that the trade was worse than ever before and that at least two or three foreign merchant vessels passed by Elmina every day.<sup>45</sup> In the years that followed, Dutch ships were far outnumbered by ships of other nations. Of the sixty-five ships sighted by one WIC captain on the Guinea Coast in 1713, only one was identified as a WIC vessel. That same year, the WIC slaver Akredam competed with ten foreign ships for a cargo of slaves at Ouidah.<sup>46</sup> By 1720, WIC slavers at Ouidah reportedly were outnumbered by foreign ships on a ratio of one to twenty.<sup>47</sup> The monopolistic practices of the WIC, reflected in the use of a standard price list,<sup>48</sup> now definitely proved to be ineffective when competing against free traders who could adjust prices as the captain pleased.<sup>49</sup> The English certainly began to dominate the slave trade, for of the sixty ships passing by Komenda in 1717, forty-six had sailed from England.<sup>50</sup>

Piracy also had a deterrent effect on the slave trade. During

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<sup>45</sup>WIC, Vol. 97, pp. 6 and 352; Vol. 98, p. 4.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., Vol. 485, pp. 258-63, and 337-38.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Vol. 486, pp. 152-53.

<sup>48</sup>See p. 63 above.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., Vol. 102, p. 229; Vol. 103, p. 260; Vol. 1024, Correspondence 2/6/1717.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., Vol. 103, p. 207.

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the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pirate ships were a common occurrence on the oceans, especially in times of war.<sup>51</sup> In a sense, the old WIC had been set up to prey on the fleets of hostile nations, Spain in particular. As was pointed out, the company never completely lost this function vis-à-vis the Portuguese and Brazilians. While the WIC lost a number of slave ships to the Portuguese, the slaves confiscated from Brazilian vessels certainly outnumbered these losses. As Tables 4 and 5 illustrate, these catches increased appreciably the WIC slave supply during the second decade of the eighteenth century.

One of the most unpredictable menaces regarding piracy were attacks by real pirate ships which lacked allegiance to any nation. Such pirate vessels occasionally menaced the Guinea Coast, sowing great consternation and disruption among the Europeans on the coast. One such raid took place during the years 1685-1686, with two pirate ships capturing two WIC vessels at Ouidah while a third slaver barely escaped capture.<sup>52</sup> Again in 1719 pirates made the Guinea Coast unsafe and captured and grounded several merchant vessels of various nationalities. The WIC lost two slaving ships in this raid, the Emmenes and the Africa, although the latter managed to slip away after her cargo had been lifted by the pirates. As a result of these raids trade became stagnated along the whole Guinea Coast, as merchant vessels did not dare to leave the protection of the European forts. The port of Ouidah, which apparently harbored a large number of European ships at

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<sup>51</sup>Menkman, "Nederland in Amerika en West Afrika," p. 58.

<sup>52</sup>WIC, Vol. 267, Fourth Account; Vol. 1024, Document 18.



the time, particularly became a target of these pirates.<sup>53</sup> During the years 1721-1722 three large pirate ships again made the Guinea Coast unsafe for the merchant marine. At this time, four WIC ships were robbed of their cargo and then released. On occasions navigation and trade came to a complete standstill for fear of pirate raids. Finally, the English sent a large war ship to West Africa, which captured three pirate ships. A fourth pirate was taken by the WIC cruiser, De Faam, ending the menace for the time being.<sup>54</sup>

Of the various factors influencing the WIC slave trade, nothing was more significant in determining the fluctuations of the trade than the supply of slaves on the African coast. This supply depended largely on the political relations among the African peoples, both on the coast and in the interior. The most frequently cited cause of poor trade in WIC correspondence from Africa was war among the African states.<sup>55</sup> WIC officials always wanted peace, since warfare hindered the normal conduct of commercial interaction. War tended to shift African priorities away from trade, and caused the regular trade routes from the interior to be blocked. For this reason, WIC agents were occasionally willing to forfeit the payment of debts and give presents to African leaders in order to keep commerce going.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>NEKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 7/1/1719, 11/22/1719, and 11/31/1719; WIC, Vol. 485, p. 714; Vol. 486, pp. 25, 61-62, 68-69, 75, and 77-80.

<sup>54</sup>NEKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 9/30/1721, 3/9/1721, and 3/29/1721; WIC, Vol. 105, p. 578; Vol. 486, pp. 214-16, and 256-57.

<sup>55</sup>NEKG, Vol. 25, Correspondence 12/6/1699; WIC, Vol. 180, pp. 62 and 67.

<sup>56</sup>WIC, Vol. 114, pp. 300-303; NEKG, Vol. 3, Minutes, 3/20/1708.





There was a strange ambiguity in the desire of Europeans regarding African wars. In one sense they welcomed war, particularly deep in the interior, since the making of prisoners of war was one of the chief sources for slaves. Documents reveal, for example, that in 1703 the WIC supplied the Akwamu people with 100 soldiers and a large quantity of arms in order that they could make war on their neighbors.<sup>57</sup>

Since trade was the principal concern of the Europeans, they often tried to play off African peoples against each other if the company officials thought this would improve their own commercial position. This type of interference by Europeans in African politics is adequately demonstrated in two recent studies by the African scholars Daaku and Akinjogbin.

The ambiguous European desire for both peace and war was further complicated by their demand for slaves and the extensive sale of fire arms to Africans. Both of these had far-reaching effects on the social and political structure of African societies. On the Guinea Coast it effected the rise of new and more powerful states such as Denkyera, Akim, and Akwamu on the Gold Coast, and Aja and Oyo on the Slave Coast. At the beginning of the eighteenth century these powers in turn were replaced by still more powerful political entities, the states of Ashanti and Dahomey.<sup>58</sup>

These immense political transformations were possible only after considerable warfare between the old and the new powers. WIC

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<sup>57</sup>WIC, Vol. 98, pp. 98-99.

<sup>58</sup>See Daaku and I. A. Akinjogbin, Dahomey and its Neighbors, 1708-1818 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), for the rise of these two states respectively.



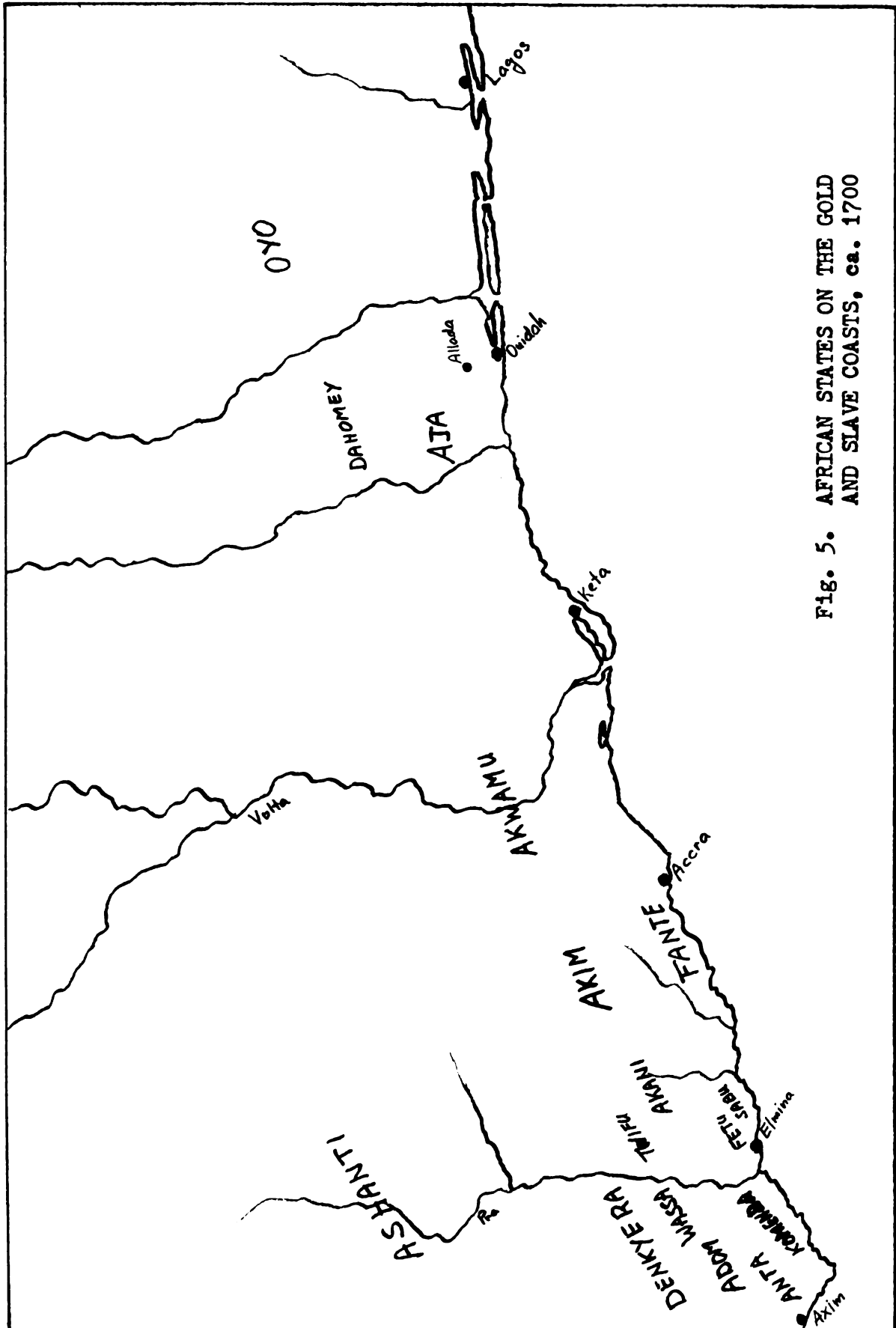


Fig. 5. AFRICAN STATES ON THE GOLD AND SLAVE COASTS, ca. 1700

officials, who by their very presence in Africa as well as through their policies had helped to precipitate these changes, now bemoaned the resulting wars that hampered their commercial objectives.

On the Gold Coast, for example, WIC trade was impaired severely from about 1686 until 1704 as a result of a series of wars relevant to the power struggle between the declining Denkyera state and the rising Ashanti confederacy.<sup>59</sup> Trading activities of the WIC reached one of their lowest ebbs during the final phase of these wars. Reports from the Director-General clearly attest to the gravity of the situation.<sup>60</sup> The slave trade virtually came to a standstill everywhere on the Gold and Slave Coasts during the first three years of the eighteenth century.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Gold Coast trade was hampered periodically by political turmoil among the African population. Some wars were limited, which also restricted the effects on commerce to a few specific factories of the WIC. In 1705, for example, the trade at Apam declined drastically as a result of war between the Akim and Akwamu states.<sup>61</sup> The following year, trade faltered at Akra because of succession struggle over the Akwamu kingship; during that same year trade virtually came to a halt at Elmina, Butri, Sekonde, and Kormantin as a result of wars and political tensions on the Gold Coast in general.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>WIC, Vol. 98, pp. 14, 97, and 452-53.

<sup>60</sup>NEKG, Vol. 1, Minutes 5/30/1701, 4/9/1704, and 11/7/1704. See also the reports from the Director-General in Vols. 484 and 485.

<sup>61</sup>WIC, Vol. 98, p. 455.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., Vol. 99, pp. 15-16 and 19.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase from 1.1 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase from 200 million to 400 million. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion.

Commerce was frequently disrupted on large portions of the Western Gold Coast, in the Axim area, where the African leader, John Conny, continually defied the authority of the WIC. Conny's opposition to the company lasted from 1711 to 1725, when he finally was driven from the Castle of Gross Friedrichsburg or Hollandia, as the WIC renamed it.<sup>63</sup> In 1712 Conny was so bold as to attack and capture the WIC fort Dorthes at Akwida, and in 1724 he laid siege to the company's fortress at Axim.<sup>64</sup> In the meantime additional tension was added in 1721 to the already turbulent western section of the Gold Coast, when the Wassa, Twifu, and the Adom people attacked the Hante in the coastal region.<sup>65</sup> The trade at Akra was disrupted once more when in 1723 the Akim and Akwamu disputed the control of that coastal port.<sup>66</sup> In 1727, the Ashanti completely stopped the flow of slaves to Elmina, and two years later regional wars killed the trade at Axim and Akra again.<sup>67</sup> The year 1727 saw the beginning of widespread wars in the interior as well as the coastal regions of the Gold Coast. This was another significant drive of territorial expansion by the Ashanti, causing instability in trade until 1730.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., Vol. 101, p. 37; Vol. 103, p. 262; Vol. 106, p. 200; Vol. 486, p. 526; NBKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 3/12/1711, 2/15/1712, 6/19/1714, 6/27/1714; Vol. 6, 10/26/1722, 12/26/1723, 9/4/1724, and 1/11/1718. A discussion of Conny's activities is also in chapter III of Daaku's dissertation.

<sup>64</sup>WIC, Vol. 106, p. 200.

<sup>65</sup>NBKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 5/25/1721.

<sup>66</sup>WIC, Vol. 486, p. 372; NBKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 10/11/1723.

<sup>67</sup>WIC, Vol. 107, p. 528; Vol. 108, pp. 511-12.

<sup>68</sup>NBKG, Vol. 6, Minutes 8/11/1728, 1/3/1729, and 2/16/1731; WIC,

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that the same relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation, is a fact which is not captured by the traditional logic. This is because the traditional logic is based on the assumption that the subject and the object of a relation are distinct entities, and that the relation itself is a distinct entity. However, in the modern logic, the subject and the object of a relation are not necessarily distinct entities, and the relation itself is not necessarily a distinct entity. This is because the modern logic is based on the assumption that the subject and the object of a relation are the same entity, and that the relation itself is the same entity. This is a fact which is not captured by the traditional logic, and it is this fact which is the basis of the modern logic.

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Unless wars were widespread, as was the case in 1727, they often had an ambiguous effect on the slave trade; while trade might be completely stopped at one factory, the increase of prisoners of war generally made a larger supply of slaves available at a nearby trading station. This may explain, in part, the increase of slave exports from the Gold Coast in the mid-1720's, while the general wars at the end of the decade may account for the sharp drop in the slave trade.

The reason for giving such a succinct account of the political developments on the Gold Coast is that the WIC acquired the vast majority of its slaves during the 1675-1735 period on the Slave Coast. Before 1725 three times as many slaves came from this region as compared to the Gold Coast.<sup>69</sup> After this time, however, about half of the slaves transacted by the WIC (not counting the Loango-Angola region) were purchased on the Gold Coast. In 1726, the Director-General reported that the "Gold Coast has become a slave coast."<sup>70</sup> It was during the first decade of the eighteenth century that the people on the Gold Coast began to shift their export trade from gold to slaves for the first time. A WIC report in 1705 commented about the Gold Coast that it was:

. . . changing completely into a slave coast, and the natives no longer concentrate on the search for gold, but make war on each other in order to acquire slaves, and (for this purpose) do not even shrink from violating the public roads.<sup>71</sup>

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Vol. 109, pp. 16-17, 88, and 95; Vol. 487, pp. 40-43, 177, 355, and 372; Feinberg, p. 62.

<sup>69</sup>See Appendixes A and C, and further discussion on the origin of slaves in chapter VII.

<sup>70</sup>WIC, Vol. 487, p. 63. <sup>71</sup>Ibid., Vol. 98, p. 322.





This was only a temporary change, however, for in 1710 the WIC directors ordered that no more slaves were to be purchased on the Gold Coast, since they were too expensive there, and that slaving vessels should concentrate on the Slave Coast again.<sup>72</sup> From 1708 until 1724 very few WIC slavers received their cargo at Elmina.<sup>73</sup> For these reasons it is appropriate that more space is devoted to the developments on the Slave Coast.

Turning to the Slave Coast, and especially to that short stretch of coastline of contemporary Dahomey and Togo, one finds a situation similar to the Gold Coast in respect to the relationship between politics and commerce. By 1675 this area already had become a principal exporter of slaves, for which reason it acquired the name Slave Coast. The population of this area was politically organized in a number of small states, collectively referred to as the Aja states. The coastal towns of Ouidah, Jakin, Great and Little Popo, and Offra were part of the Aja system. Each state had its own king, who derived his authority from the king of Allada. This town could therefore be regarded as the capital of this loose confederation, since its king was regarded the senior or father king, and the kings of other states regarded each other as brothers. Apart from these traditional, social sentiments of the seat of authority, the king of Allada possessed no political institutions with which his seniority could be enforced.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., Vol. 2, Minutes 9/17/1710; Vol. 918, Nr. 15.

<sup>73</sup>See Appendix A-2.

<sup>74</sup>See Akinjogbin for an excellent analysis of the political institutions of the Aja states.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress.

2. The second part is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the Union.

3. The third part is a report from the Secretary of the Navy on the state of the Navy.

4. The fourth part is a report from the Secretary of the War on the state of the War.

The coming of the Europeans to the Slave Coast and the attendant increase in the slave trade at first brought an increase in wealth to the king of Allada because of his leading position. Initially he controlled the slave trade and levied duties on all slaves exported from the various Aja ports. With the passing of time, however, subordinate towns on the coast began to gain greater independence as they began to control the trade with the Europeans. This was particularly the case of Ouidah, which attracted several European trading stations during the 1670's and 1680's. Gradually, Ouidah began to defy the authority of Allada and molest neighboring coastal towns that continued to respect Allada's position of leadership.<sup>75</sup> The result was several decades of tension and periodic warfare between Allada and Ouidah.

Because of the political structure of the Aja state system, Allada was in no position to punish Ouidah militarily for its subordinating activities. But since Allada controlled the hinterland, she could use economic sanctions and close the trade routes to Ouidah. Allada threatened to do this in 1680, and actually closed the roads in 1688. This action was repeated on several occasions during the next century.<sup>76</sup>

The WIC had its first permanent lodge on the Slave Coast at the town of Offra, some twenty miles east of Ouidah. Offra was clearly subordinate to the king of Allada, and the trade there was clearly controlled by Allada, with Offra functioning as the principal port of the

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<sup>75</sup>Akinjogbin, p. 29; WIC, Vol. 180, pp. 65, 67-68.

<sup>76</sup>See for example WIC, Vol. 106, p. 52; Vol. 180, pp. 79 and 151; Vol. 485, pp. 375, and 485-86; Vol. 1024, Document 4; NEKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 4/4/1714; Vol. 85, 5/13/1718.

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capital town. A considerable amount of the correspondence has survived from the WIC lodge at Offra, particularly of the years 1681-1683 and 1686-1690 and supplies valuable information of the Aja trade.<sup>77</sup> In 1680, the WIC also had a lodge at Great Popo, but apparently this did not survive for long, for in 1688 the suggestion was made to re-establish the lodge there.<sup>78</sup> In 1687, the WIC appears to have established its first permanent trading station at Ouidah, and during the years that followed, the trade at Offra deteriorated considerably.<sup>79</sup> The French and the English preceded the Dutch at Ouidah, and when the king of Ouidah began to harass the town of Offra, the WIC also transferred its business to Ouidah. A dual economic competition is apparent in these developments between Ouidah and Allada and between the Dutch and other European maritime powers. The rise of Ouidah as the dominant center of the slave trade suggests that both the Dutch and Allada were on the losing side. Repeatedly, these two tried to re-establish their earlier commercial arrangements.

The deterioration of the trade at Offra precipitated a conflict between the WIC Factor N. V. Hoolwerf and the local population. As a consequence of this conflict Hoolwerf was allegedly murdered by the people of Offra at the close of the year 1690.<sup>80</sup> Hoolwerf had suggested to the WIC directors to move the lodge to Great Popo, which may have enraged the merchants of Offra.<sup>81</sup> The last remaining correspondence

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<sup>77</sup>See WIC, Vols. 180 and 1024.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., Vol. 1024, Correspondence 12/19/1680 and Document 35.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., Vol. 180, pp. 51 and 63.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., pp. 103-104. <sup>81</sup>Ibid., Vol. 1024, Document 35.



from the WIC factor at Offra was dated August 7, 1691.<sup>82</sup> Two years later the town was destroyed by the people of the neighboring town of Jakin, allegedly on orders of the king of Allada for the purpose of appeasing the WIC for the murder of its servant Hoolwerf.<sup>83</sup> On several occasions afterwards the WIC tried to have the Offra lodge reestablished, but to no avail. In 1705 the king of Allada even signed an agreement with the WIC promising to set up the Offra lodge again, but it was never carried out.<sup>84</sup>

Aside from the correspondence from Offra, very little evidence of the Slave Coast trade before 1700 has been preserved. Correspondence of 1697 suggests that the WIC had a small lodge somewhere on the Slave Coast,<sup>85</sup> but apparently few slaves were procured there during the last decade of the seventeenth century until 1698.<sup>86</sup> A WIC document of 1703 states that the slave trade had suffered "immense loss" since the abandonment of the Offra lodge.<sup>87</sup> The WIC may have kept a lodge at Ouidah, but evidence for stationing one or two WIC servants there exists only beginning in 1699. From 1703 until 1726 the WIC kept at least three and often between six and ten persons stationed at its Ouidah lodge without interruption.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., Vol. 180, p. 111.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., Vol. 98, pp. 306, and 309-10; Vol. 100, p. 537.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., Vol. 98, pp. 305-306, 309-10, and 354; Vol. 100, pp. 537-38, and 593.

<sup>85</sup>NEKG, Vol. 25, Correspondence 10/5/1697.

<sup>86</sup>See Appendix A-1.

<sup>87</sup>NEKG, Vol. 234, Instruction 6/6/1713.

<sup>88</sup>WIC, Vol. 97, pp. 35, 123, and 288.



The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the underlying mechanisms of the observed phenomena. This involves a thorough review of the existing literature and the identification of the key variables that influence the outcome. The second part of the paper presents the empirical results, which are based on a large sample of data. The results show that the relationship between the variables is complex and non-linear, and that the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable is heterogeneous. The third part of the paper discusses the policy implications of the findings, and suggests that further research is needed to clarify the underlying mechanisms and to develop more effective policies.

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At the beginning of the eighteenth century the WIC did not have a trading station on the Slave Coast, but in 1702, the directors in Holland ordered the establishment of a lodge either at Popo or Ouidah.<sup>89</sup> A fact-finding mission under Commissioner Jacob van der Brouke resulted in the permanent establishment of the Ouidah lodge in 1703.<sup>90</sup> Due to the political instability of that region, the WIC frequently considered the building of lodges elsewhere. When the slave trade became very slow in 1704, Commissioner Nicolaes du Bois traveled to Allada and negotiated the reestablishment of the Offra trading station with the Allada king.<sup>91</sup> For reasons unknown this was not carried out, but two years later the Allada king requested the WIC to settle at Appa. However, the Dutch may have been losing confidence in the authority of the Allada king, for instead of going to Appa, they strengthened their lodge at Ouidah.<sup>92</sup>

The year 1707 was full of political turmoil on the Slave Coast. The king of Allada had closed the trade routes to Ouidah with the usual result of a slackening of trade at this port. The WIC again considered the reestablishment of the Offra lodge, and another mission was sent to Allada for this purpose. Another mission followed in 1708, but no

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 97.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., Vol. 98, pp. 94-96, and 184. In the last citation van der Brouke claimed that he could acquire 6,000 slaves during the following year. In reality, the trade declined instead. Such an erroneous prediction was not an unusual mistake about this unpredictable trade.

<sup>91</sup>WIC, Vol. 98, pp. 353-58.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., Vol. 99, pp. 14 and 431-32; Vol. 100, p. 33; Vol. 484, p. 237. The first citation contains a letter from the king of Allada to the Director-General written in Portuguese.



concrete changes were negotiated although Appa was discussed as the possible site for a new WIC trading post for trade with Allada.<sup>93</sup>

Tension between Allada and Ouidah rose to an all time high during the years 1714-1715. Akinjogbin suggests that the trade routes were blocked almost continually between 1712-1720, except for a short interruption in 1717.<sup>94</sup> At the onset of this war the trade at Ouidah became so discouraging that the Council at Elmina actually decided to abandon the lodge at Ouidah. Intermittently, however, there must have been a sufficient supply of slaves to justify the continuation of the lodge, for the decision was not carried out. The very fact that a war was being fought resulted in a supply of prisoners who were taken to the coast as slaves. In 1716, the WIC tried to get the trade at Ouidah started again, but this time a war between Jakin (which generally remained faithful to Allada) and Ouidah spoiled the slave trade.<sup>95</sup>

Although the war between Allada and Ouidah came to an end in 1720, four years later hostilities broke out again. This time the trade was completely spoiled for the WIC. In 1726 the company finally abandoned the Ouidah trading station altogether and set up a lodge at Jakin.<sup>96</sup> Here the WIC remained until 1734, although a second lodge was maintained at Appa from 1732 until 1736. After the middle of the

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<sup>93</sup>NBKG, Vol. 3, Minutes 11/24/1707; WIC, Vol. 100, pp. 519, 527-29, and 540-41; Vol. 180, pp. 151 and 182.

<sup>94</sup>Akinjogbin, p. 46.

<sup>95</sup>NBKG, Vol. 5, Minutes 12/31/1716; Vol. 236, 3/16/1716; WIC, Vol. 103, p. 267.

<sup>96</sup>WIC, Vol. 106, p. 52; Vol. 486, pp. 484-85, 492, and 737; Vol. 487, pp. 40-43.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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1730's, the WIC's role in the Slave Coast trade declined considerably.<sup>97</sup>

The abandonment of the Ouidah lodge in 1726 was the result of a drastic change in the political situation on the Slave Coast. Ouidah had been able to maintain considerable independence from Allada because of the military weakness of the capital and also because Ouidah often had received support from the Akwamu state on the western flank of the Aja states.<sup>98</sup> In the 1720's, however, this whole situation was changed as a result of the rise of Dahomey, a member of the Aja state system in the interior that gradually increased its power claiming its independence from Allada. In 1724, the Dahomey king Agaja actually captured Allada and claimed the paternalistic authority traditionally associated with the ancient capital of the Aja states. Many Aja subject states submitted voluntarily to Agaja's new status and those states that resisted were subdued by force. Such was the fate of Ouidah in 1727, and of Jakin in 1732 and again in 1734 when the latter revolted against Agaja.<sup>99</sup>

As a result of these turbulent political developments on the Slave Coast, the slave trade became very unpredictable in this region. This may well have been the reason why the WIC began to procure slaves on the Gold Coast after the middle of the 1720's. The turbulence also precipitated a conflict between WIC authorities in Holland and the Council at Elmina, as well as among company personnel in Africa.

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<sup>97</sup>See the personnel rosters of the various trading stations in WIC, Vols. 107-111, and also Chapters VI and VII.

<sup>98</sup>Akinjogbin, pp. 33-34 and 50.

<sup>99</sup>WIC, Vol. 107, p. 549; Akinjogbin, pp. 66-67, and 99-100.



Commissioner Hendrick Hertogh was Factor at Elmina when the lodge there was abandoned. Hertogh had been in Africa since 1716, longer than any other WIC servant at that time, and he was undoubtedly an astute slaver who wielded considerable influence in the company's affairs.<sup>100</sup> To the chagrin of Director-General Jan Pranger, Hertogh had acquired unprecedented independence as well as the title of "Governor" (like factors on the Slave Coast of other nations, but without precedence among WIC factors). He also managed to get approval to toll Brazilian slavers on the Slave Coast, which previously always had been done at Elmina.<sup>101</sup>

When in 1733 Hertogh headed the WIC lodge at Jakin, Pranger simply refused to send provisions to Hertogh. The latter also received no support in his forced retreat to Appa. Instead, Commissioner Jacob Elet was sent to undermine Hertogh's authority and negotiate a settlement with the new power, Dahomey.<sup>102</sup> King Agaja urged that Hertogh be removed from the Slave Coast, as he had intrigued against Dahomey along with the deposed king of Ouidah and other enemies of Dahomey. Agaja disliked the Dutch anyway, though Elet's mission persuaded him to allow the WIC to reestablish its lodge at Ouidah.<sup>103</sup> This was not immediately carried out, however, because the WIC directors in Holland discharged both Elet and Pranger during the following year for not assisting

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<sup>100</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, p. 204.

<sup>101</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, pp 2-6, and 169.

<sup>102</sup>NEKG, Vol. 238, p. 19; WIC, Vol. 487, pp. 598 and 622; Vol. 488, pp. 1 and 16.

<sup>103</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, pp. 5-6, 152, 229-31, and 659; Vol. 487, p. 350.





Hertogh adequately during his plight on the Slave Coast.<sup>104</sup> Due to this negative policy toward Dahomey, the Dutch never established cordial relations with Agaja and his successors, which may well have been the reason for their declining Slave Coast trade. The WIC did maintain a lodge at Appa, and later one at Badagry, but these towns enjoyed the protection of the Oyo state and were therefore beyond the reach of the Dahomeyans.<sup>105</sup>

On the whole, the Dutch had much more success in gaining the confidence and cooperation of Africans on the Gold Coast than on the Slave Coast. On the Gold Coast they managed to secure the friendship of the rising political powers, first the Denkyera and later the Ashanti. But on the Slave Coast they tended to place too much confidence in the authority of the king of Allada. First they underestimated the promising position and power of Ouidah and later the power of Dahomey. It is difficult to determine whether this was misjudgment on the part of the WIC leaders or the result of mere chance. In part, no doubt, it was the result of the differences between the political realities of the two areas, which affected the other European nations as well as the Dutch.

The coastal states on the Slave Coast continually maintained greater independence from the interference of European powers than did their counterparts on the Gold Coast. Europeans were not allowed to

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<sup>104</sup>NBKG, Vol. 7, Minutes 6/25/1734, 8/-/1734; Vol. 8, 4/27/1735. Hertogh remained at Badagry until he died in 1738; see WIC, Vol. 925, p. 174. Pranger returned to Holland, but Elet also remained in Africa for several more years; see WIC, Vol. 57, pp. 49 and 64; Vol. 112, pp. 411 and 597.

<sup>105</sup>Akinjogbin, p. 92. See also the WIC's personnel rosters.



build heavily fortified castles on the Slave Coast, and European trading stations were (in theory at least) built and maintained by local African rulers.<sup>106</sup> Kings or their agents on the Slave Coast enjoyed a monopoly of the trade and demanded the payment of heavy duties before trade was allowed to commence.<sup>107</sup> Even the transportation of the merchandise between the ships and the lodges was an African monopoly with standardized wages. When in 1708 the WIC tried to guard its merchandise against theft by the African carriers and sent three armed sailors on shore to protect the goods, the king of Ouidah (under pressure from his subjects) threatened to stop the trade as a reprisal.<sup>108</sup>

Slave Coast rulers also managed to resist European monopolies more effectively than did their Gold Coast counterparts. In 1705 the king of Ouidah forced the French and Dutch factors in this town to sign a treaty (the two states were at war with each other at this time) recognizing the neutrality and inviolability of the Ouidah port. That same neutrality was invoked on various occasions after this incident for all other maritime nations.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>NEKG, Vol. 85, Correspondence 9/20/1718.

<sup>107</sup>NEKG, Vol. 85, 6/21/1718. See also Chapter III, pp. 88-90 and Appendix D.

<sup>108</sup>WIC, Vol. 100, p. 342; Vol. 180, p. 172.

<sup>109</sup>NEKG, Vol. 1, Minutes 2/4/1705; WIC, Vol. 98, p. 291; Vol. 102, p. 360; Vol. 484, p. 235.

[illegible]

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FREE TRADE PERIOD, 1730-1795

As was pointed out earlier,<sup>1</sup> the WIC surrendered a significant portion of its trade monopoly in 1730. According to the renewed charter of that year private Dutch shipping companies were allowed to purchase a slaving permit or pass from the WIC, allowing them to buy slaves on the West African coast. Only the Gold Coast remained off limits for these free traders. Continued pressure from merchants in Holland, however, forced the WIC in 1734 also to discontinue its monopoly on the Gold Coast.

During the initial years of the free trade the WIC continued to carry the major share of Dutch slaving. The year 1735 has been selected here as a demarcation line between company monopoly and free trade because it was after this year that the WIC's involvement in the slave trade dropped rapidly and the "regulations of 1734" were fully operative. In this study, for example, only fifteen WIC slaving voyages were found recorded. The last of these slavers sailed in 1751, and only five other company slavers sailed after 1740.<sup>2</sup> The years between 1730-1735 should therefore be seen as a transition period since both the WIC

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter III, pp. 59-60.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix A-3. The WIC officially withdrew from the Atlantic slave trade in 1760. See VWIS, Folder 10.



and free traders participated extensively in the slave trade.

By continued control of the company trading stations on the Gold Coast, the WIC maintained partial control of the slave trade during most of the century. Only bona fide company servants were permitted to buy and sell slaves. These persons were obligated to pay the WIC twenty guilders in duty (recognitie) or head-money for every slave transacted. Thus the WIC continued to enjoy at least two sources of revenue from the Atlantic slave trade, viz. tolls for permits and head-monies. Both of these were greatly resented by free traders since they added considerably to their operating costs, but they were repeatedly justified by the WIC directors for the upkeep on the company forts on the African coast.<sup>3</sup>

The records of the collection of these slave trade duties contribute a large amount of data concerning the volume of the Dutch slave trade although the records of head-monies are quite incomplete and therefore only of limited value. Besides, since free traders purchased only a portion of their slaves at the WIC trading stations, head-money records fail to give an inclusive picture of the trade. They are valuable, however, in clarifying the origin of the slaves and will be utilized for that purpose later in this study.

The recorded receipts for slaving permits supply the most detailed information on the free slave trade. Both the archives of the WIC and the MCC (Middelbugsche Commercie Compagnie), the most prominent private Dutch slaving company, have preserved lists of receipts for slaving permits. One-third of the price for the permit or pass was

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<sup>3</sup>VWIS, Folders 24 and 41.





paid before the departure of each slaving vessel, and the remaining two-thirds was paid to the WIC after a slaver returned to the United Provinces. The fees were based on the capacity of the ship at a rate of 60 guilders per last (equivalent to about two maritime tons), lowered to 42-1/2 guilders per last in the charter of 1760. A slaver was allowed twenty-four months for a triangular slaving voyage; a fine of 210 guilders per last was charged for every month the vessel was overdue.<sup>4</sup>

No complete listing of slaving permits has been preserved, but a large proportion for the period of 1730-1771 has been recovered.<sup>5</sup> The vast majority of these permits were issued by the Chamber of Zeeland, unquestionably the stronghold of Dutch slaving during the eighteenth century. Very few records of Amsterdam slaving voyages were discovered in this study. Only eight out of a total of 530 documented voyages originated in Amsterdam, which is only five per cent of an estimated 150 Amsterdam free trade slaving vessels during the whole free trade period. The trade from the Rotterdam area (Chamber Maze) can be estimated at about 100 slaving vessels, of which a large number have been verified in Appendix B. The slaving activity of the three trading centers in Holland, Zeeland, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, may be correlated at a ratio of 17-3-2.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>See the WIC charters in Le Moine de L'Espine, De Koophandel van Amsterdam (Amsterdam: J. de Groot, 1810); VWIS, Folder 9; Resoluties Staten-Generaal, 12/31/1761.

<sup>5</sup>WIC, Vols. 176, 1229, and 1249; MCC, Vol. 119; VWIS, Folders 305-306.

<sup>6</sup>See Table 6 and Appendix B.



The information drawn from lists of slave permit fees has been supplemented by correspondence and statistical data and frequently detailed accounts of specific slaving vessels contained in the MCC and the Hudig archives in Middelburg and Rotterdam respectively.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the accounts of the Rotterdamse Assurantie Compagnie, a prominent maritime insurance firm, also supplied a great deal of information. All this data has been compiled in Appendix B, which verifies a minimum of 530 slaving voyages during the 1730-1795 period.

This encompasses by no means all the Dutch free trade voyages of the eighteenth century. From one WIC document, for example, it is learned that during the period of 1734-1766 at least 497 slaving permits were issued by the WIC.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the most valuable and complete set of data concerning the free trade period can be gleaned from the triennial accounts of the WIC, which also list the total amount received for slaving permits during each three year period from 1729 until 1791.<sup>9</sup> This information is most essential in calculating the overall dimension of the slave trade during the free trade period, since in contrast to the era of WIC monopoly, little data on specific numbers of slaves for the later period has survived.

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<sup>7</sup>The MCC papers already have been scrutinized carefully by Unger, whose tabulations and conclusions have been incorporated in this study; the Hudig papers in Rotterdam, on the other hand, had not been subjected to scholarly investigation before.

<sup>8</sup>See Table 6.

<sup>9</sup>Some slaving permits were bought during the closing months of 1729; however, this year should not be included in the calculation since the free trade did not officially open until the following year.



TABLE 6

## SLAVING PERMITS TO WIC CHAMBERS, 1734-1766

|      |                          |      |                        |
|------|--------------------------|------|------------------------|
| 1734 | 18                       | 1751 | 13 (1 to R; 12 open)   |
| 1735 | -                        | 1752 | 13 (1 to R)            |
| 1736 | 12                       | 1753 | 27 (12 to A; 3 to R)   |
| 1737 | -                        | 1754 | 15 (3 to R)            |
| 1738 | 12                       | 1755 | 16 (4 to R)            |
| 1739 | 18 (6 to A) <sup>a</sup> | 1756 | -                      |
| 1740 | -                        | 1757 | 15 (3 to R)            |
| 1741 | 12                       | 1758 | 14 (2 to R)            |
| 1742 | 12                       | 1759 | 15 (2 to R; 1 to N.Q.) |
| 1743 | 28                       | 1760 | 15 (1 to R; 2 to A)    |
| 1744 | 6 (6 to A)               | 1761 | 19 (3 to R; 4 to A)    |
| 1745 | 24 (12 to R)             | 1762 | 38 (2 to R; 12 to A)   |
| 1746 | 24 (12 to A)             | 1763 | 16 (4 to R)            |
| 1747 | 12                       | 1764 | 26 (2 to R; 12 to A)   |
| 1748 | 24 (12 to A)             | 1765 | 28 (4 to R)            |
| 1749 | 12                       | 1766 | 12 (12 to A)           |
| 1750 | 1 (1 to R)               |      |                        |

<sup>a</sup>A indicates the number of passes designated for the WIC Chamber of Amsterdam, R to the Chamber of Maze (Rotterdam), and N.Q. the Chamber of Noorder Quartier. A total of 12 passes were not specifically designated to a WIC chamber.

Source: VWIS, Folder 1239.

The information compiled in Appendix B includes the precise figures of 117 slave cargos, which enables us to determine what may be assumed as a reasonable average slave cargo during the free trade period. Since the fees of the slaving permits were determined by the cargo capacity or size of each ship, it is possible to calculate the approximate fee paid per slave. This figure, in turn, should indicate how many slaves could have been transported for the permit fees collected during each triennial period and for the whole period.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>See Table 8.



TABLE 7

## FEES FOR SLAVING PERMITS, 1729-1791

|           |            |           |              |
|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1729-1731 | f. 101,274 | 1762-1764 | f. 258,042   |
| 1732-1734 | 147,664    | 1765-1767 | 281,346      |
| 1735-1737 | 70,394     | 1768-1770 | 280,524      |
| 1738-1740 | 97,766     | 1771-1773 | 259,201      |
| 1741-1743 | 173,692    | 1774-1776 | 178,978      |
| 1744-1746 | 257,609    | 1777-1779 | 120,915      |
| 1747-1749 | 161,389    | 1780-1782 | 48,195       |
| 1750-1752 | 131,750    | 1783-1785 | 28,569       |
| 1753-1755 | 177,692    | 1786-1788 | 62,314       |
| 1756-1758 | 215,704    | 1789-1791 | 22,974       |
| 1759-1761 | 197,197    |           |              |
|           |            | Total     | f. 3,273,189 |

Source: Triennial accounts, in WIC, Vol. 269.

A number of confusing variables enter into this calculation, however. First of all, the fees included fines levied against slaving vessels that took longer than the allotted time for the triangular voyage. Overdue fines for a total of 119 months can actually be documented, but a close examination of the sources show that only 194 slaving voyages, or about one-fourth of the total number, were recorded in such a manner that overdue fines were indicated. From the available evidence it may thus be deduced that an overall total of about 100,000 guilders was collected in overdue fines, which constitutes approximately 3 per cent of the total amount collected for slaving permits.<sup>11</sup>

One further complication enters into the picture, viz. that in the year 1760 the WIC changed its standards of measuring slaving vessels when assessing fees for slaving permits. The result was that the number of lasts were raised about 25 per cent for the average slaving

<sup>11</sup>See Appendix B.





vessel.<sup>12</sup> In order to avoid an uproar among the private slaving companies, however, the WIC adjusted the fees for the slaving permits commensurately from 60 to 42-1/2 guilders per last. Due to these changes separate calculations for the periods before and after 1761 became necessary for this study.<sup>13</sup>

The ships employed for the Atlantic slave trade changed relatively little during the period of the free trade. Taking into consideration the change in measurement, the average size of slavers before and after 1760 increased slightly, perhaps somewhere around five last per ship.<sup>14</sup> The slave cargos, on the other hand, seemed to decrease in size. If the samples of forty and sixty-one for the two respective periods are reliable enough to determine a representative average, slave cargos dropped nearly 15 per cent in size. No official change in policy can be credited for this, but the uncertain slave market of the 1770's and 1780's was undoubtedly a factor, while transport conditions of the slaves may also have been improved during the century. An overall cargo average of 288 seems quite reliable and is supported in WIC correspondence that uses the figure 300 for an average slave cargo.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>VWIS, Nr. 388 indicates an increase of approximately 15 per cent, but a comparison of the measurements of ships sailing both before and after 1760 (see Appendix B) shows a change of about 25 per cent.

<sup>13</sup>The year 1761 rather than 1760 has been selected as the year of demarcation for the following reasons: firstly, the triennial accounts run through 1761; and secondly, it took at least a year or more for the change in measurement to be completely in effect.

<sup>14</sup>See Appendix B for the separate measurements.

<sup>15</sup>VWIS, Folder 711, p. 8.



TABLE 8

## FREE TRADE SLAVING, 1730-1791

|                                       | 1730-1761                  | 1762-1791        | 1730-1791      |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Fees slaving permits                  | f. 1,732,131               | f. 1,541,058     | f. 3,273,189   |
| Fines incurred 3%                     | 51,964                     | 46,232           | 98,196         |
| Net fees                              | f. 1,680,167               | f. 1,494,826     | f. 3,174,993   |
| Fees per <u>last</u>                  | f. 60                      | f. 42-1/2        |                |
| Average size of ships ( <u>last</u> ) | 61.6<br>(237) <sup>a</sup> | 88.2<br>(153)    |                |
| Average slave cargo                   | 317.2<br>(40)              | 270.7<br>(61)    | 288<br>(117)   |
| Slaves per <u>last</u>                | 5.15                       | 3.07             |                |
| Estimated fee per slave               | f. 11.65-1/2               | f. 13.84-1/3     |                |
| Estimated number of slaves            | 144,159                    | 107,992          | <u>252,151</u> |
| Estimated number of ships             | 455 <sup>b</sup>           | 399 <sup>b</sup> | <u>875</u>     |

<sup>a</sup>The figures in parentheses indicate the numbers employed to determine the average.

<sup>b</sup>The cumulative number of ships of the two separate periods show a disparity of 21 vessels compared to the total number of ships based on an average cargo of 288 slaves. This should not cause much alarm, however, since the cargo averages for the separate periods are based on a small number of samples. An error of 15 slaves per average cargo of the two periods combined would harmonize the two figures.



Based on the data and the calculations described above, an estimated 250,000 slaves were taken across the Atlantic by Dutch free trade vessels during the period of 1730-1791. The cumulative estimate for the period of 1730-1795 is listed in Table 9.

TABLE 9  
GLOBAL ESTIMATES OF THE DUTCH SLAVE TRADE, 1730-1795

|                         | Slaves             | Ships      |
|-------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Free traders, 1730-1795 | 252,151            | 875        |
| WIC trade after 1735    | 6,772 <sup>a</sup> | 13         |
| WIC trade, 1730-1735    | 16,641             | 32         |
| Free traders, 1792-1795 | <u>1,350</u>       | <u>5</u>   |
| Total                   | <u>276,914</u>     | <u>926</u> |

<sup>a</sup>See Table 1, p. 99.

In Chapter IV the significance of the WIC slave trade with Brazilian merchants was clarified. The commercial relationship between the company and the Brazilians continued on the same footing until the end of the eighteenth century, and during the period of 1737-1780, an average of fifteen Brazilian ships anchored at Elmina every year to purchase a trading permit for the Guinea Coast at a cost of 10 per cent of their Brazilian cargo.<sup>16</sup> Compared to the 1720's, when often more than thirty Brazilian ships paid their respect to the WIC, that trade sharply declined during the following decade and never reached the same

<sup>16</sup>WIC, Vol. 113, p. 432; Vol. 115, p. 95; Vol. 495, p. 478; NBKG, Vols. 240-241; VWIS, Folder 932.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system of equations (1) as  $t \rightarrow \infty$ . It is shown that the solutions of this system tend to zero as  $t \rightarrow \infty$  if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable. This result is obtained by the method of the variation of constants.

2. In the second part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular.

3. In the third part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular. This result is obtained by the method of the variation of constants.

4. In the fourth part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular.

5. In the fifth part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular.

6. In the sixth part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular.

7. In the seventh part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular.

8. In the eighth part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular.

9. In the ninth part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular.

10. In the tenth part of the paper, the problem of the asymptotic stability of the solutions of the system (1) is considered. It is shown that the system (1) is asymptotically stable if and only if the matrix  $A$  is stable and the matrix  $B$  is nonsingular.

level again.<sup>17</sup> The reason for this was that in 1743, a merchant monopoly in Brazil limited the traffic to the Guinea Coast to an annual maximum of twenty-four ships.<sup>18</sup> Thereafter, reports of confiscations of Brazilian vessels by the WIC became rare. This may have been due in part to the declining influence of the WIC on the Slave Coast, where the Brazilians were able to maintain a sizable lodge, but also because the majority (at least fifteen out of a maximum of twenty-four per year) of the Brazilian captains heeded the WIC demands for duty payments.

The Slave Coast therefore supplied the greatest share of the Brazilian demand for slaves after the 1720's. Ryder estimates the annual slave export by Brazil from this region at 6,000.<sup>19</sup> And while some slaves were undoubtedly purchased on the Gold Coast,<sup>20</sup> this represented only a small fraction of the total volume of the Brazilian trade. No special accounts were kept by the WIC regarding the slave trade with Brazilian vessels during the free trade period, and it may thus be assumed that it did not constitute a significant portion of the company's commercial transactions.

In order to understand the fluctuations of the Dutch slave trade during the free trade period, the records of the fee payments for slaving permits by Dutch free traders (Table 7) supply the most inclusive set of evidence. It is extremely unfortunate that these figures

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<sup>17</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, 5/31/1736. See also p. 125 above.

<sup>18</sup>Ryder, p. 171. <sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>20</sup>NBKG, Vol. 8, Minutes 6/23/1736. According to this source WIC agents at Elmina directed a Brazilian slaver to Cormantin for the specific purpose of undermining the slave trade of the English in that area.



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are given only in triennial periods. The lists of passes to the various Chambers of the WIC (Table 6) do not give a reliable picture of the level of the trade on a year to year basis, since it is not certain that the Chambers issued those permits during that same year or at a later date. The cumulative data on the various slaving voyages (Appendix B) would have been most conclusive were it not for the fact that the information is incomplete and unevenly distributed. In order to arrive at a meaningful appraisal of the fluctuations of the slave trade during the 1730-1795 period, a cumulative tabulation of the available data is provided in Tables 10 and 11.

A graphic illustration of the development of the Dutch slave trade is presented in Figure 6. From this chart it is evident that the free traders eagerly accepted the opportunity to enter the Atlantic slave trade. Their initial participation (ca. 4,000) exceeded the maximum volume ever transacted by the WIC in one year. Since the WIC continued to be involved in the slave trade and even increased its level of participation during the first half of the 1730's, this decade marked the beginning of the most intensive slaving period for the Dutch, lasting until the middle of the 1770's. During this plateau of Dutch involvement in the slave trade, their total volume of slaves fluctuated between three and eight thousand per year.

While one can speak of a plateau of the Dutch slave trade during the 1730-1775 period, the trade fluctuated from year to year, as is illustrated in the chart. Actually, the fluctuations are minimized by the fact that the chart is based on triennial rather than annual statistics (compare Figures 4 and 6). As was pointed out in Chapter V regarding the period of WIC monopoly, the same or similar factors--such as



TABLE 10

## CUMULATIVE DATA ON THE DUTCH SLAVE TRADE, 1730-1761

|      | I     | II | III | IV      | V     |
|------|-------|----|-----|---------|-------|
| 1730 | 4,215 | -  | 7   | (2,221) | 732   |
| 1731 | 4,215 | -  | 15  | (4,473) | 3,065 |
| 1732 | 4,070 | -  | 4   | (1,269) | 3,077 |
| 1733 | 4,070 | -  | 7   | (2,220) | 3,303 |
| 1734 | 4,070 | 18 | 9   | (2,855) | 2,740 |
| 1735 | 1,953 | -  | 7   | (2,220) | 3,724 |
| 1736 | 1,953 | 12 | 6   | (1,903) | 2,270 |
| 1737 | 1,953 | -  | 7   | (2,220) | 1,078 |
| 1738 | 2,712 | 12 | 10  | (3,172) | 859   |
| 1739 | 2,712 | 18 | 7   | (2,220) | -     |
| 1740 | 2,712 | -  | 10  | (3,172) | -     |
| 1741 | 4,819 | 12 | 9   | (2,855) | -     |
| 1742 | 4,819 | 12 | 10  | (3,172) | 525   |
| 1743 | 4,819 | 28 | 14  | (4,441) | 556   |
| 1744 | 7,147 | 6  | 8   | (2,538) | -     |
| 1745 | 7,147 | 24 | 5   | (1,586) | -     |
| 1746 | 7,147 | 24 | 1   | ( 318)  | -     |
| 1747 | 4,477 | 12 | -   | -       | -     |
| 1748 | 4,477 | 24 | 8   | (2,538) | 777   |
| 1749 | 4,477 | 12 | 8   | (2,538) | 401   |
| 1750 | 3,655 | 1  | 5   | (1,586) | -     |
| 1751 | 3,655 | 13 | 4   | (1,269) | 356   |
| 1752 | 3,655 | 13 | 16  | (5,075) | -     |
| 1753 | 4,930 | 27 | 13  | (4,124) | -     |
| 1754 | 4,930 | 15 | 14  | (4,441) | -     |
| 1755 | 4,930 | 16 | 13  | (4,124) | -     |
| 1756 | 5,984 | -  | 16  | (5,075) | -     |
| 1757 | 5,984 | 13 | 14  | (4,441) | -     |
| 1758 | 5,984 | 14 | 16  | (5,075) | -     |
| 1759 | 5,471 | 15 | 8   | (2,538) | -     |
| 1760 | 5,471 | 15 | 20  | (6,344) | -     |
| 1761 | 5,471 | 19 | 14  | (4,441) | -     |

Key to Columns: I = Annual estimate of slaves transacted based on the triennial accounts of the WIC.

II = Slaving permits issued to the WIC Chambers.

III = Slaving voyages which can be verified by the records.

IV = Annual estimate of slaves based on verified slaving voyages.

V = Slaves, verified or estimated, by the WIC.

Sources: Tables 3, 6, 7, and 8, and Appendix B.



TABLE 11

## CUMULATIVE DATA OF THE DUTCH SLAVE TRADE, 1762-1795

|      | I                | II             | III | IV      |
|------|------------------|----------------|-----|---------|
| 1762 | 7,159            | 38             | 18  | (4,873) |
| 1763 | 7,159            | 16             | 3   | ( 812)  |
| 1764 | 7,159            | 26             | 4   | (1,083) |
| 1765 | 7,805            | 28             | 3   | ( 812)  |
| 1766 | 7,805            | 12             | 13  | (3,519) |
| 1767 | 7,805            | - <sup>a</sup> | 15  | (4,061) |
| 1768 | 7,782            | -              | 15  | (4,061) |
| 1769 | 7,782            | -              | 21  | (5,685) |
| 1770 | 7,782            | -              | 25  | (6,768) |
| 1771 | 7,191            | -              | 18  | (4,873) |
| 1772 | 7,191            | -              | 7   | (1,895) |
| 1773 | 7,191            | -              | 8   | (2,166) |
| 1774 | 4,965            | -              | 5   | (1,354) |
| 1775 | 4,965            | -              | 4   | (1,083) |
| 1776 | 4,965            | -              | 5   | (1,354) |
| 1777 | 3,355            | -              | 5   | (1,354) |
| 1778 | 3,355            | -              | 4   | (1,083) |
| 1779 | 3,355            | -              | 4   | (1,083) |
| 1780 | 1,337            | -              | 3   | ( 812)  |
| 1781 | 1,337            | -              | -   | -       |
| 1782 | 1,337            | -              | -   | -       |
| 1783 | 793              | -              | 1   | ( 271)  |
| 1784 | 793              | -              | 1   | ( 271)  |
| 1785 | 793              | -              | 3   | ( 812)  |
| 1786 | 1,729            | -              | 1   | ( 271)  |
| 1787 | 1,729            | -              | 7   | (1,895) |
| 1788 | 1,729            | -              | 4   | (1,083) |
| 1789 | 637              | -              | 7   | (1,895) |
| 1790 | 637              | -              | 2   | ( 541)  |
| 1791 | 637 <sup>b</sup> | -              | 9   | (2,436) |
| 1792 | -                | -              | 3   | ( 812)  |
| 1793 | -                | -              | 1   | ( 271)  |
| 1794 | -                | -              | 1   | ( 281)  |
| 1795 | -                | -              | -   | -       |

<sup>a</sup>No listing of slaving permits to the various WIC Chambers was found in the WIC archives.

<sup>b</sup>The year 1791 concluded the operation of the WIC.

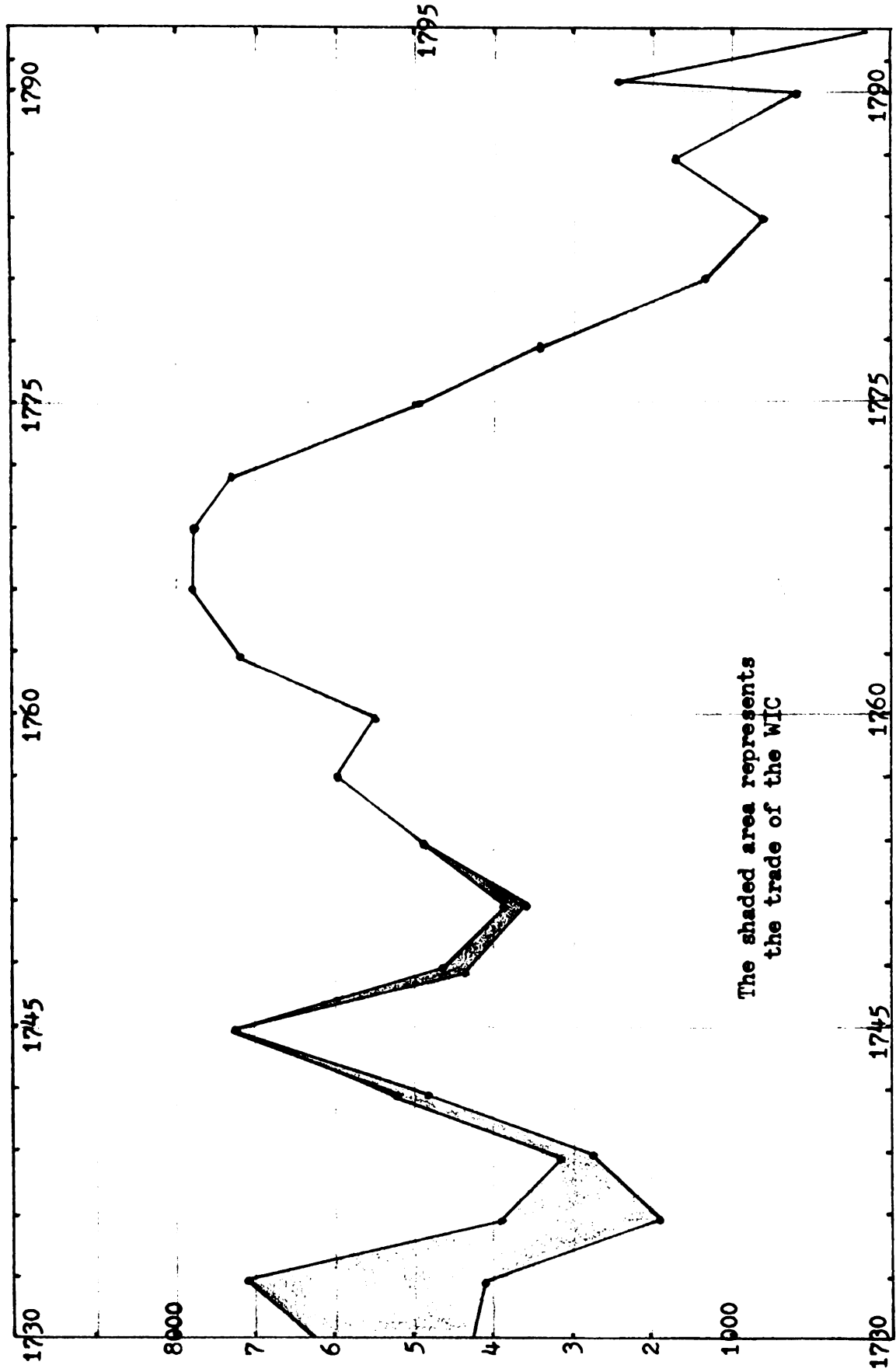
Sources and Key to Columns: Identical to Table 10, except that Column V has been dropped for reasons of the discontinuation of the WIC slave trade.

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    |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-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185 | 186 | 187 | 188 | 189 | 190 | 191 | 192 | 193 | 194 | 195 | 196 | 197 | 198 | 199 | 200 | 201 | 202 | 203 | 204 | 205 | 206 | 207 | 208 | 209 | 210 | 211 | 212 | 213 | 214 | 215 | 216 | 217 | 218 | 219 | 220 | 221 | 222 | 223 | 224 | 225 | 226 | 227 | 228 | 229 | 230 | 231 | 232 | 233 | 234 | 235 | 236 | 237 | 238 | 239 | 240 | 241 | 242 | 243 | 244 | 245 | 246 | 247 | 248 | 249 | 250 | 251 | 252 | 253 | 254 | 255 | 256 | 257 | 258 | 259 | 260 | 261 | 262 | 263 | 264 | 265 | 266 | 267 | 268 | 269 | 270 | 271 | 272 | 273 | 274 | 275 | 276 | 277 | 278 | 279 | 280 | 281 | 282 | 283 | 284 | 285 | 286 | 287 | 288 | 289 | 290 | 291 | 292 | 293 | 294 | 295 | 296 | 297 | 298 | 299 | 300 | 301 | 302 | 303 | 304 | 305 | 306 | 307 | 308 | 309 | 310 | 311 | 312 | 313 | 314 | 315 | 316 | 317 | 318 | 319 | 320 | 321 | 322 | 323 | 324 | 325 | 326 | 327 | 328 | 329 | 330 | 331 | 332 | 333 | 334 | 335 | 336 | 337 | 338 | 339 | 340 | 341 | 342 | 343 | 344 | 345 | 346 | 347 | 348 | 349 | 350 | 351 | 352 | 353 | 354 | 355 | 356 | 357 | 358 | 359 | 360 | 361 | 362 | 363 | 364 | 365 | 366 | 367 | 368 | 369 | 370 | 371 | 372 | 373 | 374 | 375 | 376 | 377 | 378 | 379 | 380 | 381 | 382 | 383 | 384 | 385 | 386 | 387 | 388 | 389 | 390 | 391 | 392 | 393 | 394 | 395 | 396 | 397 | 398 | 399 | 400 | 401 | 402 | 403 | 404 | 405 | 406 | 407 | 408 | 409 | 410 | 411 | 412 | 413 | 414 | 415 | 416 | 417 | 418 | 419 | 420 | 421 | 422 | 423 | 424 | 425 | 426 | 427 | 428 | 429 | 430 | 431 | 432 | 433 | 434 | 435 | 436 | 437 | 438 | 439 | 440 | 441 | 442 | 443 | 444 | 445 | 446 | 447 | 448 | 449 | 450 | 451 | 452 | 453 | 454 | 455 | 456 | 457 | 458 | 459 | 460 | 461 | 462 | 463 | 464 | 465 | 466 | 467 | 468 | 469 | 470 | 471 | 472 | 473 | 474 | 475 | 476 | 477 | 478 | 479 | 480 | 481 | 482 | 483 | 484 | 485 | 486 | 487 | 488 | 489 | 490 | 491 | 492 | 493 | 494 | 495 | 496 | 497 | 498 | 499 | 500 | 501 | 502 | 503 | 504 | 505 | 506 | 507 | 508 | 509 | 510 | 511 | 512 | 513 | 514 | 515 | 516 | 517 | 518 | 519 | 520 | 521 | 522 | 523 | 524 | 525 | 526 | 527 | 528 | 529 | 530 | 531 | 532 | 533 | 534 | 535 | 536 | 537 | 538 | 539 | 540 | 541 | 542 | 543 | 544 | 545 | 546 | 547 | 548 | 549 | 550 | 551 | 552 | 553 | 554 | 555 | 556 | 557 | 558 | 559 | 560 | 561 | 562 | 563 | 564 | 565 | 566 | 567 | 568 | 569 | 570 | 571 | 572 | 573 | 574 | 575 | 576 | 577 | 578 | 579 | 580 | 581 | 582 | 583 | 584 | 585 | 586 | 587 | 588 | 589 | 590 | 591 | 592 | 593 | 594 | 595 | 596 | 597 | 598 | 599 | 600 | 601 | 602 | 603 | 604 | 605 | 606 | 607 | 608 | 609 | 610 | 611 | 612 | 613 | 614 | 615 | 616 | 617 | 618 | 619 | 620 | 621 | 622 | 623 | 624 | 625 | 626 | 627 | 628 | 629 | 630 | 631 | 632 | 633 | 634 | 635 | 636 | 637 | 638 | 639 | 640 | 641 | 642 | 643 | 644 | 645 | 646 | 647 | 648 | 649 | 650 | 651 | 652 | 653 | 654 | 655 | 656 | 657 | 658 | 659 | 660 | 661 | 662 | 663 | 664 | 665 | 666 | 667 | 668 | 669 | 670 | 671 | 672 | 673 | 674 | 675 | 676 | 677 | 678 | 679 | 680 | 681 | 682 | 683 | 684 | 685 | 686 | 687 | 688 | 689 | 690 | 691 | 692 | 693 | 694 | 695 | 696 | 697 | 698 | 699 | 700 | 701 | 702 | 703 | 704 | 705 | 706 | 707 | 708 | 709 | 710 | 711 | 712 | 713 | 714 | 715 | 716 | 717 | 718 | 719 | 720 | 721 | 722 | 723 | 724 | 725 | 726 | 727 | 728 | 729 | 730 | 731 | 732 | 733 | 734 | 735 | 736 | 737 | 738 | 739 | 740 | 741 | 742 | 743 | 744 | 745 | 746 | 747 | 748 | 749 | 750 | 751 | 752 | 753 | 754 | 755 | 756 | 757 | 758 | 759 | 760 | 761 | 762 | 763 | 764 | 765 | 766 | 767 | 768 | 769 | 770 | 771 | 772 | 773 | 774 | 775 | 776 | 777 | 778 | 779 | 780 | 781 | 782 | 783 | 784 | 785 | 786 | 787 | 788 | 789 | 790 | 791 | 792 | 793 | 794 | 795 | 796 | 797 | 798 | 799 | 800 | 801 | 802 | 803 | 804 | 805 | 806 | 807 | 808 | 809 | 810 | 811 | 812 | 813 | 814 | 815 | 816 | 817 | 818 | 819 | 820 | 821 | 822 | 823 | 824 | 825 | 826 | 827 | 828 | 829 | 830 | 831 | 832 | 833 | 834 | 835 | 836 | 837 | 838 | 839 | 840 | 841 | 842 | 843 | 844 | 845 | 846 | 847 | 848 | 849 | 850 | 851 | 852 | 853 | 854 | 855 | 856 | 857 | 858 | 859 | 860 | 861 | 862 | 863 | 864 | 865 | 866 | 867 | 868 | 869 | 870 | 871 | 872 | 873 | 874 | 875 | 876 | 877 | 878 | 879 | 880 | 881 | 882 | 883 | 884 | 885 | 886 | 887 | 888 | 889 | 890 | 891 | 892 | 893 | 894 | 895 | 896 | 897 | 898 | 899 | 900 | 901 | 902 | 903 | 904 | 905 | 906 | 907 | 908 | 909 | 910 | 911 | 912 | 913 | 914 | 915 | 916 | 917 | 918 | 919 | 920 | 921 | 922 | 923 | 924 | 925 | 926 | 927 | 928 | 929 | 930 | 931 | 932 | 933 | 934 | 935 | 936 | 937 | 938 | 939 | 940 | 941 | 942 | 943 | 944 | 945 | 946 | 947 | 948 | 949 | 950 | 951 | 952 | 953 | 954 | 955 | 956 | 957 | 958 | 959 | 960 | 961 | 962 | 963 | 964 | 965 | 966 | 967 | 968 | 969 | 970 | 971 | 972 | 973 | 974 | 975 | 976 | 977 | 978 | 979 | 980 | 981 | 982 | 983 | 984 | 985 | 986 | 987 | 988 | 989 | 990 | 991 | 992 | 993 | 994 | 995 | 996 | 997 | 998 | 999 | 1000 | 1001 | 1002 | 1003 | 1004 | 1005 | 1006 | 1007 | 1008 | 1009 | 1010 | 1011 | 1012 | 1013 | 1014 | 1015 | 1016 | 1017 | 1018 | 1019 | 1020 | 1021 | 1022 | 1023 | 1024 | 1025 | 1026 | 1027 | 1028 | 1029 | 1030 | 1031 | 1032 | 1033 | 1034 | 1035 | 1036 | 1037 | 1038 | 1039 | 1040 | 1041 | 1042 | 1043 | 1044 | 1045 | 1046 | 1047 | 1048 | 1049 | 1050 | 1051 | 1052 | 1053 | 1054 | 1055 | 1056 | 1057 | 1058 | 1059 | 1060 | 1061 | 1062 | 1063 | 1064 | 1065 | 1066 | 1067 | 1068 | 1069 | 1070 | 1071 | 1072 | 1073 | 1074 | 1075 | 1076 | 1077 | 1078 | 1079 | 1080 | 1081 | 1082 | 1083 | 1084 | 1085 | 1086 | 1087 | 1088 | 1089 | 1090 | 1091 | 1092 | 1093 | 1094 | 1095 | 1096 | 1097 | 1098 | 1099 | 1100 | 1101 | 1102 | 1103 | 1104 | 1105 | 1106 | 1107 | 1108 | 1109 | 1110 | 1111 | 1112 | 1113 | 1114 | 1115 | 1116 | 1117 | 1118 | 1119 | 1120 | 1121 | 1122 | 1123 | 1124 | 1125 | 1126 | 1127 | 1128 | 1129 | 1130 | 1131 | 1132 | 1133 | 1134 | 1135 | 1136 | 1137 | 1138 | 1139 | 1140 | 1141 | 1142 | 1143 | 1144 | 1145 | 1146 | 1147 | 1148 | 1149 | 1150 | 1151 | 1152 | 1153 | 1154 | 1155 | 1156 | 1157 | 1158 | 1159 | 1160 | 1161 | 1162 | 1163 | 1164 | 1165 | 1166 | 1167 | 1168 | 1169 | 1170 | 1171 | 1172 | 1173 | 1174 | 1175 | 1176 | 1177 | 1178 | 1179 | 1180 | 1181 | 1182 | 1183 | 1184 | 1185 | 1186 | 1187 | 1188 | 1189 | 1190 | 1191 | 1192 | 1193 | 1194 | 1195 | 1196 | 1197 | 1198 | 1199 | 1200 | 1201 | 1202 | 1203 | 1204 | 1205 | 1206 | 1207 | 1208 | 1209 | 1210 | 1211 | 1212 | 1213 | 1214 | 1215 | 1216 | 1217 | 1218 | 1219 | 1220 | 1221 | 1222 | 1223 | 1224 | 1225 | 1226 | 1227 | 1228 | 1229 | 1230 | 1231 | 1232 | 1233 | 1234 | 1235 | 1236 | 1237 | 1238 | 1239 | 1240 | 1241 | 1242 | 1243 | 1244 | 1245 | 1246 | 1247 | 1248 | 1249 | 1250 | 1251 | 1252 | 1253 | 1254 | 1255 | 1256 | 1257 | 1258 | 1259 | 1260 | 1261 | 1262 | 1263 | 1264 | 1265 | 1266 | 1267 | 1268 | 1269 | 1270 | 1271 | 1272 | 1273 | 1274 | 1275 | 1276 | 1277 | 1278 | 1279 | 1280 | 1281 | 1282 | 1283 | 1284 | 1285 | 1286 | 1287 | 1288 | 1289 | 1290 | 1291 | 1292 | 1293 | 1294 | 1295 | 1296 | 1297 | 1298 | 1299 | 1300 | 1301 | 1302 | 1303 | 1304 | 1305 | 1306 | 1307 | 1308 | 1309 | 1310 | 1311 | 1312 | 1313 | 1314 | 1315 | 1316 | 1317 | 1318 | 1319 | 1320 | 1321 | 1322 | 1323 | 1324 | 1325 | 1326 | 1327 | 1328 | 1329 | 1330 | 1331 | 1332 | 1333 | 1334 | 1335 | 1336 | 1337 | 1338 | 1339 | 1340 | 1341 | 1342 | 1343 | 1344 | 1345 | 1346 | 1347 | 1348 | 1349 | 1350 | 1351 | 1352 | 1353 | 1354 | 1355 | 1356 | 1357 | 1358 | 1359 | 1360 | 1361 | 1362 | 1363 | 1364 | 1365 | 1366 | 1367 | 1368 | 1369 | 1370 | 1371 | 1372 | 1373 | 1374 | 1375 | 1376 | 1377 | 1378 | 1379 | 1380 | 1381 | 1382 | 1383 | 1384 | 1385 | 1386 | 1387 | 1388 | 1389 | 1390 | 1391 | 1392 | 1393 | 1394 | 1395 | 1396 | 1397 | 1398 | 1399 | 1400 | 1401 | 1402 | 1403 | 1404 | 1405 | 1406 | 1407 | 1408 | 1409 | 1410 | 1411 | 1412 | 1413 | 1414 | 1415 | 1416 | 1417 | 1418 | 1419 | 1420 | 1421 | 1422 | 1423 | 1424 | 1425 | 1426 | 1427 | 1428 | 1429 | 1430 | 1431 | 1432 | 1433 | 1434 | 1435 | 1436 | 1437 | 1438 | 1439 | 1440 | 1441 | 1442 | 1443 | 1444 | 1445 | 1446 | 1447 | 1448 | 1449 | 1450 | 1451 | 1452 | 1453 | 1454 | 1455 | 1456 | 1457 | 1458 | 1459 | 1460 | 1461 | 1462 | 1463 | 1464 | 1465 | 1466 | 1467 | 1468 | 1469 | 1470 | 1471 | 1472 | 1473 | 1474 | 1475 | 1476 | 1477 | 1478 | 1479 | 1480 | 1481 | 1482 | 1483 | 1484 | 1485 | 1486 | 1487</ |
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Fig. 6. FLUCTUATIONS IN THE DUTCH SLAVE TRADE, 1730-1795





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conditions in Europe, America, and Africa--were responsible for these fluctuations of the slave trade during the free trade period. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an evaluation of the relative importance of these influential factors.

Competition from rival European nations continued to be a major obstacle to Dutch slavers during the free trade period. The English in particular were mentioned repeatedly in Dutch documents as the chief competitors. In 1749 the English Royal African Company reorganized its African administration and raised its purchase price for slaves to approximately 25 per cent above the standard price of the WIC Price Table.<sup>21</sup> This may well have been responsible for the sizable decline of the Dutch trade during that period. Five years later WIC servants, who retained a type of middleman monopoly of the slave trade through their trading stations on the Gold Coast, were still complaining that the English were paying their slavers subsidies while the cost price of the Dutch was burdened by fees for slaving permits and head-money for every slave purchased by a company official.<sup>22</sup> In 1765 the Director-General suggested that the English and the Dutch agree on a common price for slaves, but his superiors in Holland vetoed this proposal since the fluctuation of market conditions was often an advantage to the Dutch.<sup>23</sup>

European diplomatic relations and wars produced little or no interference to the Dutch slaving enterprise during the free trade

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<sup>21</sup>WIC, Vol. 113, p. 586.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., Vol. 114, p. 96; Vol. 115, p. 101.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Vol. 37, p. 95.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures and the statistical analysis performed.

3. The third part of the document presents the results of the study. It includes a series of tables and graphs that illustrate the findings of the research. The data shows a clear trend in the relationship between the variables studied.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings. It highlights the potential applications of the research in various fields and the need for further investigation in this area.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes the study. It summarizes the key findings and provides a final statement on the significance of the research. The authors express their gratitude to the funding agency and the participants.

6. The sixth part of the document includes a list of references and a list of figures. The references cite the works of other researchers in the field, and the figures provide a visual representation of the data presented in the text.

7. The seventh part of the document includes a list of tables and a list of equations. The tables provide a detailed breakdown of the data, and the equations represent the mathematical models used in the study.

8. The eighth part of the document includes a list of appendices and a list of footnotes. The appendices provide additional information and data, and the footnotes provide clarifications and references to specific parts of the document.

period before 1775. During that decade, however, the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War caused a drastic curtailment of the slave trade, bringing the Dutch slave trade to a complete standstill when this conflict precipitated the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-84). The Dutch managed to maintain neutrality during the European wars of the mid-eighteenth century, which favored her trading opportunities, particularly vis-à-vis the French, who were frequently driven from the oceans by the British navy. During the 1740's this opened the French West Indies as a market for Dutch slavers.<sup>24</sup> There is no evidence that the French posed a commercial threat to the Dutch in Africa during the free trade period until after the Anglo-Dutch War. During the years 1786-87 the Dutch expressed apprehension about French efforts to establish trading stations on the Gold Coast.<sup>25</sup>

On the whole, the Dutch maintained a guarded cordiality with the English until the American War of Independence. Considerable tension arose between the two nations at the end of the 1750's, which also precipitated some conflicts in Africa. In 1758 a conflict arose over control of the Komenda trading station, but after some local fighting, an agreement was reached and signed during the following year.<sup>26</sup>

With the eruption of hostilities between England and her North American colonies, relations between the former and the Dutch Republic,

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<sup>24</sup>NBKG, Vol. 9, Minutes 4/14/1744; WIC, Vol. 267, 10/26/1750. The Dutch West Indian colonies required annually about 4,000 slaves, which meant that other markets needed to be found for cargos carried beyond that amount.

<sup>25</sup>NBKG, Vol. 13, Minutes 12/19/1786 and 6/2/1787.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., Vol. 10, Minutes of March, 1759.



always eager to capture a lucrative market, also became strained. As early as 1776 the Dutch in Africa were preparing for a British attack in reprisal for their sympathy toward the American colonists.<sup>27</sup> In December, 1780, war actually broke out between Holland and Great Britain. The slave trade rapidly declined as a result of the conflict in North America, even before the actual hostilities broke out. Due to an unpredictable market and unsafe oceans the Dutch slave trade may have come to a complete halt during the years 1781-82. At least no ships were recorded during these years, although a sizable amount of money was received for slaving permits by the WIC during the triennium of 1780-82. Many Dutch slavers were confiscated by the English during the war. The MCC, the largest of the Dutch slaving companies, alone lost seven vessels and was able to operate only two slaving ships after the war ended.<sup>28</sup>

A brief revival of the Dutch slave trade occurred after the war, but it never attained great significance again, since the English had clearly come to dominate the West African slave trade. In addition, the United States also was sending many slaving vessels to the African coast. Dutch slavers were unable to supply their West Indian colonies with the required number of slaves, forcing the planters to outfit their own slaving ships.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., Vol. 13, Minutes 3/21-28/1776; J. Kramer, "Afhankelijk Beleid," in Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, eds. J. A. van Houtte, et al. (Utrecht: W. de Haan, 1949-58), p. 35ff.

<sup>28</sup>VWIS, Folder 712, Documents 4/14/1788 and 9/6/1786.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., Documents 3/19/1787 and 2/6/1788.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

In contrast to the period of WIC monopoly, the Atlantic Ocean was much safer for merchant shipping during the free trade period. On only one occasion, in 1743, did WIC servants report the presence of two "Spanish" pirates on the Guinea Coast. And apparently no significant damage or stagnation resulted from these piratical activities.<sup>30</sup>

As was illustrated in Chapter V, political developments in Africa had a tremendous effect on the Atlantic slave trade. This continued to be the case after 1730, but in a less obvious way for the Dutch because of a change in slaving techniques and a shift in regions from which the free traders obtained their slave cargos. Whereas during the period of WIC monopoly the vast majority of slaves were acquired on the Gold and Slave Coasts, free traders were not bound to purchase at the WIC factories, and they purchased a large proportion of their slaves on the Windward Coast, an area roughly coterminous with present day Liberia and the Ivory Coast.<sup>31</sup> Free traders generally sailed down the Windward Coast and anchored at the mouth of a river or near an African town and purchased a number of slaves here and there from indigenous traders. This had previously been referred to as "interloping trade," but it now became the standard practice.<sup>32</sup>

As a rule, free traders were unable to complete their cargos

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<sup>30</sup>NEKG, Vol. 9, Minutes 3/18/1743.

<sup>31</sup>WIC, Vol. 113, p. 187. The Dutch referred to this area as the Upper Coast.

<sup>32</sup>See Chapter II, p. 65. Chapter VII provides a more concise analysis of the origin of slaves.





on the Windward Coast and proceeded to the Gold Coast, where WIC servants at the various company trading stations, especially at Elmina, completed their cargos. Some free trade vessels traded on the Slave Coast, where the WIC continued to maintain a small lodge until at least 1760.<sup>33</sup> The Dutch also continued to send slavers to Angola, but on a smaller scale than during the WIC monopoly period. The MCC sent 27 per cent of its vessels to Angola, which may well have been representative of all free trade activity.<sup>34</sup>

Dutch free trade slavers also purchased large numbers of slaves from the WIC trading stations on the Gold Coast. For while the company discontinued outfitting slave ships for the Atlantic crossing, its facilities and personnel in Africa remained deeply involved in the slave trade in a type of middleman capacity. With the passing of time the Director-General began to function less as an administrator and more as a merchant or factor. During the early 1760's, Director-General David Erasmie had a contract with the slaving company of Coopstad & Rochusen of Rotterdam to supply slaving vessels with their complete cargos for a given price. Copies of this contract and successive ones have been preserved among the papers of this company.<sup>35</sup> A Director-General tried to promote the WIC slave trade by sending letters to companies in Holland offering such contracts, and some of the factors of subordinate WIC trading stations later imitated this practice.<sup>36</sup> A

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<sup>33</sup>See the various personnel rosters in WIC, Vols. 107-111.

<sup>34</sup>Unger II, p. 16.

<sup>35</sup>HAR, Bundles 41-42; MCC, Vol. 60, Correspondence 10/12/1762; Hudig, pp. 30-32.

<sup>36</sup>MCC, Vol. 60, Correspondence 1/20/1759 and 8/24/1774.



contract found among the WIC papers indicates that Director-General Pieter Woortman rented a WIC ship to take a cargo of slaves across the Atlantic in 1770.<sup>37</sup> The actual implementation of this contract has not been confirmed, however.

As the eighteenth century progressed, the control of the Dutch slave trade became increasingly more dispersed, both in Africa and in the United Provinces. Some slaving companies did not finance their own slaving voyages, but sold shares to interested individuals. The records of the firm of Coopstad & Rochusen, for example, indicate that shares as small as one thirty-second of a slaver's cargo were sold to private investors.<sup>38</sup>

In africa, likewise, the WIC gradually relinquished its restrictions on who was allowed to participate in the slave trade. By 1762 all commercial officials of the company were allowed to buy and sell slaves, as long as they reported these transactions to the company and paid the attendant head-money of twenty guilders per slave. Occasionally, WIC servants sent slaves to the West Indies on their own risk, paying a free trade captain a fee (generally amounting to one-third of the price of the slave) for transporting the slaves to the West. In 1756, for example, the slave ship Maria Geertruyd Galey took on board 57 such "freight" (op vracht) slaves in addition to its regular cargo of 331. Such incidents became quite common during the 1750's and 1760's, but in 1774 the WIC forbade this practice of sending slaves

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<sup>37</sup>WIC, Vol. 494, p. 356.

<sup>38</sup>HAR, Bundles 41-42, Gulde Vrijheid, 1750.



"on freight."<sup>39</sup>

The freeing of the trade also gave frequent occasion to conflicts between WIC officials and free trade captains. On behalf of the latter the MCC repeatedly protested during the 1740's that the WIC agents at Axim prohibited the free traders to buy slaves from African traders in the vicinity of the Axim fort. WIC servants justified their actions by their obligation to pay the company head-money for every slave transacted, which made it impossible for them to compete effectively with European and indigenous traders.<sup>40</sup> Private companies also complained that WIC officials often sold to foreign slavers while their ships were waiting for a cargo. In response to these grievances the WIC directors urged their subordinates in Africa to cooperate with the free traders and complete their cargos before any slaves could be sold to ships of other nations. The rationale was that the fee paid for slaving permits entitled the free traders to preferential treatment.<sup>41</sup>

Regardless of all the changes prompted by the freeing of the slave trade, the Gold Coast remained a significant source of supply for the Dutch free traders. According to a sample of fifty slaving vessels, of which statistics on the port of origin of slaves have been preserved, ca. 60 per cent of the slaves were obtained on the Windward Coast and

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<sup>39</sup>MCC, Vol. 60, Correspondence 3/21/1754, 5/22/1755, and 9/17/1755; WIC, Vol. 463, p. 97; HAR, Bundles 41-42, Correspondence 4/13/1756 and 3/30/1774.

<sup>40</sup>VWIS, Vol. 41, Correspondence 2/20/1743, 1/28/1744, and 2/27/1744.

<sup>41</sup>WIC, Vol. 57, p. 64; VWIS, Vol. 41, Correspondence 9/25/1744.



the remaining 40 per cent originated on the Gold Coast.<sup>42</sup> This ratio was by no means consistently maintained, however, since political conditions on the African mainland often drastically influenced the supply of slaves in certain regions.

Unfortunately, the records of head-mones paid by WIC servants for the privilege of trading in slaves have not been preserved in their entirety. This would have made an excellent guide by which commercial trends on the Gold Coast could have been measured. (The WIC archives yield hardly any data about conditions on the Windward Coast, an area with nearly three times as much coastline as the Gold Coast; an assessment of the relationship between the slave trade and African political developments in this region is therefore impossible.) Portions of the head-money accounts have been gleaned from the various papers of the WIC, and they are somewhat helpful in illuminating the trading pattern and volume on the Gold Coast. The available data is listed in Table 12.

This incomplete and spotty collection of data places the average number of slaves exported from the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast roughly between 1,500 and 2,000 per year. Declines in the export of slaves generally can be traced to political turmoil and wars in the region in question. This is best illustrated by comparing the export figures of 1738 to those of 1739;<sup>43</sup> the war of 1739 between the inhabitants of the town, Elmina, and the WIC establishment hurt the slave trade seriously.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>See Table 15.

<sup>43</sup>See Table 12.

<sup>44</sup>A detailed description and analysis of the 1739 war and its consequences has been provided by Feinberg, pp. 147-53.



the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship. In this case, the person is both the one who is friends with someone and the one who is friended by someone. This is not a contradiction because the relation of friendship is a reciprocal relation. In other words, if A is friends with B, then B is friended by A. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship.

Another example is a person being both a subject and an object of a relation of self-love. In this case, the person is both the one who loves themselves and the one who is loved by themselves. This is not a contradiction because the relation of self-love is a reflexive relation. In other words, if A loves B, then B is loved by A. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of self-love.

Finally, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of self-hatred. In this case, the person is both the one who hates themselves and the one who is hated by themselves. This is not a contradiction because the relation of self-hatred is a reflexive relation. In other words, if A hates B, then B is hated by A. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of self-hatred.

In conclusion, the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. It is only a contradiction if the relation is not a reciprocal or reflexive relation. In other words, if the relation is not a relation of friendship, self-love, or self-hatred, then it is a contradiction for a person to be both a subject and an object of that relation.

TABLE 12

## HEAD-MONEY PAID TO THE WIC

| Dates           | Slaves | Annual Averages |
|-----------------|--------|-----------------|
| 11/1737-10/1738 | 1,676  | 1,676           |
| 11/1738- 3/1740 | 702    | 558             |
| 1740            |        | 634             |
| 1741            |        | 1,216           |
| 1742            |        | 1,586           |
| 1743            |        | 2,040           |
| 1744            |        | 2,241           |
| 1745            |        | 962             |
| 1746            |        | 228             |
| 8/1752- 7/1754  | 1,383  | 692             |
| 1762            |        | 2,424           |
| 1771            |        | 2,594           |
| 1772            |        | 2,317           |
| 1773            |        | 1,530           |
| 1774            |        | 2,362           |
| 1775            |        | 1,839           |
| 1776            |        | 1,503           |
| 1777            |        | 1,612           |

Sources: WIC, Vols. 113, p. 189; 488, p. 537; 490, p. 609; VWIS, No.932.

Depressed markets in the Western Hemisphere can be blamed in part for the sharp decline in the Dutch slave trade after 1734,<sup>45</sup> but an analysis of the political conditions in West Africa shows that here, also, contributing factors to the decline in trade can be detected. In addition to the Elmina war of 1739, WIC reports disclose that as early as 1735 the trade on the Coast was poor, due to widespread wars among

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<sup>45</sup>See WIC, Vol. 57, pp. 47-48; Vol. 488, p. 226; NBKG, Vol. 8, Minutes 3/6/1738.

African states along the Guinea Coast.<sup>46</sup> The Slave Coast was war-ridden during the whole decade of the 1730's,<sup>47</sup> and local disturbances took place at Akra and Berku in 1737 and 1738 respectively.<sup>48</sup> These developments explain in part the severe drop in the slave trade indicated on Figure 6.

During the period of 1741-1744 the Dutch revived the slave trade considerably, but it slumped again during the following decade. WIC correspondence from Africa between 1745 and 1755 repeatedly reported that the trade was "completely dead."<sup>49</sup> In 1748, one free trade slaver took nearly eleven months to collect a cargo of 317 slaves.<sup>50</sup> WIC agents openly blamed "native wars" for the deterioration of the trade, in particular the tensions and wars between the Ashanti and the Wassa people. The latter controlled the trade routes to the Gold Coast forts and prevented the Ashanti traders from bringing their merchandise to the Dutch trading stations.<sup>51</sup> Ashanti traders finally took their wares to the Slave Coast, which prompted the WIC to reactivate its former lodges at Popo, Jakin, and Keta.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, p. 731.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Vol. 488, p. 255; Vol. 110, p. 107 and 247; Vol. 112, p. 612.

<sup>48</sup>NBKG, Vol. 8, Minutes 5/27/1737 and 10/30/1738.

<sup>49</sup>MCC, Vol. 60, Correspondence 5/14/1753 and 1/3/1755; NBKG, Vol. 9, Minutes 5/1/1747; WIC, Vol. 113, p. 522.

<sup>50</sup>WIC, Vol. 113, p. 322.

<sup>51</sup>MCC, Vol. 60, Correspondence 1/3/1755; WIC, Vol. 113, p. 570; Vol. 490, pp. 360-62.

<sup>52</sup>WIC, Vol. 490, pp. 602, and 635-40.

In 1753, free trade captains also reported that the slave trade on the Windward Coast was "dead."<sup>53</sup> This widespread decline in commercial activities along the Guinea Coast may be the explanation for the severe drop in the Dutch slave trade during the early years of the 1750's.<sup>54</sup>

In order to reactivate the slave trade on the Gold Coast the WIC introduced a number of innovations. In 1747, for example, the company raised the purchase price for slaves by approximately 10 per cent. The whole slave trade operation was re-evaluated, and various minor changes in technique were introduced in 1748, but apparently without much success.<sup>55</sup> When in March of that year the slaver Maria Galey was supplied with 220 slaves, some WIC servants expected the situation to improve, but the next month Elmina still had only fifty slaves in stock.<sup>56</sup>

Seldom, if ever, did the supply of slaves at the Dutch factories stop completely for an extended period of time. At least a trickle of slaves always ended up at the European trading stations, and some regions periodically even benefitted from hostilities elsewhere.

The two decades following 1755 witnessed a great improvement in the volume of the Dutch slave trade, although brief wars and local disturbances continued to hamper the trade periodically. In 1767-68 tensions arose between the Ashanti and the Fante, as Akim shifted its

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<sup>53</sup>MCC, Vol. 60, Correspondence 10/26/1753.

<sup>54</sup>See the chart in Figure 6.

<sup>55</sup>WIC, Vol. 57, p. 70; NBKG, Vol. 9, Minutes 3/18/1748.

<sup>56</sup>NBKG, Vol. 9, Minutes 3/27/1748; WIC, Vol. 489, p. 703.

alliance from the former to the latter, but no negative repercussions of this diplomatic shift were reported by the WIC.<sup>57</sup>

One of the most troublesome affairs for the WIC during the 1760's and early 1770's was the persistent opposition from the wealthy and powerful merchant prince, Amnichia, of Cape Apolonia. The case was quite similar to the subordination of John Conny during the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>58</sup> Amnichia controlled most of the Hanta lands and virtually forced the WIC trade at Axim to a standstill.<sup>59</sup> The WIC desperately tried to arouse neighboring coastal people to oppose Amnichia, but apparently to little avail, as the African leader continued to enjoy his independence from the WIC. In 1768, after the Black leader refused to let himself be pacified with a present from the WIC, the company threatened to bombard Amnichia's stronghold at Cape Apolonia from the WIC cruiser Amazone. During the following year a temporary armistice was negotiated with Amnichia, but four years later the area in the neighborhood of Axim again was reported to be in great "disorder."<sup>60</sup> Not until 1774 were WIC agents able to pacify Amnichia with presents in the same fashion as other African leaders, but the same officials still expressed their distrust and apprehension about the Apolonia chief.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>WIC, Vol. 117, pp. 11 and 82; Vol. 118, p. 58.

<sup>58</sup>See p. 132 concerning John Conny.

<sup>59</sup>For an account of Amnichia's activities see: WIC, Vol. 115, pp. 289-91, 559, and 744; Vol. 117, pp. 101 and 467; NBKG, Vol. 11, Minutes 3/3/1762; Vol. 12, Minutes 4/14/1768, 7/21/1766, 5/12/1766, and 4/10/1769. See regional map on p. 130.

<sup>60</sup>NBKG, Vol. 13, Minutes 3/5/1773. <sup>61</sup>Ibid., Minutes 10/5/1774.



The disorders caused by Amnichia were restricted to only one portion of the Gold Coast, however, and trade elsewhere appeared to be flourishing during this period. One exception to this occurred in 1773-74, however, when trade all along the Gold Coast was hampered by hostilities between the Ashanti and the Fante.<sup>62</sup> The latter became increasingly more prominent in the Coastal slave trade and prevented the Ashanti traders from taking their merchandise to the Coast.<sup>63</sup> The political complications on the Gold Coast beginning in 1773 may well have contributed to the unprecedented decline in the Dutch slave trade starting at this time. But the fact that this decline was not checked afterwards was due to the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War and the ensuing Anglo-Dutch War.

Serious tension between the Dutch and the British on the West African Coast became evident in 1781, and during the following year a British attack on Elmina castle was anticipated by WIC authorities.<sup>64</sup> The Elmina townspeople, who had generally recognized the mutual benefit of cooperation with the Dutch, supported the Dutch against the English in this conflict.<sup>65</sup> But the inability of the Dutch to continue the slave trade during the war forced the Elminans to sell their slaves to the English at Cape Coast Castle.<sup>66</sup> The plight of the WIC in Africa

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<sup>62</sup>HAR, Bundles 41-42, Correspondence 7/15/1773.

<sup>63</sup>WIC, Vol. 494, Documents 68 and 83; Vol. 926, No. 109; Marrée, II, p. 129.

<sup>64</sup>NEKG, Vol. 13, Minutes 2/20/1782.

<sup>65</sup>AAC, Vol. 2419, 9/11/1784; Feinberg, pp. 218-19.

<sup>66</sup>VWIS, Folder 983, Report of September, 1785.

became so serious as a result of the Anglo-Dutch war that in 1786 the company lacked the means to pay its servants.<sup>67</sup> After the war only the demise of the WIC and the end of the Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade remain to be discussed.

The Dutch WIC expired in 1791 when the States-General refused to extend the company's charter beyond that year. For many decades the company had operated on a deficit and was kept in existence by government subsidies amounting to 250,000 guilders per year by 1788.<sup>68</sup> The liabilities and possessions of the WIC were assumed by the States-General, which left the management of the Forts in Africa to the same persons who had served the WIC heretofore. In this manner the Dutch presence on the West African Coast was maintained until 1872 when the British government bought the Dutch forts.<sup>69</sup>

The Dutch slave trade revived briefly and sporadically after the Anglo-Dutch war. Since slaving was now mostly in the hands of free traders, the demise of the WIC had little effect on the slave trade. Periodically the free traders made efforts to bring the slave trade to its former prominence. Under auspices of the State-General a committee was created in 1787 to study the possibilities for reviving the slave trade. The resulting report confirmed that the trade was economically beneficial and that the Dutch West Indian colonies needed to be supplied with slaves. The report also suggested that duties

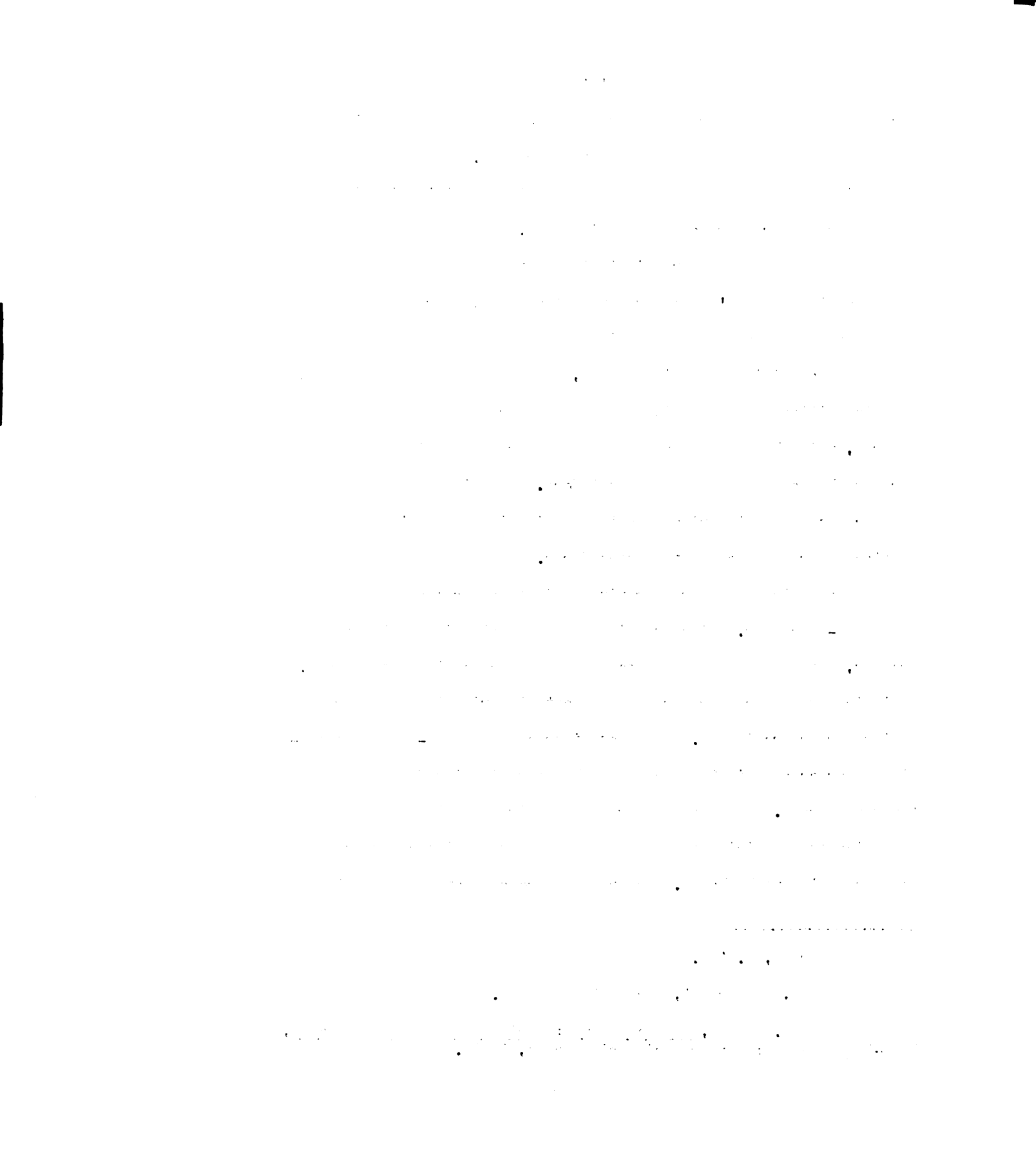
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<sup>67</sup>Herman, p. 108.

<sup>68</sup>VWIS, Folder 711, Document 8/27/1788.

<sup>69</sup>See D. Coombs, The Gold Coast: Britain and the Netherlands, 1850-1874 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).





levied for slaving permits and head-monies be discontinued.<sup>70</sup>

Apparently only one (or perhaps none at all) slaver went to Africa in 1786, but during the following two years at least eleven slaving vessels were dispatched. Seven of these ships were sent by the company of Johs. Souyssen of Vlissingen (Zeeland), which took an active part in the final years of the Dutch slave trade.<sup>71</sup> As the trade slumped again, new efforts to improve it were made in 1789, which resulted in the discontinuation of the duties, as suggested in the report two years earlier. A flat rate of two per cent of the cargo was now required as a premium for the privilege of slaving on the African coast.<sup>72</sup> And in 1791 the payment of head-money was discontinued altogether, and everyone on the African coast, including free mulattoes not in the service of the States-General, was permitted to take an active part in the slave trade without any obligations.<sup>73</sup>

The above developments spurred a new interest in the slave trade, which culminated in the brief but impressive upsurge during the year 1791, when at least nine slavers sailed to Africa.<sup>74</sup> This upsurge coincided with a period of political calm on the Gold Coast, which resulted in some active trading during the last year of the

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<sup>70</sup>VWIS, Folder 13, Reports 9/9/1789 and 24/11/1789.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., Folder 1379; Folder 13, Plan of Mr. L. of Vlissingen. According to this last citation not one slaver was dispatched in 1786, but other sources (see Table 11) indicate that at least one slaver was on the African coast during this year. See Appendix B for a listing of free trade companies.

<sup>72</sup>VWIS, Folder 1228.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., Folder 13, Document 3/11/1791.

<sup>74</sup>See Table 11.



existence of the WIC. The Director-General reported that during that year some slavers managed to complete their cargo in as little as six weeks.<sup>75</sup>

Only one slaver was reported on the African Coast in 1793 and 1794.<sup>76</sup> Thereafter, international tensions in Europe rose so high that slaving companies no longer dared to risk sending their vessels out to sea. When in 1795 the pro-French Batavian Republic was proclaimed in Holland and hostilities with England ensued, the resumption of the Dutch slave trade was completely out of the question. The last Dutch slaver to complete a triangular voyage before the slave trade was declared illegal was the MCC ship De Standvastigheid, during the years 1802-1805. This vessel had been scheduled for a slaving voyage to commence in 1795, but the outbreak of war in Europe prevented its departure. The Peace of Amiens in 1802 finally allowed the ship to carry out its mission.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps a number of other Dutch vessels went on a slaving voyage during this short interval of peace. The crew of the Standvastigheid sighted three other Dutch ships on the African coast, but it was not established with certainty that they were slaving vessels, although the area of their operation would tend to confirm

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<sup>75</sup>NEKG, Vol. 14, Minutes 4/11/1792.

<sup>76</sup>D. van der Vlis, "De reis van het fregatschip 'Het Vergenoegen' . . .," (unpublished thesis, Leiden, 1967). See Appendix B.

<sup>77</sup>A detailed study of this last voyage of De Standvastigheid has been made in a scriptie (the equivalent of a Master's thesis) by P. C. Emmer, "De Tweede reis van het Fregatschip 'De Standvastigheid'" (unpublished thesis, Leiden, 1968). An earlier voyage of De Standvastigheid has been studied in similar fashion by A. I. Vroeyenstijn, "De eerste voyage van het Fregatschip 'De Stanvastigheid'" (unpublished thesis, Leiden, 1967).



that they were slavers.<sup>78</sup>

The peace in Europe was only short lived, and in 1803 war again interfered with the efforts made to revive the Dutch slave trade. When peace finally returned in 1814, the new Kingdom of the Netherlands had accepted the Treaty of London, which made Dutch participation in the slave trade illegal.<sup>79</sup>

Some Dutch slavers may have violated the ban against the slave trade, but unqualified evidence for this has not yet been discovered in the Netherlands. A protest of a British official to the Dutch Director-General at Elmina reported that two illicit Dutch slavers, which had obtained slaves from the Dutch mulatto subject Jan Nieser, had been apprehended by the British navy.<sup>80</sup> Curtin documents the capture of three illicit Dutch slavers by the English during the nineteenth century.<sup>81</sup> On the whole, it is safe to assume that Dutch participation in the illicit slave trade was not substantial. The ships that flew the Dutch flag may well have been chartered by the planters in the West Indian colonies, and an understanding of the Dutch involvement in the illicit trade depends essentially on what a scrutiny of documents in the West Indies will some day disclose.

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<sup>78</sup>Emmer, p. 51.

<sup>79</sup>Menkman, "Nederland in Amerika en Afrika," p. 75.

<sup>80</sup>Herman, p. 170.

<sup>81</sup>Curtin, p. 248.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE SLAVES: ORIGIN, VALUE AND TREATMENT

It seems fitting to conclude this study of the Atlantic slave trade with an evaluation of the principal subjects of this trade, the slaves themselves. In this chapter an attempt will be made to clarify such problems as who the slaves were, where they came from, how their commercial value was determined, and how they were treated. Since this topic has been given extensive treatment in other slave trade literature, this chapter will focus on the unique contribution of the Dutch involvement and the Dutch archives.

First of all, who were the slaves? As was pointed out earlier, the concept of piezas de India as a measure of potential labor rather than as individual human beings was adopted by the Dutch through the Asiento contracts.<sup>1</sup> This term continued to be used during the period of WIC monopoly, but free traders customarily used the term "head" in reference to individual slaves. Actually, WIC traders used both terms in order to distinguish between the concept of the individual and the commercial unit.<sup>2</sup> With the free trade the term piezas de India was replaced with designations such as man slave, boy slave, etc. During

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<sup>1</sup>Curtin, p. 22. See also p. 104 above.

<sup>2</sup>WIC traders were not always consistent in their distinction between the two terms, which frequently leads to confusion about the number of slaves involved.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is the fact that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is the fact that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is the fact that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.



the free trade the price of each slave was negotiated separately between the buyer and the seller, in contrast to the period of WIC monopoly when prices were determined by the company Price Table.<sup>3</sup>

A pieza de India, or deliverable (leverbaar) slave as the Dutch were also prone to call them, were healthy slaves between the ages 15 and 35. Older slaves were not to be sold to company ships by WIC servants, according to a directive of 1708.<sup>4</sup> Captains also were instructed not to purchase blemished slaves, called Macroons or Manquerons, even if the supply of slaves was poor and children had to be purchased for lack of piezas de India.<sup>5</sup> Manquerons were slaves with physical defects such as blindness, hearing difficulties, etc., and very few of them have been reported on WIC cargos. As a rule they came in Dutch possession through confiscations from Brazilian slavers.<sup>6</sup>

Slaves who had not reached the age of fifteen were recorded by the WIC in fractions of piezas de India, such as two-thirds or one-third of a deliverable slave. According to Asiento contracts of the years 1683 and 1699 the age groups of 8-12 and 3-7 were valued as two-thirds and one-half pieza de India respectively.<sup>7</sup> Infants below the age of three accompanied the mother, which tended to increase the value

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<sup>3</sup>See p. 63 concerning the WIC Price Table.

<sup>4</sup>WIC, Vol. 29-30, Minutes 11/7/1708.

<sup>5</sup>NBKG, Vol. 235, Instructions 2/5/1713.

<sup>6</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, pp. 488 and 534; Vol. 486, pp. 154 and 321. See also the listings of Manquerons in Table 13. Only 150 such slaves were recorded in a total of almost 24,000, and nearly all of the 150 were reported to have been captured from Brazilian ships.

<sup>7</sup>NAA Nr. 1352; WIC, Vol. 783, Contract 5/3/1683.

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TABLE 13  
SLAVE CARGOS OF WIC SHIPS

| SHIPS           |               | M      | F     | B     | G   | I   | TOTAL  | PI     | Mac. |
|-----------------|---------------|--------|-------|-------|-----|-----|--------|--------|------|
| 1681            | Mercurius     | 346    | 154   |       |     |     | 500    |        |      |
| 1686            | Ft. Cormantyn | 389    | 150   |       |     |     | 539    |        |      |
| 1686            | Zierickzee    | 359    | 125   |       |     |     | 484    |        |      |
| 1687            | Europa        | 335    | 136   |       |     |     | 471    |        |      |
| 1687            | Hollandia     | 392    | 141   |       |     |     | 533    |        |      |
| 1687            | Port. Handel. | 386    | 139   |       |     |     | 525    |        |      |
| 1688            | Sara Maria    | 121    | 52    |       |     |     | 173    |        |      |
| 1688            | Gideon        | 330    | 152   |       |     |     | 482    |        |      |
| 1688            | Morgenster    | 374    | 125   |       |     |     | 499    |        |      |
| 1688            | Rachel        | 337    | 123   |       |     |     | 460    |        |      |
| 1691            | Beurs van     |        |       |       |     |     |        |        |      |
|                 | Amsterdam     | 373    | 139   |       |     |     | 512    |        |      |
| 1691            | Aneno         | 389    | 108   |       |     |     | 497    |        |      |
| Totals          |               | 4,131  | 1,544 |       |     |     | 5,675  |        |      |
| Totals (p. 178) |               | 15,268 | 6,564 |       |     |     | 23,892 |        |      |
| Grand Total     |               | 19,399 | 8,108 | 1,504 | 521 | 277 | 29,567 | 10,674 | 150  |

Columns: Male, Female, Boy, Girl, Infant

PI = Piezas de India

Mac = Manqueron (Macroon), or blemished slave

Sources: WIC, Vol. 109, p. 317; Vol. 110, p. 894; Vol. 180, pp. 15, 32, 48, 73, 92, 109, 117, 129, 139, 147, 153, and 171; Vol. 485, pp. 321, 408, 504, 513, 534, and 674; Vol. 486, pp. 154, 321, 500, and 522; Vol. 487, pp. 3, 36, 39, 75, 79, 122, 148, 351, 492, 511, 595, 605, and 680; Vol. 488, pp. 74, 117, 146, 139, 178, 198, 239, 329, 799, and 40; Vol. 926, Nr. 14; Vol. 1024, Documents 11, 25 and 33, and those dated 1717.

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension on the transformation efficiency of *Agrobacterium* strains. The number of transformed cells was determined by the number of colonies obtained on the selective medium. The results are the mean of three independent experiments. Error bars represent the standard deviation.

Figure 1. The study area. The map shows the location of the study area in the north-east of Iran, near the border with the Soviet Union. The map includes the Caspian Sea, the city of Gilan, and the study area. The map also shows the location of the study area in the north-east of Iran, near the border with the Soviet Union.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1039-1043.

the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 30 million, and the number of people 75 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10 million to 15 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 85 years of age or older is projected to increase from 2 million to 4 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 90 years of age or older is projected to increase from 500,000 to 1 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 95 years of age or older is projected to increase from 100,000 to 200,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people 100 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10,000 to 20,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996).

1. The first group of variables is the set of variables that are used to explain the dependent variable. These variables are the independent variables in the regression model. The second group of variables is the set of variables that are used to explain the dependent variable. These variables are the independent variables in the regression model. The third group of variables is the set of variables that are used to explain the dependent variable. These variables are the independent variables in the regression model.

TABLE 13 (cont'd.)

|       | SHIPS           | M   | F   | B   | G  | I   | TOTAL | PI         | Mac. |
|-------|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-------|------------|------|
| 1703  | De Zon          | 357 | 156 |     |    |     | 513   |            |      |
| 1705  | Grooten Tyger   | 304 | 148 |     |    |     | 452   |            |      |
| 1706? | Amsterdam       | 345 | 177 |     |    |     | 522   |            |      |
| 1707  | Koning v. Port. | 357 | 177 | 2   |    |     | 536   |            |      |
| 1708  | Adrichem        | 417 | 191 | 4   |    |     | 612   |            |      |
| 1713  | St. Marcus      | 404 | 163 | 14  | 4  |     | 585   |            |      |
| 1714  | Guntersteyn     | 316 | 221 | 18  | 3  |     | 558   | (540-1/3)  |      |
| 1715  | Emmenes         | 291 | 171 | 59  | 40 | (2) | 563   |            | (55) |
| 1715  | Engelburgh      | 125 | 20  | 6   | 2  |     | 153   |            |      |
| 1715  | Fida            | 148 | 64  | 11  | 4  |     | 257   | (250)      |      |
| 1716  | Gelderland      | 96  | 39  | 8   | 3  |     | 146   | (140-1/2)  | (26) |
| 1717  | Akredam         | 444 | 228 | 26  | 6  |     | 704   |            |      |
| 1717  | Adrichem        | 355 | 181 | 4   | 2  |     | 542   | (540)      |      |
| 1717  | Emmenes         | 370 | 178 | 110 | 60 |     | 718   |            |      |
| 1718  | Adrichem        | 444 | 158 | 89  | 28 |     | 719   |            |      |
| 1721  | Akredam         | 327 | 156 | 92  | 28 |     | 603   |            | (28) |
| 1722  | Leusden         | 313 | 133 | 90  | 26 |     | 562   | (510-5/6)  | (41) |
| 1724  | Sonnestejn      | 298 | 196 | 80  | 13 |     | 587   |            |      |
| 1724  | Amsterdam       | 275 | 77  | 59  | 12 | (4) | 423   | (389-2/3)  |      |
| 1725  | Akredam         | 392 | 106 | 120 | 25 | (6) | 643   | (580-1/3)  |      |
| 1725  | Leusden         | 467 | 160 | 100 | 20 |     | 747   | (692)      |      |
| 1725  | Eva Susanna     | 130 | 50  | 29  | 8  |     | 217   | (199-1/3)  |      |
| 1726  | Sonnestejn      | 410 | 112 | 78  | 27 |     | 627   | (583)      |      |
| 1726  | Amsterdam       | 393 | 55  | 27  | 5  |     | 480   |            |      |
| 1727  | Leusden         | 527 | 115 | 76  | 30 | (2) | 748   |            |      |
| 1728  | Juff. Helena    | 204 | 35  | 7   | 4  |     | 250   | (245)      |      |
| 1728  | Groot Bentveld  | 578 | 119 | 54  | 13 |     | 764   | (735-1/6)  |      |
| 1729  | Leusden         | 225 | 169 | 25  | 36 |     | 455   | (431-2/3)  |      |
| 1731  | Steenhuysen     | 299 | 165 | 29  | 12 | (3) | 508   | (486-1/2)  |      |
| 1731  | Beekesteyn      | 377 | 237 | 97  | 42 |     | 753   | (685-7/12) |      |
| 1732? | Duynvliet       | 242 | 96  | 20  | 4  | (6) | 362   | (349)      |      |
| 1733  | Beekesteyn      | 502 | 280 | 57  | 27 |     | 866   | (825-2/3)  |      |
| 1733  | Leusden         | 363 | 303 | 32  | 15 |     | 713   |            |      |
| 1734  | Vrijheid        | 349 | 237 | 12  | 7  |     | 605   |            |      |
| 1735  | Juff. Helena    | 120 | 79  |     | 1  |     | 200   |            |      |
| 1735  | Beschutter      | 584 | 170 | 11  | 3  |     | 768   | (762-1/2)  |      |
| 1735  | Beekesteyn      | 350 | 313 | 30  | 7  |     | 700   |            |      |
| 1736  | St. Laurens     | 125 | 44  | 1   | 1  |     | 171   | (170-1/6)  |      |
| 1736  | Vrijheid        | 491 | 166 | 12  | 1  |     | 670   | (665)      |      |
| 1736  | Steenhuysen     | 607 | 193 |     |    |     | 800   |            |      |
| 1737  | Duynvliet       | 300 | 75  |     |    |     | 375   |            |      |
| 1738  | Beschutter      | 679 | 130 |     |    |     | 809   |            |      |
| 1743  | Cath. Galey     | 368 | 165 | 15  | 2  |     | 550   | (540)      |      |
| 1751  | Graaf v. Buren  | 200 | 156 |     |    | (4) | 356   | (352)      |      |



of such a mother slave.<sup>8</sup>

Cargo affidavits (cognossement) have been preserved which list the cargo received from WIC officials of at least fifty-six WIC slave ships, and their relevant contents has been compiled in Table 13.<sup>9</sup> Considerable insight regarding the make-up of slave cargos can be gained from this tabulation.

As a rule, WIC captains had instructions to purchase a slave cargo consisting of two-thirds men and one-third women slaves.<sup>10</sup> Only when a slaver was nearly ready to sail and had some space left was the captain encouraged to buy boy or girl slaves.<sup>11</sup> During the seventeenth century few if any children were purchased by WIC ships. This might be indicative of either an abundance of adult slaves or change in demand in the Western Hemisphere. According to available records, slave children under the age of fifteen numbered approximately 7.5 per cent of the WIC slave cargos.<sup>12</sup> The ratio of children increased to 21.5 per cent during the free trade period, which would indicate that the demand for young slaves increased with the passing of time. According to Unger's analysis of ninety MCC cargos, 5,428 of 25,051 slaves were under the age of fifteen.<sup>13</sup> In 1750 several free traders were

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<sup>8</sup>NAA, Vol. 1352.

<sup>9</sup>A translated copy of such an affidavit is included in Appendix F.

<sup>10</sup>NEKG, Vol. 235, Instructions 2/5/1713; WIC, Vol. 783, Contract 5/3/1683.

<sup>11</sup>NEKG, Vol. 85, Instructions 5/5/1718.

<sup>12</sup>See Table 13. Of a grand total 27,507 in 56 slaving voyages 2,052 were children under the age of fifteen.

<sup>13</sup>Unger II, p. 49.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the author to the reader, explaining the purpose of the study and the methods used. The author states that the study is a qualitative research project aimed at understanding the experiences of young adults with mental health issues. The methods used are semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

2. The second part of the document is a literature review, which discusses the current state of research on mental health in young adults. The author identifies gaps in the literature and highlights the need for further research.

3. The third part of the document is the methodology section, which describes the research design, the sample, and the data collection and analysis procedures. The author explains how the data was collected and how it was analyzed.

4. The fourth part of the document is the results section, which presents the findings of the study. The author discusses the themes that emerged from the data and provides examples of quotes from participants.

5. The fifth part of the document is the conclusion, which summarizes the findings and discusses the implications for practice and research. The author also discusses the limitations of the study and suggests areas for future research.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of references, which includes all the sources cited in the text.

7. The seventh part of the document is an appendix, which contains additional information related to the study, such as the interview schedule and the data collection forms.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of figures and tables, which includes all the visual elements used in the text.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of footnotes, which includes any additional information that is not included in the main text.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of acknowledgments, which includes any individuals or organizations that provided support or assistance during the study.

11. The eleventh part of the document is a list of appendices, which includes any additional information that is not included in the main text.

12. The twelfth part of the document is a list of figures and tables, which includes all the visual elements used in the text.

13. The thirteenth part of the document is a list of footnotes, which includes any additional information that is not included in the main text.

14. The fourteenth part of the document is a list of acknowledgments, which includes any individuals or organizations that provided support or assistance during the study.

15. The fifteenth part of the document is a list of appendices, which includes any additional information that is not included in the main text.



encouraged to buy as many young slaves as possible between the ages of 12-18. In 1772 when there was little demand for slaves in the West, free traders were complaining that they could only sell boys and girls.<sup>14</sup> Young women and girls became increasingly in demand throughout the eighteenth century. The first indication of this trend was in 1729-30, when WIC slavers were notified that planters in the Dutch colonies wanted young women between the ages 15-20.<sup>15</sup> In 1685 and again in 1690 a demand had been expressed for younger women under the age of 24, but these instructions did not convey the urgency denoted by later directives.<sup>16</sup> The whole trend seems to confirm an important change in the institution of slavery in the Western Hemisphere: the attempt to breed slaves there rather than to depend as much on fresh imports.

The late seventeenth century demand for young women can be interpreted as an effort to maintain the general policy of a 3-2 male-female ratio with which WIC slavers were seldom able to comply. The women and girls combined (7,085) constituted less than 30 per cent of the total number of slaves (23,892) tabulated in Table 13. Responding to the increased demand for woman slaves, the free traders were able to comply with the 3-2 ratio. According to the previously cited study by Unger, of the ninety MCC slaving voyages analyzed, 40.9 per cent of the total number of slaves transported were women and girls, while slightly less than two-thirds of the cargos (59.1 per cent) consisted

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<sup>14</sup>HAR, Vol. 41-42, Correspondence 9/4/1750 and 4/16/1772.

<sup>15</sup>WIC, Vol. 487, pp. 170 and 372.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Vol. 29-30, Minutes 10/29/1690; Vol. 833, p. 339.



of men and boys.<sup>17</sup>

One additional conclusion may be drawn from the collected data of Table 13, viz. an estimated differentiation between "heads" or individual slaves and piezas de India. A sample of twenty-two cargos which had both types of information recorded shows a 4.87 per cent disparity. For this reason, the 5 per cent calculated in Table 5 (p. 110) seems to be a reasonable overall estimated differential between individual human beings and the recorded piezas de India.

The question of origin of African slaves is one of the most perplexing problems of the slave trade and will undoubtedly never be solved to satisfaction.<sup>18</sup> It is hoped that this study, by identifying the relative significance of coastal areas and specific slave export ports used extensively by Dutch traders, will at least contribute some to solving this problem. The mystery of ultimate origin in the African interior is a subject too complex to be treated within the scope of this study.

Numerous factors helped determine where Europeans acquired their slaves. In addition to existing institutions and political and economic conditions in a given area in Africa which influenced the supply of slaves, slaves from certain regions were in greater demand than those from other areas. Literature based on English sources, for

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<sup>17</sup>See Table 13 for a comparison with the respective ratios of the WIC trade.

<sup>18</sup>See for example Philip D. Curtin and Jan Vansina, "Sources of the Nineteenth Century Atlantic Slave Trade," Journal of African History, Vol. V (1964); also the relevant portions in Curtin's book, The Atlantic Slave Trade.



example, has emphasized the desirability of Gold Coast slaves, particularly those from Kormantin.<sup>19</sup> Undoubtedly these were Akan slaves, who came to be known for their cooperative character and their willingness to work. Eighteenth century Dutch sources confirm these notions about Gold Coast slaves.<sup>20</sup>

Slaves from the Bight of Biafra, on the other hand, were very undesirable. A Dutch document dating back to the 1660's singles out slaves from Calabar, the Cameroons, and Rio Del Rey (most likely Ibos) as completely undesirable because of their "malicious" and "stubborn" nature and their tendency to commit suicide.<sup>21</sup> This warning against Biafran slaves was repeated in subsequent WIC directives, primarily because the Spanish Asientos refused to accept slaves from this region.<sup>22</sup> As a result very few WIC slavers obtained their cargos here.<sup>23</sup> An eighteenth century pamphlet serving as a guide for free traders broadened the area for undesirable slaves and mentions Benin, Gabon, and the Cameroons as areas from which slaves should not be obtained because they were regarded as "lazy" and "cowardly" slaves,

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<sup>19</sup>Mannix and Cowley, p. 17; Pope-Hennessy, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup>VWIS, Folder 13, Documents 11/24/1789 and 3/11/1791.

<sup>21</sup>GAR, Vol. 802.

<sup>22</sup>WIC, Vol. 783, Document 13, Art. 4.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Vol. 832, p. 420; Vol. 833, p. 377. According to these sources at least three slavers were dispatched to Calabar, but it is interesting to note that these vessels were considerably smaller (250-350 slaves) than the ordinary slaving cargo of 500 slaves. It is quite possible that these slaves were intended for use by the WIC on the Gold Coast, which was quite commonly done.



qualities that might well become virtues when applied to a free man.<sup>24</sup> These warnings against Biafran slaves must have made a lasting impression on Dutch slavers, for they seldom purchased slaves in these regions.

Contrary to the English preference for Gold Coast slaves, a WIC directive of the early eighteenth century indicated that Slave Coast slaves were much more desirable in the West.<sup>25</sup> This was at a time when the WIC was just beginning to purchase slaves in large quantities on the Gold Coast.<sup>26</sup> With the passing of time they overcame this bias, for Dutch free traders were encouraged to get slaves on either the Gold or Slave Coasts since they were much preferred over slaves from the Grain Coast. Angola slaves were said to be cheaper, and by implication therefore less desirable than Guinea Coast slaves.<sup>27</sup> Some West India planters, however, preferred the slaves from Angola. Since the middle passage from Angola was also shorter, this may explain why the Dutch continued to send at least 25 per cent of their slaving vessels to the Loango-Angola Coast.

No accurate account of where the Dutch acquired their slaves is possible; however, there is sufficient evidence to warrant a few reasonable estimates about the origin of slaves. The area about which there is the least information available is the Loango-Angola Coast.

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<sup>24</sup>D. H. Gallandat, Noodige Onderrichtingen voor Slaafhandelaren (Middelburg, Netherlands: 1769), pp. 438-39.

<sup>25</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, p. 43.

<sup>26</sup>See Chapter V, p. 133.

<sup>27</sup>Gallandat, pp. 438-39.

• The first step in the process of identifying a problem is to recognize that a problem exists. This is often done by comparing current performance with a desired state or goal. Once a problem is identified, the next step is to define the problem more precisely. This involves determining the scope of the problem, the resources available, and the constraints that may be affecting the problem.

• The third step in the process is to generate potential solutions. This is often done by brainstorming or by using a structured problem-solving technique. Once potential solutions are generated, the next step is to evaluate the solutions. This involves comparing the potential solutions against the criteria that were used to define the problem.

• The final step in the process is to implement the chosen solution. This involves putting the solution into action and monitoring the results. If the solution is not working, it may be necessary to go back to the previous steps and re-evaluate the problem and the potential solutions.

• The process of identifying a problem is a continuous one. As new information is gathered, the problem may be redefined, and new potential solutions may be generated. The process is often iterative, with each step leading to a better understanding of the problem and a more effective solution.

• The process of identifying a problem is a critical part of the problem-solving process. Without a clear understanding of the problem, it is difficult to develop an effective solution. The process involves a series of steps that lead to a better understanding of the problem and a more effective solution.

• The process of identifying a problem is a continuous one. As new information is gathered, the problem may be redefined, and new potential solutions may be generated. The process is often iterative, with each step leading to a better understanding of the problem and a more effective solution.

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All evidence indicates, however, that the Dutch traded in this region without any interruptions. According to Under's study of the MCC slaving activities, 26.8 per cent of this company's slavers went to Angola.<sup>28</sup> Earlier in this study it was estimated that the WIC assigned about 33 per cent of slavers to Angola.<sup>29</sup> Considering that the volume of the Dutch trade was much smaller during the WIC monopoly, and the strong possibility that the MCC sent a larger proportion of its ships to Angola than other free trade companies, a generous 25 per cent of the overall Dutch slave trade would seem a reasonable estimate for the Loango-Angola trade.<sup>30</sup>

A much more reliable assessment is possible for the Guinea Coast trade. As far as the Dutch slaving activities are concerned, three separate spheres can be identified here: the Slave Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Windward Coast. Before the 1720's the Dutch acquired the bulk of their slaves on the Slave Coast. Only one WIC slaver was recorded leaving the Gold Coast for its Atlantic crossing, and only two slavers indicated Elmina as their African destination.<sup>31</sup> The record for this early period is incomplete and spotty, but it seems unlikely that more than three of four WIC slavers acquired their cargo on the Gold Coast before the eighteenth century. When warfare deprived the Dutch of their Slave Coast markets during the first decade of that

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<sup>28</sup>Unger II, p. 16.

<sup>29</sup>See Table 5, and the related discussion on p. 100.

<sup>30</sup>See Table 16.

<sup>31</sup>See Table 14, and Appendixes A and C.

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of being a parent. This is not a contradiction because the relation is not self-referential. The relation of being a parent is a relation between two distinct entities, and the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of this relation does not create a contradiction. Similarly, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of being a child. This is also not a contradiction because the relation is not self-referential. The relation of being a child is a relation between two distinct entities, and the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of this relation does not create a contradiction.

It is important to note that the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation does not mean that the relation is self-referential. A relation is self-referential if it is a relation between two instances of the same entity. For example, a relation of being a parent is self-referential if it is a relation between two instances of the same person. This is not the case for the relation of being a parent, as it is a relation between two distinct entities. Similarly, a relation of being a child is self-referential if it is a relation between two instances of the same person. This is also not the case for the relation of being a child, as it is a relation between two distinct entities. Therefore, the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation does not mean that the relation is self-referential.

.....  
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TABLE 14

## SLAVE ORIGINS BASED ON WIC SHIPS' DEPARTURE

|         | GOLD<br>COAST      | SLAVE<br>COAST | ANGOLA | MIXED <sup>a</sup> &<br>OTHER | TOTAL |
|---------|--------------------|----------------|--------|-------------------------------|-------|
| 1700    | 1 (1) <sup>b</sup> | 3              | -      | 3                             | 7     |
| 1701    | -                  | 3              | 1      | 1                             | 5     |
| 1702    | -                  | -              | -      | -                             | -     |
| 1703    | -                  | 1              | 1      | 1                             | 3     |
| 1704    | 1 (1)              | 2              | 2      | 1                             | 6     |
| 1705    | 2                  | 2              | -      | 1                             | 5     |
| 1706    | 3 (1)              | 2              | 1      | -                             | 6     |
| 1707    | 1                  | 4              | 1      | 1                             | 7     |
| 1708    | -                  | 2              | -      | 1                             | 3     |
| 1709    | -                  | 4              | -      | -                             | 4     |
| 1710    | -                  | 4              | -      | -                             | 4     |
| 1711    | -                  | 2              | -      | 1                             | 3     |
| 1712    | -                  | 2              | -      | -                             | 2     |
| 1713    | -                  | 1              | 1      | 1                             | 3     |
| 1714    | 1 (1)              | 3              | -      | -                             | 4     |
| 1715    | 2 (1)              | 2              | 1      | -                             | 5     |
| 1716    | 1 (1)              | 2              | -      | -                             | 3     |
| 1717    | 1 (1)              | 2              | -      | 1                             | 4     |
| 1718    | 1                  | 2              | -      | 2                             | 5     |
| 1719    | -                  | 1              | 2      | 1                             | 5     |
| 1720    | -                  | 1              | 1      | -                             | 2     |
| 1721    | 2                  | 2              | 2      | 1                             | 7     |
| 1722    | 1                  | -              | -      | 1                             | 2     |
| 1723    | 2 (1)              | -              | 1      | 1                             | 4     |
| 1724    | 1                  | 1              | -      | 2                             | 4     |
| 1725    | 4 (1)              | 1              | 1      | -                             | 6     |
| 1726    | 2                  | -              | -      | 2                             | 4     |
| 1727    | 2                  | 1              | -      | 1                             | 4     |
| 1728    | 2                  | 1              | -      | 2                             | 5     |
| 1729    | 1                  | 3              | -      | -                             | 4     |
| 1730    | 1                  | 1              | -      | -                             | 2     |
| 1731    | 3                  | 3              | -      | -                             | 6     |
| 1732    | 2                  | 1              | -      | 2                             | 5     |
| 1733    | 1                  | 3              | -      | -                             | 4     |
| 1734    | 4 (2)              | 2              | -      | -                             | 6     |
| 1735    | 3 (1)              | 3              | -      | 1                             | 7     |
| Total   | 45 (12)            | 67             | 15     | 28                            | 155   |
| 1675-99 | 1                  | 36             | 7      | 17                            | 61    |
| 1736-51 | 11 (1)             | -              | -      | 2                             | 13    |

| TABLE 1  |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Summary of the results of the analysis of the data from the 1970-71 season |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| Area   | Number of plots | Number of trees | Number of trees | Number of trees | Number of trees |
| 1  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 2  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 3  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 4  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 5  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 6  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 7  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 8  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 9  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 10   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 11   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 12   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 13   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 14   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 15   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 16   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 17   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 18   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 19   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 20   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 21   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 22   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 23   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 24   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 25   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 26   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 27   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 28   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 29   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 30   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 31   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 32   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 33   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 34   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 35   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 36   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 37   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 38   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 39   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 40   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 41   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 42   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 43   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 44   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 45   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 46   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 47   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 48   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 49   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 50   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 51   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 52   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 53   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 54   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 55   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 56   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 57   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 58   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 59   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 60   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 61   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 62   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 63   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 64   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 65   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 66   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 67   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 68   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 69   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 70   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 71   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 72   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 73   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 74   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 75   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 76   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 77   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 78   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 79   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 80   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 81   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 82   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 83   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 84   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 85   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 86   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 87   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 88   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 89   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 90   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 91   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 92   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 93   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 94   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 95   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 96   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 97   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 98   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 99   | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |
| 100  | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              | 10              |

Notes to Table 14:

<sup>a</sup>Includes vessels of which the departure is not known, and a few which received slaves from the Gold and Slave Coasts.

<sup>b</sup>These figures in parentheses are small slaving ships which were periodically dispatched from Elmina.

Source: Appendix A.

century, the WIC began to buy large numbers of Gold Coast slaves.<sup>32</sup> After a brief normalization, this practice was repeated during the middle of the second decade. Then during the 1720's, the rise of the Dahomey state and its attendant political upheavals forced the WIC to rely increasingly more on the Gold Coast for its slaves, although the continued presence of a small WIC lodge on the Slave Coast confirms that some slaves were still purchased here. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Dutch search for slaves gradually shifted westward. If during the 1720's the Gold Coast became the principal source, twenty years later the Windward Coast had even superseded the former.

A shortage of slaves during the second decade of the eighteenth century forced the WIC to attempt buying on the Upper Coast or Windward Coast. The experiment with the slaver Guntersteyn in 1716 met with unsatisfactory success,<sup>33</sup> and the WIC itself never depended on the Windward Coast as an important source of supply for slaves. Small company vessels would trade along the coast and buy slaves along with other products; these slaves were then taken to Elmina and there boarded on a WIC slaver or placed in stock at the Castle.<sup>34</sup>

The situation changed considerably with the freeing of the slave trade. In 1744, the Director-General reported that most of the free traders purchased their slaves on the Windward Coast, going to Elmina only to complete a deficient cargo.<sup>35</sup> A sample of the trading

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<sup>32</sup>See p. 133 above.

<sup>33</sup>WIC, Vol. 485, p. 564.

<sup>34</sup>See p. 68 above.

<sup>35</sup>WIC, Vol. 113, p. 187.

The first part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding numbers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the numbers are written in a simple, bold font. The list is organized into two columns, with the names on the left and the numbers on the right. The names are:

1. John Smith  
 2. James Brown  
 3. William Jones  
 4. Thomas White  
 5. Robert Black  
 6. Charles Green  
 7. Henry Lee  
 8. George Washington  
 9. Benjamin Franklin  
 10. Alexander Hamilton  
 11. James Madison  
 12. John Jay  
 13. Thomas Jefferson  
 14. George Clinton  
 15. Aaron Burr  
 16. Elbridge Gerry  
 17. Rufus King  
 18. Nicholas Biddle  
 19. William B. Ewing  
 20. John C. Calhoun  
 21. Andrew Jackson  
 22. Martin Van Buren  
 23. William Lloyd Garrison  
 24. Henry David Thoreau  
 25. Ralph Waldo Emerson  
 26. Frederick Douglass  
 27. Harriet Beecher Stowe  
 28. Emily Dickinson  
 29. Walt Whitman  
 30. Edgar Allan Poe  
 31. Herman Melville  
 32. Nathaniel Hawthorne  
 33. Henry James  
 34. Mark Twain  
 35. Jack London  
 36. Rudyard Kipling  
 37. Joseph Conrad  
 38. E. M. Forster  
 39. Virginia Woolf  
 40. T. S. Eliot  
 41. W. H. Auden  
 42. C. S. Lewis  
 43. J. R. R. Tolkien  
 44. J. K. Rowling  
 45. Stephen King  
 46. George Orwell  
 47. Aldous Huxley  
 48. Ray Bradbury  
 49. Isaac Asimov  
 50. Arthur C. Clarke  
 51. Robert A. Heinlein  
 52. Philip K. Dick  
 53. Michael Crichton  
 54. Michael Ende  
 55. Astrid Lindgr n  
 56. Astrid Lindgr n  
 57. Astrid Lindgr n  
 58. Astrid Lindgr n  
 59. Astrid Lindgr n  
 60. Astrid Lindgr n

1767  
 832  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 11  
 23  
 1  
 3  
 4  
 3

TABLE 15. SAMPLE ORIGIN OF SLAVES

[illegible]

<sup>b</sup>The figures in the second line indicate the sources. In this case all but one (H.20) are the numbers of MCC volumes. H.20 is derived from HAR, Bundles 41-42.



|  |  |
|--|--|
|  | <p>1. The first part of the report is a general introduction to the project, which includes the objectives, scope, and significance of the study.</p> <p>2. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the methodology used in the study, including the data collection methods, sample size, and statistical analysis techniques.</p> <p>3. The third part of the report is a presentation of the results of the study, which includes a discussion of the findings and their implications for the field of research.</p> <p>4. The fourth part of the report is a conclusion, which summarizes the main findings of the study and provides recommendations for future research.</p>  |
|  | <p>5. The fifth part of the report is a list of references, which includes all the sources used in the study.</p> <p>6. The sixth part of the report is an appendix, which contains additional information that is relevant to the study but is not included in the main body of the report.</p> <p>7. The seventh part of the report is a glossary, which defines the key terms used in the study.</p> <p>8. The eighth part of the report is a bibliography, which lists all the sources used in the study.</p> <p>9. The ninth part of the report is a list of figures and tables, which provides a summary of the visual elements of the report.</p> <p>10. The tenth part of the report is a list of abbreviations, which defines the abbreviations used in the report.</p> |

activities of fifty-six free trade vessels confirms that an average of 69 per cent of the slaves had been obtained before the Gold Coast was reached.<sup>36</sup> Since the sample consists almost exclusively of MCC ships, this percentage may be slightly exaggerated. Some free traders, such as the ships of the company of Coopstad and Rochusen, frequently contracted their whole slave cargo from the Director-General at Elmina.<sup>37</sup> Other free traders may have done this also, which would have slightly raised the Gold Coast share of 31 per cent. In light of the foregoing and the approximate figures under consideration, it seems reasonable to round off the Gold Coast Windward Coast ratio to a 35-65 percentage.

The practice of contracting slaves at Elmina may also have a similar bearing on the volume calculated for the Loango-Angola trade, since Unger's percentage of 26.8 was also based on MCC records. This would justify lowering the overall average for this region slightly. Table 16 presents a regional comparison regarding the origin of slaves purchased by Dutch free traders.

TABLE 16

## ORIGIN OF SLAVES DURING THE FREE TRADE

|                         |      |
|-------------------------|------|
| Loango-Angola Coast     | 25%  |
| Windward Coast          | 50%  |
| Gold Coast <sup>a</sup> | 25%  |
| Total                   | 100% |

<sup>a</sup>The relatively small contribution of the Slave Coast is included in the Gold Coast figures.

Source: Tables 14 and 15

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<sup>36</sup>See Table 15.

<sup>37</sup>Hudig, p. 30.



Turning to an assessment of each of the four slaving regions in particular, the Loango-Angola trade can be dismissed rather quickly on grounds that insufficient data is available to determine the relative importance of specific ports or regions. The Slave Coast ports were all in such close proximity that a differentiation would not throw much light on the problem of slave origin. It is safe to assume the slaves acquired at Offra, Ouidah, Appa, Jakin, and the Popos were probably drawn from the same or similar sources. Only the lodge at Badagri was removed a considerable distance and perhaps drew on different interior sources, but this lodge was established in 1737 when the importance of the Slave Coast as a source of supply began to decrease drastically. Table 17 indicates the WIC lodges on the Slave Coast and the years during which they were in use. Unfortunately the complete record of the slaves procured at these lodges has been lost. During the WIC monopoly period there was generally one lodge at a time which supplied all or most of the slaves for the WIC ships. On a few occasions the WIC had more than one lodge.

TABLE 17

## WIC LODGES ON THE SLAVE COAST

|         |                                 |
|---------|---------------------------------|
| Offra   | 1660's-1691                     |
| Ouidah  | 1670's-1724                     |
| Jakin   | 1726-1734                       |
| Appa    | 1732-1736; 1742-1749; 1754-1755 |
| Badagri | 1737-1744; 1748                 |
| Popo    | 1738-1740; 1744; 1752-1760      |

Source: Personnel Rosters in WIC, Vols. 101-115, 487-491.

The Windward Coast was one of the longest stretches of coastline where the Dutch slaved. Free traders acquired their slaves from a



large variety of small coastal trading centers along the coast. Commercial data of fifty-six free traders, indicating places where slaves were purchased, has been tabulated in Table 15. As a space-saving device several minor trading points have been grouped together in areas, except for Cape Lahou and Grand Bassan. Cape Lahou clearly emerges as the most prolific supplier of slaves on the Windward Coast. According to the available sample more than 50 per cent of the slaves bought in this region came from Cape Lahou. The neighborhood of River Cess also supplied a large percentage of slaves to the Dutch free traders.

The Dutch never established trading stations on the Windward Coast, with the result that slaving captains traded directly with African middlemen. An additional consequence of this limited cross-cultural contact between Europeans and Africans was that Dutch documents contain very little information about the inhabitants of the Windward Coast and the political developments in this region.

In this respect the Gold Coast is quite a contrast to the Windward Coast, because on this short coastline the Dutch had erected nearly all their African trading stations and fortifications. As a result of this concentration of WIC administration on the Gold Coast, it is possible to give a more detailed account of the Dutch slaving activities here, both in regard to the global figures and the relative significance of the various centers of trade on the Gold Coast. Unfortunately no complete set of commercial statistics, such as the payment of head-money, for example, has survived; however portions of this record have survived and are listed in Table 18. This used in conjunction with the information from free trade slavers listed in Table 15



TABLE 18

## SAMPLE OF SLAVE ORIGIN ON THE GOLD COAST

| LOCATIONS | 1725<br>8 mo. | 1727<br>8 mo. | 1735<br>9 mo. | 1738-40<br>17 mo. | 1742-43<br>18 mo. | 1752-54<br>24 mo. | TOTAL<br>84 mo. |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Axim      | 77            | 64            | 42            | 25                | 692               | 39                | 939             |
| Poquefoe  | -             | 1             | 45            | 3                 | 174               | 16                | 239             |
| Akwida    | -             | -             | 25            | 28                | 93                | 5                 | 151             |
| Butri     | 26            | 34            | 33            | 30                | 20                | 21                | 164             |
| Takoradi  | -             | 89            | 65            | 54                | 65                | 6                 | 279             |
| Sekondi   | 55            | 231           | 115           | 81                | 234               | 22                | 738             |
| Shama     | 112           | 134           | 218           | 114               | 560               | 19                | 1157            |
| Komenda   | 26            | 15            | 376           | 67                | 149               | 4                 | 637             |
| Elmina    | 1095          | 826           | 768           | 178               | 435               | 159               | 3461            |
| Mori      | 47            | 49            | 72            | 8                 | 8                 | 19                | 203             |
| Kormantin | 265           | 174           | 263           | 62                | 298               | 3                 | 1065            |
| Apam      | 24            | 37            | 97            | -                 | 54                | 660               | 872             |
| Bercu     | 8             | 40            | 37            | 19                | 8                 | 99                | 211             |
| Accra     | 103           | 97            | 58            | 32                | 307               | 311               | 908             |
| TOTAL     | 1838          | 1791          | 2242          | 701               | 3097              | 1383              | 9214            |

Source: WIC, Vol. 102, pp. 160, 167, and 284; Vol. 108, pp. 32, 41, 46, and 53; Vol. 112, p. 336; Vol. 113, p. 294; Vol. 290, p. 609; Vol. 484, pp. 418-19.

allows one to draw a number of tentative conclusions. Both sets of data clearly establish the commercial preeminence of Elmina. According to both tables the WIC headquarters contributed about 40 per cent of all the slaves purchased by Dutch free traders on the Gold Coast and Slave Coast combined. Other trading stations supplying considerable numbers included Axim, Shama, Kormantin, and Accra. But as was established in the previous chapter, trade at the various lodges and forts fluctuated with the political conditions in their vicinity. Without a comprehensive set of statistics on the commercial activity at each lodge, it is impossible to determine these fluctuations in the trade. In a sense, the lodges between Annamabu and Accra could be treated as one, since



Figure 1. The effect of the number of trials on the number of correct responses. The number of correct responses was plotted against the number of trials. The number of correct responses increased with the number of trials. The number of correct responses was significantly higher than the number of incorrect responses for all trials.

the supply of slaves at these places was generally dominated by Fante traders.

The third objective of this chapter is to evaluate the process used to determine the commercial value of the slaves. This is an extremely complex and multifaceted problem, since each European nation that participated in the African trade contributed its own systems of weights, measures, and finances. And in some cases merchants from one nation used different methods of measurement, such as the WIC chambers of Zeeland and Maze (Rotterdam) which used different monetary systems, pounds (L) and guilders (f) respectively.<sup>38</sup>

The African traders on the other side exhibited even greater variation in determining prices of trade goods. And since neither European nor African merchants were willing to surrender or assimilate their respective practices (beyond adopting new variations within the existing systems), this kaleidoscopic condition continued until the end of the nineteenth century when the Europeans forced their currencies on African societies.<sup>39</sup> Under these circumstances the active Afro-European trade was carried out in a sophisticated form of barter trade, in which one commodity was exchanged directly for another. Since continuity as well as large quantity characterized this trade, each commercial transaction was not negotiated in isolation, but in the process of trading several standard values evolved that served to assimilate the

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<sup>38</sup>Compare the accounts of fees received for slaving permits in WIC, Vol. 176.

<sup>39</sup>Polanyi, pp. 140 and 165.

$$f_{\text{max}} = \frac{\pi}{2} \left( \frac{1}{T_0} + \frac{1}{T_1} + \frac{1}{T_2} + \dots + \frac{1}{T_n} \right) \quad (6)$$

values of the commodities exchanged.<sup>40</sup> As a rule, these standards of value consisted of commercial items or other commodities that occupied an essential function in the given region where the standard of value applied. They included African as well as European produce, and involved abstract monetary units as well as factitious measures of value. Examples of each of the above will be discussed subsequently.

Iron and copper bars, a European staple product, were frequently used as a standard of value in the Bight of Biafra and also on the Slave Coast prior to the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Cowrie shells, a monetary system widespread throughout West Africa particularly in the Aja and Dahomey states, were generally used as a standard of value on the Slave Coast.<sup>42</sup> On the Gold Coast, its natural product of gold functioned as a measure of value. Occasionally, slaves even were used as a standard for determining the value of other products and services. This was particularly true for the Slave Coast, where the Dutch have been known to express the amount of duties and costs in terms of slaves. The expense of repairing the WIC lodge at Ouidah, for example, was estimated at 12-14 slaves.<sup>43</sup> Duties paid at Jakin in the year 1724 were expressed in terms of 17 slaves, but the account added that this obligation was

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<sup>40</sup>Lars Sundström, The Trade of Guinea (Lund, Sweden: Håka Ohlsson, 1965), pp. 66, 73-74. Daaku (p. 157) objects to the term "barter," since the Afro-European trade involved "complicated arithmetic computations." While the latter is correct, it appears that the term barter is still the most accurate description.

<sup>41</sup>Wyndham, p. 70; Sundström, p. 74.

<sup>42</sup>Polanyi, p. 168. See also the recently published article by Marion Johnson, "The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa," Journal of African History, Vol. XI, No. 1 (1970).

<sup>43</sup>WIC, Vol. 180, p. 182.



met through the payment of a quantity of Dutch textiles equivalent to the value of seventeen slaves.<sup>44</sup> Captains of slave ships frequently listed the expenses incurred for watering and refreshments for the slaves on board in terms of the number of slaves that could have been purchased for the European goods expended for such services. The slaver Adrichem, for example, had a cargo of 512 slaves but listed 527-1/2 to include the aforementioned costs which amounted to the differentiating value.<sup>45</sup>

For the purpose of facilitating the trade as well as to assure a comfortable margin of profit, Europeans also developed a fictitious standard of value, as Polanyi called it. This was generally known as the Ounce system. It evolved from a practice called "sorting" by which European traders raised the cost price of European staple goods considerably when they sold them to African traders. The ounce trade was computed in the same manner as gold, but since the cost price of European goods was doubled, a confusing duality of ounce values resulted. The two were distinguished by the terms ounce gold and ounce trade goods (koopmanschappen), and they held a 1-2 value relationship. At least this was the case with the English ounce system, from which the French and the Dutch developed their own variations.<sup>46</sup>

The Dutch either never applied such an extensive mark-up or they were forced to limit the differentiation between the gold ounce and the trade ounce. During the early 1730's, for instance, WIC

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Vol. 486, p. 492.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Vol. 180, pp. 26, 37, and 124; Vol. 1024, Documents 20 and following 36.

<sup>46</sup>Polanyi, pp. 140ff, 155, and 162-64.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The second is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The third is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The fourth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The fifth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The sixth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The seventh is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The eighth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The ninth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The tenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The eleventh is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twelfth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The thirteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The fourteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The fifteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The sixteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The seventeenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The eighteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The nineteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twentieth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twenty-first is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twenty-second is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twenty-third is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twenty-fourth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twenty-fifth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twenty-sixth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

The twenty-seventh is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

accounts used a ratio of 5-6 in distinguishing between the gold ounce and an ounce value of merchandise.<sup>47</sup> In 1726 WIC servants were complaining that African traders, who originally were intended to be deceived by the fictitious ounce system, were actually manipulating the system to the disadvantage of the company by buying slaves for gold and selling these again for a larger number of ounces in European goods.<sup>48</sup>

As a result of this complexity in determining the value of commodities, WIC accounts employed a variety of monetary denominators. In correspondence to Holland the unit guilder or florin (f.), or pound (L) in the case of the Zeeland Chamber, was regularly used. For the coastal trade among WIC servants, the ounce system was employed.<sup>49</sup> Slave prices on the company Price Table were generally indicated in terms of ounces. In reference to the Slave Coast trade, however, prices often were listed also in terms of cowries.<sup>50</sup> For the

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<sup>47</sup>NEKG, Vol. 7, Minutes 8/8/1732; Vol. 237, Instruction 9/22/1731.

<sup>48</sup>WIC, Vol. 107, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup>The ounce, both in gold and merchandise, was computed in the following manner:

1 Mark (M) = 8 Ounces

1 Ounce (O) = 16 Engels (E) or Ackeys

It was recorded as follows: 3M-50-12E

One Mark was valued between f.260 - f.320 or L26 - L32.

One Ounce (gold) was therefore worth f.32--f.40 or L3.2--L4.

<sup>50</sup>WIC, Vol. 102, p. 31. According to this document Cowries (boesjes) were computed in the following manner:

40 cowries = 1 togue or toccy

5 toques = 1 galinha or gallina

10 galinhas = 1 small cabess

2 small cabesses = 1 large cabess

See also Johnson's article cited in note no. 42. The Dutch spelling has been brought in conformity to that used by Johnson, p. 43.





Gold Coast the WIC frequently employed the African denominator Benda,<sup>51</sup> particularly in reference to commercial transactions between the company and Africans in this region. Thus, out of necessity, Africans and Europeans had to acquaint themselves with each other's monetary systems and measurements if they wanted to trade profitably with each other.

As was demonstrated in Chapter III, the price of slaves was determined in a variety of ways. Initially, the WIC Price Table was a most influential determinant. Using this as a guide, company officials, captains, and factors tried to negotiate advantageous terms with African middlemen. On the Slave Coast, the price often was negotiated with the dominant political leader, the kings of Aja or Ouidah.<sup>52</sup> With the freeing of the trade, the captains of slave ships became completely responsible for settling the prices, unless the respective company had previously contracted the delivery of a cargo with the Director-General at Elmina.<sup>53</sup>

One of the most obvious facts about slave prices was persistent inflation. To illustrate this, several price quotations over a space of nearly a century have been tabulated in Table 19.<sup>54</sup> During this period the price per slave rose to at least five times as much as the earliest recorded price of f.30, and most of the increase came during

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<sup>51</sup>One Benda was valued at about two ounces gold, or from f.65 - f.80.

<sup>52</sup>See Appendix D.

<sup>53</sup>See p. 162 above.

<sup>54</sup>Unfortunately, no comprehensive record of the periodically adjusted Price Table has been located. A more thorough search of the WIC papers might produce better results to make possible a more complete reflection of the price inflation.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text suggests that organizations should implement robust systems to track every detail, from procurement to sales, to ensure that all data is reliable and accessible.

2. The second section focuses on the role of technology in modern business operations. It highlights how digital tools can streamline processes, reduce errors, and improve overall efficiency. The author argues that embracing technology is not just a competitive advantage but a necessity for staying relevant in today's fast-paced market. Examples of various software solutions and their benefits are provided to illustrate this point.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges of managing a diverse workforce. It discusses the importance of fostering a positive work environment, encouraging communication, and providing opportunities for professional growth. The text suggests that managers should adopt a flexible approach, recognizing the unique strengths and needs of each team member to maximize productivity and morale.

4. The fourth section explores the impact of market trends and external factors on business performance. It advises organizations to stay informed about industry developments and to be prepared to adapt their strategies accordingly. The author stresses that proactive planning and risk management are key to navigating uncertainty and seizing opportunities for growth.

5. The final part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed and offers some concluding thoughts. It reiterates the importance of continuous improvement and the need for a forward-thinking mindset. The author encourages readers to take action on the suggestions provided and to regularly evaluate their own practices to ensure they remain effective and aligned with their goals.

## Sources for Table 19:

WIC, Vol. 40, p. 25; Vol. 97, p. 21; Vol. 99, p. 338; Vol. 102, pp. 40, 45, 230, 569, and 2/8/1717; Vol. 103, p. 260; Vol. 104, p. 486; Vol. 108, p. 77; Vol. 109, pp. 164 and 436; Vol. 110, p. 885; Vol. 113, p. 586; Vol. 116, pp. 326-31; Vol. 180, pp. 9, 121, 165, 174, and 184; Vol. 484, pp. 236, 268, and 348; Vol. 485, pp. 269, 317, 330, 449, 670, and 686; Vol. 486, pp. 152-53, and 180; Vol. 487, pp. 63, 457-59 and 6/15/1725, Vol. 488, pp. 130 and 418; Vol. 1024, p. 21. NBKG, Vol. 6, 5/22/1731; Vol. 7, 8/8/1731; Vol. 9, 11/22/1742, 11/23/1742, 5/1/1747, and 1/15/1750; Vol. 85, 5/5/1718, Vol. 236, 8/12/1718; Vol. 237, 9/22/1727 and 8/14/1731; VWIS, Vol. 41, 8/10/1743; MCC, Vol. 60, 1/3/1755 and 8/24/1778; HAR, Vol. 41-42, 8/1/1756 and book 11.



TABLE 19  
FLUCTUATING SLAVE PRICES<sup>a</sup>

|         | OUNCES             | GUILDERS    | COWRIES |
|---------|--------------------|-------------|---------|
| 1680    |                    | ca. f.30    | 80 lb.  |
| 1686    |                    |             | 80 lb.  |
| 1691    |                    |             | 80 lb.  |
| 1703    |                    | f.45        |         |
| 1704    | 2:12E              |             |         |
| 1712    |                    | f.43        | 100 lb. |
| 1713    |                    | f.41-f.44   | 110 lb. |
| 1714-45 | 6-1/2 <sup>b</sup> | f.62        | 116 lb. |
| 1717    | 4                  | f.70        | 120 lb. |
| 1718    | 4-5                |             | 120 lb. |
| 1719    | 6                  |             |         |
| 1720    |                    |             | 170 lb. |
| 1721    |                    | f.80        | 130 lb. |
| 1725    |                    | f.80-f.85   |         |
| 1727    | 5                  |             |         |
| 1730    | 5                  |             |         |
| 1731    | 6                  |             | 230 lb. |
| 1732    | 6                  |             |         |
| 1735    | 5                  |             |         |
| 1742    | 5                  |             |         |
| 1743    |                    | f.125       |         |
| 1747    | 6                  |             |         |
| 1750    | 7-9                |             |         |
| 1754    |                    | f.115       |         |
| 1756    |                    | f.130-f.150 |         |
| 1765    | 5:8E               |             |         |
| 1770    | 12                 |             |         |
| 1772    | 12                 |             |         |
| 1778    | 12                 |             |         |
| 1791    |                    | f.136-f.222 |         |

<sup>a</sup>Prices per man slaves have been listed. Women slaves sold for ca. two-thirds of the price for man slaves.

<sup>b</sup>In as far as could be ascertained, these figures are gold rather than trade good ounces. This particular figure of 6-1/2 ounces may have been a trade ounce citation.

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the last half of this period. When in 1732, or shortly thereafter, a WIC servant tabulated the company's exports from Africa for the 1675-1731 period,<sup>55</sup> he applied a constant cost price of f.40 for slaves. Except for the final ten to fifteen years, this approximation was quite realistic. It appears that from 1675 until 1713 the price of slaves gradually rose from about f.25 to f.45. Then there started a rapid inflation which caused the slave prices to triple in approximately forty years.

The price of slaves also depended on the region of origin. As was pointed out earlier, slaves from Angola sold for less than those from the Gold and Slave Coasts, and the same was true for slaves from the Bight of Biafra and the Niger delta.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, Gold Coast slaves were frequently lower priced than the ones from the Windward Coast. In 1718, for example, the Price Table for a ship destined for the "Upper Coast" listed slaves at five ounces, while the Price Table for the "Lower Coast" (East of Elmina) indicated only four ounces per slave.<sup>57</sup>

The prices quoted thus far were generally for the most expensive, the man slaves. While adult woman slaves were listed as piezas de India, as a rule they were sold for about 20-30 per cent less than man slaves. The records of the slaver Delft, which left the Slave Coast in 1736 with a cargo of 571 slaves, will serve to illustrate this differentiation in prices. The slaves on this vessel were sold

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<sup>55</sup>VWIS, Folder 928. See also Tables 2 and 3.

<sup>56</sup>NBKG, Vol. 233, Instructions 5/3/1701. See also p. 182 above.

<sup>57</sup>NBKG, Vol. 85, Documents 8/10/1718 and 9/7/1718.





for the following prices:<sup>58</sup>

|                                  |                        |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| Man slaves                       | 5 Ounces = (80 Ackeys) |
| Woman slaves                     | 3-1/2 " = (56 " )      |
| Woman slave with infant          | 4 " = (64 " )          |
| Boys: 2/3 <u>piezas de India</u> | 53 "                   |
| Girls: 2/3 " " "                 | 42 "                   |
| Girls: 1/2 " " "                 | 28 "                   |

The notion that enormous profits were made from the Atlantic slave trade in general has been refuted convincingly as a myth.<sup>59</sup> It is true that occasionally large profits were made and that slaves sold for two to three times the amount paid for them in Africa, but the enormous risks involved in this undertaking and the attendant costs (such as insurance, crew, depreciation, duties and fees) demanded considerable gain before a profit resulted. An MCC report of 1744 stated that at least 150 per cent profit had to be made to cover the expenses before any net gain resulted from a slaving voyage.<sup>60</sup> Participants in the slave trade undoubtedly helped create this myth of huge profits by boasting of singular successes. WIC servants also contributed to it by repeatedly reporting the profitability of the slave trade in order to retain the backing of the company and its financial subsidizers.<sup>61</sup> But according to Unger's analysis of 101 accounts of MCC slaving voyages, only 59 made a profit while 42 registered losses. This assessment is based on individual voyages and does not take into account the company's losses resulting from shipwreck

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<sup>58</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, p. 885.

<sup>59</sup>Unger II, p. 91.

<sup>60</sup>VWIS, Vol. 41, Document 2/27/1744.

<sup>61</sup>WIC, Vol. 110, p. 807.

[illegible]

and war.<sup>62</sup> Notwithstanding these poor financial results, the slave trade was continued because many individuals, such as crews of ships and company personnel, had a stake in the traffic and investors kept hoping for an improvement in the trade.<sup>63</sup>

The remainder of this chapter consists of an evaluation of the treatment of the slaves. The humiliating experiences of these forced emigrants to the New World are difficult to comprehend for those who did not witness them. To lose one's freedom and to be torn away from loved ones must have been most traumatic for the slaves.<sup>64</sup> To be priced and sold like a piece of merchandise also must have been extremely dehumanizing. With this came the humiliating physical examinations, and the preparations for these by the slave owners. An eighteenth century Dutch handbook for slave captains provides us with much insight about these examinations. To check hearing and speaking ability the slave was forced to "scream." In order to avoid buying old slaves, the captains were advised to check the teeth, watch for facial wrinkles, and the firmness of women's breasts. The buyers were warned against the various tricks of the sellers, such as rubbing and greasing the bodies of slaves, the shaving, plucking, or painting

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<sup>62</sup>Unger II, pp. 89-91.

<sup>63</sup>Since this study focuses on the slave trade on the African coast, only a cursory assessment of the profits of the trade is offered. Scrutiny of the West Indian papers would be necessary to evaluate the profits of the WIC.

<sup>64</sup>Many accounts by slaves have survived to illustrate this. See for example Equiano, cited on p. 6 above; Philip D. Curtin, ed., Africa Remembered (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); and Charles H. Nichols, ed. Many Thousands Gone: The Ex-Slaves' Account of their Bondage and Freedom (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1963).



of grey hair, etc.<sup>65</sup>

As soon as a purchase agreement had been reached and the slave had become the property of the white man, he was subjected to the painful and dangerous ordeal of branding with a red hot iron. All WIC slaves had to be branded before they were allowed to board a company slaving vessel, since WIC officials feared that captains might otherwise exchange slaves for inferior ones and pocket the profits themselves.<sup>66</sup> The company brand mark was applied on the arm, shoulder, or breast, and it was undoubtedly a very painful experience and could subsequently result in a serious infection. Mackenzie-Grieve's description of branding is most vivid: ". . . the yard reeking with the smell of burning flesh," and the air filled with "cries of agony and terror."<sup>67</sup>

These humiliating and torturous experiences were repeated nearly every time a slave changed owners. When a WIC slaver arrived to fetch slaves that had been purchased by the company factor, the ship's captain and doctor (appropriately labeled surgeon or barber because of their medical incompetency) insisted on another examination of the slaves.<sup>68</sup>

Under these miserable conditions many slaves saw the ocean for the first time in their life, and were transported through the heavy surf to the waiting slave ship. Many of them never made it to the

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<sup>65</sup>Gallandat, p. 432.

<sup>66</sup>When in 1699 a WIC slaver was apprehended with 88 unbranded slaves aboard, it gave rise to much correspondence and a restatement of the company policy in 1700. See WIC, Vol. 484, pp. 45-46; NEKG, Vol. 233, 1/20/1700; Vol. 25, 8/5/1699.

<sup>67</sup>Mackenzie-Grieve, p. 122.

<sup>68</sup>WIC, Vol. 484, p. 49.



ship; they either died while waiting or drowned on the way.<sup>69</sup> Owing to such experiences it was no surprise that many slaves feared an even worse lot was awaiting them on the other side of the Atlantic, to be eaten by these "white savages."<sup>70</sup> Many slaves found their fate so miserable and their future so gloomy that they committed suicide, and many more would have ended their life voluntarily had they not been prevented from doing so by the ship's crew.<sup>71</sup>

Quite frequently a WIC slaving ship was not on hand when slaves were purchased by a company factor. Such slaves were then either transported to another WIC lodge or chained and "stored" in a stockade (tronk) on the beach. At Elmina a special place, often referred to as the Slave Dungeon (slavengat), was set aside in the Elmina castle as a "storage place" for slaves. This Slave Dungeon could accommodate 300 slaves, but often as many as 400 were packed into it.<sup>72</sup>

Conditions in these stockades or the Dungeon must have been most unpleasant and unhealthful. Here slaves were exposed to such dreaded diseases as smallpox and dysentery. Many slaves lost their lives in these places; 43 slaves died at Ouidah in 1724 and 80 at Epee in 1735.<sup>73</sup> Slaves would often try to break out of the stockades, and

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<sup>68</sup>WIC, Vol. 484, p. 49.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., Vol. 488, pp. 92-94. In 1735 six slaves drowned in the process of taking the cargo of the slaver Leusden aboard.

<sup>70</sup>Marrée, Vol. II, p. 248.

<sup>71</sup>NBKG, Vol. 85, Correspondence 5/5/1718. This source relates how a slave had cut his throat, leaving the crew of the ship greatly disturbed about how the slave had managed to get a knife.

<sup>72</sup>WIC, Vol. 487, p. 35; NBKG, Vol. 7, Minutes 1/27/1737.

<sup>73</sup>WIC, Vol. 486, pp. 491-92; Vol. 488, pp. 92-94.



The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text outlines various methods for organizing and storing data, including digital databases and physical filing systems. It also mentions the need for regular audits and reviews to ensure the integrity and accuracy of the information.

In the second section, the focus shifts to the role of technology in modern business operations. It highlights how digital tools and software can streamline processes, reduce errors, and improve overall efficiency. The text discusses the benefits of cloud storage, automation, and data analytics, while also addressing potential challenges such as security and data privacy. It suggests that organizations should invest in training and development to ensure their workforce is equipped to handle these technological advancements.

The third part of the document explores the importance of effective communication and collaboration within an organization. It stresses that clear communication is key to achieving common goals and resolving conflicts. The text provides tips for improving team dynamics, such as active listening, open dialogue, and regular feedback. It also discusses the role of leadership in fostering a collaborative culture and ensuring that all team members are aligned with the organization's vision and mission.

Finally, the document concludes with a discussion on the future of business and the need for continuous learning and innovation. It notes that the business landscape is constantly evolving, and organizations must stay ahead of the curve by embracing change and adopting new strategies. The text encourages a growth mindset and the pursuit of excellence in all endeavors. It ends with a call to action, urging readers to take the steps necessary to build a successful and sustainable future.

The following table provides a summary of the key points discussed in the document. It is intended to serve as a quick reference for readers and to highlight the most important information. The table is organized into three columns: Topic, Key Points, and Recommendations.

| Topic              | Key Points   | Recommendations  |
|--------------------|--|--|
| Record-Keeping     | Essential for transparency and accountability. Includes digital databases and physical filing systems. Regular audits and reviews are necessary.   | Implement a robust record-keeping system. Conduct regular audits and reviews.  |
| Technology         | Digital tools and software streamline processes, reduce errors, and improve efficiency. Cloud storage, automation, and data analytics are key. Security and data privacy are concerns.   | Invest in technology and training. Address security and data privacy concerns. |
| Communication      | Clear communication is key to achieving common goals and resolving conflicts. Active listening, open dialogue, and regular feedback are important.                                       | Foster a collaborative culture. Encourage active listening and open dialogue.  |
| Future of Business | Business landscape is constantly evolving. Organizations must stay ahead of the curve by embracing change and adopting new strategies. Continuous learning and innovation are essential. | Embrace change and innovation. Pursue continuous learning and improvement.     |

occasionally they succeeded. In 1713, twenty WIC slaves in a stockade at Jakin managed to overpower their guards and fled in the dark. The king of Allada pledged his support to recapture the slaves, and fourteen of them were returned within a short time, but six remained at large.<sup>74</sup> On another occasion 325 slaves rose up against their guards enabling four of them to escape.<sup>75</sup>

Some vivid descriptions of the Slave Dungeon in Elmina have been preserved. Marrée points out that there was literally a hole for an entrance, and that the air in the Dungeon was so "putrid" that it was harmful to the health of the occupants.<sup>76</sup> A more specific account of life in the Elmina Dungeon has been preserved among the WIC papers in the form of a directive to the supervisor of the slaves.<sup>77</sup> According to this document, slaves enjoying good health were sent out to work during the day; woman slaves ground millet and prepared food for the slaves in the Dungeon. The Supervisor, who was either a European or a mulatto (judging by his European name, Nicolaas Elgersma) had an aid referred to as the Black Bumboy (Zwarte Bombaas), who was in a more direct sense the supervisor of the slaves. The Bumboy seems to have been either a castle slave or more likely a free Negro hired by the company. It is known the WIC occasionally hired a free Negro

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., Vol. 485, p. 318.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Vol. 486, p. 495. For additional uprisings and break outs and escapes see Vol. 56, p. 161; and Vol. 102, pp. 234-42.

<sup>76</sup>Marrée, Vol. II, p. 248.

<sup>77</sup>Appendix E is a translation of this directive.



as stockade supervisor on the Slave Coast.<sup>78</sup> According to the directive mentioned above, health was a most important consideration for the slaves. Many slaves were unable to work because of ill health, and the long "sitting" tended to deteriorate their condition. WIC officials occasionally urged that few slaves be kept in stock, particularly when it would take a long time for a company slaver to arrive.<sup>79</sup> In one instance, the long waiting had deteriorated the condition of the "stored" slaves so badly that they were sent on board a waiting slave ship (still far from ready for departure) for reasons that the fresh sea air would be better for their health.<sup>80</sup>

Due to these circumstances many slaves died before their intended Atlantic crossing. The record-conscious WIC officials required a death warrant (attestatie) for every slave, including infants, who died while waiting in the stockades for their deportation.<sup>81</sup> Numerous death warrants have been found among the WIC papers, but their number is not sufficient to provide a meaningful basis for calculating an average death rate. We know that at times the death rate was very high. In 1705, for example, 95 slaves of a group of 612-2/3 piezas de India died or escaped.<sup>82</sup> For the eight month period of August, 1724, through April, 1725, at least fifty death warrants have

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<sup>78</sup>WIC, Vol. 180, p. 151.

<sup>79</sup>NEKG, Vol. 24, Correspondence 6/25/1774.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., Vol. 6, Minutes 3/22/1730.

<sup>81</sup>See p. 95 above. Appendix E contains a translation of such a death warrant. An infant is the subject of the document found in WIC, Vol. 180, p. 192.

<sup>82</sup>WIC, Vol. 99, pp. 199-205.

1. The first group of respondents (10%) was made up of 100% females, 100% of whom were married. The mean age was 39.5 years, and the mean number of children was 2.5. The mean number of years of education was 12.5 years, and the mean number of years of employment was 10.5 years. The mean number of years since the respondent's last childbirth was 10.5 years. The mean number of years since the respondent's last abortion was 10.5 years. The mean number of years since the respondent's last miscarriage was 10.5 years. The mean number of years since the respondent's last stillbirth was 10.5 years. The mean number of years since the respondent's last abortion was 10.5 years. The mean number of years since the respondent's last miscarriage was 10.5 years. The mean number of years since the respondent's last stillbirth was 10.5 years.

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been preserved.<sup>83</sup> For the years 1728 and 1729 combined, ninety-five such documents were found among the WIC papers.<sup>84</sup> The death rates undoubtedly fluctuated due to epidemics; this was demonstrated in the high local death rates of the years 1724 and 1735. On the other hand, the whole year of 1725 produced only thirty-five death warrants.<sup>85</sup> It is not certain, of course, if this included all deaths. On the whole, therefore, the death warrants cannot provide a sound basis on which a meaningful projection of percentages can be based.

In addition to these slaves who succumbed while still on African soil, many died aboard slaving vessels either during the middle passage or during the ship's stay on the coast. Owing to the fact that many ships took several months to complete their cargo, many of the slaves acquired at the onset succumbed before the ship departed. But here again, only a smattering of the evidence has been preserved. However, of at least seven WIC ships, the coastal death rate can be documented; this data has been recorded in Table 20.

Some of the vessels listed in Table 20 may well have been singled out and recorded because of their abnormally high death rate. The available sample indicates that approximately 8-1/2 per cent of the slaves aboard ship died before beginning the Atlantic crossing.

The percentage calculated above does not include the death toll of the middle passage. Most generally mortality rates of the middle passage and the coastal stay are combined. The total loss was often

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., Vol. 107, pp. 45ff.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., Vol. 108, dispersed throughout the entire volume.

<sup>85</sup>WIC, Vol. 107, pp. 322-41.



TABLE 20

## SLAVE MORTALITY ON WIC SHIPS

| Ship                | Date | Cargo | Deaths          |
|---------------------|------|-------|-----------------|
| Graaf van Laarwijk  | 1701 | 488   | 91              |
| De Zon              | 1703 | 513   | 82 <sup>a</sup> |
| Catharina Christina | 1709 | 509   | 50              |
| Amsterdam           | 1726 | 480   | 14              |
| Leusden             | 1727 | 748   | 20              |
| Beekesteyn          | 1733 | 866   | 57              |
| Beschutter          | 1735 | 768   | 13              |
| Total               |      | 4,372 | 377             |

<sup>a</sup>Thirty-six of this number died as a result of a slave mutiny.

Sources: WIC, Vol. 180, p. 193; Vol. 484, pp. 118 and 264; Vol. 487, pp. 75, 122, and 595; Vol. 488, p. 177.

very high, but occasionally also very small. In 1709, the slaver Stad Moscow lost 271 slaves of its cargo of 572, which is nearly 50 per cent.<sup>86</sup> Another WIC ship crossed the Atlantic without losing a single slave, but this was a rarity.<sup>87</sup> A WIC report concerning the slaver Juffrouw Helena, sailing in 1728, provides us with an important clue about the average death rate on the middle passage. On this particular voyage 52 of the 250 slave cargo died. According to the report this 20 per cent loss was regarded as very high, implying that the average death rate was well below 20 per cent.<sup>88</sup>

No comprehensive study of the middle passage death rate of the

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., Vol. 488, p. 177.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., Vol. 484, p. 118.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., Vol. 487, pp. 148 and 170.



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WIC slave trade is possible until the voluminous WIC papers concerning the West Indies have been scrutinized and its findings about arriving slavers have been compared with the departing cargos.<sup>89</sup> Since the system of accounting during the free trade period was quite different, a substantial amount of data has made it possible to make a reliable estimate of the mortality rates of the middle passage. Unger's study of the MCC slave trade shows that the company figured a 15 per cent loss for insurance purposes, and a close examination of 108 MCC slave cargos disclosed that on the average 12.3 per cent of the slaves died during the Atlantic crossing. For the early part of the free trade period, the percentage was slightly higher (13.7 per cent) than during the last half (10.8 per cent).<sup>90</sup> These figures are considerably lower than had often been assumed.<sup>91</sup>

The desperate situation aboard slaving ships occasionally led to slave mutiny. Had it not been for the fact that man slaves were carefully chained, numerous slave revolts would have occurred. As it was, relatively few of such uprisings did take place, and seldom did slaves gain control of their ship. Only fourteen slave mutinies can be documented for Dutch ships; they are listed in Table 21.

It is quite likely that there were additional unrecorded slave mutinies or those for which the evidence has been lost, particularly during the end of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, since

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<sup>89</sup>This study has focused on the trade on the African coast.

<sup>90</sup>Unger II, pp. 60-62.

<sup>91</sup>Van Brakel, p. 58. This Dutch writer estimated 25 per cent for the middle passage death rates, while others had speculated as high as 50 per cent. See also Curtin, Chapter 10.



TABLE 21

## SLAVE REVOLTS ON DUTCH SLAVERS

| Ships                | Date | Casualties <sup>a</sup> |      | Comments      |
|----------------------|------|-------------------------|------|---------------|
|                      |      | Slaves                  | Crew |               |
| Rachel (WIC)         | 1699 | 12                      | 1    |               |
| De Zon "             | 1703 | 36                      |      |               |
| Agatha "             | 1717 | 9                       |      |               |
| Leusden "            | 1731 |                         |      | Not serious   |
| *Africaanse Galeij   | 1741 |                         |      | Not serious   |
| Middelburgs Welvaren | 1751 |                         |      |               |
| *Vliegende Faam      | 1756 | 22                      |      |               |
| *Philadelphia        | 1756 |                         |      |               |
| *Vr. Johanna Cores   | 1762 | 22                      |      |               |
| *Eenigheid           | 1764 |                         |      | Serious       |
| *Zanggodin           | 1769 |                         |      | Not serious   |
| Guinese Vriendschap  | 1770 | 5                       |      |               |
| *Vigilantie          | 1780 | 21                      |      |               |
| Neptunis             | 1785 | all but 8               | 17   | Ship blown up |

\*These vessels, plus the Middelburgs Welvaren were owned by the MCC. The starred MCC ships have been discussed by Unger, pp. 57-58.

<sup>a</sup>Casualty rates were mostly deaths, but in a few cases they included missing slaves.

Sources: WIC, Vol. 103, p. 168; Vol. 484, pp. 6 and 264; AAC, Vol. 1212, Journals of ships Pollux and Castor; HAR, Vol. 41-42; Unger, pp. 57-58; Menkman, De West-Indische Compagnie, p. 109.

most of the revolts took place within sight of the African coast,<sup>92</sup> it is unlikely that many such incidents escaped mention in WIC reports and correspondence.

Only four of the documented slave mutinies involved WIC ships. This small number may be explained by the poor documentation during the end of the seventeenth century and by the fact that the WIC vessels

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<sup>92</sup>WIC, Vol. 487, p. 446.

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were far outnumbered by the smaller free trade ships. Eight of the recorded ten free trade ships experiencing slave revolts belonged to the MCC. This high percentage undoubtedly results from the superior record left by this company. One might conclude that since the MCC carried about one-fifth of the overall free trade, the total number of mutinies on free trade ships could be estimated at about forty, assuming that such incidents took place at the same rate for all free trade slaving. Perhaps this is not an unrealistic estimate, if minor uprisings (which might have escaped the notice of WIC authorities) were included in this figure.

In no single revolt listed in Table 21 did the slaves gain firm control of the ship, except perhaps in the case of the Neptunis, which blew up during the mutiny when an English slaver came to the aid of the crew and hit the powder chamber of the Neptunis with a cannon shot.<sup>93</sup> All seventeen crew members on board lost their lives, and all but eight of the undetermined cargo of slaves were killed in the incident.<sup>94</sup>

The slaver Guinese Vriendschap was nearly in control of its slaves when the Dutch war ship Castor came to the aid of the crew.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>See AAC, Vol. 1212, Journal of the Pollux for an account. Since the ship exploded, the circumstances of the incident were never completely verified.

<sup>94</sup>The captain of the Neptunis happened to be ashore when the mutiny broke out and consequently he survived. Accompanied by his eight slaves, he was given passage on the war ship Pollux and taken to the West Indies.

<sup>95</sup>See the account of the incident in the Journal of the war ship Castor in AAC, Vol. 1170.

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Four slaves drowned during this revolt, either in an effort to escape or to commit suicide. The alleged ring leader of the mutiny, an Ashanti slave named Essjerrie Ettin,<sup>96</sup> was brutally executed by the crew. First his right hand was cut off (the left one was already maimed during the battle), after which his body was suspended by a rope under his arms and abused by the crew until he died. Ten other slaves implicated as leaders in this mutiny were given less damaging corporal punishment. These punishments were to serve as a warning and example for the other slaves.<sup>97</sup>

The chances for a slave to escape from a ship were very small, for even if he managed to get ashore, he would most likely be enslaved again by the free Africans. In the case of the Neptunis slave revolt, some eighty Negroes were helping with their canoes to recapture the slaves, and all eight surviving slaves were returned to the captain of the ship.<sup>98</sup> The same was true with the Agatha mutiny. Here both free Negroes and Castle Slaves helped to recapture slaves who tried to get ashore and escape enslavement. One slave was caught in this manner and returned to the captain of the ship.<sup>99</sup>

The Dutch frequently prided themselves on treating the slaves better than other Europeans did.<sup>100</sup> This finds some substantiation

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<sup>96</sup>It is of considerable interest that a personal name is recorded here since slaves were usually identified by a number.

<sup>97</sup>AAC, Vol. 1170, Castor Journal

<sup>98</sup>AAC, Vol. 1212, Pollux Journal

<sup>99</sup>WIC, Vol. 103, p. 168.

<sup>100</sup>Menkman, "Nederland in Amerika en West Afrika," p. 60; Menkman, West Indische Compagnie, p. 157; Unger II, p. 56.



the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is the fact that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is the fact that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

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in the low Dutch mortality rate of 12.3 per cent, which is one of the lowest averages arrived at thus far in slave trade literature.<sup>101</sup> But even if the Dutch claim of superior treatment is correct, it was not motivated by humanitarian but rather by commercial interests.<sup>102</sup> It was simply a good business practice to take good care of such valuable commercial items as slaves. The WIC, and later the free trade companies, supplied their slave captains with elaborate instructions about diet and the medical and hygienic treatment of the slaves.<sup>103</sup> These guides, however, were no guarantee to good treatment; the practical world often paid little attention to these theoretical notions.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, one ship doctor was dismissed by the WIC in 1733 on grounds of ignorant and negligent treatment of the slaves on board the ship Beschutter.<sup>105</sup> But here again, the primary motive was commercial and not humanitarian.

The well-known Dutch factor Willem Bosman recognized in 1700 that the slave trade was a "brutal" practice, but it was a "necessary" part of life.<sup>106</sup> As late as 1789, the provincial council of Holland and West Vriesland passed a resolution stating that slave service under a good American master was far better than the "miserable freedom

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<sup>101</sup>Curtin, pp. 275ff. Curtin estimates the Dutch and the English mortality rates at 17 per cent and that of the French at 12 per cent.

<sup>102</sup>Van Brakel, p. 57.

<sup>103</sup>See NEKG, Vol. 238.

<sup>104</sup>Vrijman, p. 100.

<sup>105</sup>NEKG, Vol. 7, Minutes 7/30/1733.

<sup>106</sup>Bosman, p. xviii.



of Africa." The objective of the resolution was to revive the Dutch slave trade, which was then in serious decline. The same resolution, however, urged that the treatment of the slaves in transit to the new world should be improved. This was finally justified on humanitarian grounds.<sup>107</sup>

The Dutch ended their participation in the Atlantic slave trade under diplomatic pressure from the British. No strong public pressure was generated within the country to stop the trade. Slavery in the Dutch West Indies was not ended until 1862, the last of all the colonial powers in this region.<sup>108</sup> Until the second quarter of the twentieth century, Dutch scholars such as Menkman and Vrijman were still trying to make it appear as if the Dutch somehow had been more humane in their treatment of the slaves. Menkman claimed that the "horror stories" of the middle passage were part of the British and American slave trade traditions and did not apply to Dutch slavers. Only one slave revolt had taken place on a Dutch ship, according to Menkman.<sup>109</sup> Vrijman's book on the slave trade ignored the humanitarian issue altogether and argued that economic necessity had driven the Dutch to participate in the traffic.<sup>110</sup>

Recent studies by Unger and Van Dantzig have rectified the earlier evasive and apologetic attitude. The eminent Dutch historian,

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<sup>107</sup>VWIS, Folder 13.

<sup>108</sup>For a discussion of the emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch West Indies see C. C. Goslinga, Emancipatie en Emancipator (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1956).

<sup>109</sup>Menkman, "Nederland in Amerika en West Afrika," p. 60; Menkman, "Nederlandsche en Vreemde Slavenvaart," p. 109.

<sup>110</sup>Vrijman, p. 16, 28, and 77.



Pieter Geyl, aptly concludes the second volume of his major work on Dutch history with a discussion of the Dutch participation in the slave trade. He contends that the blame for this dehumanizing episode in history does not rest alone with the crew members of the slaving vessels, but that the Dutch people as a whole shared in the guilt by failing to raise a significant public protest against this inhumanity to man.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>Pieter Geyl, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 376-77.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very important document, as it contains the President's annual message to Congress. The letter is written in a very formal and dignified style, and it is one of the most important documents in the history of the United States. It is a very long letter, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the Union, the economy, and the military. The President's message is a very important document, as it contains the President's annual message to Congress. It is a very long letter, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the Union, the economy, and the military.

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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study confirms that the Dutch had a significant and sustained share in the slave trade from Africa. In total numbers of slaves transported they ranked only behind the Portuguese, the English and the French. Between 1662 and 1775 there were few decades when Dutch vessels did not carry at least ten per cent of the overall traffic.<sup>1</sup>

The early period (1629-1675) of Dutch participation in the slave trade remains to be examined more closely, and its quantitative aspects may always remain a matter of conjecture. The acquisition of Brazil (beginning in 1630) and of the Asiento contracts (1662) were principal catalysts for the Dutch involvement in the slave trade. On the basis of the scanty amount of available literature, it seems reasonable to project (as the Dutch share in the slave trade between 1629 and 1675) an annual average of 1,000 slaves for the years before 1662 and 2,000 for the years following this date.

Due to a sizable amount of surviving WIC documents after 1675, the subsequent years can be assessed with greater accuracy. Until the 1720's however, the annual average of 2,000 slaves was not surpassed significantly, and the rate remained fairly steady when calculated for whole decades.<sup>2</sup> There were yearly fluctuations in the volume of trade,

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<sup>1</sup>See Figure 7.

<sup>2</sup>See Table 22.





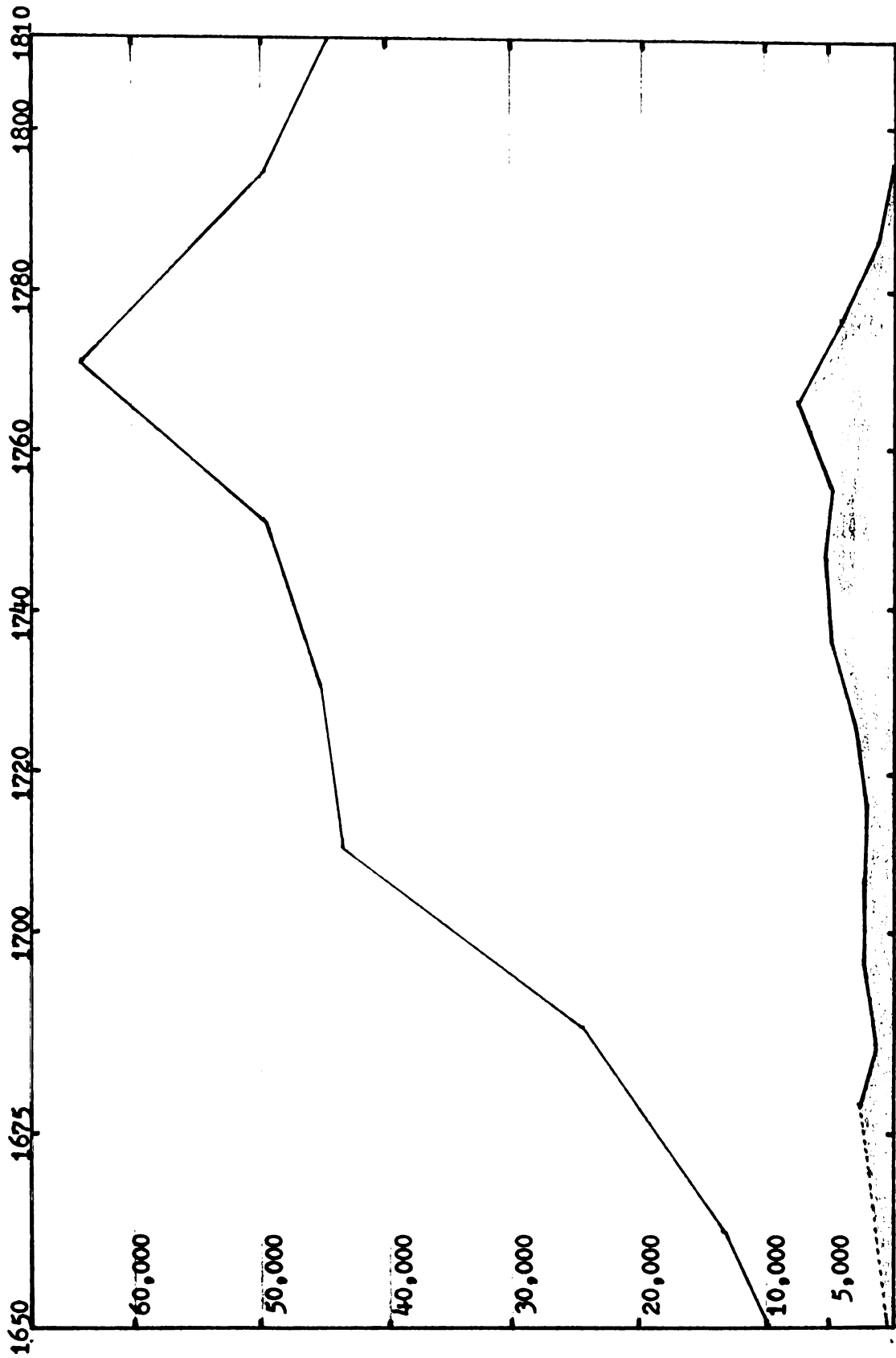
TABLE 22  
GLOBAL ESTIMATES FOR THE DUTCH SLAVE TRADE

| YEARS     | WIC TRADE | ANGOLA TRADE | RENTED SHIPS | FREE TRADE | TOTAL   | ANNUAL AVERAGE |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------|----------------|
| 1629-61   | 33,000    |              |              |            | 33,000  | 1,000          |
| 1662-74   | 26,000    |              |              |            | 26,000  | 2,000          |
| 1675-80   | 11,904    | 5,952        |              |            | 17,856  | 2,976          |
| 1681-90   | 10,040    | 5,020        |              |            | 15,060  | 1,506          |
| 1691-00   | 15,060    | 7,530        |              |            | 22,590  | 2,259          |
| 1701-10   | 15,494    | 7,747        |              |            | 23,241  | 2,324          |
| 1711-20   | 15,365    | 7,683        |              |            | 23,048  | 2,305          |
| 1721-30   | 16,536    | 8,268        | 3,000        | 7,095      | 34,899  | 3,490          |
| 1731-40   | 17,374    |              |              | 34,629     | 52,003  | 5,200          |
| 1741-50   | 2,259     |              |              | 52,984     | 55,243  | 5,524          |
| 1751-60   | 356       |              |              | 50,994     | 51,350  | 5,135          |
| 1761-70   |           |              |              | 73,709     | 73,709  | 7,371          |
| 1771-80   |           |              |              | 47,810     | 47,810  | 4,781          |
| 1781-90   |           |              |              | 11,518     | 11,518  | 1,152          |
| 1791-94   |           |              |              | 3,500      | 3,500   | 880            |
| TOTALS    |           |              |              |            |         |                |
| 1675-1794 | 104,391   | 42,200       | 3,000        | 282,239    | 431,830 | 3,560          |

Sources: Tables 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

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Fig. 7. THE DUTCH SLAVE TRADE IN RELATION TO THE OVERALL ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE



but these are obscured when annual averages are calculated on longer blocks of time. The relatively stable level of the Dutch slave trade contrasted considerably to the enormous expansion of the slave trade in general during the same period.<sup>3</sup> The increased participation of England and France were primarily responsible for this expansion. For this reason the relative importance of the Dutch slave trade decreased from nearly 20 per cent to less than 10 per cent of the total traffic, while the actual volume of trade remained about the same.

During the 1720's and 1730's the overall Atlantic slave trade appeared to stabilize itself, but the Dutch increased their participation appreciably. This was particularly true for the latter decade, when the WIC finally relinquished its monopoly of the slave trade. During the 1730's the Dutch share of the trade again exceeded the ten per cent margin and this level was maintained until the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War. While the latter caused a sharp drop in the Atlantic slave trade generally, it precipitated the virtual demise of the Dutch participation in the trade. Dutch efforts to revive the trade after the conflict ended were doomed to failure by the Napoleonic wars and the subsequent Dutch adherence to treaties prohibiting the slave trade.

Contrary to earlier assumptions,<sup>4</sup> Holland was never the "leading" slaving nation in a sense of sustained quantitative superiority in the slave trade. Furthermore, the previous assumption that the

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<sup>3</sup>Curtin's calculations for the Atlantic slave trade have been used here as the most reliable estimates. See Curtin's The Atlantic Slave Trade, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup>See pp. 19-20 above.

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Dutch slave trade declined during the eighteenth century<sup>5</sup> is refuted also by this study. The Dutch merchant marine continued to be one of the largest carrying fleets during the eighteenth century primarily as a result of shrewd political neutrality. This also is reflected in the increase, rather than the decrease, of Dutch slaving activities during the eighteenth century.

Several other conclusions can be drawn from this study. One of these pertains to the Dutch relations with African nations. The foreign policy of the small United Republic was aimed at neutrality because wars with rival European maritime states were often economic disasters, as was clearly demonstrated by the Third and Fourth Anglo-Dutch Wars. The same held true for Dutch relations with African nations. While wars were necessary to ensure a generous supply of slaves, the Dutch were more interested in peaceful relations with and among African nations because peace guaranteed the safety of the trade routes between the interior and the coast. This is not to say that the Dutch presence on the African coast did not contribute to political turmoil in Africa, but as a rule warfare was not encouraged since it reflected negatively on their commerce with Africa. The Dutch were particularly desirous to have friendly relations with states that had a preponderance of power in a given region. They succeeded in this with the Ashanti on the Gold Coast, but failed on the Slave Coast, when contrary to their expectations, the Dahomeyans gained hegemony in this area.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that

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<sup>5</sup>Donnan, Vol. II, p. xix.

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the Dutch were very conservative in their trade with Africa. During the eighteenth century in particular they were slow to raise their prices, and they were the last of the major European powers to insist on a commercial monopoly on the African Coast. It was more than thirty years after the French and English that the Dutch WIC opened the trade to private citizens of the United Republic. The evidence suggests strongly that this conservative policy was the major cause for the relative decline of the Dutch involvement in the slave trade, for as soon as restrictions on the trade were lifted the Dutch participation in it rapidly increased. For that matter, the Dutch never enjoyed a monopoly on the West African coast; its policies merely harmed the Dutch national economy by depriving their fellow nationals from commerce that was open to the private sector of other European nations. Even when the trade was open the WIC continued to exercise considerable influence over the slave trade, although its function changed from that of active trader to middleman and administrator.

For the student of the slave trade, however, the role of the WIC and the attitude of its directors had the advantage of creating a large amount of documentary evidence which otherwise might not have survived. In this respect, the role of the Dutch interlopers should be mentioned in this conclusion. Contrary to illicit trade from other European nations, Dutch interlopers did not participate in the Atlantic slave trade on a significant scale, if at all. This factor simplifies considerably the quantitative assessment of the Dutch slave trade.

The following conclusion concerning the Dutch slave trade can be made with respect to the origin of the slaves. Quite consistently the Dutch acquired approximately one-third, or slightly less, of their



slave cargos from the Loango-Angola region. Initially, the remaining two-thirds was bought almost exclusively on the Slave Coast. Gradually, more and more slaves were acquired on the Gold Coast until the 1720's, when the Dutch bought the majority of their slaves in this region. After the freeing of the trade relatively few slaves were purchased on the Slave Coast, but increasingly the Windward Coast became the principal acquisition area for the Dutch slavers; more than one-third of all the slaves were purchased here by the Dutch free traders. In general, a westward shift in acquisition area is clearly noticeable. The Dutch never acquired substantial numbers of slaves from either Senegambia or the Niger Delta region.

Finally, the Dutch often prided themselves on treating their slaves better than other Europeans, particularly the Portuguese or Brazilian slavers. This claim is difficult to substantiate, but it is true that slave mortality rates on Dutch slavers ranked among the lowest. If the latter implies better treatment, this does not mean that Dutch slavers were more humane, but rather that they were more efficient businessmen.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very important document, as it contains the President's annual message to Congress. The letter is written in a very formal and dignified style, and it is one of the most important documents in the history of the United States.

2. The second part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very important document, as it contains the Secretary's report on the state of the Treasury. The letter is written in a very formal and dignified style, and it is one of the most important documents in the history of the United States.

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NBKG - Archief van de Nederlandse Bezittingen ter Kuste  
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Folder 802.

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HAR - Collectie Slavenhandel:  
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MCC - Middelburgse Commerciale Compagnie:  
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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in the context of public administration and financial management.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for standardized procedures to ensure the reliability and validity of the information gathered. This section also touches upon the challenges associated with data collection, such as incomplete or inconsistent reporting.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. It describes how statistical techniques and other analytical tools are employed to identify trends, patterns, and anomalies. The goal is to derive meaningful insights from the raw data and present them in a clear and concise manner.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings and the steps taken to address any identified issues. It emphasizes the importance of continuous monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the implemented measures are effective and sustainable. This section also mentions the role of stakeholders in the process and the need for ongoing communication and collaboration.

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## **APPENDIXES**

APPENDIX A  
RECORDED WIC SLAVING VOYAGES

This appendix lists selective information regarding a total of 241 WIC slaving voyages between the years 1674 and 1751. Because of the diversity in time and the changing nature of the slave trade the appendix is subdivided into four parts.

- A-1. Recorded WIC Slavers, 1674-1699 (60 voyages)
- A-2. Recorded WIC Slavers, 1700-1735 (158 voyages)
- A-3. WIC Slavers After 1735 (13 voyages)
- A-4. Free Traders Employed by the WIC Prior to 1730  
(10 voyages)

The data in this appendix was derived from a wide selection of sources in the WIC Archives. Most of it comes from periodical reports from the Director-General to the Directors of the company in Holland. WIC financial accounts, and correspondence between WIC lodges on the African coast also provided some information. It would be too cumbersome to list all the sources in detail, and for this reason only the volumes containing the correspondence and reports referred to are mentioned in the source verification.





## KEY TO APPENDIX A

Columns in A-1 to A-3:

- I. Names of slaving vessels, and the number of voyages of each ship in excess of the first.
- II. Month and year of departure from Africa.
- III. The location from which slavers departed and where the slave cargo was acquired.
- IV. Destination in the Western Hemisphere.
- V. Number of slaves (or piezas de India) of each slave cargo.

Symbols:

- ? - Placed where appropriate information was lacking.
- \* - Affixed to names of ships which are also listed in adjoining parts of Appendix A.
- + - Indicate intended rather than actual cargo sizes.

Appendix A-4:

The columns in this sub-appendix are clearly labeled.  
The years listed in the third column refer to the time when the ships were on the African coast.

## SOURCES FOR APPENDIX A

Correspondence from Africa in WIC, Vols. 97-113, 484-489, 268, 783, and 1014. Financial accounts in WIC, Vol. 1316, and VWIS, Vol. 932. Correspondence between the Slave Coast and Elmina in WIC, Vols. 180 and 1024. Instructions and correspondence to Africa in NBKG, Vols. 25-26, 85, and 233-240.

## APPENDIX A-1

## RECORDED WIC SLAVERS, 1674-1699

| I                    | II      | III      | IV        | V    |
|----------------------|---------|----------|-----------|------|
| Alita                | 3/1685  | ?        | Vera Cruz | 600  |
| Aneno                | 10/1691 | Offra    | ?         | 497  |
| Arend                | 11/1691 | Offra    | Curaçao   | 515  |
| Argyn                | 1675-77 | ?        | Curaçao   | 343  |
| Beurs van Amsterdam* | -/1673  | ?        | Curaçao   | 419  |
| 2                    | 4/1691  | Offra    | Surinam   | 512  |
| Brandenburg          | 7/1699  | Ouidah   | Essequibo | 450  |
| Brugdamme            | 4/1696  | ?        | Surinam   | ?    |
| Catharina            | 1698-99 | ?        | Curaçao   | ?    |
| Coninck Salomon      | -/1686  | ?        | Surinam   | ?    |
| Cormantyn            | 12/1686 | Offra    | Curaçao   | 539  |
| Eendragt             | 5/1691  | Angola   | Curaçao   | ?    |
| Europa               | 10/1687 | Offra    | ?         | 471  |
| Geele Ruyter         | -/1685  | Offra    | ?         | 500+ |
| Geertruy Galey       | -/1684  | Offra    | ?         | 500+ |
| Gidion               | 8/1688  | Aja      | Curaçao   | 482  |
| 2                    | -/1696  | Aja      | ?         | ?    |
| 3                    | 12/1698 | Angola   | Surinam   | 528  |
| Goude Leeuw          | 8/1688  | Gr. Popo | ?         | ?    |
| Goude Winthond       | 5/1687  | ?        | ?         | ?    |
| Groote Africaan      | -/1685  | Offra    | ?         | 500+ |
| Grooten Apollo       | 5/1699  | Ponni    | Curaçao   | 448  |
| Hollandia            | 4/1687  | Offra    | Curaçao   | 533  |
| Huis Nassauw         | 3/1680  | Aja      | ?         | 483  |

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| I                     | II      | III        | IV        | V    |
|-----------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------|
| Jager*                | 9/1699  | Elmina     | Curaçao   | 136  |
| Maria                 | 8/1674  | ?          | ?         | ?    |
| Mercurius             | 2/1681  | Aja        | ?         | 500  |
| Morgenster            | 12/1690 | Offra      | Surinam   | 499  |
| Moriaans Hoofd        | 1677-80 | Angola     | Curaçao   | 433  |
| Oranjeboom            | 12/1682 | Offra      | ?         | 488  |
| Poelwijk              | -/1677  | ?          | Surinam   | ?    |
| Protugaalse Handelaar | 2/1687  | Offra      | Curaçao   | 525  |
| Prins Willem          | 1675-77 | Angola     | Curaçao   | 343  |
| Propheet Daniel       | 10/1685 | ?          | Vera Cruz | 600  |
| Rachel*               | 4/1691  | Offra      | Curaçao   | 512  |
| 2                     | -/1693  | Popo       | ?         | ?    |
| 3                     | 4/1699  | Ouidah     | Curaçao   | 620  |
| Rotterdam             | 12/1686 | Offra      | ?         | 499  |
| De Ruyter             | 11/1682 | Offra      | ?         | 500+ |
| St. Jan               | 2/1681  | Aja        | ?         | ?    |
| 2                     | 12/1683 | Aja        | Surinam   | 500+ |
| St. Pieter            | 3/1680  | Angola     | ?         | ?    |
| Salamander            | 10/1687 | Offra      | Surinam   | 500+ |
| Sara en Maria         | 2/1688  | Offra      | Curaçao   | 173  |
| Stad Berlijn          | 5/1687  | ?          | ?         | ?    |
| Surinaamse Koopman    | 11/1680 | Offra      | Curaçao   | 483  |
| Suzanna               | -/1673  | ?          | Curaçao   | ?    |
| Tholen                | -/1675  | Cabo Verde | Essequibo | 344  |
| Vreede                | 1677-80 | Angola     | Curaçao   | 433  |
| Vrijheid              | 2/1681  | Offra      | Curaçao   | 521  |
| 2                     | 2/1683  | Offra      | ?         | ?    |
| 3                     | -/1684  | Offra      | ?         | 500+ |

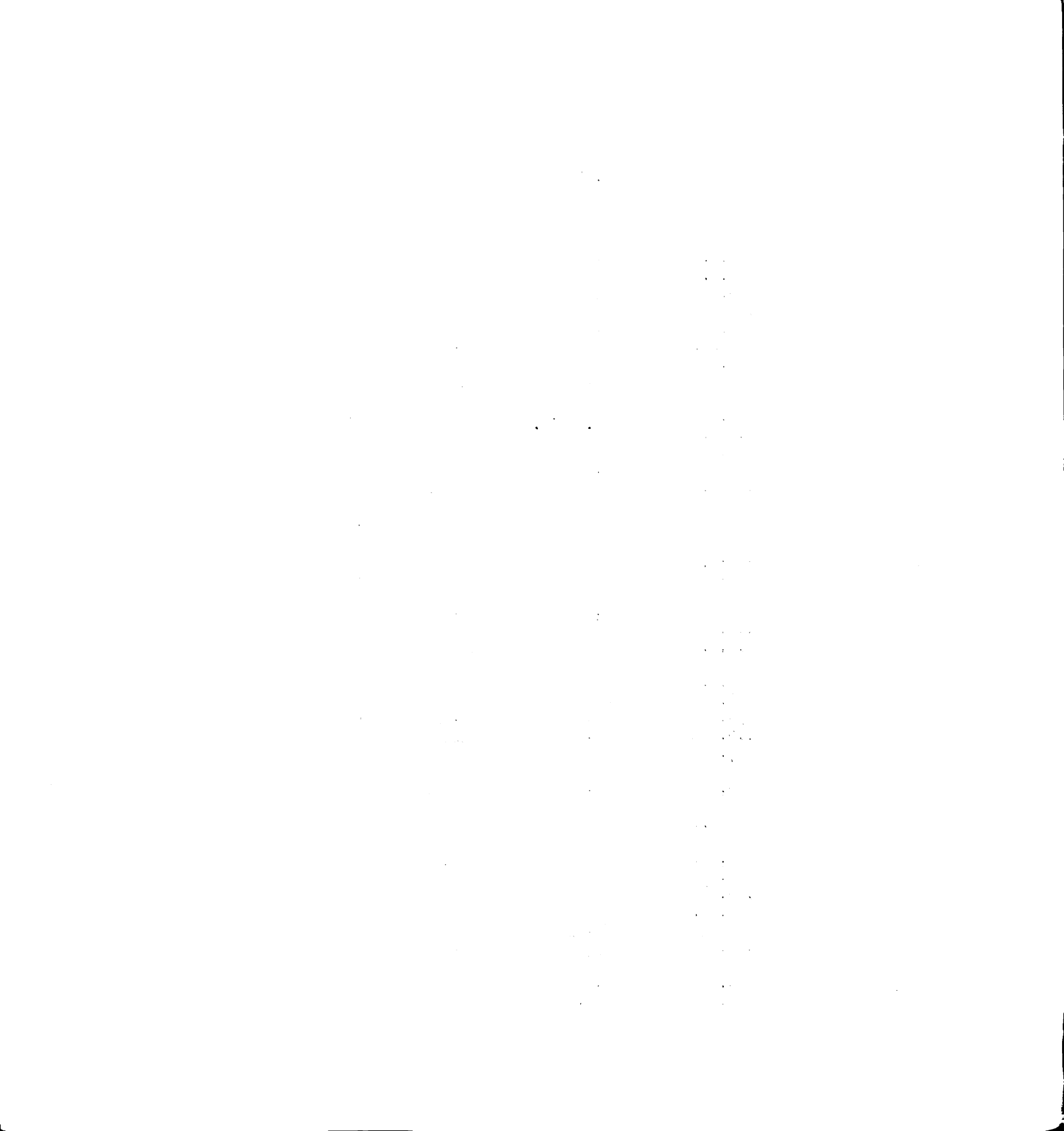


| I                   | II      | III    | IV      | V    |
|---------------------|---------|--------|---------|------|
| Wapen Van Holland*  | -/1699  | ?      | Curaçao | 453  |
| Wapen van Amsterdam | -/1685  | Offra  | ?       | 500+ |
| West Indisch Huys*  | 1/1698  | Ouidah | Curaçao | 540  |
| Winthond            | 8/1697  | ?      | ?       | ?    |
| 2                   | 9/1699  | Ouidah | Curaçao | 555  |
| Zirickzee           | 2/1686  | Offra  | Curaçao | 508  |
| 2                   | 10/1688 | Offra  | ?       | ?    |

## APPENDIX A-2

## RECORDED WIC SLAVERS, 1700-1735

| I             | II      | III        | IV        | V   |
|---------------|---------|------------|-----------|-----|
| Acredam       | 6/1712  | Ouidah     | Curaçao   | 570 |
| 2             | 3/1714  | Ouidah     | Curaçao   | 596 |
| 3             | 9/1715  | Jakin      | ?         | 590 |
| 4             | 10/1717 | Ouidah     | Surinam   | 704 |
| 5             | 4/1719  | Ouidah     | ?         | ?   |
| 6             | 4/1721  | Ouidah     | Surinam   | 603 |
| 7             | 5/1723  | ?          | ?         | ?   |
| 8             | 5/1725  | Elmina     | Surinam   | 643 |
| Adrichem      | 8/1708  | Elm./Ouid. | Surinam   | 612 |
| 2             | 11/1711 | Ouidah     | Surinam   | ?   |
| 3             | 6/1714  | Angola     | ?         | ?   |
| 4             | 2/1717  | Ouidah     | Surinam   | 540 |
| 5             | 11/1718 | Elmina     | Surinam   | 719 |
| Africa        | 4/1710  | Ouidah     | Curaçao   | 195 |
| Agatha        | 12/1714 | Accra      | Essequibo | 166 |
| 2             | 1/1717  | Elmina     | Essequibo | 175 |
| Amsterdam     | 6/1706  | Ouidah     | Surinam   | 522 |
| 2             | 11/1707 | Ouidah     | Surinam   | 680 |
| 3             | 1/1710  | Ouidah     | Curaçao   | 483 |
| Amsterdam (2) | 3/1719  | Angola     | ?         | ?   |
| 2             | 6/1724  | Elmina     | Curaçao   | 423 |
| 3             | 4/1726  | Elmina     | Surinam   | 466 |
| 4             | 11/1727 | Elmina     | Curaçao   | 476 |
| 5             | 9/1732  | ?          | ?         | ?   |
| Anneboa       | 6/1700  | Elmina     | Curaçao   | 100 |
| Axim          | 6/1711  | ?          | Curaçao   | ?   |
| Beekesteyn    | 7/1721  | Angola     | Curaçao   | ?   |
| 2             | 5/1723  | Angola     | ?         | ?   |
| 3             | 10/1728 | ?          | ?         | 507 |
| 4             | 2/1731  | Elmina     | Surinam   | 753 |
| 5             | 6/1733  | Elmina     | Surinam   | 866 |
| 6             | 12/1735 | Appa       | Surinam   | 705 |
| Beschermmer   | 8/1700  | Ouidah     | ?         | 565 |
| 2             | 5/1704  | Angola     | ?         | ?   |

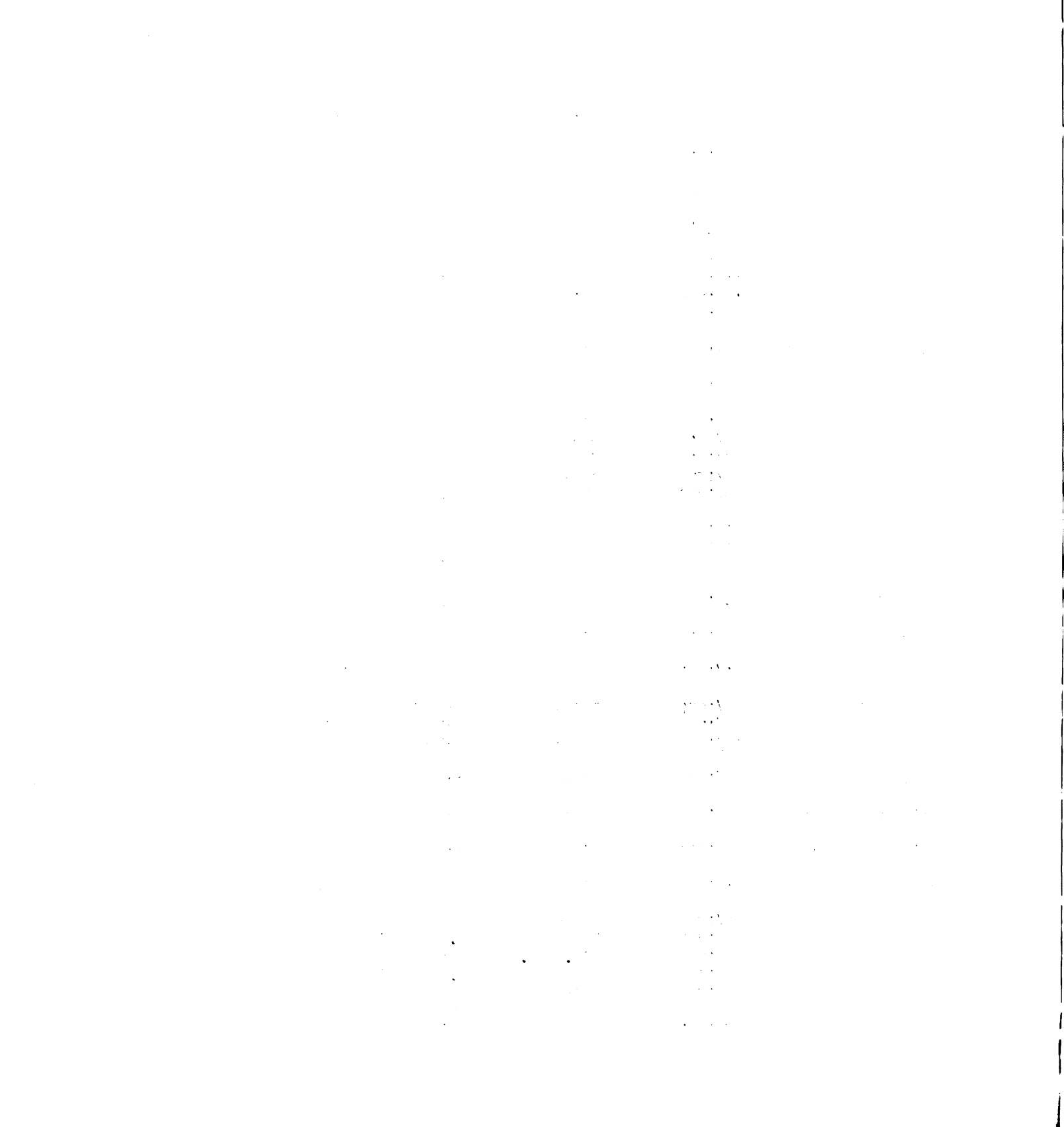




| I                    | II      | III        | IV            | V   |
|----------------------|---------|------------|---------------|-----|
| Beschutter*          | 11/1735 | Appa       | Surinam       | 768 |
| Beurs van Amsterdam* | 4/1706  | Angola     | ?             | ?   |
| Elijswijk            | 4/1709  | Ouidah     | Surinam       | 494 |
| Bosbeek              | 4/1716  | Jakin      | Essequibo     | ?   |
| 2                    | -/1718  | Jakin      | Essequibo     | 381 |
| Brandenburg          | 1/1730  | Jakin      | Surinam       | 409 |
| 2                    | 12/1732 | ?          | Surinam       | ?   |
| Carolus Secundus     | 11/1707 | Elmina     | Curacao       | 424 |
| 2                    | 10/1710 | Ouidah     | ?             | 490 |
| Catharina Christina  | 12/1706 | Elmina     | Curacao       | 540 |
| 2                    | 6/1709  | Ouidah     | ?             | 509 |
| Christina            | 2/1704  | Ouidah     | Surinam       | 513 |
| 2                    | 10/1705 | Apam/Berou | Surinam       | 548 |
| Clara (or St. Clara) | 5/1707  | Angola     | ?             | ?   |
| 2                    | 8/1710  | Ouidah     | ?             | 517 |
| 3                    | 9/1712  | Ouidah     | Surinam       | 584 |
| Companies Welvaren   | 7/1719  | Angola     | ?             | ?   |
| Delft*               | 11/1733 | Elmina     | ?             | 648 |
| Duynenburg           | 8/1705  | Ouidah     | Curacao       | 473 |
| 2                    | 4/1707  | ?          | ?             | ?   |
| Duynvliet*           | 11/1721 | Angola     | Essequibo     | ?   |
| 2                    | 5/1723  | Elmina     | St. Eustatius | 340 |
| 3                    | 3/1726  | ?          | Essequibo     | 385 |
| 4                    | 1/1732  | ?          | Berbice       | 362 |
| 5                    | 9/1733  | Appa       | ?             | 360 |
| 6                    | 8/1735  | ?          | Berbice       | 370 |
| Elmina               | 10/1704 | Elmina     | Curacao       | 171 |
| 2                    | 5/1723  | Elmina     | ?             | ?   |
| Emmenes              | 3/1715  | Ouidah     | Curacao       | 563 |
| 2                    | 11/1717 | Ouidah     | Surinam       | 718 |
| 3                    | -/1719  | ?          | ?             | ?   |
| 4                    | 11/1721 | Ouidah     | ?             | ?   |
| 5                    | 5/1724  | Ouidah     | ?             | ?   |
| 6                    | -/1725  | Elmina     | ?             | 421 |
| Engelenburgh         | 9/1715  | Elmina     | Curacao       | 153 |



| I                   | II      | III        | IV            | V    |
|---------------------|---------|------------|---------------|------|
| Eva Suzanna         | 12/1725 | Elmina     | Surinam       | 217  |
| Fida                | 12/1715 | Elmina     | Curaçao       | 257  |
| Fortuyn             | 7/1701  | Angola     | ?             | ?    |
| Gelderland          | 4/1716  | Elmina     | Curaçao       | 146  |
| Goude Put*          | 2/1727  | ?          | Surinam       | 626  |
| 2                   | 11/1729 | Elmina     | Surinam       | ?    |
| 3                   | 12/1731 | Jakin      | ?             | 420  |
| 4                   | 9/1734  | Appa       | Surinam       | 556  |
| Graaff van Laarwijk | 4/1700  | Ouidah     | Cartagena     | 488  |
| Groot Bentveld      | 6/1728  | ?          | Curaçao       | 767  |
| Guntersteyn         | 4/1714  | Ouidah     | Curaçao       | 541  |
| 2                   | 7/1715  | Angola     | ?             | ?    |
| 3                   | 7/1718  | Aja        | Surinam       | 500  |
| 4                   | 8/1720  | Ouidah     | ?             | 596  |
| 5                   | 4/1722  | ?          | ?             | ?    |
| Helena              | 1/1728  | Elmina     | Surinam       | 250  |
| 2                   | 11/1730 | Elmina     | ?             | 323  |
| 3                   | 6/1735  | Elmina     | Surinam       | 200  |
| Hollandia*          | -/1784  | Angola     | ?             | ?    |
| Homert              | 6/1711  | Ouidah     | Curaçao       | 577  |
| Jager*              | 1/1701  | ?          | Curaçao       | 124  |
| Jonge Daniel        | 8/1731  | Elmina     | Essequibo     | 374  |
| 2                   | 2/1734  | Elmina     | Surinam       | 461  |
| 3                   | 10/1735 | Elmina     | Surinam       | 469  |
| Justitia            | 6/1708  | Ouidah     | Surinam       | 673  |
| Koning van Portugal | 7/1707  | Ouidah     | Curaçao       | 536  |
| Koningin Hester     | 4/1714  | Ouidah     | Curaçao       | 617½ |
| Kroonvogel          | 5/1700  | Ouidah     | Cartagena     | 500+ |
| Leusden*            | 6/1720  | Angola     | ?             | ?    |
| 2                   | 5/1722  | Elmina     | St. Eustatius | 562  |
| 3                   | 3/1724  | Ouid./Elm. | ?             | 605  |
| 4                   | 11/1725 | Elmina     | St. Eustatius | 747  |
| 5                   | 8/1727  | Elmina     | Surinam       | 748  |
| 6                   | 8/1729  | Jakin      | Surinam       | 645  |
| 7                   | 3/1731  | Jakin      | Surinam       | 527  |



| I                  | II        | III            | IV            | V   |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|-----|
| Leusden*           |           |                |               |     |
| 8                  | 3/1733    | Appa           | Surinam       | 713 |
| 9                  | 8/1735    | Appa           | Surinam       | 687 |
| Moscow             | 9/1706    | Ouidah         | Curacao       | 571 |
| 2                  | 1708-10   | Aja            | Curacao       | 572 |
| Nieuwen Hooven     | 1/1724    | Windward Coast | ?             | ?   |
| Nieuwe Post        | 1/1718    | ?              | ?             | ?   |
| Petronella Alida   | 5/1723    | ?              | ?             | ?   |
| Phenix             | 4/1725    | Angola         | ?             | ?   |
| 2                  | 10/1728   | Elmina         | ?             | 778 |
| Philippus Johannes | 2/1707    | Ouidah         | Surinam       | 510 |
| Piershil           | 3/1728    | Jakin          | ?             | ?   |
| Pijnenburgh        | 1699-1701 | ?              | ?             | ?   |
| 2                  | 10/1705   | Elmina         | Essequibo     | 348 |
| Quinira            | 3/1706    | Accra          | Curacao       | 547 |
| 2                  | 2/1709    | Ouidah         | Curacao       | 530 |
| Rachel*            | 6/1701    | Ouidah         | Curacao       | ?   |
| 2                  | 10/1704   | ?              | ?             | ?   |
| Rusthof            | 11/1733   | Jakin          | Surinam       | 716 |
| St. Andries        | 4/1716    | Ouidah         | Surinam       | 563 |
| 2                  | 1717-19   | ?              | Surinam       | 477 |
| St. Laurens*       | 4/1734    | Elmina         | Surinam       | 162 |
| St. Jago           | 7/1708    | Ouidah         | Curacao       | 200 |
| St. Marcus         | 11/1713   | Ouidah         | Curacao       | 585 |
| Sem Galey          | 11/1721   | Elmina         | Berbice       | ?   |
| 2                  | -/1723    | ?              | ?             | ?   |
| 3                  | 5/1727    | Jakin          | ?             | ?   |
| Sonnestejn         | 11/1713   | ?              | ?             | ?   |
| 2                  | 9/1725    | Ouidah         | St. Eustatius | 587 |
| 3                  | 3/1726    | ?              | St. Eustatius | 627 |

| I                  | II      | III       | IV      | V   |
|--------------------|---------|-----------|---------|-----|
| Stad en Lande      | -/1721  | Elmina    | ?       | ?   |
| 2                  | 5/1727  | ?         | ?       | 751 |
| 3                  | 5/1729  | Jakin     | ?       | 782 |
| 4                  | 3/1732  | Appa      | ?       | ?   |
| 5                  | 11/1734 | Elm./Appa | Surinam | 760 |
| Steenhuysen*       | 9/1726  | Elmina    | Surinam | ?   |
| 2                  | 2/1729  | Jakin     | Surinam | 645 |
| 3                  | 9/1731  | Jakin     | ?       | 560 |
| 4                  | 1/1735  | Elmina    | Surinam | ?   |
| Teyger             | -/1703  | Angola    | ?       | ?   |
| 2                  | 8/1705  | Ouidah    | Surinam | 452 |
| Vriendschap        | 2/1704  | Ouidah    | Curaçao | 393 |
| Vrouwe Maria       | 4/1734  | Elmina    | Berbice | 166 |
| Vrijheid*          | 6/1732  | Elmina    | Surinam | 647 |
| 2                  | 5/1734  | Appa      | Surinam | 635 |
| Vrijheid (2)       | 12/1721 | Elmina    | Berbice | 433 |
| Waertwijk          | 3/1731  | Elmina    | Surinam | 431 |
| 2                  | 9/1732  | Elmina    | Surinam | 493 |
| Wapen van Holland* | 11/1700 | ?         | Curaçao | ?   |
| 2                  | 1702-04 | ?         | Surinam | 439 |
| Wakende Kraan      | 9/1706  | Elmina    | Curaçao | 190 |
| Winthond*          | 4/1701  | Ouidah    | ?       | ?   |
| Zon (or Son)       | 3/1701  | Ouidah    | ?       | ?   |
| 2                  | 8/1703  | Ouidah    | Surinam | 513 |
| 3                  | 9/1707  | Ouidah    | Curaçao | 559 |



## APPENDIX A-3

## WIC SLAVING SHIPS AFTER 1735

| I                 | II      | III    | IV      | V   |
|-------------------|---------|--------|---------|-----|
| Beschutter*       | 12/1738 | Elmina | Surinam | 809 |
| Catharina Galey   | 12/1743 | Elmina | Curaçao | 556 |
| 2                 | 3/1748  | Elmina | Curaçao | 460 |
| Duynvliet*        | 6/1737  | Elmina | Berbice | 362 |
| 2                 | 11/1742 | ?      | Curaçao | ?   |
| Goude Put*        | 8/1736  | ?      | ?       | 629 |
| Graaff van Buuren | 3/1751  | Elmina | Curaçao | 356 |
| Leusden*          | 11/1737 | Elmina | Surinam | 716 |
| Maria Galey       | 6/1748  | Elmina | Curaçao | 317 |
| Oudekerk          | 7/1749  | Elmina | Curaçao | 401 |
| St. Laurens*      | 2/1736  | Elmina | Surinam | 171 |
| Steenhuysen*      | 12/1736 | Elmina | Surinam | 800 |
| Vrijheid*         | 6/1736  | Elmina | Surinam | 670 |



## APPENDIX A-4

## FREE TRADERS EMPLOYED BY THE WIC PRIOR TO 1730

| <u>Ship</u>   | <u>Home Base</u> | <u>Year</u> |
|---------------|------------------|-------------|
| Braambosch    | Zeeland          | 1723/4      |
| Brandenburg   | Zeeland          | 1726/7      |
| Eenhoorn      | Zeeland          | 1722        |
| Jonge Mathijs | Zeeland          | 1723        |
| Jonge Mathijs | Zeeland          | 1725/6      |
| Josua Galey   | Amsterdam        | 1725        |
| Oosterbeek    | Zeeland          | 1726/7      |
| Steenhuysen   | Rotterdam        | 1725/6      |
| Westermeer    | Zeeland          | 1724        |
| Winthond      | Zeeland          | 1724        |

## APPENDIX B

## RECORDED FREE TRADE SLAVING VOYAGES

This appendix lists selected data of 532 free trade slaving voyages. All of the ships sailed during the 1730-95 period, except the Standvastigheid which went during the first decade of the nineteenth century. As was calculated in Chapter VI, this list represents approximately 60 to 70 percent of all Dutch free trade slaving voyages. Most of the information has been derived from WIC accounts of fee payments for slave trade permits. In addition, the M.C.C. papers and accounts of the Maatschappij van Assurantie of Rotterdam contributed substantially.

## KEY TO APPENDIX B

- Columns: I - Names of ships, and the number of voyages of each vessel in excess of the first.
- II - Size or tonnage (last) of ships.
- III - Number of slaves per cargo.
- IV - Slaving companies, or region of origin of the slaving vessels. (See list below)
- V - Month and year of departure from Holland.
- VI - Month and year of return to Holland.
- VII - Number of months on which overdue fines had to be paid.



Symbols: ? - Placed where information was lacking, except in columns III and VII where only occasionally data was supplied.

\* - Refers to voyages included in Unger's study.

\*\* - Included in either Hudig's book or the Hudig papers.

#### SOURCES FOR APPENDIX B

WIC, Vols. 176, 1249, and 1265 (Lists of "lastgelden."); GAR, Archief der Maatschappij van Assurantie, Vols. 215-228; MCC, Folder 119; HAR, Vol. 41-42; Unger II, pp. 109-113; Hudig, p. 14.

#### LIST OF FREE TRADE COMPANIES

While the term "company" is used here, several of these slaving voyages seem to have been financed by either individuals or families. As becomes evident in the list below, various joint voyages were undertaken. The vast majority of these slaving families or companies were located in Zeeland. In some cases the company was not designated in the sources, but if the home port was known it has been indicated with symbols. Sources employed for this list are: WIC, Vol. 1249, and GAR, Maatschappij van Assurantie, Vols. 215-228.

|          |                      |      |                       |
|----------|----------------------|------|-----------------------|
| M.C.C.   | - Middelburgse       | V.C. | - Van Citters         |
|          | Commercie Compagnie  | Mt.  | - Martveldt           |
| J.G.     | - Jacob Guepin       | I.R. | - Isaac Rochusen      |
| J.S.     | - Jannis Swart       | A.K. | - Abraham Kroef       |
| H. & M.  | - Wed. Hamilton &    | M.V. | - Michael Vleeshouwer |
|          | Meyners              | J.C. | - Jacob Clijver       |
| F. & Co. | - Furing & Co.       | R.C. | - Rosevelt Cateau     |
| R.S.     | - J. C. Rademacher & | I.P. | - Isaak Parker        |
|          | Aarn Steenhart       | B.C. | - B. Cateau           |
| A.S.     | - Aarn Steenhart     | S.D. | - Splinter van Doorn  |
| A.D.     | - Anthony van Doorn  | J.T. | - Jan Tobiasse        |
| J.D.     | - John Dunlop        | A.A. | - A. Almelo           |
| C.R.     | - Casperus Ribaut    | C.C. | - Christiaan Cruy     |
| C. & R.  | - Cateau & Rietveld  | C.B. | - Christiaan Brand    |
| A.L.     | - Abraham Louysen    | D.R. | - D. Rietveld         |
|          | (or Souysen)         | A.C. | - Albert Claudore     |
| B.W.     | - Bastiaan Wiggers   |      |                       |
| F.C.     | - Francois Cateau    |      |                       |
| M.P.     | - Matthys Pruyt      |      |                       |

A - Amsterdam  
R - Rotterdam  
Z - Zeeland



## APPENDIX B

## RECORDED FREE TRADE SLAVING VOYAGES

| I                       | II      | III | IV      | V       | VI      | VII  |
|-------------------------|---------|-----|---------|---------|---------|------|
| Abraham                 | ?       |     | ?       | ?       | 5/1769  | (13) |
| Achttienhoven           | 60      |     | J.G.    | 12/1730 | 9/1732  |      |
| 2                       |         |     |         | 1/1733  | 5/1736  |      |
| 3                       |         |     |         | 4/1737  | 10/1738 |      |
| 4                       |         |     |         | 4/1739  | 8/1740  |      |
| 5                       |         |     |         | 11/1740 | 5/1742  |      |
| 6                       |         |     |         | 9/1742  | 11/1743 |      |
| 7                       |         |     |         | 10/1744 | 11/1745 |      |
| Agttienhoven            | 69 3/4  |     | ?       | ?       | 9/1750  |      |
| 2                       |         |     |         | ?       | 4/1752  | (2)  |
| 3                       |         |     |         | 7/1752  | 6/1754  | (5)  |
| 4                       |         |     |         | 8/1754  | 3/1756  | (1)  |
| 5                       |         |     |         | 5/1756  | 9/1757  |      |
| Active op<br>Fleishing  | 17 1/2  |     | J.S.    | 10/1791 | ?       |      |
| Adriana &<br>Petronella | 60 3/8  |     |         | 6/1758  | 12/1759 |      |
| 2                       |         |     |         | 5/1760  | 2/1762  |      |
| Africa                  | 52 1/4  |     | H. & M. | 3/1753  | 7/1755  | (10) |
| 2                       |         |     |         | 11/1755 | 6/1757  | (3)  |
| 3                       |         |     |         | 9/1757  | 5/1759  |      |
| 4                       |         |     |         | 5/1759  | 9/1760  |      |
| 5                       |         |     |         | ?       | 9/1762  | (4)  |
| Africaan                | 100 1/2 |     | J.S.    | 1787/88 | ?       |      |
| 2                       |         |     |         | 9/1789  | ?       |      |
| 3                       |         |     |         | 8/1791  | ?       |      |
| Africain                | ?       |     |         | 9/1766  | ?       |      |
| Africaanse Galey        | 65      |     | M.C.C.  | 9/1735  | 1/1737  |      |
| 2                       |         |     |         | 4/1737  | 7/1738  |      |
| 3                       |         |     |         | 11/1738 | 5/1740  |      |
| 4                       |         | 271 |         | 10/1740 | 1/1742* |      |
| 5                       |         | 330 |         | 5/1742  | 8/1743* |      |
| 6                       |         |     |         | 10/1743 | 11/1744 |      |
| 7                       |         |     |         | 9/1745  | ?       |      |
| 8                       |         |     |         | 8/1748  | ?       |      |

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

2. The second step is to gather relevant information and resources. This may involve researching the problem, consulting with experts, or collecting data.

3. The third step is to develop a plan or strategy to address the problem. This involves breaking down the problem into smaller, manageable parts.

4. The fourth step is to implement the plan and execute the strategy. This involves putting the plan into action and monitoring progress.

5. The fifth step is to evaluate the results and make adjustments as needed. This involves comparing the actual results with the expected outcomes and identifying areas for improvement.

6. The sixth step is to communicate the findings and conclusions. This involves sharing the results with the relevant stakeholders and providing a clear summary of the findings.

7. The seventh step is to document the process and results. This involves creating a record of the work done and the outcomes achieved.

8. The eighth step is to reflect on the experience and learn from it. This involves thinking about what worked well, what didn't, and how the process can be improved for future projects.

| I                  | II      | III | IV      | V       | VI      | VII |
|--------------------|---------|-----|---------|---------|---------|-----|
| Algemeene Welvaart | ?       |     | F.& Co. | 6/1787  | ?       |     |
| Amazantha          | 54 3/8  |     | R.S.    | 1/1731  | 10/1732 |     |
| 2                  |         |     | A.S.    | 11/1734 | ?       |     |
| 3                  |         |     |         | 2/1735  | 6/1736  |     |
| 4                  |         |     |         | 4/1738  | 3/1740  |     |
| Amazone            | ?       |     | ?       | 5/1768  | ?       |     |
| America            | 70 4/5  |     | ?       | 12/1762 | ?       |     |
| Andries            | 70 1/2  |     | A.D.    | 4/1731  | 3/1733  |     |
| Anna Catharina     | ?       |     | J.D.    | 4/1752  | ?       |     |
| Anthony Ewout      | 54 5/8  |     | Z       | 10/1761 | 2/1763  |     |
| Aurora             | 97 1/5  | 318 | M.C.C.  | 10/1771 | 4/1773  |     |
| 2                  |         | 319 |         | 12/1773 | 9/1775  |     |
| 3                  |         | 260 |         | 4/1776  | 6/1777  |     |
| 4                  |         | 326 |         | 1/1779  | 5/1780  |     |
| Aurora             | 74 3/5  |     | C.& R.  | 11/1787 | ?       |     |
| L'Avonture         | 119 1/2 |     | ?       | 10/1771 | ?       |     |
| Avontuur Galey     | ?       |     | A.L.    | 10/1741 | 4/1743  |     |
| 2                  |         |     |         | 8/1743  | 10/1744 |     |
| Barkenburg         | ?       |     | ?       | 9/1743  | ?       |     |
| Belisarius         | 72 1/10 |     | ?       | 11/1770 | ?       |     |
| Berbice Verlangen  | ?       |     | A       | 10/1789 | ?       |     |
| Beyerland          | 48 3/4  |     | A.D.    | 5/1731  | 6/1733  |     |
| 2                  |         |     | B.W.    | 10/1734 | 4/1735  |     |
| 3                  |         |     | J.G.    | 10/1737 | 4/1739  |     |
| 4                  |         |     | J.G.    | 7/1739  | 7/1740  |     |
| 5                  |         |     | ?       | 1/1741  | 12/1742 |     |
| Brandenburg        | 127 3/5 | 223 | M.C.C.  | 6/1791  | 9/1793* |     |
| Burggraaf          | 49 1/2  |     | R.S.    | 12/1730 | 2/1733  |     |
| 2                  |         |     | R.S.    | 5/1733  | 11/1735 |     |
| 3                  |         |     | A.S.    | 10/1735 | 3/1737  |     |
| Cornelia           |         |     | ?       | 1/1745  | 3/1746  |     |
| Cristoffelina      |         |     |         |         |         |     |
| Carolina           | 98 9/10 |     | Z       | 12/1762 | ?       |     |





| I   | II                 | III        | IV   | V   | VI  | VII        |
|---|--------------------|------------|--|---|---|------------|
| Carolina<br>medioburgensis<br>2<br>3              | 98 9/10            |            | Z  | ?<br>11/1769<br>10/1771   | 8/1769<br>5/1771<br>?   |            |
| Catharina<br>Hendrina                             | 118                |            | C. & R.  | 1774  | ? **  |            |
| Christoffel<br>2<br>3                             | 60 3/16<br>80 1/5  |            | Z  | 6/1759<br>?<br>9/1762   | 9/1760<br>6/1762<br>?   |            |
| Concordia<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5<br>6<br>7           | 68 9/16            |            | J.G.<br>?<br>F.C.<br>M.P.<br>F.C.<br>J.G.<br>? | 6/1732<br>11/1734<br>1/1737<br>8/1738<br>6/1740<br>3/1742<br>4/1744 | 6/1734<br>4/1736<br>6/1738<br>3/1740<br>10/1741<br>7/1743<br>6/1745 |            |
| Concordia<br>2<br>3                               | 68 9/16            |            | ?  | ?<br>7/1752<br>4/1755   | 3/1752<br>6/1754<br>9/1756  | (3)<br>(5) |
| Cornelia  | 60 9/10            |            | V.C.   | 12/1738   | ?   |            |
| Cornelia<br>Cristofelina<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5<br>6 | ?                  |            | F.C.   | 1/1735<br>10/1736<br>7/1738<br>4/1740<br>12/1741<br>6/1743          | 4/1736<br>1/1738<br>9/1739<br>7/1741<br>3/1743<br>8/1744            |            |
| Dirk & Apolonia<br>2<br>3<br>4                    | 70 7/16<br>93 9/10 |            | Z  | 6/1757<br>9/1759<br>?<br>?  | 7/1658<br>10/1760<br>6/1762<br>5/1769                               |            |
| Dolfijn<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5                       | 60 3/8             |            | Z  | ?<br>?<br>11/1753<br>1/1756<br>9/1757                               | 8/1750<br>6/1752<br>6/1755<br>6/1757<br>3/1759                      |            |
| Domburg   | ?                  |            | ?  | 11/1744   | 4/1746  |            |
| Drie Gezusters<br>2<br>3<br>4                     | 60 7/8             | 234<br>405 | M.C.C.   | 8/1755<br>6/1757<br>5/1760<br>12/1761                               | 10/1756*<br>11/1759*<br>10/1761<br>?                                |            |



| I                                   | II                    | III               | IV      | V   | VI   | VII        |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------|---|--|------------|
| Drie Gebroeders<br>2<br>3           | 94 1/8                | 350               | C. & R. | 12/1762<br>9/1764<br>9/1766                         | ?<br>?<br>-/1768**                                   |            |
| Eenhoorn<br>2<br>3                  | 54 5/8                |                   | ?       | ?<br>?<br>10/1752                                   | 1749-50<br>1/1751<br>12/1754                         | (2)<br>(8) |
| Eerste Edele<br>2<br>3<br>4         | 54 3/8                |                   | Z       | ?<br>8/1753<br>8/1755<br>9/1757                     | 12/1751<br>3/1755<br>5/1757<br>9/1759                |            |
| Elisabeth Sophia                    | 78 6/10               |                   | Z       | 7/1768  | 2/1771   |            |
| Eendragt                            | 80                    |                   | M.C.C.  | 12/1730   | 2/1733   |            |
| Eenigheid<br>2<br>3                 | 60 3/4                | 325<br>256<br>315 | M.C.C.  | 10/1761<br>8/1763<br>2/1766                         | 3/1763*<br>8/1765*<br>11/1767*                       |            |
| Epaminondas                         | ?                     | 200               |         | -/1785  | ?  |            |
| Essequiba<br>Vriendschap            | ?                     |                   | ?       | 12/1743   | 4/1745   |            |
| Europa<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5<br>6     | 52 3/4<br><br>70 3/10 |                   | Z       | 6/1754<br>6/1756<br>6/1758<br>5/1760<br>4/1762<br>? | 4/1756<br>2/1758<br>3/1760<br>2/1762<br>?<br>10/1768 | (3)<br>(2) |
| Francois Pieter<br>2                | 57 1/4                |                   | Z       | 4/1754<br>8/1756                                    | 4/1756<br>2/1758                                     |            |
| Frans Willem<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5    | 62                    | 275               | R       | 10/1756<br>12/1758<br>8/1760<br>1762<br>?           | 12/1758<br>8/1760<br>12/1761<br>1764**<br>1768**     |            |
| Geertruide &<br>Christina<br>2<br>3 | 106 1/2               |                   | ?       | ?<br>10/1769<br>7/1771                              | 6/1769<br>5/1771<br>?                                |            |



| I                          | II       | III | IV      | V       | VI       | VII |
|----------------------------|----------|-----|---------|---------|----------|-----|
| Geertruy &<br>Elisabeth    | 60 1/8   |     | Z       | 9/1753  | 1/1755   |     |
| 2                          |          |     |         | 6/1755  | 10/1756  |     |
| 3                          |          |     |         | 2/1757  | 6/1758   |     |
| 4                          |          |     |         | 9/1758  | 3/1760   |     |
| 5                          |          |     |         | 7/1760  | 12/1761  |     |
| Genoveva Maria             | 53 3/8   |     | ?       | 6/1731  | 6/1733   |     |
| 2                          |          |     | R.S.    | 9/1733  | 2/1735   |     |
| 3                          |          |     | A.S.    | 8/1735  | 8/1736   |     |
| 4                          |          |     | R.S.    | 8/1737  | 1/1739   |     |
| 5                          |          |     | A.S.    | 3/1740  | 4/1741   |     |
| 6                          |          |     | ?       | 10/1741 | 4/1743   |     |
| 7                          |          |     | ?       | 6/1743  | 6/1744   |     |
| 8                          |          |     | ?       | 1/1745  | 3/1746   |     |
| Gerardina<br>Petronella    | 67 11/16 |     | A.D.    | 2/1731  | 9/1732   |     |
| Goede Oogmerk              | ?        |     | Mt.     | 5/1792  | ?        |     |
| Grenadier                  | 61 9/10  | 236 | M.C.C.  | 6/1741  | 10/1742* |     |
| 2                          |          | 304 |         | 3/1743  | 5/1744*  |     |
| 3                          |          | 376 |         | 10/1745 | 4/1747*  |     |
| 4                          |          | 352 |         | 8/1748  | 6/1750*  |     |
| 5                          |          | 289 |         | 1/1751  | 5/1752*  |     |
| 6                          |          | ?   |         | 9/1752  | 7/1754   |     |
| Groot Prooyen              | 67 7/16  | 225 | M.C.C.  | 2/1742  | 6/1743*  |     |
| 2                          |          | 338 |         | 11/1743 | 6/1745*  |     |
| 3                          |          | ?   |         | 1/1746  | ?        |     |
| 4                          |          | 328 |         | 10/1747 | 2/1749*  |     |
| Guineese Galey             | 51 15/16 | 246 | M.C.C.  | 7/1740  | 1/1742*  |     |
| 2                          |          | ?   |         | 6/1742  | 10/1744  |     |
| 3                          |          |     |         | 11/1744 | 1/1746   |     |
| Guineesache<br>Vriendschap | ?        |     | C. & R. | 10/1767 | ?        |     |
| 2                          |          |     |         | -/1769  | ?        |     |
| 3                          |          |     |         | -/1770  | ?        |     |
| 4                          |          |     |         | -/1772  | ?        |     |
| 5                          |          |     |         | -/1773  | ?        |     |
| 6                          |          |     |         | -/1774  | -/1775   |     |
| Gulde Vrijheid             | 50       |     | I.R.    | 4/1750  | ?        |     |
| 2                          |          |     |         | -/1754  | 5/1756   |     |
| 3                          | 59 7/16  |     | ?       | 10/1761 | ?        |     |

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the topics that were discussed at the meeting. The topics are listed in alphabetical order.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the actions that were taken at the meeting. The actions are listed in alphabetical order.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the decisions that were made at the meeting. The decisions are listed in alphabetical order.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the recommendations that were made at the meeting. The recommendations are listed in alphabetical order.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of the conclusions that were reached at the meeting. The conclusions are listed in alphabetical order.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of the actions that are to be taken in the future. The actions are listed in alphabetical order.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the actions that were taken at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the actions that are to be taken in the future. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the decisions that were made at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

11. The eleventh part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the recommendations that were made at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

12. The twelfth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the conclusions that were reached at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

13. The thirteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the actions that are to be taken in the future. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

14. The fourteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the actions that were taken at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

15. The fifteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the decisions that were made at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

16. The sixteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the recommendations that were made at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

17. The seventeenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the conclusions that were reached at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

| I                 | II       | III | IV     | V       | VI      | VII |
|-------------------|----------|-----|--------|---------|---------|-----|
| Gulde Vrijheid(2) | 55 3/16  |     | ?      | 7/1731  | 2/1733  |     |
| 2                 |          |     | I.R.   | 10/1734 | 11/1735 |     |
| 3                 |          |     | A.K.   | 9/1737  | 9/1738  |     |
| 4                 |          |     | A.K.   | 11/1738 | 5/1740  |     |
| 5                 |          |     |        | 10/1740 | 1/1742  |     |
| 6                 |          |     |        | 8/1742  | 11/1743 |     |
| Gulde Vrijheid(3) | 79 1/4   |     | ?      | 7/1768  | 8/1769  |     |
| 2                 |          |     |        | 12/1769 | 11/1770 |     |
| 3                 |          |     |        | 7/1771  | ?       |     |
| Haast U Langzaam  | 99 3/10  | 297 | M.C.C. | 7/1764  | 3/1766* |     |
| 2                 |          | 302 |        | 11/1766 | 7/1768* |     |
| 3                 |          | 327 |        | 1/1769  | 6/1770* |     |
| 4                 |          | 400 |        | 11/1770 | 4/1772* |     |
| 5                 |          | 329 |        | 10/1772 | 4/1774* |     |
| 6                 |          | 262 |        | 4/1775  | 6/1776* |     |
| 7                 |          | 281 |        | 5/1777  | 9/1778* |     |
| 8                 |          | 373 |        | 8/1779  | 2/1781* |     |
| Helena            | ?        |     | Z      | 4/1776  | ?       |     |
| Hermina Elisabeth | ?        |     | I.R.   | 7/1773  | ?       |     |
| 2                 |          |     |        | 11/1775 | ?       |     |
| Herstelder        | 107 1/2  |     | ?      | 8/1768  | 8/1770  |     |
| 2                 |          |     |        | 6/1771  | ?       |     |
| Hof van Zeeland   | 77 3/16  | 318 | M.C.C. | 6/1732  | 5/1734  |     |
| Hoop              | 55 3/16  |     | M.V.   | 9/1731  | 6/1733  |     |
| 2                 |          |     |        | 8/1734  | 5/1735  |     |
| 3                 |          |     |        | 7/1736  | 8/1737  |     |
| 4                 |          |     | J.C.   | 9/1737  | 5/1739  |     |
| 5                 |          |     | ?      | 10/1739 | 10/1742 |     |
| Hougley Galey     | ?        |     | J.G.   | 10/1732 | 2/1735  |     |
| Huis ter Mee      | 84 3/10  |     | Z      | ?       | 2/1769  |     |
| 2                 |          |     |        | 6/1769  | 9/1770  |     |
| 3                 |          |     |        | 12/1770 | ?       |     |
| Indiaan           | 85 21/90 |     | R.C.   | -/1792  | ?       |     |
| Jacoba Maria      | 51 13/16 |     | Z      | 6/1761  | 2/1763  |     |
| Jan & Elisabeth   | 60 1/2   |     | Z      | 8/1752  | 1/1754  |     |
| 2                 |          |     |        | 3/1754  | 8/1755  |     |
| 3                 |          |     |        | 1/1756  | 6/1757  |     |
| 4                 |          |     |        | 9/1757  | 9/1759  |     |
| 5                 |          |     |        | 1/1760  | 7/1761  |     |
| 6                 |          |     |        | 10/1761 | 3/1763  |     |



| I                               | II       | III | IV     | V  | VI  | VII |
|---------------------------------|----------|-----|--------|--|---|-----|
| Joan & Cornelis<br>2            | ?        |     | H.& M. | 11/1765<br>11/1770                             | ?<br>?  |     |
| Johanna                         | ?        |     | R.     | 7/1785   | ?   |     |
| Jongen Adriaan<br>2             | 49 15/16 |     | I.P.   | 10/1731<br>12/1733                             | 8/1733<br>5/1735                                |     |
| Jonge Daniel<br>2               | ?        |     | B.C.   | 1/1731<br>1/1738                               | ?<br>?  |     |
| Jonge Dirk                      | ?        |     | A      | 8/1789   | ?   |     |
| Jonge Hendrik                   | 87 1/4   |     | Z      | 5/1754   | 11/1756   | (6) |
| Jonge Hermanus                  | 57 1/4   |     | ?      | 1/1752   | 10/1753   | (3) |
| Jonge Isaac<br>2                | 150      |     | C.& R. | 3/1754<br>5/1756                               | 11/1755**<br>?                                  |     |
| Jonge Jacob<br>2<br>3           | 73 9/10  |     | Z      | ?<br>10/1768<br>10/1770                        | 8/1768<br>7/1770<br>?                           |     |
| Jonge Lambert<br>2<br>3<br>4    | 89 1/4   |     | Z      | ?<br>10/1768<br>8/1770<br>10/1777              | 7/1768<br>5/1770<br>?<br>?                      |     |
| Jonge Pedro<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5 | ?        |     | I.P.   | 6/1733<br>6/1735<br>9/1736<br>4/1740<br>2/1742 | 12/1734<br>4/1736<br>9/1737<br>8/1741<br>6/1743 |     |
| Jonge Rombout<br>2<br>3         | ?        |     | S.D.   | 9/1738<br>10/1740<br>7/1742                    | ?<br>1/1742<br>10/1743                          |     |
| Jonge Ruiter<br>2<br>3<br>4     | 73 9/10  |     | Z      | ?<br>10/1768<br>2/1770<br>10/1771              | 8/1768<br>1/1770<br>7/1771<br>?                 |     |
| Jonge Samuel<br>2               | 67 1/4   |     | Z      | 4/1770<br>4/1777                               | 10/1771<br>?                                    |     |
| Jonge Stam<br>2                 | 87 3/16  |     | Z      | 5/1757<br>11/1758                              | 7/1758<br>3/1760                                |     |
| Jonge Willem (1)                | ?        |     | M.C.C. | 12/1737  | ?   |     |



| I                         | II     | III | IV     | V       | VI       | VII |
|---------------------------|--------|-----|--------|---------|----------|-----|
| Jonge Willem (2)          | 69 4/5 | 118 | M.C.C. | 10/1769 | 9/1770*  |     |
| 2                         |        | 189 |        | 1/1771  | 12/1771* |     |
| 3                         |        | 108 |        | 4/1772  | 7/1773*  |     |
| 4                         |        | 150 |        | 5/1774  | 8/1776*  |     |
| 5                         |        | 203 |        | 5/1778  | 11/1779* |     |
| Keerenburg                | ?      |     | C.& R. | 8/1770  | ?        |     |
| 2                         |        |     |        | 5/1772  | ?        |     |
| 3                         |        | 276 |        | 6/1775  | ?        |     |
| Kroonprins van<br>Pruisen | ?      |     | A      | 1/1784  | ?        |     |
| Lammerenburg              | ?      |     | ?      | 10/1739 | 10/1740  |     |
| 2                         |        |     |        | 3/1741  | 4/1742   |     |
| 3                         |        |     | A.K.   | 6/1742  | 8/1743   |     |
| Leliendaal                | ?      |     | M.C.C. | 10/1730 | 7/1732   |     |
| Magdalena Maria           | 52 1/2 |     | Z      | 9/1760  | 6/1762   |     |
| 2                         | 70     |     |        | 8/1762  | ?        |     |
| 3                         |        |     |        | ?       | 3/1769   |     |
| 4                         |        |     |        | 6/1769  | 7/1770   |     |
| 5                         |        |     |        | 10/1770 | 12/1771  |     |
| Maria (1)                 | ?      |     | J.T.   | 12/1737 | ?        |     |
| 2                         |        |     |        | 5/1739  | ?        |     |
| Maria (2)                 | 78 1/2 |     | Z      | 12/1769 | 5/1771   |     |
| 2                         |        |     |        | 7/1771  | ?        |     |
| Maria & Elisabeth         | ?      |     |        | 6/1743  | 11/1744  |     |
| Maria Geertruy<br>Galey   | 76 5/8 |     | C.& R. | ?       | 6/1755** |     |
| 2                         |        | 390 |        | 11/1755 | ?        |     |
| 3                         |        |     |        | 9/1757  | ?        |     |
| 4                         |        |     |        | 3/1760  | 12/1761  |     |
| 5                         |        |     |        | 12/1761 | ?        |     |
| 6                         |        |     |        | 12/1762 | ?        |     |
| Maria Isabella            | ?      |     | C.& R. | 8/1768  | ?        | **  |
| 2                         |        |     |        | 9/1769  | ?        |     |
| 3                         |        |     |        | 10/1770 | ?        |     |
| 4                         |        |     |        | 3/1773  | ?        |     |
| 5                         |        |     |        | 10/1774 | ?        |     |
| Maria Jacoba              | 70 1/4 |     | Z      | ?       | 8/1751   | (1) |
| 2                         |        |     |        | 1/1752  | ?        |     |
| 3                         |        |     |        | 8/1753  | 3/1755   |     |
| 4                         |        |     |        | 9/1755  | 12/1756  |     |

| I                        | II       | III | IV     | V       | VI       | VII |
|--------------------------|----------|-----|--------|---------|----------|-----|
| Meerenburg               | ?        |     | A      | 8/1788  | ?        |     |
| Meermin                  | 81 3/10  |     | Z      | 12/1762 | ?        |     |
| 2                        |          |     |        | ?       | 6/1769   |     |
| 3                        |          |     |        | 12/1769 | 8/1771   |     |
| Mercurius                | 48 3/8   |     | M.C.C. | ?       | 3/1752   |     |
| 2                        |          | 218 |        | 9/1753  | 1/1755*  |     |
| 3                        |          |     |        | 3/1755  | 11/1756  | (1) |
| 4                        |          |     |        | 6/1758  | 9/1759   |     |
| 5                        |          |     |        | 7/1760  | ?        |     |
| Meydrecht                | 71 7/16  |     | ?      | 12/1731 | 2/1734   |     |
| Middachten               | 67 15/16 |     | I.R.   | 1/1732  | 1/1734   |     |
| Middelburg's<br>Welvaren | 66 1/16  | 270 | M.C.C. | 8/1752  | 6/1754*  |     |
| 2                        |          | 331 |        | 12/1754 | 5/1756*  |     |
| 3                        |          | 300 |        | 10/1756 | 3/1758*  |     |
| 4                        |          | 428 |        | 10/1758 | 3/1760*  |     |
| 5                        |          | 455 |        | 1/1761  | 4/1762*  |     |
| 6                        |          | 410 |        | 8/1762  | 11/1763* |     |
| Muscovische Galeij       | ?        |     | ?      | 8/1743  | 12/1744  |     |
| Nehalennia               | 58 7/8   |     | Z      | 3/1753  | 7/1755   | (8) |
| Neptunis (1)             | ?        |     | Z      | 5/1778  | ?        |     |
| 2                        |          |     |        | -/1785  | ?        |     |
| Neptunis (2)             | ?        |     | J.S.   | 7/1739  | 10/1740  |     |
| 2                        |          |     |        | 1/1741  | 9/1743   |     |
| 3                        |          |     |        | 1/1744  | 3/1745   |     |
| 4                        |          |     |        | ?       | 8/1750   | (3) |
| Nicolaas Theodorus       | ?        |     | C.& R. | 11/1768 | ?        |     |
| 2                        |          | 300 |        | 10/1770 | ?        | **  |
| Nieuwe Hoop              | 81 3/5   | 305 | M.C.C. | 8/1762  | 1/1764*  |     |
| 2                        |          | 351 |        | 5/1764  | 2/1766*  |     |
| 3                        |          | 325 |        | 12/1766 | 5/1768*  |     |
| 4                        |          | 263 |        | 8/1768  | 12/1769* |     |
| 5                        |          | 260 |        | 4/1770  | 9/1771*  |     |
| 6                        |          | 214 |        | 7/1772  | 6/1774*  |     |
| 7                        |          | 258 |        | 7/1775  | 6/1777*  |     |
| 8                        |          | 298 |        | 2/1779  | 5/1780*  |     |
| 9                        |          | 215 |        | 10/1783 | 7/1785*  |     |
| Oud Domburg              | 87 3/8   |     | Z      | 7/1760  | 2/1762   |     |
| 2                        | 116 1/5  |     |        | 8/1762  | ?        |     |



| I                | II       | III | IV      | V       | VI       | VII |
|------------------|----------|-----|---------|---------|----------|-----|
| Outhuysen        | ?        |     | ?       | 11/1744 | 5/1746   |     |
| Pelicaan         | ?        |     | ?       | -/1791  | ?        |     |
| Petronella       |          |     |         |         |          |     |
| Cecillia         | 48 13/16 |     | Z       | 9/1752  | 5/1754   | (2) |
| 2                |          |     |         | 7/1754  | 3/1756   | (1) |
| 3                |          |     |         | 5/1756  | 9/1757   |     |
| 4                |          |     |         | 2/1758  | 6/1759   |     |
| 5                |          |     |         | 9/1759  | 6/1761   |     |
| 6                |          |     |         | 6/1761  | ?        |     |
| Philadelphia     | 60 1/16  |     | M.C.C.  | ?       | 7/1752   | (8) |
| 2                |          | 224 |         | 11/1752 | 6/1754*  |     |
| 3                |          | 261 |         | 9/1754  | 12/1755* |     |
| 4                |          | 308 |         | 9/1756  | 11/1757* |     |
| 5                |          | 337 |         | 6/1758  | 9/1759*  |     |
| 6                |          | 312 |         | 2/1760  | 7/1761*  |     |
| 7                |          | 324 |         | 10/1763 | 7/1765*  |     |
| Princes Royaal   | 98 2/4   |     | ?       | 11/1770 | ?        |     |
| Princesse F.S.   |          |     |         |         |          |     |
| Wilhelmina       | ?        |     | H. & M. | 7/1769  | ?        |     |
| 2                |          |     |         | 11/1770 | ?        |     |
| Prins van Orange | ?        |     | A.K.    | 10/1734 | 1/1736   |     |
| Prins Willem     | 59 1/8   |     | Z       | 7/1753  | 6/1755   |     |
| 2                |          |     |         | 9/1755  | 1/1757   |     |
| 3                |          |     |         | 5/1757  | 7/1758   |     |
| 4                |          |     |         | 5/1759  | 9/1760   |     |
| 5                | 78 4/5   |     |         | 6/1762  | ?        |     |
| Prins Willem V   | 71 11/16 | ?   | M.C.C.  | ?       | 11/1751  |     |
| 2                |          | 261 |         | 12/1751 | 4/1753   |     |
| 3                |          | 233 |         | 8/1753  | 10/1754  |     |
| 4                |          | 348 |         | 5/1755  | 6/1756   |     |
| 5                |          | 465 |         | 4/1757  | 6/1758   |     |
| 6                | 94 4/5   | 479 |         | 6/1759  | 6/1760   |     |
| 7                |          | 302 |         | 3/1761  | 5/1762   |     |
| 8                |          | 312 |         | 11/1762 | 4/1764   |     |
| 9                |          | 238 |         | 11/1764 | 6/1766   |     |
| 10               |          | 340 |         | 6/1767  | 10/1768  |     |
| 11               |          | 377 |         | 3/1769  | 9/1770   |     |
| 12               |          | 313 |         | 6/1771  | 5/1773   |     |
| Publicola        | 102 9/16 |     | C. & R. | 12/1761 | ?        | **  |
| 2                |          |     |         | 9/1765  | ?        |     |

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| I                          | II      | III | IV     | V       | VI       | VII |
|----------------------------|---------|-----|--------|---------|----------|-----|
| Raadhuys van<br>Middelburg | 53 3/8  |     | M.C.C. | 11/1731 | 11/1733  |     |
| 2                          |         |     |        | 5/1734  | 6/1735   |     |
| 3                          |         |     |        | 7/1736  | 8/1737   |     |
| 4                          |         |     |        | 2/1738  | 5/1739   |     |
| 5                          |         |     |        | 8/1739  | 10/1740  |     |
| 6                          |         | 272 |        | 1/1741  | 4/1742*  |     |
| 7                          |         | 252 |        | 8/1742  | 9/1743*  |     |
| 8                          |         |     |        | 6/1745  | 6/1746   |     |
| Raaff                      | ?       |     | A      | 9/1791  | ?        |     |
| Ramsburg                   | 58 9/16 |     | Z      | ?       | 1/1751   |     |
| 2                          |         |     |        | 10/1752 | 8/1754   |     |
| 3                          |         |     |        | 10/1754 | 5/1756   |     |
| Rotterdam                  | 59      |     | R      | ?       | 5/1756   |     |
| 2                          |         |     |        | 12/1758 | 12/1761  |     |
| Rusthof                    | ?       |     | A.D.   | 1/1730  | ?        |     |
| 2                          |         |     |        | 4/1733  | 9/1734   |     |
| Sara Henrietta             | ?       |     | C.C.   | 2/1776  | ?        |     |
| Sara Maria                 | ?       |     | A.A.   | 9/1779  | ?        |     |
| Snoek                      | ?       |     | ?      | 5/1744  | 3/1746   |     |
| Spreeuwenburg              | 60 7/16 |     | Z      | ?       | 9/1755   |     |
| 2                          |         |     |        | 3/1756  | 6/1757   |     |
| 3                          |         |     |        | 10/1757 | 9/1759   |     |
| 4                          |         |     |        | 1/1760  | 7/1761   |     |
| 5                          |         |     |        | 10/1761 | ?        |     |
| 6                          |         |     |        | ?       | 5/1769   |     |
| Standvastigheid            | 103 7/8 | 231 | M.C.C. | 11/1790 | 11/1792* |     |
| 2                          |         | 281 |        | 8/1802  | 8/1803*  |     |
| Surinaamse<br>Vriendschap  | 60 7/16 |     | ?      | ?       | 8/1751   |     |
| 2                          |         |     |        | 1/1752  | ?        |     |
| Suriname                   |         |     | ?      | -/1748  | ?        |     |
| Susanna Helena             | 100 1/4 |     | ?      | 1/1770  | 7/1771   |     |
| Susanna Jacoba             | ?       |     | ?      | 3/1743  | 8/1744   |     |
| 2                          |         |     |        | 12/1744 | 5/1746   |     |
| Taamen                     | ?       |     | S.D.   | 10/1739 | 5/1741   |     |
| 2                          |         |     |        | 12/1741 | 6/1743   |     |
| 3                          |         |     |        | 9/1743  | 4/1745   |     |



| I   | II        | III                               | IV      | V   | VI  | VII |
|---|-----------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|---|-----|
| Twee Jonge<br>Joachims<br>2<br>3                  | 107 6/15  |                                   | Z       | ?<br>7/1769<br>7/1771   | 5/1769<br>5/1771<br>?   |     |
| Valkenesse<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5<br>6               | ?         |                                   | F.C.    | 5/1735<br>8/1736<br>10/1738<br>6/1740<br>3/1742<br>11/1743                | 4/1736<br>1/1738<br>3/1740<br>10/1741<br>6/1743<br>2/1745                     |     |
| Vergenoegen<br>2<br>3                             | 104 11/16 | 386<br>266<br>393                 | M.C.C.  | 5/1786<br>5/1788<br>12/1793   | 11/1787*<br>7/1790*<br>3/1797*  |     |
| Verrekijker                                       | 59 7/10   |                                   | ?       | 3/1771  | ?   |     |
| Vertrouwen  | 102 1/8   |                                   | C. & R. | 8/1789  | lost  |     |
| Verwachting<br>2<br>3                             | 95 1/5    |                                   | J.S.    | 11/1780<br>12/1787<br>2/1790  | ?<br>9/1789<br>3/1791   |     |
| Vigilantie (1)<br>2<br>3                          | 105 1/9   |                                   | J.S.    | -/1787<br>4/1789<br>12/1791   | ?<br>?<br>?   |     |
| Vigilantie (2)<br>2                               | 97 1/5    | 246<br>267                        | M.C.C.  | 8/1778<br>3/1780  | 9/1779<br>3/1781  |     |
| Violivo   | 58 15/16  |                                   | ?       | 5/1757  | ?   |     |
| Vis   | 107       | 238                               | M.C.C.  | 10/1774   | 4/1776  |     |
| Vliegende Faam<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5<br>6<br>7<br>8 | 50 1/2    | 281<br><br><br><br><br>212<br>168 | M.C.C.  | 10/1753<br>3/1756<br>9/1759<br>12/1760<br>8/1762<br>?<br>8/1770<br>8/1772 | 10/1755<br>2/1758*<br>10/1760<br>6/1762<br>?<br>1/1769<br>12/1771*<br>6/1774* |     |
| Vliegende Tijd                                    | 60        |                                   | C.B.    | 12/1730   | 7/1732  |     |
| Vlissingen<br>2<br>3<br>4                         | 52        |                                   | Z       | 9/1755<br>5/1757<br>3/1759<br>9/1760                                      | 1/1757<br>11/1758<br>7/1760<br>6/1762   |     |



| I                           | II       | III | IV      | V       | VI       | VII  |
|-----------------------------|----------|-----|---------|---------|----------|------|
| Vlissingen                  | 69 3/10  |     | Z       | 8/1762  | ?        |      |
| 2                           |          |     |         | 8/1768  | 6/1770   |      |
| 3                           |          |     |         | 10/1770 | ?        |      |
| Vlissingse Hoof<br>Negotie  | 93 9/10  |     | Z       | 5/1770  | 10/1771  |      |
| Vrijburg                    | 72 11/16 |     | A.D.    | 11/1731 | 10/1733  |      |
| Vrindschap                  | 94 4/5   |     | Z       | 11/1771 | ?        |      |
| Vrouw Digna<br>Johanna      | 100 3/9  |     | Z       | 8/1768  | 5/1770   |      |
| Vrouw Elisabeth             | 106      |     | C.&R.   | -/1754  | ?        |      |
| 2                           |          |     |         | -/1766? | ?        |      |
| 3                           |          |     |         | -/1772  | ?        | **   |
| 4                           |          |     |         | 7/1776  | ?        |      |
| 5                           |          |     |         | 10/1789 | ?        |      |
| Vrouw Johanna<br>Cores      | 59 1/2   |     | M.C.C.  | 1/1751  | ?        |      |
| 2                           |          |     |         | 2/1753  | 6/1755   | (10) |
| 3                           |          | 282 |         | 2/1756  | 11/1757* |      |
| 4                           |          | 372 |         | 5/1758  | 9/1759*  |      |
| 5                           | 79 7/20  | 381 |         | 3/1760  | 9/1761*  |      |
| 6                           |          | 303 |         | 3/1762  | 8/1763*  |      |
| 7                           |          | 271 |         | 12/1763 | 7/1765*  |      |
| 8                           |          | 249 |         | 10/1766 | 6/1768*  |      |
| 9                           |          | 226 |         | 1/1769  | 6/1770*  |      |
| 10                          |          | 212 |         | 5/1771  | 9/1772*  |      |
| Vrouwen Anna &<br>Catharina | 70 4/5   |     | Z       | 6/1769  | 7/1770   |      |
| 2                           |          |     |         | 10/1770 | ?        |      |
| Vrouw Geertruyda            | 58 15/16 |     | Z       | ?       | 7/1758   |      |
| 2                           |          |     |         | 9/1758  | 12/1759  |      |
| 3                           |          |     |         | 3/1760  | 10/1761  |      |
| 4                           |          |     |         | 12/1761 | ?        |      |
| Vrouw Isabella<br>Maria     | ?        |     | C. & R. | -/1773  | ?        |      |
| Vrouw Lea                   | ?        |     | A       | 6/1787  | ?        |      |
| Vrouw Wilhelm.<br>Aletta    | ?        | 294 | C. & R. | -/1767  | ?        | **   |
|                             |          |     |         | -/1770  | ?        |      |
| Waakzaamheid                | 96 1/10  |     | Z       | ?       | 11/1770  | (5)  |
| 2                           |          |     |         | 1/1771  | ?        |      |

| I                    | II         | III | IV     | V       | VI      | VII |
|----------------------|------------|-----|--------|---------|---------|-----|
| Watergeus            | ?          | 375 | M.C.C. | 9/1773  | 6/1775  |     |
| 2                    |            | 325 |        | 3/1776  | 10/1777 |     |
| 3                    |            | 380 |        | 7/1778  | 10/1779 |     |
| 4                    |            | 437 |        | 6/3780  | ?       |     |
| Welmeenende          | 69 9/10    | 169 | M.C.C. | 6/1769  | 6/1770* |     |
| 2                    |            | 261 |        | 9/1770  | 3/1772* |     |
| 3                    |            | 203 |        | 7/1773  | 8/1774* |     |
| Wendelina            | 55 7/16    |     | C.& R. | 1/1731  | 7/1732  |     |
| Werkendam            | 50 7/8     |     | V.W.   | 5/1731  | 2/1733  |     |
| 2                    |            |     |        | 9/1733  | 9/1734  |     |
| 3                    |            |     |        | 10/1734 | 11/1735 |     |
| West Capelle         | 92 4/5     |     | Z      | 6/1770  | ?       |     |
| Westdorpe            | 87 7/10    |     | Z      | 6/1771  | ?       |     |
| West Indisch<br>Hoop | 108 39/100 |     | Z      | 7/1788  | ?       |     |
| Weyvliet             | 69 1/10    |     | Z      | ?       | 3/1769  |     |
| 2                    |            |     |        | 6/1769  | 11/1770 |     |
| Wilhelmina           | 54 15/16   |     | A.C.   | 12/1730 | 3/1733  |     |
| 2                    |            |     |        | 7/1734  | 11/1735 |     |
| Wilhelmina Aletta    | ?          |     | C.& R. | 8/1768  | ?       |     |
| 2                    |            |     |        | 3/1770  | ?       |     |
| 3                    |            |     |        | 9/1771  | ?       |     |
| Willem               | ?          |     | Z      | 10/1740 | ?       |     |
| Willem Alexander     | ?          |     | ?      | 9/1743  | 1/1745  |     |
| Willem & Carolina    | 78 1/2     |     | C.& R. | 8/1751  | ?       |     |
| 2                    |            | 328 |        | -/1754? | 6/1755  |     |
| 3                    |            | 329 |        | 10/1755 | ?       |     |
| 4                    |            | 451 |        | -/1758? | ?       |     |
| 5                    |            |     |        | ?       | 3/1760  |     |
| 6                    |            |     |        | 3/1760  | ?       |     |
| Willem & Suzanna     | 149        |     | C.& R. | -/1772  | ?       | **  |

| I                        | II       | III | IV     | V       | VI      | VII |
|--------------------------|----------|-----|--------|---------|---------|-----|
| Wulpenburg               | 73 3/8   |     | Z      | ?       | 8/1750  | (3) |
| 2                        |          |     |        | 6/1752  | ?       |     |
| 3                        |          |     |        | 7/1754  | 1/1756  |     |
| 4                        |          |     |        | 4/1756  | 9/1757  |     |
| 5                        |          |     |        | 2/1758  | 6/1759  |     |
| 6                        |          |     |        | 11/1759 | ?       |     |
| 7                        | 90 1/4   |     | Z      | ?       | 5/1769  |     |
| 8                        |          |     |        | 8/1769  | 11/1770 |     |
| 9                        |          |     |        | 3/1771  | ?       |     |
| Zang Godin               | 68 1/4   | 67  | M.C.C. | 9/1768  | 6/1779* |     |
| 2                        |          | 162 |        | 10/1770 | 4/1772* |     |
| 3                        |          | 127 |        | 4/1773  | 4/1775* |     |
| Zeebergh                 | 61 9/16  |     | Z      | 10/1761 | 4/1762  |     |
| 2                        | 86 2/5   |     | Z      | ?       | 1/1769  |     |
| 3                        |          |     |        | 4/1769  | 8/1770  |     |
| 4                        |          |     |        | 11/1770 | ?       |     |
| Zeelands Welvaren        | 60 3/8   |     | Z      | ?       | 4/1751  |     |
| 2                        |          |     |        | 12/1752 | 11/1754 | (1) |
| 3                        |          |     |        | 2/1755  | 10/1756 |     |
| 4                        |          |     |        | 12/1756 | 6/1758  |     |
| 5                        |          |     |        | 9/1758  | 5/1760  |     |
| 6                        |          |     |        | 7/1760  | 6/1762  |     |
| 7                        |          |     |        | 9/1762  | ?       |     |
| Zeelands Welvaren<br>(2) | ?        |     | Z      | ?       | 6/1768  |     |
| Zeelust                  | ?        |     | A      | 3/1788  | ?       |     |
| 2                        |          |     |        | 7/1791  | ?       |     |
| Zee Mercur               | 109 7/10 | 272 | M.C.C. | 12/1787 | 4/1790* |     |
| 2                        |          | 174 |        | 12/1791 | 1/1794* |     |
| Zeerust                  | 50 1/4   |     | A.D.   | 2/1731  | 12/1732 |     |
| Zemire                   | 56 1/2   |     | R.C.   | 8/1791  | ?       |     |
| Zee Nimph                | 199 2/5? |     | J.S.   | 8/1789  | ?       |     |
| 2                        |          |     | D.R.   | 9/1792  | ?       |     |
| Zeevrugt                 | ?        |     | A      | 10/1791 | ?       |     |
| Zorg                     | 106 4/5  | 246 | M.C.C. | 10/1777 | 7/1779* |     |
| -----                    | ?        | 387 | ?      | 3/1767  | ?       |     |

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1.  $\frac{1}{2}$       2.  $\frac{1}{3}$       3.  $\frac{1}{4}$       4.  $\frac{1}{5}$       5.  $\frac{1}{6}$       6.  $\frac{1}{7}$       7.  $\frac{1}{8}$       8.  $\frac{1}{9}$       9.  $\frac{1}{10}$       10.  $\frac{1}{11}$       11.  $\frac{1}{12}$       12.  $\frac{1}{13}$       13.  $\frac{1}{14}$       14.  $\frac{1}{15}$       15.  $\frac{1}{16}$       16.  $\frac{1}{17}$       17.  $\frac{1}{18}$       18.  $\frac{1}{19}$       19.  $\frac{1}{20}$       20.  $\frac{1}{21}$       21.  $\frac{1}{22}$       22.  $\frac{1}{23}$       23.  $\frac{1}{24}$       24.  $\frac{1}{25}$       25.  $\frac{1}{26}$       26.  $\frac{1}{27}$       27.  $\frac{1}{28}$       28.  $\frac{1}{29}$       29.  $\frac{1}{30}$       30.  $\frac{1}{31}$       31.  $\frac{1}{32}$       32.  $\frac{1}{33}$       33.  $\frac{1}{34}$       34.  $\frac{1}{35}$       35.  $\frac{1}{36}$       36.  $\frac{1}{37}$       37.  $\frac{1}{38}$       38.  $\frac{1}{39}$       39.  $\frac{1}{40}$       40. 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$\frac{1}{79}$       79.  $\frac{1}{80}$       80.  $\frac{1}{81}$       81.  $\frac{1}{82}$       82.  $\frac{1}{83}$       83.  $\frac{1}{84}$       84.  $\frac{1}{85}$       85.  $\frac{1}{86}$       86.  $\frac{1}{87}$       87.  $\frac{1}{88}$       88.  $\frac{1}{89}$       89.  $\frac{1}{90}$       90.  $\frac{1}{91}$       91.  $\frac{1}{92}$       92.  $\frac{1}{93}$       93.  $\frac{1}{94}$       94.  $\frac{1}{95}$       95.  $\frac{1}{96}$       96.  $\frac{1}{97}$       97.  $\frac{1}{98}$       98.  $\frac{1}{99}$       99.  $\frac{1}{100}$       100.  $\frac{1}{101}$       101.  $\frac{1}{102}$       102.  $\frac{1}{103}$       103.  $\frac{1}{104}$       104.  $\frac{1}{105}$       105.  $\frac{1}{106}$       106.  $\frac{1}{107}$       107.  $\frac{1}{108}$       108.  $\frac{1}{109}$       109.  $\frac{1}{110}$       110.  $\frac{1}{111}$       111.  $\frac{1}{112}$       112.  $\frac{1}{113}$       113.  $\frac{1}{114}$       114.  $\frac{1}{115}$       115.  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     151.  $\frac{1}{152}$       152.  $\frac{1}{153}$       153.  $\frac{1}{154}$       154.  $\frac{1}{155}$       155.  $\frac{1}{156}$       156.  $\frac{1}{157}$       157.  $\frac{1}{158}$       158.  $\frac{1}{159}$       159.  $\frac{1}{160}$       160.  $\frac{1}{161}$       161.  $\frac{1}{162}$       162.  $\frac{1}{163}$       163.  $\frac{1}{164}$       164.  $\frac{1}{165}$       165.  $\frac{1}{166}$       166.  $\frac{1}{167}$       167.  $\frac{1}{168}$       168.  $\frac{1}{169}$       169.  $\frac{1}{170}$       170.  $\frac{1}{171}$       171.  $\frac{1}{172}$       172.  $\frac{1}{173}$       173.  $\frac{1}{174}$       174.  $\frac{1}{175}$       175.  $\frac{1}{176}$       176.  $\frac{1}{177}$       177.  $\frac{1}{178}$       178.  $\frac{1}{179}$       179.  $\frac{1}{180}$       180.  $\frac{1}{181}$       181.  $\frac{1}{182}$       182.  $\frac{1}{183}$       183.  $\frac{1}{184}$       184.  $\frac{1}{185}$       185.  $\frac{1}{186}$       186.  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## APPENDIX C

## WIC SLAVING ASSIGNMENTS

This appendix contains an incomplete list of slaving assignments made by The Ten (directors of the WIC) to the various chambers of the company.<sup>1</sup> These assignments were generally made on an annual basis and were listed in the minutes of the conferences of the Ten, or in other WIC correspondence. As a rule, the listings included data regarding the time of departure of a slaving vessel, its destinations in Africa and America, and the size or value of the cargoes. The list does not include all slaving assignments, and it is not certain if all the assignments made were actually carried out. At least eight assignments were made for the year 1675, but since the source did not supply any details they have not been included here. After 1725 only the number of assignments to each chamber were listed, omitting the information relevant to the purposes of this appendix, and they are therefore not included. There is evidence of the following number of assignments after 1725: 1726 (9), 1730 (5), 1731 (5), 1737 (1), 1746 (2), and 1747 (2).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 34 for a list and an area description of the five WIC chambers.

<sup>2</sup>WIC, Vol. 56, pp. 213 and 226; Vol. 57, 8, 44, 66, and 70.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial data. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses, income, and any other financial activity. The document also mentions the need for regular audits to verify the accuracy of the records and to identify any discrepancies or errors.

The second part of the document focuses on the importance of transparency and accountability in financial reporting. It states that all financial statements should be prepared in a clear and concise manner, using standardized formats and terminology. This allows for easy comparison and analysis of the data. The document also highlights the need for transparency in the reporting process, ensuring that all relevant information is disclosed and that the reporting is done in a timely and accurate manner.

The third part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining proper documentation for all financial transactions. It states that all receipts, invoices, and other supporting documents should be kept in a secure and organized manner. This ensures that the data is readily available for review and analysis. The document also mentions the need for proper documentation of any changes or corrections to the financial records, ensuring that the data remains accurate and reliable.

The fourth part of the document focuses on the importance of maintaining proper communication and collaboration between all parties involved in the financial reporting process. It states that all relevant parties, including management, accounting, and external auditors, should be kept informed of the progress and results of the reporting process. This ensures that everyone is working towards the same goals and that any issues or concerns are addressed in a timely and effective manner.

The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining proper security and control over the financial data. It states that all financial records should be stored in a secure and protected environment, with access restricted to authorized personnel only. This ensures that the data is safe from theft, loss, or unauthorized access. The document also mentions the need for proper control over the reporting process, ensuring that all transactions are properly recorded and that the reporting is done in a timely and accurate manner.

The following table provides a summary of the key points discussed in the document:

| Key Point        | Description   |
|------------------|---|
| Accurate Records | Record all transactions, no matter how small, to ensure the integrity of the financial data.                            |
| Transparency     | Prepare financial statements in a clear and concise manner, using standardized formats and terminology.                 |
| Documentation    | Keep all receipts, invoices, and other supporting documents in a secure and organized manner.                           |
| Communication    | Keep all relevant parties informed of the progress and results of the reporting process.                                |
| Security         | Store all financial records in a secure and protected environment, with access restricted to authorized personnel only. |



## KEY TO APPENDIX C

Columns: I - the code number assigned to a particular slaving assignment.

II - the chamber of the WIC to which the assignment was made (St. & L. is Stad en Lande; N. Q. is Noorder Quartier; Maze is the Rotterdam region).

III - the destination in Africa where the slaves were to be obtained.

IV - the destination in the Western Hemisphere where the slaves were to be marketed.

V - the size of the intended slave cargo or the value of the European cargo.

Horizontal line:

This mark indicates an absence of information for an undetermined period of time. A question mark has been added where there was a likelihood of an absence of slaving assignments.

Dash: This indicates that data was lacking.

## SOURCES FOR APPENDIX C

WIC, Vol. 1, pp. 32, 40, and 84; Vol. 2, pp. 24-26; Vol. 40, p. 32; Vol. 56, pp. 24, 48, 62, 102, 109, 119, 133, 137, 145, 160, 168, 177, 187, 196, 201, 208, and 213; Vol. 831, p. 248; Vol. 832, pp. 82, 224, 420, 516, and 521; Vol. 833, pp. 377 and 392.

NBKG, Vol. 25, Correspondence 4/12/1696, 10/5/1697, 9/8/1698, 3/2/1700, 10/14/1700, 10/15/1700, and 11/22/1700.

[illegible]

## APPENDIX C

## WIC SLAVING ASSIGNMENTS

|       | I | II             | III      | IV | V        |
|-------|---|----------------|----------|----|----------|
| 1676  | - | St. & L.       | Elmina   | -  | 450      |
|       | - | Maze           | Elmina   | -  | 450      |
|       | - | A'dam          | Elmina   | -  | 450      |
| <hr/> |   |                |          |    |          |
| 1679  | - | A'dam          | Aja      | -  | -        |
|       | - | Zeeland        | Angola   | -  | -        |
|       | - | St. & L./A'dam | Aja      | -  | -        |
|       | - | N. Q.          | Angola   | -  | -        |
|       | - | St. & L./A'dam | Angola   | -  | -        |
| 1680  | - | N. Q.          | Aja      | -  | -        |
|       | - | A'dam          | Angola   | -  | -        |
|       | - | Zeeland        | Aja      | -  | f.32,000 |
|       | - | A'dam          | Aja      | -  | f.30,000 |
|       | - | A'dam          | Aja      | -  | f.30,000 |
|       | - | St. & L./A'dam | Angola   | -  | f.30,000 |
|       | - | Maze           | -        | -  | f.30,000 |
|       | - | St. & L./A'dam | Angola   | -  | f.30,000 |
| 1681  | - | Zeeland        | Angola   | -  | f.30,000 |
|       | - | Maze           | Aja      | -  | f.30,000 |
|       | - | N. Q.          | Aja      | -  | f.30,000 |
|       | - | A'dam          | Aja      | -  | f.30,000 |
| 1682  | - | Zeeland        | Angola   | -  | 500      |
|       | - | Maze           | Aja      | -  | 500      |
|       | - | A'dam          | Aja      | -  | 500      |
|       | - | N. Q.          | Calabary | -  | 25-300   |
|       | - | Zeeland        | Angola   | -  | 500      |
|       | - | -              | Aja      | -  | 500      |
|       | - | -              | Elmina   | -  | 500      |
|       | - | -              | Angola   | -  | 500      |
| 1683  | - | -              | Aja      | -  | 500      |
|       | - | -              | Angola   | -  | 500      |
| <hr/> |   |                |          |    |          |
|       | 4 | Maze           | Angola   | -  | 500      |
|       | 5 | A'dam          | Aja      | -  | 500      |



|      | I | II       | III      | IV          | V                |
|------|---|----------|----------|-------------|------------------|
| 1685 | - | Maze     | Elmina   | -           | 500              |
|      | - | A'dam    | Calabary | -           | 300-350          |
|      | - | N. Q.    | Angola   | -           | 500              |
|      | - | Zeeland  | Calabary | -           | 300-350          |
|      | 9 | A'dam    | Aja      | -           | 500              |
|      | 1 | A'dam    | Angola   | -           | 500              |
| 1686 | 2 | Zeeland  | Angola   | -           | 500              |
|      | 3 | A'dam    | Aja      | -           | 500              |
| 1698 | - | Zeeland  | Aja      | Cur.*       |                  |
|      | - | A'dam    | Aja      | Sur.*       |                  |
|      | - | St. & L. | Aja      | Cur.        |                  |
| 1699 | 5 | A'dam    | Aja      | Cur.        | 500<br>(f20,000) |
|      | 6 | N. Q.    | Aja      | Cur.        | 500<br>(f20,000) |
| 1700 | 1 | A'dam    | Aja      | Porto Bello |                  |
|      | 2 | Zeeland  | Aja      | Cartagena   |                  |
|      | 3 | A'dam    | Angola   | Porto Bello |                  |
|      | 4 | Maze     | Aja      | Cur.        |                  |
|      | 5 | A'dam    | Aja      | Cartagena   |                  |
|      | 6 | N. Q.    | Angola   | Cartagena   |                  |
|      | 7 | Zeeland  | Aja      | Sur.        |                  |
|      | 8 | St. & L. | Aja      | Cur.        |                  |
| 1701 | 9 | A'dam    | Aja      | Cur.        |                  |
|      | 1 | A'dam    | Aja      | Sur.        |                  |
|      | 2 | Zeeland  | Angola   | Cur.        |                  |
|      | 3 | A'dam    | Aja      | Cur.        |                  |
|      | 4 | Maze     | Aja      | Sur.        |                  |
|      | 5 | A'dam    | Angola   | Cur.        |                  |
| 1702 | 7 | Zeeland  | Aja      | Cur.        |                  |
|      | 8 | St. & L. | Angola   | Sur.        |                  |
|      | 9 | A'dam    | Aja      | Cur.        |                  |
|      | 1 | A'dam    | Angola   | Cur.        |                  |

\*The American destinations of Curaçao (Cur.) and Surinam (Sur.) appear most frequently and are therefore abbreviated.



|       | I  | II       | III           | IV           | V |
|-------|----|----------|---------------|--------------|---|
| 1706  | 6  | N. Q.    | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 7  | Zeeland  | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 8  | St. & L. | Angola        | Sur.         |   |
|       | 9  | A'dam    | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 1  | A'dam    | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 2  | Zeeland  | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 3  | A'dam    | Angola        | Cur.         |   |
|       | 4  | Maze     | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
| 1708  | 6  | N. Q.    | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 7  | Zeeland  | Angola        | Cur.         |   |
|       | 8  | St. & L. | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 9  | A'dam    | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 1  | A'dam    | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 2  | Zeeland  | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 3  | A'dam    | Angola        | Sur.         |   |
|       | 4  | Maze     | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
| 1709  | 5  | A'dam    | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 6  | N. Q.    | Angola        | Cur.         |   |
|       | 7  | Zeeland  | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 8  | St. & L. | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 9  | A'dam    | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
| <hr/> |    |          |               |              |   |
| 1712  | 1  | A'dam    | Angola        | Sur.         |   |
|       | 2  | Zeeland  | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 3  | A'dam    | Aja           | Cur. or Sur. |   |
|       | 4  | Maze     | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
| 1713  | -  | Zeeland  | -             | -            |   |
|       | -  | A'dam    | -             | -            |   |
| <hr/> |    |          |               |              | ? |
| 1714  | 5  | A'dam    | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 6  | N. Q.    | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 7* | Zeeland  | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
|       | 8* | St. & L. | Aja           | Cur.         |   |
| 1715  | 9  | A'dam    | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 1  | A'dam    | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
| 1716  | 2  | Zeeland  | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 3  | A'dam    | Aja           | Sur.         |   |
|       | 4  | Maze     | Aja or Angola | Sur.         |   |
| <hr/> |    |          |               |              | ? |

\*These two slaving missions were postponed until the following year, 1715. See WIC, Vol. 56, p. 137.





|       | I | II                   | III            | IV                       | V |
|-------|---|----------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|
| 1718  | 5 | A'dam                | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 6 | N. Q.                | Angola         | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 7 | Zeeland              | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 8 | St. & L.             | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 9 | A'dam                | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 1 | A'dam                | Aja or Angola  | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 2 | Zeeland              | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
| 1719  | 3 | A'dam                | Aja or Angola  | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 4 | Maze                 | Aja or Angola  | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 5 | A'dam                | Angola         | Sur.                     |   |
| 1720  | 6 | N. Q.                | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 7 | Zeeland              | Angola         | St. Eustatius<br>or Sur. |   |
|       | 8 | St. & L.             | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 9 | A'dam                | Aja            | Cur. or St. Eust.        |   |
| 1720  | - | A'dam                | Aja            | Berbice                  |   |
|       | - | Zeeland              | Aja            | Essequibo                |   |
| 1721  | 1 | A'dam                | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 2 | Zeeland              | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 3 | A'dam                | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 4 | Maze                 | Angola         | Cur. or St. Eust.        |   |
|       | 5 | A'dam                | Angola         | Cur. or St. Eust.        |   |
|       | 6 | N. Q.                | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
| 1722  | 7 | Zeeland              | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 8 | St. & L.             | Aja            | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 9 | A'dam                | Aja or Angola  | Cur.                     |   |
|       | 1 | A'dam (if necessary) |                |                          |   |
|       | 2 | Zeeland              | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
| <hr/> |   |                      |                |                          |   |
| 1724  | 3 | A'dam                | Elmina         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 4 | Maze                 | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 5 | A'dam                | Elmina         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 6 | N. Q.                | Elmina or Aja  | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 7 | Zeeland              | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 8 | St. & L.             | Elmina or Aja  | Sur. or St. Eust.        |   |
| 1725  | 1 | A'dam                | Elmina or Aja  | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 2 | Zeeland              | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 3 | A'dam                | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 4 | Maze                 | Elmina or Aja  | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 5 | A'dam                | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 6 | N. Q.                | Angola         | Sur.                     |   |
|       | 7 | Zeeland              | Angola         | St. Eustatius            |   |
|       | 8 | St. & L.             | (where needed) |                          |   |
|       | 9 | A'dam                | (where needed) |                          |   |



## APPENDIX D

## GUIDELINES FOR THE SLAVE TRADE AT OUIDAH

It was apparently during the year 1699 that the well-known Dutch Factor, Willem Bosman, compiled a set of guidelines to be used by WIC captains for the slave trade at Ouidah. A complete copy of such a document was found among the WIC papers that remained in Africa until 1872.<sup>1</sup> Bosman had been a Factor at the WIC bodge on the Slave Coast for several years, and therefore he was quite familiar with the trade in this region.<sup>2</sup> His guidelines provide an interesting and illuminating description of the structural aspects of the slave trade at Ouidah.

In translating the document, the principal objective was to preserve the content and at the same time rescue some of the flavor of its seventeenth century style. The translation was impeded by the antiquated style and the untidiness of the language of the document. The abbreviated title assigned to the document has been supplied by the translator.

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<sup>1</sup>See NEKG, Vol. 233, Document 10/3/1700.

<sup>2</sup>Bosman, Introduction.



## APPENDIX D

## GUIDELINES FOR THE SLAVE TRADE AT OUIDAH

by Willem Bosman

GUIDELINES according to which one may regulate the slave trade at Ouidah. Composed by the Honorable Chief Factor Willem Bosman, and now assigned by the Chief Commissioner Nicolaas Poll. Slave prices have been adjusted to current standards.

First, on arrival the captain [of the ship]<sup>3</sup> must make certain to give generous gifts to the King, and in addition pay the required duties, which are:

To the King - six slaves (paid in cowries) plus  
two slaves for water;

To the Captains [principal traders] -  
two slaves for all;

To the crier - one bowl (bekken) of cowries,  
when he announced the free market.

Secondly, when the duties have been paid and the market has been announced, the captain is still not allowed to buy slaves, until he has first negotiated with the King. After that, he is free to trade with anyone. Try to buy the fewest possible number of slaves from the King, since he always requires cowries in payment, approximately 120 lbs. per slave. Although the captain cannot avoid buying a sizable number from the King, he may stop when the price goes too high.

Thirdly, to the three or four Merchants [Captains or Chiefs],

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<sup>3</sup>The material enclosed in brackets has been added to clarify the original text of the document.

1999-2000

1999-2000

1999-2000

1999-2000

1999-2000

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1999-2000

1999-2000

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1999-2000

1999-2000

1999-2000

1999-2000

1999-2000

1999-2000

1999-2000

who furnish the largest number of slaves, the same price is paid as to the King, but it is paid in European merchandise and not in cowries, at a rate of about  $1/4$ ,  $1/5$ , or  $1/6$  more than to private traders. For example: 12 pitchers (bekkens) as opposed to 10.

[etc., etc.]

Bars [iron bars, apparently] are used in accordance with demand. Pay one article of merchandise less for a woman slave. Cowries have their standard value. [Give] to the King a copper Aken full, and to the captains a Kast filled [with cowries]. Customarily, the Negro Assoe also gets a little better price, not because he supplies us with so many slaves, but for the many other services. We give him as a rule, also one slave in cowries as a present.

Fourthly, if one trades with the English Factor, the price of 95 lbs. cowries [per slave] is the rule, and if paid in goods, the same price as to the King and Chief Merchants. If the captain wants to verify current prices, which continually fluctuate, the best thing to do is to see either the Negro Assoe, Captain Carte, or the interpreter Agay. The reliability of these Negroes need not be questioned. They can also supply information regarding the charges for transporting merchandise. For these reasons, it is important that captains remain on good terms with these persons.

Fifthly, captains should carefully watch out for the thievery of the Negroes, in order that not too much be stolen. I say "too much," since it is almost impossible to escape theft completely; at least I have never heard of such a case. The captain's paddlers [rowers] will even try to steal from him. For this reason he must

1. The first part of the document

is a list of the names of the

persons who have been named in the

document, and the names of the

persons who

have been named in the document.

2. The second part of the document

is a list of the names of the

persons who have been named in the

document, and the names of the

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watch everyone, as theft seems to be an inherited characteristic of the people there.

Sixthly, the captain should try as much as possible to negotiate his European merchandise and hold back his cowries, otherwise the price of slaves will go too high. When, however, the trade stagnates and without the use of cowries, no improvement can be effected, he the captain should act as he deems best for the interest of the Honorable Company, since remaining on the coast for a long time is most disadvantageous to the Honorable Company.

Seventh and last, when trading is completed, the following duties should be paid (again in cowries): one slave for storage (tronk); one slave to the interpreter; one slave to those who take the slaves to the beach; one slave to those who transport the merchandise from the beach to the lodge; and one to the wives of the King. For the latter we earn the following advantage. If some slaves should escape from storage (the tronk) or while being transported to the beach, the King will recapture or repay them. However, one should not always count on this (gaat so ver als't voeten heeft). In addition, the gifts to the king's wives cover the daily supplies on the table, so that this is the best investment. Finally, before one leaves, it is customary to give another present to the King, as well as to the principal traders who have supplied most of the slaves.

These, in addition to the daily supplies of brandy, are the expenses of the captain. If it is required of him to make more expenses, he can answer that this is against the established customs,



and that he has no desire to introduce new practices.

[At this juncture a detailed list of slave prices at Ouidah followed, indicating the rise in prices during the year 1700, as reported by the Ouidah factor Nicolaas Poll.]

APPENDIX E  
INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE SLAVES' SUPERVISOR

The following document, translated from Dutch, throws considerable light on the treatment of the slaves who were awaiting the arrival of European slaving ships at the Elmina Castle.<sup>1</sup> The discussion concerning the treatment of the slaves in Chapter VII (pp. 200-206) serves as a useful introduction to this document.

As was the case in Appendix D, an effort has been made by the translator to preserve both the content and the style of the original manuscript. The grammar and style of this document are far superior to the previous one, but still it is repetitious and ambiguous in several places. The short title has been added by the translator.

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<sup>1</sup>A handwritten copy of the document was found among the African papers of the WIC. See NBKG, Vol. 235-236, Document 12/5/1710.



## APPENDIX E

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE SLAVES' SUPERVISOR

Instructions for the Supervisor of the care of the slaves, Nicolaas Elgersma, according to which the same, in carrying out the duties of his office, must conduct himself.

Art. 1. The same [Supervisor] must keep a record of the number of slaves which are kept in the castle; and if additional slaves arrive from other factories, or leave after being assigned for shipment by the Equipment Master, an account should be kept of this also.

Art. 2. Every evening, when the slaves come inside, he [Supervisor] must count them and report to the Equipment Master if the number is correct [sic]; and if one or more have died the Equipment Master should be notified of this, [he should] keep a record of this himself, and sign the death warrants. And if one or more are sick, the Master should be notified of this, and those that the Master considers contagious must be sent to the Berg St. Jago,<sup>2</sup> to be cured by the Bumboy (Bombaas).<sup>3</sup>

Art. 3. When in the morning the gate is opened and the slaves are being let out, he shall separate and count the slaves that are

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<sup>2</sup>The Berg St. Jago was a WIC castle adjoining the St. George of Elmina. This fortification housed both a hospital and a prison.

<sup>3</sup>The term Bumboy has been derived from Lawrence, p. 61.

going to work, and those that are too weak must stay in the dungeon (slavegat), and the Black Bombaas shall be notified not to put these to work. Care should be taken that the slaves that work should be counted again upon their return, to verify the correct number.

Art. 4. Early each morning he will receive for each slave one can of millet (Milhio) from the Equipment Master, to be rubbed and boiled into "bussels" by the woman slaves on the Katteplaats.<sup>4</sup> Catch a glance periodically so that nothing of it gets stolen. Ask the Equipment Master for the necessary salt, pepper, and palm oil to eat with it, which must be preserved in a cupboard specifically designated for this. He must keep the key for this and must always be present when some of it is taken out.<sup>5</sup>

Art. 5. In the afternoon, at eleven o'clock, the slaves must line up on the square, be counted and see if they are all still there; a crust should be handed to each slave in his [Supervisor's] presence, so that each slave gets his fair share. Keeping half of the food, they should be fed in the same manner in the evening.

Art. 6. In carrying out his duties he must be most polite to the Equipment Master, and if something should occur not mentioned here, he shall ask us [sic] for further instructions.

---

<sup>4</sup>The Katteplaats, or literally place of the cats, was the area in the castle where the Castle Slaves made their home.

<sup>5</sup>The following sentence was not translated since its meaning was unclear to the translator.





Accordingly granted by the Director-General of the North and South Coasts of Africa, residing at the Castle of St. George d'Elmina, this 5th December 1710.

APPENDIXES F AND G  
"COGNOSSEMENT" AND "ATTESTATIE"

These appendixes contain reproductions and translations of two WIC documents which contribute to the understanding of the manner in which the slave trade was transacted and how the slaves were treated. Appendix F is an affidavit of transfer of a cargo of slaves (cognossement), which a ship's captain signed in acknowledgement of receipt of his slaves just before his departure to the West. Several of these documents have been preserved among the WIC papers.<sup>1</sup>

Appendix G is a sworn statement (attestatie) verifying the death of a slave. The document is evidence of the fact that (as far as the company was concerned) a slave's commercial value mattered far more than his human dignity. Numerous documents of this nature can be found in the WIC archives.<sup>2</sup>

Both documents have been translated almost verbatim in order to preserve their original style. For the sake of clarity, the number of slaves is given in numerals rather than in the original longhand, and for the same reason, Dutch abbreviations have been eliminated. Short English titles have been supplied by the translator.

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<sup>1</sup>For this particular document see WIC, Vol. 488, p. 799.

<sup>2</sup>This document was found in WIC, Vol. 107, p. 45.



## APPENDIX F

## "COGNOSSEMENT"

## AN AFFIDAVIT OF A SLAVE CARGO

I, the undersigned, Jan Pietersz. Gewalt, Captain under God on the Noble ship Sonnesteyn, presently prepared to sail from here [Elmina] to St. Eustatius in America, acknowledge to have received into the ship just mentioned, from the hands of the Honorable Lord Director-General, Pieter Valkenier, the total of 627 head of slaves, consisting of 410 men, 112 women, 39 boys at two-thirds, 32 boys at one-half, 7 boys at one-third, 19 girls at two-thirds, and 8 girls at one-half, altogether constituting 583 piezas de India, all healthy and in good condition.

All the slaves mentioned are to cross [the Atlantic] at the risk of the Honorable General Chartered Dutch West India Company, to which I promise and accept (if God Almighty will grant me a safe voyage) to deliver at St. Eustatius, in the hands of the Lord Commandeur [sic], Joannes Lindezaay, in order to be sold by him and for me, of which I shall give an account to the Lords Directors on my return to the Fatherland (Patria).

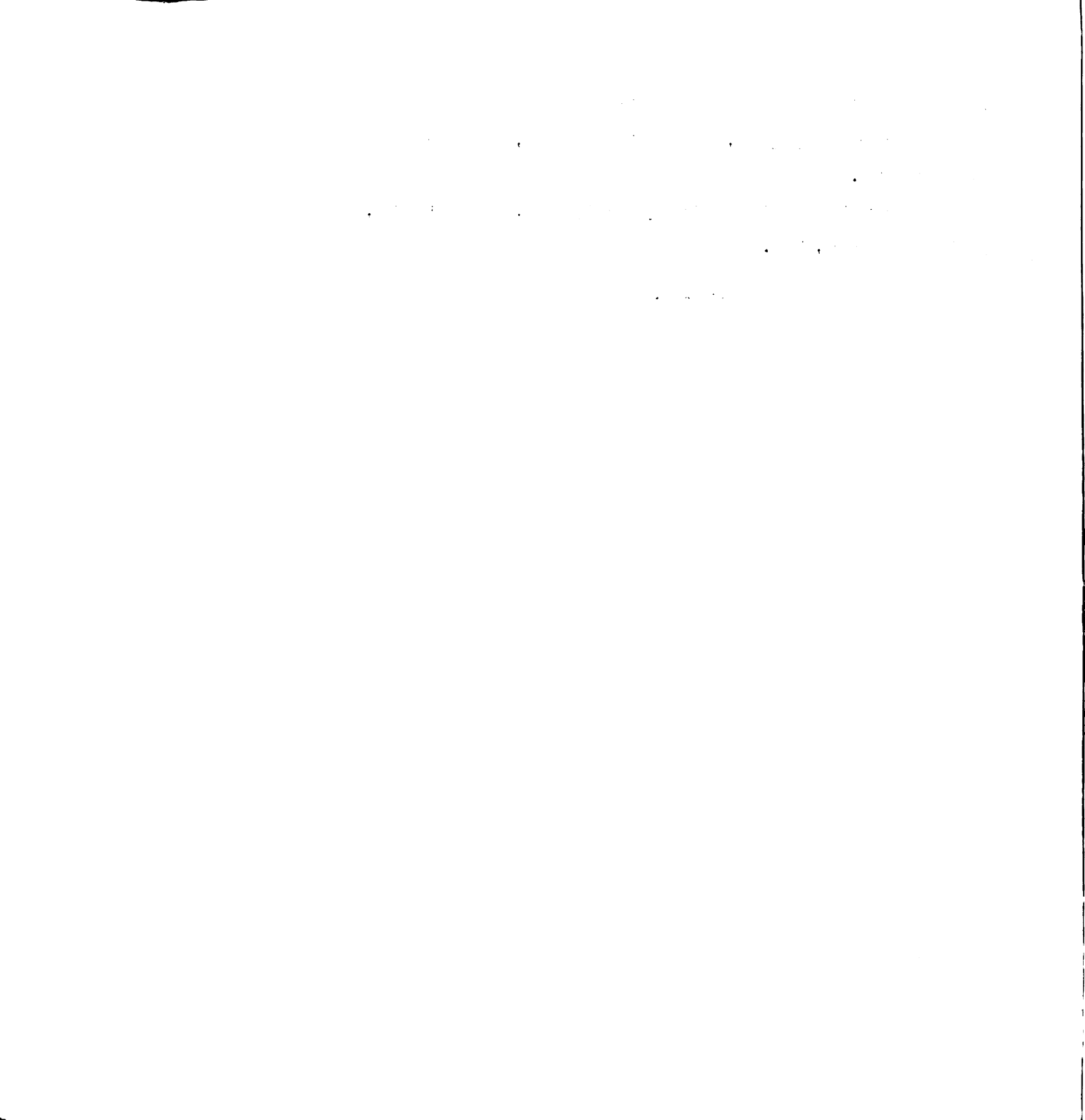
To the fulfillment of this [charge] I pledge my whole being and all my goods, actions, credits, and uprightness (gerechtigeden), nothing excluded, especially mine already earned and still to earn salary and premiums (maandgelden). [and I shall] not draw on this according to the laws.



As evidence of the truth of this are made four identical affidavits (cognossementen), one of which is signed, the others without value.

Acted in the Chief Castle (hoofdcasteel) St. George d'Elmina, this 6th of March, 1726.

signature







## APPENDIX G

## "ATTESTATIE"

## DEATH WARRANT OF A WIC SLAVE

We, the undersigned, Julianus Oudorp and Dingnus Masuer, both Assistants in the service of the Honorable General Chartered Dutch West India Company, assigned to the Chief Castle St. George d'Elmina, declare at the request of the Chief Factor, Laurens Beuns, also serving at the same station, that it is the honest truth that on the first of March this year a purchased woman slave died, giving as the evidence of our knowledge [of this] that we witnessed the body after she died. Being completely aware of these facts, we are willing to reinforce this with a solemn oath.

As evidence of the above [follows] our ordinary signature.  
Signed, this first of March, Anno. 1725.

signatures



1000000, jedes mit einer  
 handschriftlichen Unterschrift versehen  
 1. Haupt 100 000 000

56<sup>th</sup> Street  
J. C. Rudolph  
Chicago

Sept 27

APPENDIX H  
INTERLOPERS CAPTURED BY THE WIC

This appendix lists 51 Dutch interloper ships that were confiscated by the WIC during the years 1704-1731. This list may not be inclusive, but it is considered doubtful that many other captured interlopers eluded this scrutiny of the WIC archives. On the other hand, this list of confiscated vessels undoubtedly constituted a mere fraction of the total number of interloping ships on the West African Coast. The very fact that interloping continued is evidence that the chances to avoid being captured by the WIC were favorable.

The cargos represented in this sample are taken as evidence that the Dutch interlopers did not concentrate on the slave trade. Only one ship, the Maria Galey, captured in 1730, was evidently a slaver (see p. 74 ). Other slaves among the cargo were apparently intended for resale to other slaving vessels. The final column lists the products most abundantly represented among the confiscated cargo.

Sources: WIC, Vol. 98, p. 257; Vol. 102, p. 349; Vol. 103, p. 341; Vol. 105, pp. 202, 206, 370, and 411; Vol. 109, p. 90; Vol. 484, p. 115; Vol. 485, pp. 169, 466, and 495; Vol. 486, pp. 217, 236, 486, 554, and 411; Vol. 487, pp. 23, 472, and Correspondence 12/22/1723; Vol. 489, p. 790.

NBKG, Vols. 255-260; Vol. 5, Minutes 5/10/1710, 1/16/1712, 12/15/1713, 5/26/1714, 7/26/1714, 10/9/1715, 2/16/1716, 3/18/1716, and 4/1/1716; Vol. 6, Minutes 8/2/1718 and 2/3/1726.



## APPENDIX H

## INTERLOPERS CAPTURED BY THE WIC

| YEAR | SHIP                     | SLAVES | OTHER PRODUCTS       |
|------|--------------------------|--------|----------------------|
| 1701 | Stadhouder van Vriesland | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Eenhoorn                 | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Olijftak                 | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Johanna Maria            | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Neptunis                 | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Anneboa                  | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Wakende Kraan            | 1      | ?                    |
| 1704 | Hendrika                 | 0      | ?                    |
| 1709 | Maria                    | 0      | Gold and Ivory       |
| 1710 | Vijf Gezusters           | 0      | Gold and Ivory       |
|      | Amerikaanse Galey        | ?      | ?                    |
| 1712 | Goude Draak              | 0      | Gold                 |
|      | Amazone                  | ?      | ?                    |
| 1713 | Anne Maria Galey         | ?      | ?                    |
| 1714 | Ruiter                   | 0      | Gold and Grain       |
|      | Agatha                   | 0      | Gold and Grain       |
|      | Aletta Galey             | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Snelle Hoeker            | ?      | ?                    |
| 1715 | Maria Galey              | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Jonge Jan                | 0      | Gold                 |
|      | Swarte Arend             | 20     | Ivory and Wax        |
|      | Duynvliet                | 0      | Grain and Wax        |
|      | Juff. Maria              | 0      | Gold, Wax, and Ivory |
|      | Juff. Catharina          | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Herstel van Zeeland      | 30     | Ivory                |
|      | Anna Catharina           | 12     | Ivory and Wax        |
|      | Oranjeboom               | 11     | Ivory                |
|      | Liefde                   | 2      | Tobacco and Wax      |
|      | Zirickzee                | 4      | ?                    |
|      | Vlissings Welvaren       | ?      | ?                    |
|      | Zeeuwse Galey            | 18     | ?                    |
|      | Rustlose Galey           | 0      | Grain                |
|      | Daniel Catharina         | ?      | ?                    |
| 1716 | Elseboom                 | 12     | ?                    |
|      | Koning van Pruisen       | 26     | ?                    |
|      | Vijf Gebroeders          | 12     | ?                    |
|      | St. Joseph Galey         | 6      | ?                    |



| YEAR | SHIP               | SLAVES | OTHER PRODUCTS |
|------|--------------------|--------|----------------|
| 1717 | Herstel van Afrika | ?      | ?              |
| 1718 | Kleine Hoop        | 0      | Gold           |
|      | Hoeker Brigetta    | ?      | ?              |
| 1719 | Koning David       | 0      | ?              |
| 1721 | Elisabeth Galey    | 0      | ?              |
| 1724 | Post van Livorne   | ?      | ?              |
| 1725 | Jonge Abraham      | 12     | ?              |
|      | Witte Moor         | 1      | ?              |
|      | Braambos           | ?      | ?              |
|      | Westermeeel        | ?      | ?              |
| 1726 | Drie Marrijs       | 9      | ?              |
| 1730 | Happy Return       | ?      | ?              |
|      | Maria Galey        | 323    | ?              |
| 1731 | Jonge Moor         | ?      | ?              |



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