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The Dutch on the Swahili coast, 1776 - 1778: Two slaving journals

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE DUTCH ON THE SWAHILI COAST, 1776–1778: TWO SLAVING JOURNALS, Part II*

edited by Robert Ross

THE SECOND JOURNAL

Journal as a report most humbly offered to His Excellency, Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg, Councillor Extraordinary of the Netherlands India, and Governor and Director of the Cape of Good Hope, and its provinces, and to the Honorable Council of Policy, by the undersigned commissioner, regarding the notable occurrences during the journey made in the ship *Jagtrust* to the coast of Zanguebar in the years 1777-1778, largely concerning the results of slave trade conducted there.

Your Excellency and Honored Sirs,

As Your Excellency and Your Honors have thought fit to appoint the undersigned to the above-mentioned commission, I will waste no time by making claims for myself, but will attempt to fulfill my duty in everything. As regards maritime matters, I will act as my predecessors have done, and refer to the journal kept by the commander of the vessel, Cornelis Andriesse, and thus will begin on

Sunday 29 June 1777, when in the morning, I received my papers from His Excellency the Governor and left for False Bay.

Monday 30 June, I arrived on board with the Company's papers, etc., but understood that there was as yet no possibility of sailing.

Tuesday 1 July, in the morning around 10 o'clock, raised the anchor and set sail, beseeching the Almighty to act as our guide. Thus, in hope of His holy blessing, we departed, with the intention of setting our course to the island of Zanzibar.

Wednesday 30 July, in the afternoon, we came to anchor before Bonmaghi, as it was too late to sail through to Zanzibar. We intended to send the barge to the shore, but were hindered from doing this by the high seas and the strong swell. We were passed by a Moorish ship, but, even though we hailed it, we could not understand whence it came, nor whither it was going.

Thursday 31 July. We remained anchored as we considered this was a good opportunity to speak first with the natives, since this was a safe anchorage for

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*The first journal, with the editor's introduction, appeared in *IJAHS*, 19, 2 (1986), 305-360.

ships. Zanzibar is very dangerous to enter, because one has to pass through a very narrow channel, and thus it is necessary to arrange it so that one arrives there in full daylight, as it is too hazardous to sail in during the evening. Moreover, we wanted to make friends with the natives, so, in the future, our ships would be assured of a good welcome (as they will generally be forced to anchor here). In the morning we saw a canoe leave the shore, and come out to us, bringing a few hens and bananas.

We had the natives come on board to discuss with them the state of the things on shore, but discovered to our distress that the interpreter could not say neither a word to the man who was the commander of the canoe, and who, from his clothing, seemed to be an Arab, nor to another, who appeared to be a Moor, with whom he then spoke, but this was so limited that they could only understand each other on the basis of gestures. In the afternoon, we decided to go to shore in the barge. Arriving at the shore, we let it rest on the oars, and sent the interpreter to the prow to talk with them. However he was afraid of the people, and was totally unable to get anything out of the natives and could not speak the language.[1] Therefore we decided to abandon the attempt this time. On our return we went to inspect one of the islets, and found that it was barren, rocky and without anything notable, except for a good supply of firewood.

Friday 1 August 1777, we raised anchor and set sail in the morning to continue our journey to Zanzibar.

Saturday 2 August, at one in the afternoon came to anchor in Zanzibar roads, and found there two Moorish *Gouraps*.[2] Before evening the boat from the larger Moorish ship came to our ship, with some of the chiefs, to welcome us. It brought a few small refreshments as a present. We received them as well as possible, and said that I would go on shore tomorrow. Most of the Arabs speak the Moorish language here, and we discovered that the interpreter could get by in the Moorish tongue. On their departure, one of them asked directly for arak, and so we had to give them two square bottles of it. This surprised us, as it is against their law.

Sunday 3 August, in the morning, I went on shore with the interpreter. After passing a long row of armed Arabs and blacks with bows and arrows, we were led to the Castle where we found His Excellency the Governor Halphani Bin Hamet Bennenbarak Zijdi together with all his councillors and chiefs assembled. They greeted me politely, according to their usage, in the front court. After having on my part paid my compliments as well as possible, I asked the Governor for the continuation of the friendship with our nation and for the freedom to enjoy refreshments in this place. I also asked to be permitted to hire a house in order to conduct a limited trade with the natives and, in the name of His Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, to offer His Excellency various presents, consisting of one face mirror with a gilded frame, two armosijns, two bleached Guinea-cloths, two fine photasses, one goblet, one beaker

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[1] On the language problems, see the first journal in *IJAHS*, 19, 2 (1986), 323.

[2] A *Gourap* was the standard merchant ship of the Gulf and the northern Indian Ocean.

with its tray, one cup with its lid, two tin containers with five lbs. of cloves, 3 lbs. nutmegs, 3 lbs. mace and 3 lbs. cinnamon, two iron pots, twenty lbs. tobacco, two dozen first rate knives of lignum vitae, and thirty lbs. beads of various colors. This was graciously accepted by His E. and, as a return gift, we were presented with some oranges, coconuts, etc. He also had me shown four or five houses, in company of a few notables, from which I chose one which seemed to me to be the best, as it was convenient for the beach. During the tour I requested the friendship of these notables. On our return from the viewing and choosing a house there came into the castle the Second[3] of the government, whose authority was mainly over the countryside etc., whose name was Nasar Wengalf, and thus an important man, and also the Third man of the government, whose power was concerned with the punishment of criminals, and whom we later called the *Fiscaal*.[4] Together with many others he had especially come to see me. The Fiscaal's name is Salem Bonhasar. I noted that they were greeted by the Governor in a most solemn way when they arrived, and therefore when they left I requested their friendship most amicably. The former agreed kindly but somewhat reservedly, but the latter assured me that he would assist me in everything and that we could rely on him. We decided to take possession of the house tomorrow. For this reason we took our leave of the Governor, who, for the first time, offered me his hand (which is an extra honor with them). The French nation is still very much hated by them, and as a result they seem to be taken with us, which gave me pleasure. I bought a cow for 8 reals as refreshment for the ship's crew. As my first commission was now completed, I returned on board in the barge.

Monday 4 August, in the morning I sailed to the shore in the barge, together with *oppermeester* (surgeon), three sailors and the interpreter, taking with us a few minor trade goods, the necessities for our new household etc. in order to set up in the house, to win the friendship of the population, which is most important to us, and to achieve the further goals for which we came to this place.

Thursday 5 August, in the morning I was called to His Exc. the Governor, who, in the presence of the whole council and all the notables and Arabs in this place, said to me that, in accordance with his character, he had to ask me what we were doing there; we answered that we came there to refresh ourselves and to conduct a limited trade. After much ceremonial discussion between us, and much debating, which I did not understand, the majority of the councillors stood up and left the so-called council chamber, and the Governor, together with a Moorish captain of one of the *Gouraps* anchored here, asking us to follow them, retreated into another room. When he was seated on a chair, and I on another, and the captain and the interpreter on a carpet, he then implied that we could acquire anything here, but did not mention slaves. Further he gave witness of his

[3]The *Secunde* was the title of the deputy commander of the Cape of Good Hope. I have been unable to find any more information on the various individuals mentioned in this passage.

[4]The *Fiscaal* was the chief law officer and public prosecutor of the Cape of Good Hope (cf. Scots Procurator-fiscal).

particular friendship for our nation. He then showed me the castle and told me that the ships which had come from Muscat could provide them with the necessities but that it was a troubled country and that he must work with the greatest caution, because some of even the most important notables who had in the past traded in slaves with the French were put in chains when they arrived in Muscat. Further, His E. the Governor promised that he would come to visit me one evening. Having said this he made me aware that there was now no time to speak of trade. Later I understood that this was done merely with the intention of convincing the Moorish captain that we had not come to trade in slaves but merely to refresh ourselves. Having spoken further of unimportant matters, we took our leave of each other.

Wednesday 6 August, I enquired as to whom I needed to achieve our ends, if not in public then in secret, and learned that it was the Second, Nasar Wengalff, whom we had seen at our first audience, and Salem Benhasar, and so will do everything to draw them to our purpose.

Thursday 7 August in the morning, we went to the Second, taking with us a present for him, consisting of an armosijn, 1 ordinary bleached Guinea-cloth from the coast, one photas, 1 tin cup, 1 iron pot, ten lbs. tobacco, one dozen knives and ten lbs. beads, together with twenty cans of arak (for which His E. had asked of us, saying that it was not for himself but for the crews who sailed on his vessels). He told us that he intended to sell us as many as 50 to 60 slaves and further offered us his help. Then I went on to the house of Salem Benhasan and, whose friendship was similarly highly necessary for us, gave him too a similar present consisting of one piece of armosijn, one bleached Guinea-cloth from the coast, one fine photas, one tin cup, one iron pot, ten lbs. tobacco, a dozen knives, ten lbs. beads and twenty cans of arak. He informed us that we also needed the assistance of the first officer of the castle, a great friend of the Governor's named Nasar Ben Selema, to whose house I then went and offered him too a similar present, consisting of 1 armosijn, 1 bleached Guinea-cloth from the coast, one photas, one tin cup, one iron pot, ten lbs. tobacco, a dozen knives, ten lbs. beads and in addition, next day, twenty cans of arak. In the evening these three paid me a return visit and reported that they had spoken with the Governor about this. He had replied that they knew very well that the Moorish ships were not allowed to do what they came to ask for us. They had then proposed to the Governor that they had very many slaves and no permission to sell them, and so would die of hunger, even though they were rich in slaves, and moreover the Dutch had shown themselves to be good friends. To this His E. had replied that he had nothing against that nation, but he could not give any permission. Then they advised me not to ask the Governor for the time being, but to wait patiently until the two Moorish ships had left and then to try an open request to the Governor in person. Then they would do their best.

Friday 8 August in the morning at the audience, we found that the presents had had a good effect. The three chiefs from yesterday were present and the Governor was exceptionally friendly. He invited me to walk out in the afternoon to one of his country estates, which I accepted, with intimations of respect. In the

morning I went with the children of the Second and his brother, and a Moorish captain, to inspect the ship. We found everything fine and gave them a few compliments and small presents. In the afternoon, as was arranged, I made a walk to one of the country estates of the Governor, where I was treated in a very honest manner to an Arabian cold collation, and also received further assurances of friendship and evidences of respect for the Dutch nation. On walking home, the Governor asked me for some arak, saying that, according to their law, they did not drink it themselves but that it was for the workers in the boat he was now building. He would send me a barrel the next day with the request that we would fill it; it was so small that only 96 cans could go in it. Further His E. said he intended to visit our ship the next day, so we sent a canoe to the commander to inform him of this. He made everything ready to receive the company. In the evening he sent me some dishes from his table, a customary expression of friendship among the Arabs.

Saturday 9 August. I went with His E. the Governor on board, together with the *Fiscaal* and the other notables, excepting the Second. We were welcomed most ceremonially by the commander, with a salute and the flying of the various flags. On his coming on board we were welcomed by a stately salute in honor of His E., and also everything in our power was presented to him. Again on his departure he was given a salute of nine canon shots, and the *Fiscaal* seven. They much admired our ship and its tidyness, and were most appreciative of the honor paid to them. In the evening, after dark, stones were thrown at us in the forecourt of our house. In the evening the *Fiscaal*, our good friend, came to pay us another visit, and I complained to him. He said that I must tell it at the Governor's audience next morning.

Sunday 10 August. In the morning I bought a cow for 8 reals and sent it on board ship. Then, going to the audience of the Governor, we complained about the injustice done to us, and said that we had come to establish the relations between the Dutch and the Arabs on such a footing that there would never be a break between us. At the same time we assured His E. that if one of our people should injure them at all we would punish him most severely, and requested that His E. should do the same, being assured that he was well disposed towards us and would give us redress.

To this His E. the Governor assured us that if His E. should discover anyone who insulted us he would have him broken, which is a normal punishment for them, and that he would appoint guards and would have this published or announced everywhere in the town. In the evening, when the Second and several other people were with us, once again stones were thrown at the cook who was busy preparing food. One of the notables stood up, ran outside and caught the culprit, who was a youth, an Arab of a good family, and who apologized as profusely as possible, but the Second wanted to stab him to death on the spot with his kris. I saw this, and realized that this would have serious consequences, and also I had a revulsion against this sort of law enforcement. So I requested, and was granted, pardon, with a good thrashing for the boy, hoping that in this way the insults would cease.

Monday 11 August. I was daily amazed at the actions of the common Arabs, and could not understand what the reason for them was. I was finally for a small reward brought to understand this by an English-speaking Moor, who was later most useful to us. He told me that the Arabs were a nation with whom no person under the sun could agree for a month, because everything that they saw was theirs, in their eyes, such as the minor trade goods which I had brought on shore, and was daily required to present to all sorts of people. Under this pretext we could not reach our goal. The reason was that they came to ask the price of everything every day, and then made a ridiculous counter-bid to my statement or wanted to force us to give things away. When we disagreed to this, they then did injustices to us as described above and sought to insult the Europeans as a result of their inborn vengefulness.

Tuesday 12 August. We are daily asked for presents by the Governor and other notables, whether for themselves or under the pretext that they are for their wives and children. Sometimes it is claimed that the French gave them everything they asked for. So many presents could not be justified to our Lords and Masters. His E. the Governor also let me know in secret, by way of the English-speaking Moor, that I must keep the populace friendly in order to avoid the collapse of our whole business, which, as I mentioned, was already known to him. For this reason I paid high prices for our daily consumption, in the hope that God will finally reward our course of action and enable us to promote the intentions of our Lords and Masters and the profits of the Company. Nevertheless, I believe that there is no people or nation in the world where trust, honor, virtue and reason have a lesser place than with these. Thus at one moment they make professions of friendship and the next they commit all sorts of evil deeds. The one who had thrown stones at us came to our house every day, and had always given new shows of friendship. Thus, I must say flatly that, except for the Governor, who, I have to say, seems most civilized, I have found no Arab reasonable. Thus this morning I conversed with the Governor on various matters. In order to make clear the character of the populace he told me that, when he had just arrived here and was going to visit his country gardens, he had wandered off a little away from the others and was hit by a stone thrown at him, which left a large wound in his head. His E. showed me the scar. Nevertheless, the culprit was never caught. He advised us that in the evenings one should absolutely refrain from going out in the streets, as one ran the danger of being shot with poisoned arrows, in part because of the jealousy for their women, but also from an inborn vengefulness. Therefore I decided to sleep on board at nights, which suited me very well.

Wednesday 13 August 1777. I was informed by the English-speaking Moor, whom I had expressly employed for the purpose, that the Governor would unofficially condone a trade in slaves after the departure of the two Moorish ships. The Second and the *Fiscaal* had had a major hand in gaining this permission. However, when the permission was granted, then the price would be discussed, and I understood that this would be excessively high. For this reason we considered the situation was such that we absolutely had to keep the friendship

of the Governor and in particular of the populace. In the morning I could not get an audience with His E. the Governor, but, as I had seen His E. paid much attention to an old grey-haired priest, whose son was also in the same profession and who frequently came to visit me, and as I had noted that the cleric seldom came to visit, except with the hidden motive of begging for a present and, if I did not give it, complaining that they were refused, since the son of the old man came to me, I asked him whether there were many people in this town who were rich in slaves, and were prepared to sell them. I immediately noticed that he was struck by this, and, on his asking if we had money, I answered "Yes." At this, since he was alone with us, he said that he alone could deliver us 100 forthwith, but that the Governor must approve of it. He added that the watch had been doubled since we had arrived, and the beach was never empty of people. However, he promised that he would persuade his father to do his best and, if at all possible, to get us the permission.

Thursday 14 August 1777. The commander diligently made preparations to stow slaves, and I did everything to win the favor of the Governor and, particularly, of the populace, which had to be done most carefully as this country consists of three sorts of nations. The oldest are called Swahilis, the second the Moors, who are subalterns, and the most senior are the Arabs. They differ little in religion or customs, though the first are the most jealous as regards their women. In general harmony does not reign, as each group is the enemy of the others, although none is to be trusted. However, all are most afraid of the government of Muscat, who is their paramount.

Friday 15 August. The old priest made representations with His E. the Governor on our behalf to grant us permission, but His E. kept to his decision only to grant it when the Moorish ships had left. They require much money from the inhabitants, and for this reason are most dilatory. The scarcity of money does me pleasure, as I believe that for this reason the trade will be allowed earlier.

Saturday 16 August at two o'clock at night a canoe came out to us containing the young priest, who had 19 slaves with him. We asked him whether he had permission from the Governor. He answered sometimes "yes" and sometimes "no." We tried to balance the advantages and disadvantages of taking the slaves, considering the fear that, if the Governor should hear of it our business would become impossible. After much debate we finally resolved to give them back to the priest, but as soon as he was informed of this, he responded by saying that he would make a price with us on shore. In the first place, this priest had, as he claimed, 100 slaves which we wished to acquire, and he said to us that if we did not accept these and store them, then he would be unhappy and that we would absolutely and thoroughly bring down the hatred of the populace upon us, which was the very truth. Therefore we bought the slaves and hid them as well as possible, hoping shortly to receive the permission for which, as various people had told us, we only have to wait till the departure of the Moorish ships. For these we paid, for the adult men, seven in number, at 25 reals each, one hundred and seventy-five reals, for seven adult women, at 24 reals each, one hundred and sixty-eight reals, for three juvenile boys at 23 reals each sixty-nine reals, and for

one boy and one girl at twenty reals, forty, thus in total a sum of four hundred and fifty-two Spanish reals. However, as a precaution we told the priest that we absolutely did not want any more for the time being.

Sunday 17 August, in the morning we sent a cow, costing 8 reals on board. We saw with great pleasure that the two Moorish ships were busy preparing themselves. The cargo of the Moorish ships consists mainly of ivory, coconuts and *souri*,[5] a sort of rice that the country produces. The Arabs are imperious. As they generally have many slaves, they are too haughty and too lazy to work, and would rather die of hunger than bring themselves to work the land, which seems very fertile inland, for their subsistence. They are fully satisfied when they have a large sword and two or three krisses or knives and can spend the whole day parading and the nights getting drunk as pigs.

Monday 18 August, in the morning the Governor called our interpreter to him. As frequently before it concerned twaddle, which I have never bothered to record on paper, but as I had not sent him any presents for two days, I thought myself required to give a third of what they require and to have thus enough to do all day long, in order to think of reasons to refuse their impudent requests. The Moorish captain had asked us for a top-gallant mast and we had answered that we had none that would serve his purpose. For this reason he whispers all sorts of stupidities in the ears of the Governor. The reason for our interpreter being called was that His E. required of us 100 Spanish reals as anchor money for the collecting of water and firewood, etc. He added that the previous governor, Abdalla Bengadei had allowed it, but he was not going to and the French also paid it. This is yet another difficulty. We see before our eyes how the interest of the Hon. Comp. and the goal of our Lords and Masters to trade to this place in the future, confirm the national character of dishonorable natures, with which we are involved. The consequence of all this leads me to anger and causes the thought (though I pray to the all-seeing Creator and Wisdom that it will all come to an end for my own honor and the profit of the Hon. Comp.) that there may come again unexpectedly a hindrance on the way, namely that now the two Moorish ships are leaving, the Governor is saying that he cannot give any permission before His E. has sent off to Muscat a boat that is still being built. As a result, when I came on board in the evening, I proposed to the captain that we should buy as many slaves as could be got without consent, and send them on board at night, at the same time keeping a close watch on the situation during the day and doing as much as possible to appease the populace.

Tuesday 19 August during the night we received six slaves on board, consisting of four adult and two juvenile males, the former at 25 reals each, the latter at 23. Thus, in total we paid one hundred and forty-six Spanish reals. We were resolved to buy everything that was to be got and for a few days to be rather indifferent towards the Governor because of his unreasonable demand about anchor duties.

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[5]This word may possibly be cognate with the modern Swahili *wali* ("cooked rice"). My thanks to Thilo Schadeberg for this information. See also below, 25 September 1777, where it is described as a "fruit," which would seem to make the identification less certain.

The moonlight does much hinder slaves coming on board. We had decided to agree to the demand for payment of anchor duties when it was no longer possible to do otherwise, but were further agreed only to agree with the greatest circumspection and for the rest to refuse with a determined manner in case the permission or the agreement to His E. the Governor's demand would give occasion to a yet more unfavorable request. As I am daily with him and hear descriptions of the circumstances told me in person, and also the stories of the English-speaking Moorish free man, I can thus understand that the Governor is a man who has nothing except a hundred to a hundred and fifty men, who have come to him since he took up his rule, but further he is very naked. It is also thought that there is no money left in this place, because when the former governor and his entourage left for Muscat they took with them by far the largest part of what was of value, and the rest is being squeezed out of the country for this reason in the two Moorish ships that are now about to leave. For this reason all possible means are being used by the Governor and his entourage to acquire money. For this reason I have assiduously whispered to them and let them know the value that our ship could bring them and that they could moreover expect a fine quantity of piasters from us every year, if only they helped us now. However, if they should let us depart without achieving our ends, we would never again appear in this place, and, as the French nation also avoids this place what would they then do with their slaves and how would they acquire the money that they need? This caused some urgency in their minds, but it was answered, and supported with good reasons, and I have many times been amazed to hear this, that the Moorish ships were able to take off their slaves and that their trade in money was as good as ours. The Moorish ships remain hanging around in the roads and the outer roads, the reason being that their Captain is still owed much money by the inhabitants, which he cannot get. The bright moon hinders us from getting many slaves on board, as there are strict watches kept in the town and the fear of the Governor is enormously great. This one, they say unanimously, is far more severe than the previous one.

Wednesday 20 August 1777, at night, we received four slaves on board, including one adult man and three juvenile men, paying for the former 25 and for the three latter 23, thus in total ninety-four Spanish reals. In the morning at the audience, the Governor asked us for a compass, and brought us a totally damaged one to repair, but we answered that that was impossible.

Thursday 21 August, in the morning we were most surprised that we had received no slaves in the night. As we had heard two cannon shots from the Moorish ship which lay in the watering place, we were afraid that our secret trade had been discovered. I went on shore, taking with me the compass for His E. the Governor, which I handed over to him at my arrival on shore. His E. was most pleased with this. The reason for the shooting from the Moorish *gourap* was that in the night a boat loaded with ivory which was alongside it had sunk. This had been the reason why no slaves had come and again will delay the Moors' departure.

Friday 22 August, in the night we received 15 slaves on board, consisting of 10 adult males, four juvenile males and one adult woman. For the first ten we paid

25 reals each, or two hundred and fifty, for the four juveniles at 23 reals each, thus ninety-two, and for the woman 24, thus in total three hundred and sixty-six Spanish reals. In the morning we sent our boat with the Governor, at his request, and several notables under command of the second mate, to the Moorish ship, in case it might be able to raise the sunken boat, which to them was most important. It had been sunk in ten feet of water. We hoped that this would be a way of reaching our ends, for which, in later times, we were able to admire how thankful this nation is.

Saturday 23 August 1777, in the night we received seven slaves on board, consisting of two adult men at 25, and two juveniles at 23, plus three children, all boys, at 20 reals, thus in total we paid one hundred and fifty-six Spanish reals. In the morning the commander sent the barge and his jolly-boat to the Moorish boat to fish for it. Despite all possible trouble which I took, I was unable to advance an inch in my attempts to get the Governor's permission. This morning the Second left for Bombase[6] [sic] to put down some unrest which had arisen among the inhabitants there. While taking his leave, he assured me that we had no difficulties, but on his return we would have achieved our end. I should patiently wait for the decision, as there was still a long time before the winds change. But their words cannot be relied on and the costs of bringing it about are so high, and if one comes to the point, then their answer is either impudent or so confused that one is pleased when they stop. I would not make such efforts for the permission since the buying of slaves is going reasonably, but for the fear that it might be discovered and for the statement of the commander that he can hide no more than 100 at most. Moreover, I have to go on shore every morning and lay myself bare to wanton acts of aggression or to finesses to get money. This is the reason why I strive as strongly as possible for it, and consider no present as excluded, which I do not doubt will be approved by my Lords and Masters, given the information and the passing of time.

Sunday 24 August 1777, in the night we received four slaves on board, consisting of one adult man at 25, and two adult women at 24, together with one juvenile woman at 22, thus in total ninety-five Spanish reals was paid for them. In the morning I sent a cow on board at the old price of 8 reals. When I arrived on shore, His E. the Governor sent us one of his notables, a Moor whom we had long attempted to win over, which we had not been able to, at least when he is with the Governor. He asked me, in the name of the Governor, to lend His E. 500 Spanish reals, which were required before 12 o'clock. To this I answered that I would go to the Governor in person at once, which I immediately did. His E. then made the request in person, to which I replied that I did not have sole control over the cash, but would have to consult with the commander. I also took this opportunity to request a private audience with His E., at which His E. immediately retired to a separate room with myself and the interpreter. When we were there, I told His E. that we had been sent here by our Lords and Masters to

[6] As mentioned in the Introduction (Part 1, *IJAHS*, 19, 2, 1986), this is probably a copier's error for Mombasa.

buy slaves, and that was the reason for our coming, and if we did not get them we would have to return. I judged that this was now the moment at which I should bring this matter in person to the attention of His E. the Governor, and therefore I asked for permission publicly to buy in as many as were necessary. I also said that we intended to come here every year and that it would be a major business for Zanzibar, since as a result of our visit they would be 9,000 to 10,000 Spanish reals richer for an article that was abundant here and too numerous to be put to work usefully. For this reason our request was, I said, for the good and the advantage of the country. To this His E. the Governor answered that he would like to grant us everything, but that he could not do that because of his oath and his duty, before the boat destined for Muskette was ready, and we could not leave for a long time, because of the winds, and therefore had time enough. To this I answered, that if the commander was satisfied with this, then we desired that the money should not be returned in kind, but in slaves. This the Governor promised, answering "Yes, and in strong men." I understood that it was a debt of His E. to the Moorish captain, because he wanted me to believe that he intended to give it to the Moors because those poor fellows had suffered so many losses. After this I returned on board at once, and informed the commander of my doings. He approved of it, and agreed with me to lend His E. the money, saying that he knew very well that the French captain had lent more money than this to the former governor. The pressure to agree to the required loan was the greater because we would otherwise imperil the whole trade, at least in this town. Then I counted out the money and went on shore. When I arrived at the Governor's, I discovered that my supposition was right, because the Moors said they intended to depart today and that this was the reason why the condition was made that the money had to be given by 12 o'clock. The Governor went into a chamber with the *Fiscaal* and the first-mentioned Moor and myself, and then I began my speech to the effect that the commander was also satisfied and that I had the money with me. I then asked whether, even if he was not prepared to give us public permission, then he might allow us to buy slaves secretly at night, and to permit this unofficially. This was important for us because we had already 55 slaves on board, and should this leak out it would bring us into new trouble. This was eventually agreed, with grave reservations, and the comment that we must do it very subtly, because His E. was very afraid of the Arabs who would be leaving for Muskette in the above-mentioned boat. For this permission, I thanked His E. and was well satisfied that I had achieved this much, hoping that God will aid our further trading. For this reason, I was able to enquire everywhere as to where slaves could be bought with a freedom that we had never previously dared use. And we induced the people to deliver them to us on board telling them the Governor would overlook this. Nevertheless, I still remained as elusive as possible. His E. the Governor informed me that there was a French ship in Kilwa buying slaves, of which his E. had learned in a letter that had come in a boat from that town. I understand that this is the reason why not so many boats with slaves have come from Kilwa this year, as compared with the reports from the previous voyage. Then three came in one day, but now there had been only one

while we have been at anchor here. In the afternoon, with the aid of our barge and the commander's jolly-boat, the sunken Moorish ship was fished up, but very little of the cargo it contained was kept as it capsized during the raising, because its mast had gone under the ship.

Monday 25 August 1777, at night we received no slaves on board, because one of the *gouraps* had already left and the other would leave today. Nothing further of importance happened.

Tuesday 26 August 1777, at night we received 3 slave women on board, all three juveniles. We paid 22 ps. each for them, thus in total sixty-six Spanish reals. In the morning, as usual, I paid my compliments to the Governor, but nothing of importance occurred.

Wednesday 27 August, in the night we received 12 slaves on board, consisting of 6 adult men, at 25, four adult women, at 24, one juvenile man at 23, and one child, a boy, at 20, thus in total two hundred and eighty-nine Spanish reals were paid for them. In the morning we went to visit two of the islands in the roads, but found them barren and arid, without anything pleasant or nice. While there we heard a shot from the castle, which we learned was fired from pleasure that the boat was ready to be launched.

Thursday 28 August, at night we received no slaves on board, but around midnight a canoe came out to us, from which the crew came over to us. When we asked them what they wanted, they offered us coconuts for sale, but as they had no more than six or eight with them we assumed that they were spies and ordered them to depart straight away. In the morning, at our audience, we understood that the Governor did not look with pleasure on our buying slaves at night. Rather, we should have patience until the boat to Muscat had left. We said "Yes" to this and nevertheless in the meantime bought as many as we could, according to our previous decision.

Friday 29 August, as before we received no slaves during the night. In the morning we gathered that the Governor had again forbidden it, and our suppliers now asked 30 Spanish reals when they had previously been more than content with 25. Because the two Moorish ships have departed, they are not as eager for money as before. I must assume this to be a preparation on the part of the Governor to demand as high a price as he wants from us.

Saturday 30 August, at night we received 10 male slaves on board, consisting of five adults, at 25 reals, and five juveniles at 23. Thus we bought them for a total of two hundred and forty Spanish reals, although, as I mentioned, it required much work still to get them for this price.

Sunday 31 August at night we received three slave children on board, all of whom were boys. We bought them, at 20 reals each, for sixty Spanish reals. In the morning we sent a cow, costing 8 reals, on board. We discovered that this month we had expended for the refreshments of the crew, slaves and so on, for 5 head of cattle, at 8 reals, equals 40 Spanish reals, plus 35 dozen best lignum vitae knives, fifty-seven lbs. tobacco and fifty-six pounds of variously colored beads, together with 10,000 second class copper Amsterdam beads. Compared with Madagascar, provisions are exceedingly expensive here, and our trade goods are

so little considered, except for *Patacca reals*, which I am loath to have to pay for cattle. Nevertheless, we must be satisfied with this so long as money remains scarce. Further we noted that there were on board eighty-three slaves, consisting of thirty-six adult men, fourteen adult women, twenty juvenile men, four juvenile women together with nine children - eight boys and one girl - for whom we paid in total a sum of one thousand, nine hundred and sixty-four Spanish reals. The gifts this month are extensively described [on pages 480-482 above]. It is to be noticed that the inhabitants are becoming daily more friendly, and I am glad that I have arranged things so far.

Monday 1 September, at night no slaves were brought on board, thus we are waiting patiently until the boat is ready. In the morning at the audience I was paid a geat honor, which however was rather dear in the end. His E. the Governor brought me alone to his wives, only five in all. When I had seen them, and they had given me various sugar cakes, they each asked me for a present, with such insistency that I thought it would cost me everything that I had with me. When the Governor absented himself for a moment I realized that I was required to do this, so I sent to the house and had a few things brought, but it was all too little. Eventually, when I came to an agreement with these great ladies, I was forced to send each of them five bunches of beads, and, between them, one white armosijn and three ordinary bleached coast guinea-cloths. With this they let me go for the time being. I reached this agreement with the help of the English-speaking Moor, who had done much bargaining for me. Then the Governor came into the chamber and laughed and said to me that, before our departure, when all the business was completed, they would expect an even better present.

Tuesday 2 September, once again we received no slaves on board. In the morning the Governor asked me for a sail for his new boat. I informed the commander of this and he sent a sail on shore, with which the Governor was most pleased. Every day, especially on such occasions, he gives me new assurances of friendship.

Wednesday 3 September, at night we received 11 slaves on board, consisting of six adult men at 25, one adult slave woman at 24, three juvenile men at 23 and one boy at 20, thus in total we paid two hundred and sixty-three Spanish reals for them. In the morning the boat for Muscat was launched. For this occasion the Governor had arranged a sham fight, performed by his officers, which was much admired. The Governor added to me, in a friendly manner, that now your desires are about to be fulfilled. Also many of the Swahilis were very glad that it would now be open for them to deliver us slaves.

Thursday 4 September, during the night we received no slaves on board. In the morning, after we had been on shore in the house for some time, a Moor, the owner of the house in which we lived, came to us and asked me for the rent as the month had ended. At this I began to laugh. The Moor asked me if I wanted to live for nothing. I answered with a loud cry that I would not claim that, and asked how much the rent was. He replied 20 reals a month, to which I told him that if he wanted to sell the house that price would be too much for a house in

which one could not sleep because of the mass of ants. Twenty reals a month, I continued, I will inquire with the Governor whether that is fair. At this the Moor walked away distressed.

Friday 5 September, we received two slaves on board, an adult man and an adult woman, the former costing 25 and the latter 24, thus we bought them for forty-nine Spanish reals. In the morning I went to His E. the Governor. He asked me to refill the barrel which last month we had filled with arak for his laborers, as the people work much quicker if they get their daily dram, but my belief is that the Governor also occasionally had a drop. At this opportunity, I asked His E. about the rent, to which he replied that 20 was too much, but 12 was the price, and instead of this awkward house, I will give you a better one. He added, then you have to pay, even though it was not his house, but the Moor's. To this I said that I had incurred so many expenses already. He replied, shrugging his shoulders, that the French paid more and were satisfied, while we, in contrast, complained about everything, although he had labored more for us than for any other nation. I replied that this was a considerable honor, but that if we had the same freedoms as the French had had, then His E. would see that we were quite as generous as that nation.

Saturday 6 September, during the night we received four slaves on board, consisting of three adult men at 25 and one juvenile man at 23, thus in total we paid ninety-eight reals. The seller took two pieces back with him, as they were juvenile and he wanted for them as much as for adults. With an eye to the future, we did not wish to agree to this.

Sunday 7 September, in the morning we sent a cow on board for the old price of 8 reals. In the afternoon there died an adult male slave. These slaves are far weaker by nature than those on Madagascar. I believe that the cause of this is that Madagascar is much more plentiful in its foods, such as cattle, which are there in abundance, poultry, rice, and many sorts of good foods. In contrast, the land of Kilwa, where most of these slaves come from, is very bare, because, according to reports of people who have been there it occurs regularly that 200 at once come out of the bush to the government to sell themselves because of the famine. Then they are sent by that government from there in large boats, which come here as well as elsewhere, and there is also a strong trade from here to that place, as they buy them there, in boats that carry 2 to 300, for various sorts of linen, for cash and for some sorts of beads, at a price that is far lower than here. But they say that it has already been spoiled by the French, who drive up the prices.

Monday 8 September, as a result of the buying of slaves (secretly) I am becoming so confused that, whatever trouble I take, I am not able to find out what is happening, but, trusting that things will come out well, I retired.[7]

[7]This passage is confused, not just because of the state of Van Nuld Onkrudt's mind, but also as a result of faulty copying at the Cape.

Tuesday 9 September, today I learned that the Governor had had eight persons put in irons in the castle, including the young priest who had delivered us the most slaves. The populace and especially the Swahilis were very angry about this.
Wednesday 10 September, as before we received no slaves on board. As the Governor was avoiding speaking to us, I went to see one of the most important priests, to discover the secret, as I had found that these people, and particularly those of the nation that call themselves Swahili, are the least deceitful, while the most dangerous, it should be mentioned, are the common Arabs. After many gestures as signs of friendship and promises of silence, he spoke to me thus: Do you know that there are eight persons, including a young priest who is a prince of our nation are in chains? I answered Yes. Then he continued. The Governor is forced to do that, because it has been discovered that he delivered slaves to you and therefore, together with the others he must sit there until the boat for Muscat has left, because, when the boat leaves, it is permitted for all Arabs, no matter how mean they are, to write to Muscat, and the approval of the slave trade, which is absolutely forbidden, would bring down a very severe punishment on the Governor. But be assured, he continued, the Governor is a man who would rather have everything for himself, but do not be afraid, you will get slaves enough, this is all that I can say to you, and I must add with pain that, glad though I am to see you here and to come to your house, I must stop this for the time being. On returning on board ship, we learned that a juvenile male slave had died.
Thursday 11 September, in the morning at the audience nothing occurred. His E. the Governor, according to his old custom, was most friendly, and asked me once again in secret to have patience. But it is the truth that the urgency in my heart to advance our slave trade, so as to fulfil the honored desire of my Lords and Masters, means that, whatever I do, I cannot find as much patience as is demanded by this nation.
Friday 12 September in the morning I went with the interpreter alone to the Governor. When we were seated with just the three of us, I outlined to His E. everything that might change his mind, and showed the wide advantages which His E. would gain from our yearly coming, and said that if he now treated us well when we left we would give him another fine present of various goods that he needed. At this he answered, laughingly, that he had seen from the last present of beads, etc. which we had given to his wives how my heart was. To this I replied seriously that His E. had forgotten the armosijn and the guinea-cloths, and that we had not managed to achieve anything here in our journey, but that, both when we departed and in another year when we returned, His E. would be convinced of the contrary, namely that our nation was as generous as the others. Yes, and more than those. To this His E. answered, that is good, but promise me in the meantime on your word of honor not to buy any more slaves before I have delivered to you, which he repeatedly promised would occur, as has been said, as soon as the boat to Muscat has left. He confirmed this with an Arabic oath, as a confirmation of his word, done both by him and by other notables.

Saturday 13 September 1777, we have patiently to wait for the time that is mentioned above. There is much ill feeling between the Arabs and the Swahilis here because the Governor will not allow the latter to deliver slaves to us. I have to act with great circumspection so as not to follow the same path as the French, who found themselves deceived by the power of the Swahilis and Moors and by their small heart. It is true that the Swahilis and Moors are more than four times as numerous as the Arabs, and are generally men of property, while the Arabs are very naked and have no more than the chief authority, the wages that they draw from Muscat and a little artillery that is generally proved useless because of age and rust, as can be seen from the fact that one of their notables has to stay in Muscat as a hostage. The Governor is working diligently to ensure that the boat is made ready to go to Muscat, and that we receive daily assurances from His E., so that we hope for a good result.

Sunday 14 September, we sent a cow on board for the normal price of 8 reals, In the afternoon we went on board to eat there, in order to be free of the Swahilis, who are celebrating the New Year with many festivities. In the afternoon a canoe came out to us with various notables, who were lavishly treated so that they left in the evening most satisfied.

Monday 15 September, in the night there died a juvenile male slave. We bought all the lemons and other refreshment that could be got, both for the crew and for the slaves, since scurvy was already beginning among the latter.

Tuesday 16 September, Today as on all other days, we received a new assurance from His E. the Governor, and His E. is but waiting for the time that he can trade with us freely.

Wednesday 17 September, His E. the Governor proposed to me that we should prepare two letters, one for the Imam or paramount of Muscat and one to the former governor Abdalla Bengadi, to ask for his intercession and with reminders of his promises and to advance the possibility that in course of time we might have a free trade here.

Thursday 18 September 1777, we prepared the two letters and handed them over to the Governor this morning. He assured us that he would add to them everything in his power to advance our cause.

Friday 19 September, a juvenile male slave died. We bought all refreshments in the hope of stopping the sickness.

Saturday 20 September, today the Governor's boat left the roads and came to anchor in the outer roads.

Sunday 21 September, in the morning we learned that the Governor was a little sick. Now that everything was finished and the excuses were cleared I had already decided to address him with firm words. In the afternoon, His E. the Governor requested me to come to him next day with the commander so as to discuss the slave trade with us then.

Tuesday 23 September. In the morning, accompanied by the commander, we went to the Governor. He brought us alone in one of the most private rooms of the castle, together with four notables. He then began his discussion with this question, why we had not asked all these days for a letter of permission for

fetching water and firewood from him. We answered that we had once asked for it, and as it was accepted by His E., we then considered it superfluous to ask for the same again every day. At this he continued and said that he had given no permission for us to saw planks. The commander replied that we had sawed no more than eight planks, each less than 10 feet long, and had used them to set up a small bulkhead and that we were prepared to pay if His E. demanded anything for it. With these and other stupid exchanges the audience was opened, which seemed rather strange to us, and when this had finally been thrashed out, then the statement was made, that he could not sell us any slaves. We answered that His E. had promised this, more than once, with the assurance that as soon as His E.'s boat was gone to Muscat, he would deliver to us, and let his subjects deliver. He answered, Yes, that is so, at that time that was the case, and now it is so, that I am not able to allow it. To the fact that we had lent him money on that condition, he said, Yes, I thought so too, even adding the comment I am most grieved. Everything that we did had no effect and His E. himself became sad, so I went with the commander to our house to take counsel on this unexpected and never-forseen chance.

Wednesday 24 September 1777, in the morning I did everything to make another test of the Governor, but it came to nothing, and both the Swahilis and the Moors advised me to leave, because they would then deliver slaves to us around the point of the island; we could depend on that, as here in the roads there was nothing more to be got, but sad tricks played by the Arabs to please their Governor. When I came on board the commander informed me that the second mate had gone with the boat to the water place, but had met various Arabs there armed with guns and weapons to prevent him from fetching water, and that they had set watches.

Thursday 25 September 1777, we were decided, as a result of yesterday's events, to leave the roads, in the hope of achieving the goals of our Lords and Masters in spite of the mishap, and if that should prove impossible, then to go to Kilwa. For ths reason I went on shore in the morning and, as I took everything out of the house we had hired here, and paid for the house, so we had nothing more than the barge on shore, and I ordered the crew to stay on the oars, in case anything should happen to me, as we saw that the Arabs had drawn themselves up in order certainly, to restore the loaned money to us by force. Therefore I sent the interpreter to the castle and had him ask for an interview with the Governor. The latter informed me that he would await me. When I came to him, there were standing before the castle a few Arabs and two or three of the most important Swahilis. I asked whether His E. would allow us to take one person with us to serve as a pilot to Kilwa, for which we would pay him a reasonable amount. He answered yes, I should enquire and, when I found one, send him to him. Further, I asked His E. what was the reason why his people had drawn their swords when the mate came with the boat to the watering place. He replied that the Swahilis always take their boats there for water, and that was certainly the reason, but one of that nation answered that it was Arabs who had done this. To this he claimed to know nothing. Then I asked him for the money we had lent him. He

replied, shrugging his shoulders and said I do not have it. I then added that he should give us ivory or Jouary [sic] (a fruit that grows there, as mentioned above) for the money instead. He replied that he did not have such things, and that we must not expect to get a penny of it back, as it was charged for water, firewood, the permission for staying so long there, anchorage duties on slaves and so on. To this I said that His E. was the cause of our staying so long, as he had flattered us from time to time with hope of delivering slaves to us, and that we had indeed lent him the money we were now demanding on that condition. We added that a governor of one of our stations would rather lose his head than break the word he had given to any foreign nation. This was translated by the English-speaking Moor for him into Arabic, at which he looked furious and was silent. As I had tried everything, fruitlessly, and as I saw that I was dealing with an honorless and wily man, I broke off my speech and left, after a small greeting, to look for a pilot. The Swahilis and Moors claimed to have sympathy for our treatment, and to know very well that the Governor was that sort of man. They did their best to find us a good pilot for Kilwa and to help us achieve our aims.

Friday 26 September. Early in the morning I went on shore to fetch the pilot, who still made many difficulties, first because he was afraid we should not bring him back and secondly that he was a Mohammedan and all such sorts of stupid reasons. In the meanwhile I spoke with my good acquaintance among the Swahilis to receive an assurance that we would be sent slaves by them. In the afternoon I went to His E. the Governor who received me most warmly with a serious face and a demure expression (which he always wore). I asked him about the pilot. He answered that we should take that man, whom I had spoken with yesterday, as he was a fine man and knew the waters there, so that we could safely trust him. One of the notables asked me whether we had paid the rent to the Moor who owned the house. We answered that we had paid everything we owed here, because our nation never went anywhere without paying its debts to the last penny. For this he received a reproach from the Governor having asked us. We were unable to make everything ready to take the pilot on board this evening. When I stood up to leave, the Governor told me that I should live carefully in Kilwa. I replied that this place had given me a good lesson. He asked if I was angry and added that the money was charged for anchorage, permission to lie in the roads, water, firewood etc., so we could have no more claim on that score. I replied that I would not have objected if His E. had asked for money for that, but His E. was to give me slaves and strong men at that for it and had sworn to keep his word only eight days ago but that I now saw that I had put too much trust in his honor. I said farewell and went to the house of a Swahili where I bought as many coconuts, poultry, bananas and what else we could get to use for provisions on the journey. I also bought a cow for 8 reals. In the meantime the commander made everything ready to leave for the place that was decided at once, and I proposed not to go on shore again. In the evening I took a desultory leave of the Governor.

Saturday 27 September 1777. I sent the barge to the shore with a mate and our interpreter to fetch the pilot, together with another person who was to come with

us named Ali Benhamet, a Moor. The reason was that the pilot could only speak Swahili, which our interpreter could not understand, so he would serve as the interpreter for the pilot and was at the same time most necessary during the slave trade on the way as all the deliverers are Swahili and their language is so different from Moorish Arabic that they cannot understand each other unless they know each other's languages. In the evening the mate came back with the barge, bringing the pilot, named Ali Rubaan, a Swahili. He reported that His E. the Governor was very angry that I had not come in person again. We were thus ready to leave when the wind would serve.

Sunday 28 September, we found that, during this month, we had bartered, for provisions for the crew and the slaves, and for diverse requirements on our journey, thirty-eight dozen best lignum vitae knives, six tin cups, forty lbs. tobacco, five iron pots, as well as eighty-nine and a half lbs. of variously colored beads, and for four head of cattle at 8 reals each we spent thirty-two reals, plus 24 reals as rent on the house at 12 reals a month, which I took the freedom of charging as expenses for the slaves, plus 500 ps Mexicans which were charged by the Arabic governor for water, firewood, the permission to stay here so long, anchorage, duty on slaves and so on. The undersigned hopes that this item will be judged favorably by Your Honors, taking into consideration the circumstances, in which we then found ourselves, and also the promises made from time to time with stately assurances and oaths by the Governor, the daily flattery and intriguing treatment by His E., so that this sum had unavoidably to be granted to him, as its refusal could have landed us in many disasters. We would have had to depart with the 55 slaves that we had then, as I was not yet so well known to the inhabitants, and moreover because of the winds we would have had to wait at least a month longer between the islands. Further we discovered that this month we had bought 17 slaves, consisting of ten adult men, two adult women, four juvenile men and one child, a boy. For these we paid a sum of four hundred and ten Mexicans. As regards the gifts this month, to the wives of His E. the Governor, these are extensively described [on page 491 above], and thus do not have to be repeated here.

Monday 29 September, we raised anchor and set the under-sail, in the hope that God will speed our journey, but because of headwinds and calms we could not make much progress.

Tuesday 30 September, we remained at anchor.

Wednesday 1 October, as above.

Thursday 2 October, in the morning we raised the anchor and set the undersail, so as to sail to the western island, because there is a good anchorage there. We intended to remain there until we had received an answer as to the delivery of slaves by the Swahilis of Zanzibar, but could not make much progress and at 12 o'clock anchored again.

Friday 3 October, in the morning we raised the anchor, but could make no more than 1/4 mile progress.

Saturday 4 October, once again we raised the anchor, but again did not make much progress.

Sunday 5 October 1777, in the morning there came out to us the young Swahili priest and Prince Benhamet Mejd Mooij, together with two notable of that nation who had delivered us most of the slaves we so far had. They brought 4 slaves, three men and one woman, which we bought for 25 reals each, thus expended in total 100 reals. They came on board, not so much to deliver the slaves, as because of an understanding reached with me in Zanzibar to make a definite agreement as to the number of slaves that we needed and to fix the price. Thus they asked us how many we still wanted. We replied asking whether His E. could deliver us another 150 to 180, to which, after consulting with the two other notables he replied to us: Agreed, but for not less than 25 reals each. He thus bound himself to deliver us these within two months, provided, after delivery, we would give a substantial present to him and to his father, who was the most senior priest of the nation, and very well regarded by His E. the Governor, and above all by the populace. He said that His E. knew very well that it was the custom of the European nation to do this for the deliverers of slaves. We agreed to this, and promised to be generous. He also told us that his father had satisfied His E. the Governor, who had been betrayed by his greed and he was now relieved of the massive sum which had formed in his mind that he had intended to take from us. After remaining for some time, and after giving each other assurances with regard to the agreement we had made, they left most satisfied and promised to make the first deliveries within 5 or 6 days.
Monday 6 October, died a juvenile male slave. We did everything possible to prevent the sickness.
Tuesday 7 October, we remained at anchor.
Wednesday 8 October, at 7 o'clock in the norning we raised anchor and sailed to the point of the island.
Thursday 9 October, a juvenile male slave died. Nothing else occurred.
Friday 10 October, nothing occurred.
Saturday 11 October, there came a boat from Mafia destined for Zanzibar with slaves. They told us that we could buy slaves there, and he gave us the address of his brother there, which we accepted, as it might come in useful. Then we bought eight of the slaves he had with him, consisting of four adult men and three adult women, plus one sucking child, a girl. The former seven cost 25 reals each, and the child 12, thus in total we paid one hundred and eighty-seven Spanish reals. Thereafter he continued his journey. In the evening a canoe came from the priest mentioned on the 5th of this month. It brought eighteen slaves, consisting of 12 males and 6 females, all adults, which we bought, according to the agreement, for four hundred and fifty Spanish reals. We showed the crew all possible courtesies and gave them a few small presents.
Sunday 12 October, in the morning we raised anchor and sailed a little distance to the most westerly island, where we again anchored around 10 o'clock.[8]
Monday 13 October, nothing occurred.

[8]Presumably they anchored by the islands off Unguja Ukuu, off the southwest coast of Zanzibar. In fact these are somewhat to the east of Zanzibar town.

Tuesday 14 October, as above.
Wednesday 15 October, the above-mentioned priest again sent us 13 slaves, consisting of six adult men, three adult women and four juvenile boys. In accordance with the agreement, we paid 25 reals each, thus in total three hundred and twenty-five Spanish reals. The above-mentioned priest had made us welcome among the natives on this side of the island. For this reason those people came to us on board every day, and brought provisions consisting of goats, poultry, bananas, pineapples, coconuts, fish, eggs etc., which we bought from them, and, to encourage them to come daily, gave them a few small presents.
Friday 17 October, there came to us from the furthest bay of Zanzibar island, a canoe which brought seven slaves, consisting of three adult men and four women. We bought them for 25 reals each, thus one hundred and seventy-five Mexicans. We showed these people every possible courtesy, because it was the first time they had come to us, and they promised to bring more within five of six days. Also, they brought many provisions with them, of which we bought as much as was available from the natives every day, even though it was very expensive and the prices did not differ from Zanzibar. At times we had a stew cooked in which we put goats, meat, squashes and numerous small lemons[9] because the scurvy was already increasing.
Saturday 18 October 1777, nothing occurred.
Sunday 19 October in the morning the above-mentioned priest again sent us 27 slaves, consisting of thirteen adult men, thirteen adult women and one juvenile boy, which we again bought for 25 each, thus we paid in total a sum of six hundred and seventy-five Mexicans.
Monday 20 October, the commander had two air holes made in the women's quarter because it was becoming stuffy there because of the heat.
Tuesday 21 October,
Wednesday 22 October,
Thursday 23 October, nothing occurred.
Friday 24 October, the above-mentioned priest again sent us 24 slaves, consisting of twelve adult men, seven adult women and five juvenile boys. According to our agreement we paid 25 each for them, thus in total six hundred Spanish reals.
Saturday 25 October, nothing occurred.
Sunday 26 October in the morning there came the Swahilis mentioned on the 17th of this month, from the island's bay. They again brought ten slaves, consisting of six adult men and four adult women, at 25 each. Thus we paid two hundred and fifty reals for them. They included two boys, who were not quite adult, but, because we received so many provisions from them we did not pay too close attention to this. It was also the place from which we got water, which is for us a most essential requirement.
Monday 27 October,
Tuesday 28 October,

[98] It is doubtful whether the stewing of lemons would have any effect, as the Vitamin C would have been destroyed.

Wednesday 29 October,
Thursday 30 October, nothing occurred.
Friday 31 October, we discovered that this month, since our departure from Zanzibar, we had bought in one hundred and eleven slaves, consisting of fifty-nine adult males, and forty-one women, together with ten juvenile boys and one sucking girl. For these we had expended the sum of two thousand seven hundred and sixty-two Mexicans. For the purchase of provisions we had paid two doubly smoothed armosijns, five tin cups, four iron pots, thirty lbs. tobacco, fourteen dozen best lignum vitae knives and thirty lbs. variously colored beads. The provisions are, as in Zanzibar, very expensive, because the country does not produce in abundance and in general the people are not very satisfied with our trade goods, but at every opportunity only speak of reals.
Saturday 1 November, in the evening a full-grown male slave died.
Sunday 2 November,
Monday 3 November, nothing occurred.
Tuesday 4 November, an adult male slave died.
Wednesday 5 November, nothing occurred.
Thursday 6 November, in the afternoon a ship came to anchor alongside us. It had come from Quiloa with slaves. The commander went on board, because I was not well. When he returned he reported that he had not been able to agree on the price. In the evening an adult male slave died. We did everything possible to prevent the sickness, but, alas, without success.
Friday 7 November, once again an adult male slave died.
Saturday 8 November, nothing occurred.
Sunday 9 November, two slave women, one adult and one juvenile, died.
Monday 10 November,
Tuesday 11 November, nothing occurred.
Wednesday 12 November, in the morning an adult slave woman died.
Thursday 13 November, three slaves died, one adult man, one adult woman, and one juvenile boy.
Friday 14 November, in the afternoon a ship coming from Mafia and destined for Zanzibar came to anchor by us. It had on board a number of slaves and cows. We bought from them 11 slaves, consisting of five adult men, five juvenile boys and one how was not yet juvenile. For the first five we paid 25, for the next five 24 and for the last just 22, thus in total, for the eleven, we paid the sum of two hundred and sixty-seven Spanish reals. We would have been glad to buy some cattle from them, but they would not take anything except piasters. We remembered all too well how we had paid out such a lot of these without receiving slaves for them, and thus offered them 2 armosijns for three head of cattle, but they would not hear of this. We then wished them a good journey and went on board with the slaves.
Towards the evening two adult men died. They were about the best that we have on board, of a large stature and not above 21 to 22 years old. We could not understand why they died so suddenly, as everything possible was done. Therefore the surgeon proposed opening the bodies, which was allowed him but

after the *post mortem* and careful inspection he reported that he had found nothing unnatural in the bodies.

Saturday 15 November, in the morning the frequently mentioned priest sent us a large boat, containing forty-four slaves, consisting of nineteen adult men, seventeen adult women, seven juvenile boys and one sucking girl. In accordance with the agreement we paid 25 for the 43 and 10 reals for the baby, and thus paid in total a sum of one thousand and eighty-five Mexican reals for them.

Sunday 16 November,

Monday 17 November,

Tuesday 18 November, nothing occurred.

Wednesday 19 November, in the morning the ship's council was assembled and the members were asked whether they could propose any way to prevent the sickness, in addition to what had already been done. We had rice with sugar and wine prepared every day for the sick, and for the healthy we bought in as much refreshment as was to be got. The surgeon was also called in, so his advice could be heard, but his answer was that we had done everything that he could think of. So, not knowing what else to suggest we must hope that God will make our further journey more profitable. In the evening another adult slave woman died.

Thursday 20 November 1777 we again received from the priest twenty-two slaves, consisting of ten adult men, five women and seven juvenile boys, whom according to the agreement, we bought for four hundred and fifty Mexicans. They reported that their master the priest would bring us the rest himself within a few days. Therefore, as we no longer needed them, the pilot and the Moor Ali Benhameth returned to Zanzibar, with a few small gifts.

Friday 21 November,

Saturday 22 November, nothing occurred.

Sunday 23 Novermber, in the morning one adult male slave died.

Monday 24 November, in the morning there again died an adult male slave.

Tuesday 25 November,

Wednesday 26 November,

Thursday 27 November, nothing happened.

Friday 28 November, died a full-grown slave woman.

Saturday 29 November, in the evening died an adult slave woman.

Sunday 30 November, died a juvenile slave boy and a sucking girl. In the morning came to above-mentioned priest in person, together with several notables of his nation, to us. They had with them 40 slaves, consisting of ten adult men and eleven adult women, plus nineteen juvenile boys. Thus, in accord with the old agreement, we paid 25 each, and thus in total one thousand Mexicans for them. Then we came to the present we had promised him and his father. They had delivered us 192 slaves, instead of the 150-180, and in addition His E. brought with him as a present a number of pineapples, bananas and other fresh fruit from His E.'s farms, for us to use on the journey. Therefore, in accord with the agreement and because of the fine treatment we had received from this man and his father, we honored them with two armosijns, one for him and one for his father, one coast Guinea-cloth, normally bleached, one polished glass goblet, one glass beaker

with its tray, one glass cup with its lid and saucer, 20 lbs. of variously colored beads, two tin cups, two iron pots, fifteen lbs. tobacco, fifty-six cans of arak, twelve small porcelain cups, and twenty-four flat and twenty-four deep plates, and six large porcelain cups; more than this we could not have done. Further we showed him every courtesy, as we owe the success of our slave trade to this man and his friends. With all appearances of satisfaction he left us, promising that, should the opportunity come, he would always treat us and our nation with reciprocity. He said that his greatest hope was that we would be able to trade freely in that place again. We discovered that this month, we had bartered for the provisions we had bought from the natives, namely goats, poultry, bananas, coconuts, fish, lemons and whatever could be got, one armosijn, fifty lbs. of variously colored beads, sixteen best lignum vitae knives, four tin cups, five iron pots, fifteen lbs. tobacco, and, as gifts this month for the pilot Ali Ruban and the interpreter Ali Benhamet, ten dozen knives, of best lignum vitae, two iron pots, and two more tin cups, together with two black whole baftas. To the natives, because they had allowed us to take water on this side of the island and had also delivered us 17 slaves, and as their friendship was most necessary, and since, after our departure, they could tell the Governor how we had lived here and traded with them, we gave ten dozen best lignum vitae knives, eighty cans of araq, and, while at anchor here, thirty lbs. variously colored beads. We also found that this month we had bought in one hundred and seventeen slaves for a sum of two thousand nine hundred and two Mexicans. They consisted of forty-two adult men, thirty-three adult women, thirty-eight juvenile males and two children, a boy and a girl. Thus in total we had bought in for our honored Lords and Masters a total of three hundred and twenty-eight slaves, consisting of one hundred and forty-nine adult men, ninety adult women, seventy-two juvenile males, four juvenile females and thirteen children, ten boys and three girls. These cost us a total of eight thousand and thirty-eight Mexicans, and we hope that in this we have fulfilled the orders of Your Honors, so that we can take the first favorable wind that the Almighty may send, to put to sea and continue our journey.

Monday 1 December,

Tuesday 2 December, nothing occurred.

Wednesday 3 December, as the wind got up in the afternoon, we raised the anchor and set sail around 3 o'clock, in the hope of God's most valuable guidance after a time which, despite many restraints, was eventually richly blessed by His mild hand.

Thursday 4 December,

Friday 5 December,

Saturday 6 December,

Sunday 7 December,

Monday 8 December, nothing occurred.

Tuesday 9 December, an adult male slave died.

Wednesday 10 December, nothing happened.

Thursday 11 December. Two adult men slaves died. The mortality begins once again to increase terribly, even though we do everything possible to prevent it.

Friday 12 December,
Saturday 13 December, nothing occurred.
Sunday 14 December, two adult men slaves died.
Monday 15 December, nothing happened.
Tuesday 16 December, two adult men slaves died.
Wednesday 17 December, one adult man slave died.
Thursday 18 December, one adult man slave died.
Friday 19 December, nothing occurred.
Saturday 20 December, two adult men slaves died.
Sunday 21 December, one adult man slave died.
Monday 22 December, two adult men slaves died.
Tuesday 23 December, two adult men slaves died.
Wednesday 24 December, nothing happened.
Thursday 25 December,
Wednesday 25 December , again two adult men slaves died. We had a great need of provisions.
Friday 26 December, an adult slave man died in the morning. Around 9 o'clock the air cleared, we saw the hills of Tuliara and, as the wind was favorable to us, we had the good fortune to come to anchor in the roads there at one o'clock in the afternoon. We were most satisfied that we now had the opportunity to provide as much refreshment as they wished for to our slaves and crew, and also to acquire a good supply of water, which was most necessary.
In the afternoon the well-known broker Theijse came on board with his Portuguese barge. He was amazed at the number of our slaves, as he was used to see no more than about 100 with us. We straightaway concluded an agreement for the delivery of seventeen large slaughter cattle. Since His E. hoped for flintlocks and powder, which I did not have, I agreed to pay him nine double smoothed armosijns and two black broad whole baftas, provided he also delivered four calves with them for our home journey. All the same he would rather have powder and guns. I really must admit he is a most reasonable Malagasy, and extra favorable toward Europeans. He also promised straightaway to direct that the people bring all possible provisions to us on board. When he left we fired five canon shots to announce to the King that a Dutch ship had arrived. He would inform his King directly of our arrival, and that I intended to go there next day with various presents. That same evening we received a slaughter cow on board, according to the agreement with Theijse.
Saturday 27 December in the morning there came by us on board a French Captain named Muterse, who had sailed on the 10th of May this year from L'Orient[10] in the ship *Le Comte de Maurepas*, but had, on the 18th of July, lost his ship on this coast to the south of Augustin's Bay.[11] They reached the shore in a boat, but they were robbed by the negroes of everything, including the baggage

[10]Lorient, in southern Brittany, was the main port for shipping from France to the Mascarenes.

[11]St. Augustine's Bay is on the east coast of Madagascar, a few miles to the south of Tulear.

they had with them. They arrived here in a terrible state, and were supported by Prince Willem in Augustin's Bay and by the King of Tuliara and the broker Theijse, as far as they were able, so that they were at least covered with clothes according to their former characters. The officers were still in Augustin's Bay with the crew. This pitiable man beseeched us most fervently to be allowed to return to the Cape of Good Hope in our ship with those of his officers and crew who were still alive. The commander, after consulting the first mate and myself, was certain that Your Honors would approve our accepting this; also, we were convinced that no European could survive the evil monsoon which was fast approaching this place, as is shown by the fact that deserters from previous voyages of our nation here have always been dead by the following year.

Thus we answered the unfortunate man then and there as our heart and our duty as Christians dictated, at which His E. was greatly moved, thanked us with tears in his eyes, very glad that his long-cherished wish had been realized. In the afternoon, after dinner, I set out to the King, who was in his residence. I landed there about 7 o'clock in the evening and was directly received most courteously by His E. and his royal family, and by the regent, since the King is only 12 years old and the country is ruled by his uncle, named Requiko. I brought with me a present consisting of a cape mirror with a gilded frame, a half-aum of arak, two and a half lbs. of beads of various colors, four dozen best lignum vitae knives, and various spices, consisting of two lbs. nutmeg, two lbs. mace, two lbs. cinnamon and five lbs. cloves. With these I requested permission to buy in provisions which we needed for our journey, and said that, since we intended only to stay there a short time, we would not erect a factory. This greatly disappointed them, so I promised that if we had time we would do so on another occasion. I spent that night in the place and the house of the king, in order to return on board in the morning at daybreak, which I did.

Sunday 28 December 1777, I bought in all refreshments that were available.

Monday 29 December, did everything in our power to preserve the health of the slaves.

Tuesday 30 December died one juvenile male slave.

Wednesday 31 December died two juvenile male slaves.

Thursday 1 January 1778 every day we butchered one head of cattle, the heaviest that were to be got. In the afternoon, one slave woman died.

Friday 2 January, nothing occurred.

Saturday 3 January, as above.

Sunday 4 January, since we now had on board the officers of the wrecked French ship, who consisted of the Captain Muterse, his second-in-command Saver, the Priest Pere Louis, the second surgeon Landier and the Boatswain Rene Pilhour, together with 19 of the crew, including the cook, and also a negro and negress who had been passengers on the said vessel, thus in total 24 souls, and since we now had our water on board and as much refreshments as could be got in the time, so at 6 in the morning we raised the anchor and set sail in the hope of God's most precious blessing. We discovered that we had bartered here for seventeen large slaughter cattle, four claves, grass for them on the journey, some

goats, vegetables, fish, milk, hens, etc., nine doubly smoothed armosijns, two whole broad black baftas, twenty-four and a half lbs. variously colored beads, one tin cup, two iron pots, eight and a half dozen best pocket knives, and forty-eight cans of arak, which had been paid to the natives. In the evening an adult male slave died.

Monday 5 January, there died an adult slave man and an adult slave woman.

Tuesday 6 January, there died an adult slave woman. Every day we gave meat of the cattle we had brought with us as refreshments.

Wednesday 7 January died a juvenile male slave.

Thursday 8 January died an adult slave woman.

Friday 9 January died one adult slave man and one adult slave woman.

Saturday 10 January, died one adult male slave.

Sunday 11 January, died two juvenile male slaves.

Monday 12 January, nothing occurred.

Tuesday 13 January, one adult slave woman died.

Wednesday 14 January, a French sailor died.

Thursday 15 January died an adult male slave.

Friday 16 January died one adult slave woman.

Saturday 17 January, nothing occurred.

Sunday 18 January, suddenly without their being sick, there died a large adult male slave and a slave woman. To our great satisfaction we saw the mainland of Africa. A French sailor died.

Monday 19 January, once again, to our distress, three slaves, two adult men and one adult woman, died.

Tuesday 20 January, an adult slave man died.

Wednesday 21 January, a juvenile slave boy died.

Thursday 22 January, in the night there died two slaves, an adult woman and a juvenile male; in the morning a French sailor died and in the afternoon yet another juvenile male slave, and an adult slave man. In the afternoon we sailed into the roads of the Cape of Good Hope, but were prevented by a strong Southeastern from reaching our goal, and so were forced to go to Robben Island, where we anchored at 3:30 in the afternoon. We immediately received some provisions and ten living sheep from the superintendent, for the Company's account, which were most welcome.

Friday 23 January, I sent a letter to Your Excellencies in which I dutifully made a hasty report, as the time available for writing was limited. To our dismay there again died three slaves, two adult and one juvenile males. We longed for a favorable wind, so we could sail into the roads of the Cape of Good Hope, because the daily deaths most distress us.

Saturday 24 January, died two juvenile male slaves and a French sailor.

Sunday 25 January. In the night the wind unexpectedly changed with a light air breeze. Both the seamen and I hoped to make use of such fortune, so we made every effort, and in the morning came into the roads of the Cape of Good Hope.

Immediately the *equipagiemeester*[12] came on board and sent the slaves directly on land, following Your E.'s orders. They consisted of one hundred and nine adult males, sevety-four adult females, fifty-two juvenile males, three juvenile females, two girls and ten boys, thus in total two hundred and fifty. My commission thus being at an end, so the undersigned, with most respectful submission towards Your Excellencies, signs himself

Your Excellencies' most humble servant
Constant van Nuld Onkruijdt

in the ship *Jagtrust* in the Cape of Good Hope Roads, 25 January 1778.

A true copy T.C. Ronnekamp, sworn clerk.

[12]The *equipagiemeester* was the official responsible for the ships and their supplies.

Notes and Documents

THE DUTCH ON THE SWAHILI COAST, 1776-1778: TWO SLAVING JOURNALS, PART I *

Edited by Robert Ross

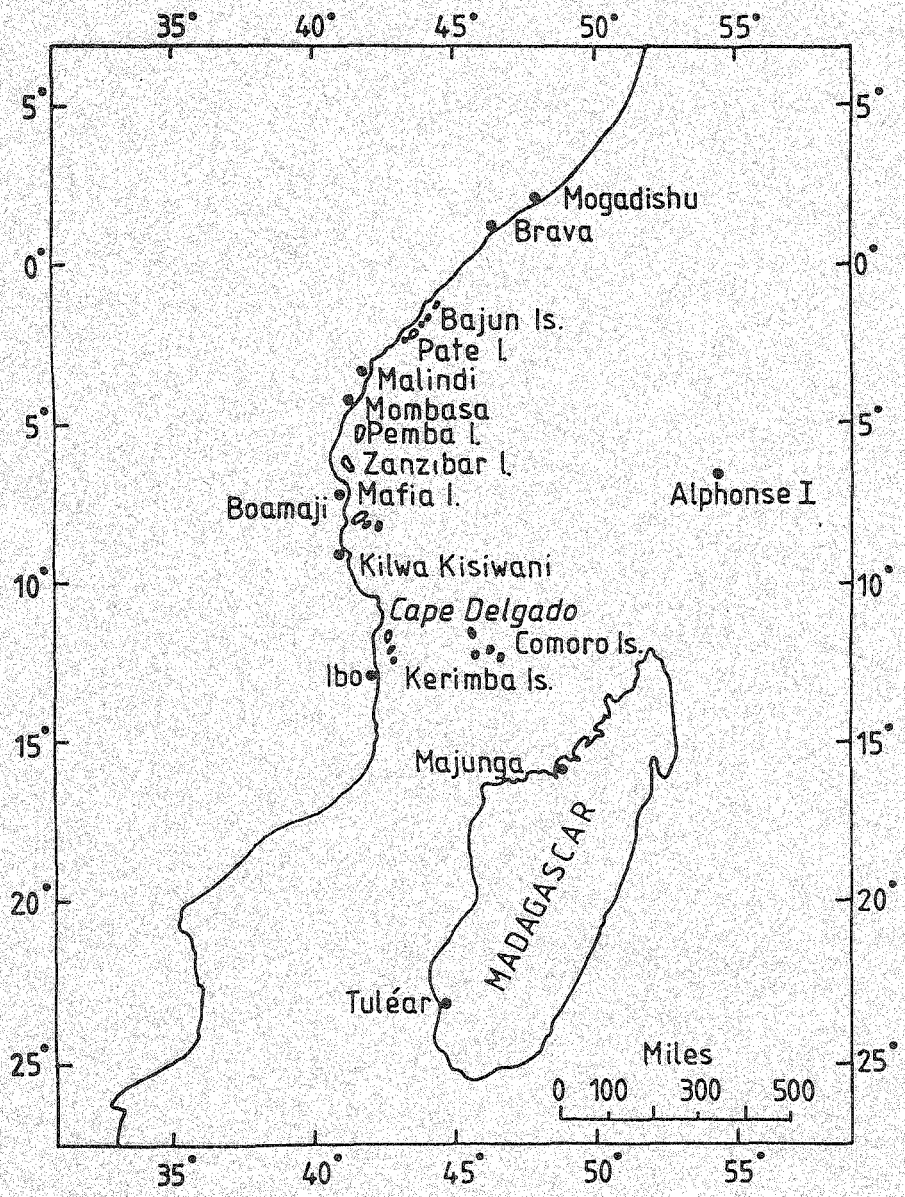
The two documents presented here in translation from the original Dutch are the journals kept by the commissioners, or supercargoes, on two slaving voyages made by ships of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) from the Cape of Good Hope to Zanzibar between 1776 and 1778. In both cases, the ships also put into Mbwamaji, on the mainland coast opposite Zanzibar, and into various ports on Madagascar. In the first voyage, the Dutch also went to the Comoro Islands and to Ibo in northern Mozambique, and they spent two months in Brava, on the Benadir coast of southern Somalia. They also made abortive efforts to reach Kilwa in southern Tanzania, and Pate, in the Lamu archipelago in northern Kenya.

Since they were written by men who were concerned to gather information of potential commercial value, and who were assisted by competent interpreters, the two journals provide a great deal of information over and above that concerning the slave trade itself. They derive from a period for which knowledge of the East African coast is sparse, with the exception of the memorials of the French slave trader M. Morice.[1] Moreover, they complement Morice's information very nicely, since, for reasons which will be clear from the documents, the French had few direct contacts with Zanzibar, while the Dutch did not put into Kilwa, where most of the French activity was situated.

The journals in question, however, are the only known documents in Dutch relating to the East African coast north of Mozambique in the eighteenth century. For this reason, translation of them was considered to be a most valuable service for the international community of African historians. In contrast, for instance, to the situation in West Africa, knowledge of Dutch is otherwise not a

*The research on which this article is based was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research; I am most grateful for their support.

[1] This material is printed in G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa Island: An Episode in Eighteenth-Century East African History* (Oxford, 1965).



The East African Coast, showing the principal places in the text.

necessary part of the equipment of an East African historian. As a result, and because no one seems to have searched for the journals, at least in Holland, they have never been used by East African historians, even though the fact that the Dutch made voyages to Zanzibar at this time was known from Morice's reports and from published source material deriving from the archives in Cape Town.[2]

The journals themselves are to be found in the *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren van de Kaap afkomstig* (letters and papers from the Cape), in the archives of the VOC, which are held by the Algemeen Rijksarchief in The Hague. The precise references are VOC 4283, ff. 300-349 and VOC 4286, ff. 196-227. They are where they could be expected, and indeed there are about twenty other similar journals scattered, in chronological order, through the archives. These, however, all deal with slave trading to Mozambique or Madagascar, with occasional descriptions of the Comoro Islands.

The originals of the journals have not been preserved. Rather, what we have are official, attested copies, in which there are nonetheless occasional faults of transcription. They were made by a number of clerks in the Cape Town offices of the VOC, and were then sent to the Netherlands, so that the directors of the Company could be kept informed of developments in its outstations. Indeed, three copies of each journal were sent to Europe, one for the Amsterdam chamber of the Company and for the directors, one for the *equipagiekantoor*, which was concerned with the administration of wages for the VOC sailors, and so had to be informed of all who died. The latter two copies did not survive the wholesale clear-out of the VOC's archives in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the copies that we do have are undoubtedly sufficiently accurate to make them a most important source for the history of the East African coast and the trading world of the eastern Indian Ocean in the late eighteenth century.

The Reasons for the Journeys

The journeys described here were made for the purpose of buying slaves for the Cape Town establishment of the Dutch East India Company. The VOC owned around 500 slaves in South Africa, almost all of whom lived in Cape Town. They were employed as woodcutters, as street cleaners, and as menial laborers in the harbor or on the fortifications. There were also a number of more skilled slaves who worked alongside the various craftsmen in the VOC's service.[3] This labor force did not reproduce itself, since the death rate was high, the fertility low, and the sex ratio highly imbalanced. It was therefore necessary for the efficient running of the VOC's business in Cape Town that the force was regularly replenished by slaving voyages. In total, in the course of the century and a half of VOC

[2]See for example Sir John Gray, *History of Zanzibar from the Middle Ages to 1856* (London, 1962), 89-91; C. Halls, "Dutch Navigation on the East African Coast," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, LXVII (1967), 46-47; the original material, which derives from the short precis of the second journey described in this book and recorded in the Cape Journal and in the Resolutions of the Cape Town Council of Policy, is to be found in K.M. Jeffreys, ed., *Kaapse Archiefstukken, 1778* (Cape Town, 1926), 46-47.

[3]Robert Ross, "The Occupations of Slaves in Eighteenth Century Cape Town," *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, II (1979), 2-4.

rule at the Cape, the Company sent out at least thirty-nine such expeditions.[4] The decision to do so in 1776 was therefore a routine one for the officials of the Council of Policy in Cape Town. Similar voyages had been made in each of the last three years, but the Company's requirements had not yet been satisfied. A suitable ship was available for the traffic. The Council of Policy did not feel the need to justify its decision any more extensively than that.[5] And when the first journey to Zanzibar had not produced enough slaves to satisfy their demand, they had no hesitation in sending out a second voyage.[6]

To send out a ship to buy slaves was one thing; to send it to Zanzibar was another. During the eighteenth century the Company had concentrated its slave buying in Madagascar. Thirty-three out of the thirty-nine expeditions were sent there. Why, then, did they depart from their usual pattern of trading to send the ship to the coast of Zanzibar? Ever since the Dutch had discovered the advantages of sailing to the Indonesian archipelago, and even to Sri Lanka and India, by a direct southerly route, entirely avoiding the Mozambique channel, their contacts with the East African coast had dwindled. Whereas, early in the seventeenth century, the Dutch had made a number of assaults on Mozambique island, and seemed to have attempted to establish a base at Pemba from which to begin a blockade of the Western Indian Ocean, from the 1620s on these seas had become, in their planning, literally a backwater.[7] For all the efficiency with which they gathered commercial information on India, the archipelago and the Far East - an efficiency for which historians must be thankful - the Dutch had not even heard that Malindi was no longer the great port it once was, but had been sacked nearly fifty years earlier and had been more or less abandoned.[8] Why, then, this change of policy?

The Council of Policy came to its decision largely on the basis of information it had received from French traders who had put into the Cape Town harbor while bringing slaves from the East African coast to the French West Indian islands, or who had passed by on their way back to Europe after conducting their business between the coast and the new sugar islands of Mauritius and Réunion. In the five years 1771-1775, some 139 French ships had stopped in Cape Town, and the majority of these had come from, or were destined for, the sugar islands.[9] Their captains included, among others, the M.

[4]James C. Armstrong, "The Slaves, 1652-1795," in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820* (London and Cape Town, 1970) 85-90; for the numbers of slaves see Pieter van Duin and Robert Ross, *The Economy of the Cape Colony in the Eighteenth Century*, (Leiden, 1986).

[5]Resolution of the Council of Policy, Cape Town, 19 March 1776, VOC 4284.

[6]Resolution of the Council of Policy, Cape Town, 6 May 1777, VOC 4287.

[7]Halls, "Dutch Navigation," 39-46.

[8]See below, 8 August 1776; E.B. Martin, *The History of Malindi: A Geographical Analysis of an East African Coastal Town From the Portuguese Period to the Present* (Nairobi, 1973).

[9]For the number of these ships, see Coenraad Beyers, *Die Kaapse Patriotte gedurende die laatste kwart van die agtiende eeu en die voortlewing van hul denkbeelde* 2nd ed. (Pretoria, 1967), 334; an examination of the original lists in The Hague archives makes it clear that the increase around 1770 was due to an increased French traffic to the Mascarenes.

Morice who was perhaps the most important slave trader to Kilwa. Indeed Morice was later to complain that the Dutch had learned from him of the possibilities of trading for slaves along the East Coast. (Actually, he should have been glad, since he was using the Dutch presence as a bogey to drive the French government into action.[10]) The Council of Policy at the Cape admitted to having learned from the French that "on the coast of Zanguebar a good type of these useful people is found in abundance and can be acquired at a very reasonable price."[11] Therefore, despite the obsolescence of their scant knowledge of the coast, they decided upon this new venture.

This form of commercial information, the gossip of seamen who got drunk and spoke too much in a Cape Town winehouse, would probably not be enough to convince the sober and commercially conservative bureaucrats of the Cape's government if they had had no other grounds for abandoning their previous policy of trading to Madagascar. These grounds were, it would seem, two-fold, although they were never directly admitted. They derived from the experience of the VOC on its previous slaving voyages, both in the Comoro islands and on Madagascar. In order to understand both the presumptive motivation of the Dutch and the background to these two voyages, it is necessary now to make a highly selective tour of the Western Indian Ocean.

The Comoro Islands

In 1773, the ship *De Snelheijd* had made a voyage to buy slaves for the VOC. Before it arrived in Madagascar, the ship sailed first to the Comoro islands. The occasion for this visit was to deliver a letter which had been sent by the crown prince of Anjouan, Scheikh Salem, to his father, Sultan Zijdi Achmet Ponsoaly ben Zijde Cheege Hoimaro Minal Cheege Abboebakkar Ponsalima a Loui Maoqui (to give his full title as he signed himself in a letter to the Dutch governor of the Cape).[12] In the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca, the crown prince had arrived in Sri Lanka whence his letter was sent through the channels of the VOC to the Cape, in the hope that it might be delivered.[13] The Dutch saw this as an invitation to extend the scope of their activities, and therefore decided to visit Anjouan, the most important of the Comoro islands, in the course of their voyage. It was not an easy task, and the *Snelheijd* spent a month drifting around in the currents between the islands before it was finally able to arrive at Mutsammudu on the north shore of Anjouan.

In the late eighteenth century, Mutsammudu was the main port of the archipelago. There was a regular traffic of European ships, since the main trade route from Western India round the Cape led through the Mozambique channels, and it was often necessary for those ships to put into Anjouan to take on water and provisions. The Dutch were presented with lists of the duties to be paid on the port

[10]Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, 98.

[11]Resolution of the Council of Policy, Cape Town, 19 March 1776, VOC 4284.

[12]VOC 4273, 262.

[13]*Ibid.*, 253.

which had been signed by English, French, Swedish, Danish and Portuguese captains.[14] They were also given a regularized price list for the purchase of provisions, many of which were imported from the island of Moheli, to the west of Anjouan.[15] Mutsammudu was clearly a town that had become prosperous on the basis of supplies to ships. The governor of Mutsammudu, and indeed the sultan of the island as a whole realized this. They commented that the island had no other source of income except the foreign ships, since they produced nothing except for food.[16] Here, however, they were exaggerating, or at least distorting the truth somewhat, since merchants from Anjouan were active in Madagascar and on the East African coast.[17]

Although Mutsammudu was the main port of the island, it was not its political capital. The sultan lived at Dommoni, on the east coast, while the crown prince's residence was at Wani, near Mutsammudu. Traditions tell of rivalry between Mutsammudu and Dommoni,[18] and certainly the officials in the former port did all they could to prevent the Dutch from journeying to the sultan. It was claimed that the cost of the trek would be too much, and that the sultan was too old to receive any foreigners without loss of dignity. Nevertheless, the Dutch insisted that they had to deliver his son's letter into the sultan's own hands. They were able to force the issue, and the commissioner, Frederick Holtzappel, journeyed across the island, one day's march over a high mountain, to Dommoni. The sultan, "an old man more than sixty years of age," received him graciously, but without great formality, and the next day Holtzappel returned to Mutsammudu bearing letters of thanks from the sultan to the governors of the Cape of Good Hope and Sri Lanka.[19] Shortly afterwards the *Snelheijd* sailed to Madagascar.

The Dutch were disappointed in what was probably the real motive for their detour to Anjouan. The Comorans had no slaves to sell them. Several members of the Muslim elite there claimed that "they could never have too many slaves to labor on their farms and to do the work about their houses. Indeed they themselves had to fetch and buy their slaves, with great danger, from Mozambique or Madagascar."[20] However, Holtzappel was most impressed with the island. It is worth quoting his description *in extenso*. Holtzappel wrote:

> This island is highly mountainous, but is nevertheless very fertile. In all the valleys fresh rivers run into the sea. All their steep slopes are covered with trees, and the coast is ringed with innumerable coconut palms. Bananas, lemons, guavas etc. grow in the wild, but sweet

[14] *Ibid.*, 255.

[15] These included cattle, rock-goats, hens, sweet potatoes, squashes, coconuts, and above all rice. *Ibid.*, 251.

[16] *Ibid.*, 254.

[17] See below, 10 January 1777 and 14 February 1777.

[18] Malyn Newitt, "The Comoro Islands in Indian Ocean Trade Before the Nineteenth Century," in *The Indian Ocean in Focus: International Conference on Indian Ocean Studies* (Perth, 1979), Section III, 14.

[19] VOC 4273, 260 ff.

[20] *Ibid.*, 254.

> potatoes, pumpkins, purslain etc., and above all rice, are grown with very great energy, both on the mountains and in the valleys; the cattle are by no means as large as those of Madagascar. They have numerous rock goats, also the poultry are not of the largest sort. Wild animals are not to be found, and, of the edible birds, the wild duck and the ring and wood doves are the best.
> The country swarms with inhabitants. At the greatest height, during our march to the Sultan, we could count more than thirty kraals (*negerijen*) in a single valley inland. The houses of the country people are built only of wood, and roofed with coconut palm leaves; however the town of Moesamoetoe, at the anchorage, the town of Woani where the Sultan's son lives, and his residence Dommoni consisted of reasonably well built houses of stone, whitewashed inside and out, with plank painted ceilings and the roofs covered with coconut leaves. The house of the Emperor (*Keijser*) and of other chief men had two stories, but inside everything was arranged according to the Turkish fashions. The seraglios were separate in each house, so that one never got to see their women, nor the courtyards and baths, which were in all the larger houses. Nevertheless there were various large public baths, which every Moor uses before he goes to the Mosque to say his prayers, which happens five times a day.
> The citizens do not work, but have everything done for them by their slaves. However they keep a good watch on them so that everything seems most well organized both in their houses as in the fields.
> They wear Turkish clothing and a turban. Those of the chief men are made of very expensive white linen and pinned with silver pins; also they wear silk clothes and *krisses* with silver fastenings and sheaths.[21]

Holtzappel and the other Dutchmen on the *Snelheijd* had made good with various members of the Anjouan Muslim elite, notably with the governor of Mutsammudu, Abdalla, and with Prince Zijdi à Loui, who also lived there. They had also very friendly relations with the royal family. When they decided to try and break into the trading world of the East African coast, then, the Council of Policy at the Cape hoped to make use of these contacts. The Comoran elite itself had numerous contacts throughout the Swahili communities from Ibo to Zanzibar (and perhaps further north). These the Dutch hoped to exploit, and their hope was indeed largely fulfilled. The elite of Anjouan, too, saw advantages in the arrangement. They needed to develop all possible contacts with foreign shipping. Their position of power within the archipelago depended on it, and not just in economic terms. In 1774, a revolt of the free peasants of the Anjouan interior, in alliance with slaves from Dommoni, had severely threatened their rule, and had only been suppressed by the inter-

[21] *Ibid.*, 265 ff.

vention of an English East India Company's ship.[22] The Comorans were therefore more than willing to provide the Dutch with the services they required - interpreters and pilots for the East African coast, and advice as to where best to begin their operations.

Madagascar and the Mascarenes

It was not just the knowledge of new areas of slaving activity, gained from the Comorans or from the French, which drew the Dutch to Zanizibar. Between the *Snelheijd*'s visit to Anjouan and the voyages described in this book, the Dutch made two further trips to the East coast of Madagascar, the usual source of slaves for the VOC at the Cape.[23] The question is then, why these company officials were sufficiently dissatisfied with the state of affairs in their traditional buying centers for them to order a change of plan and a voyage to the risky uncertainties of the East African coast. Clearly they had not written Madagascar off entirely, since they ordered the *Zon* to return to the Great Island should the trade further north prove insufficient[24] - and indeed in the event the *Zon* was forced to do just that, though this was not necessary (except for the buying of provisions) in the case of the *Jagtrust* a year later. But why should a bureaucratic organization, no longer given to innovation, make such a decision?

The immediate spur was given by the events on the trip to Madagascar the previous year. When the Dutch were off Cape St. Andries, on their way between Tuliara and the Betsiboka River, the two ports they frequented, the slaves whom they had already bought rose in revolt. The Dutch were able to suppress the uprising, first by firing shotguns at the slaves, and finally by lobbing a hand-grenade in among them. The result of this was that five slaves were killed, as was the interpreter, and three others put in chains.[25]

Just how much effect this had on the decision of the VOC officials to move their operations away from Madagascar is uncertain. It was clearly not negligible. In 1777, when the Dutch were planning the second journey described in these journals, they mentioned as one of the disadvantages of Madagascar "the unsurpressable desire of the slaves, who had been brought there, to regain their freedom at the cost of their lives."[26] It is therefore more than likely that this event, together with the information they had received from M. Morice and the other French, was the spur that finally persuaded the Ducth of the necessity to look elsewhere for their slaves.

It may have been the spur, but it can scarcely have been the root cause. The Dutch knew that slave attempts to gain control of the ship in which they were imprisoned was a risk inherent in the

[22]Newitt, "Comoro Islands," 11-12.

[23]The journals of these voyages are to be found in VOC 4377 and VOC 4380.

[24]Resolutions of the Council of Policy, Cape Town, 19 March 1776, VOC 4284.

[25]VOC 4280.

[26]Resolutions of the Council of Policy, Cape Town, 19 March 1776, VOC 4284.

slaving business,[27] and, even given the strongly developed stereotypes attributed to the slaves according to their place of origin, they cannot really have believed that the Malagasies were more likely to revolt than anyone else. At the Cape they did not have a particular reputation for rebelliousness or violence.[28] Rather it was the changing conditions of trade in Madagascar that, in the final event, must have persuaded the Dutch to change their operations.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Dutch had made their slaving voyages primarily along the west coast of the Great Island. Their major trading partners had been the various Sakalava monarchs and their subjects. The most important ports the Dutch visited were, from south to north, Tular and St. Augustine's Bay, Morondave and the mouth of the Managare River, now known as the Betsiboka. They did so because this area contained the major political units of seventeenthand eighteenth-century Madagascar. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Sakalava warriors had conquered much of the western plain of Madagascar and established a number of kingdoms, of which the most important were those of Menabe, in the hinterland of Morondava, and of Iboina, based on Boina Bay and the Betsiboka River. These kingdoms seemed to have been based on a well-organized agriculture (witness the ease with which the Dutch could obtain large quantities of rice and vegetables), on cattle herding, and on slave raiding and trading into the interior. They do not seem to have been well studied as yet, although many traditions have been collected, from the 1840s onwards, and the journals of the regular Dutch trading voyages would seem to provide a very valuable source for the eighteenth century.[29] Nevertheless, the work that has been done and particularly the very rich report of O. L. Hemmy, written in the 1740s and published (in French translation) in 1913, demonstrate the considerable wealth and power of at least northern Sakalava.[30] In the first half of the eighteenth century Iboina was clearly the most powerful state in the island, and its power extended far inland and over much of the northern half of Madagascar.

By the 1770s, however, the Sakalava kingdoms of the Malagasy west coast were past their peak. The history of Madagascar is dom-

[27]At least one previous slave uprising has resulted in the temporary capture of the ship concerned. For accounts, see VOC 10815; Resolutions of the Council of Policy, Cape Town, 28 February 1766, VOC 4239; VOC 4245, 58-106; Victor de Kock, *Those in Bondage: An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company* (Pretoria, 1963), 19-21.

[28]On the stigmatization of slaves at the Cape, see D. van Arkel, G.C. Quispel and R.J. Ross, *De wijngaard des Heeren? Het ontstaan van raciale stratificatie in de Kaap Kolonie* (The Hague, 1983); N.A. Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge, 1985), 93-94.

[29]The best description of the Sakalava is Raymond K. Kent, *Early Kingdoms in Madagascar, 1500-1700* (New York, 1970), ch. 5, in which references are given to the various published and unpublished traditions, notably those published by V. Noel as "Recherches sur les Sakkalava," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, 2nd series XIX and XX, 3rd series I (1843-1844). Kent also collected many traditions himself, during the 1960s, and promised a "Sakalava History, 1650-1896," in which these would be reproduced and analyzed. See also Raymond K. Kent, "The Sakalava: Origins of the First Malagasy Empire," *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, LV (1968); Edward A. Alpers, "Madagascar and Mozambique in the Nineteenth Century: The Era of the Sakalava Raids," *Omaly sy Anio*, V-VI (1977).

[30]A. Grandidier and others, eds., *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, VI (Paris, 1913), 52-196.

inated by the relationship between slave trading and state formation, to a degree that surpasses even the African continent proper.[31] From the mid-1760s on, the balance that had existed between the various parts of the island - a balance that was if anything tilted towards the west - swung decisively towards the east coast. The reason for this was a heavy new demand for slaves, in the Mascarene islands of Mauritius and Réunion, to work in the sugar and coffee plantations that were being established there.[32] For reasons of geography, this concentrated very largely on the east coast, notably around Antongil Bay and at the French post of Foulpointe, a little to the south.[33] This was already beginning to lead to the concentration of political power in the central highlands around Tananarive, which was eventually to result in the establishment of the Merina empire. Whereas in 1741 Hemmy had reported that the Sakalava raided this area for slaves,[34] by 1777 the first European visitor to Tananarive noted that its king could put 20,000 warriors into the field.[35] The evident consequence of this, combined with increasing internal dissension and, possibly a growth of Arab and Comoran competition,[36] was that the Sakalava could no longer acquire slaves for sale to the Europeans on the scale of the earlier decades.

The power of the Sakalava, who ruled Iboina, had of course not yet been eclipsed. They were still strong enough, in 1795, to launch a series of raids on the Comoro islands (and indeed on the African coast) which would destroy the societies observed by Holtzappel, at least in that form.[37] But these raids should probably be seen as a last attempt to gain power by a kingdom deprived of its inland hinterland. The early effects of this change were already noticed by the Dutch in the 1700s, even though they did not know its cause. In the same resolution of 1777, in which they had complained of the untamable nature of the Malagasies, they also wrote that:

> the insupportable wheedling of the natives increases to such an extent that the ships used for the purpose are being continually exposed to ever greater dangers, and, despite this, it is only possible to acquire a small number of slaves after wasting much time, and they are

[31] Gwyn Campbell, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade, 1810-1895," *Journal of African History*, XXII (1981); Maurice Bloch, "Modes of Production and Slavery in Madagascar: Two Case Studies," in James L. Watson, ed., *Asian and African Systems of Slavery* (Oxford, 1980), 103-105.

[32] Among the numerous works on French colonization in the Mascarenes, see above all the work of Auguste Toussaint, notably *La route des îles* (Paris, 1967).

[33] J.-M. Filliot, *La Traite des esclaves vers les Mascareignes au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1974), 132-139.

[34] Grandidier and others, eds., *Collection des Ouvrages anciens*, VI, 142.

[35] Richard Gray and Shula Marks, "Southern Africa and Madagascar," in Richard Gray, ed., *Cambridge History of Africa*, IV (Cambridge, 1975), 468.

[36] Campbell, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade," 214-218.

[37] G. Grandidier, "Les Expéditions de Betsimisaraka aux Comores," *Revue de l'Afrique orientale et de Madagascar* (20 February 1912); Newitt, "Comoro Islands," 16; Barbara Dubins, "A Political History of the Comoro Islands, 1795-1886" (Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 1972), ch. 4.

> ever more expensive, to such an extent that this time, for a single slave, male or female it was necessary to pay 35 Mexican [dollars].[38]

In part, at least, their move to the East African coast was in reaction to these considerations.

The VOC had not given up all hopes of the traditional slave markets on the west coast of Madagascar. The commander and commissioner of the *Zon* were directed to visit Iboina should their enterprise in Zanzibar and on the East African coast not yield the desired results.[39] This in fact proved necessary, and a large proportion of the slaves bought on the 1776-1777 voyage were indeed obtained there. A year later, the success of their dealings in and around Zanzibar meant that the visit to the Great Island was entirely for the purpose of acquiring provisions. A following voyage, which went to Madagascar in 1779 for the dual purpose of searching for a lost VOC vessel and buying slaves, was only able to acquire 70 slaves (of whom 11 died before the *Jagtrust* reached Cape Town) in over two months in the Betsiboka estuary.[40] Thereafter the VOC does not seem to have visited Madagascar again. The final voyages, in the early 1780s, were all to the Mozambique coast.[41]

Ibo

The decision of the commander and the commissioner of the *Zon* to sail from Anjouan in the Comoros to Ibo in the Kerimba archipelago off the coast of northern Mozambique was made on the basis of the commercial insights of the Comoran elite. In the first place, they had good contacts there. A number of "Moors" lived in the area, one of the most southerly parts of the mainland coast to which the Islamic trading network reached. Ibo was in the zone of overlap between the Portuguese and the Swahili worlds. Indeed it is probable that the Comorans themselves bought some of their slaves in Ibo rather than on Mozambique island. Certainly relations between the governors of Mutsammudu and Ibo were most cordial and gifts were exchanged whenever feasible.[42]

Second, the Comorans knew that it was possible for non-Portuguese Europeans to obtain slaves at Ibo. Officially the Portuguese in Mozambique were strictly forbidden to trade with any foreigners. Mercantilist edicts issued at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the Portuguese crown in Lisbon had laid this down. However, these decrees had little effect in Mozambique itself, since the officials had few other ways of garnering the income that was due to their position. Indeed the commandantship of Ibo was sold off by the governor of Mozambique himself, for an annual charge of 3,000 -

[38]Resolutions of the Council of Policy, Cape Town, 6 May 1777, VOC 4287.

[39]Resolution of the Council of Policy, Cape Town, 19 March 1776, VOC 4284.

[40]K.M. Jeffreys, ed., *Kaapse archiefstukken lopende over de jaren 1778-1782*, 6 vols. (Cape Town and Parow, 1927-1938), III, 118.

[41]Armstrong, "Slaves," 78-79.

[42]See below, 6 July 1776.

4,000 cruzados (750 - 1,000 Spanish reals).[43] This sum was recouped by the commandant by allowing the regular sale of slaves, largely to the French who needed slaves for the Mascarenes. Occasionally Englishmen also came there, and one had been wrecked on Anjouan the year before, with a full cargo of slaves.[44] A Portuguese report, made by a ship's captain who hoped to gain favor in Lisbon by informing on the Mozambique officials, reckoned that the French shipped about 1500 slaves a year from Ibo in the 1770s.[45] They managed this despite the necessity of avoiding the annual fleets which put into the Mozambican harbors in March and April, on their way between Lisbon and Goa.[46] It was this trade that the Dutch tried to capture.

The trade itself came through the various Makua and Makonde chiefdoms which lay to the north of Mozambique island.[47] Earlier in the century, these groups, especially in Makuana, behind Mozambique, had been major trading partners for the Portuguese, but from around 1750, the growth of hostility between them and the Portuguese had left Makua country unsettled. It might be argued that this would only have served to increase the supply of slaves to the coast. Furthermore, in the same period, Yao traders from the interior of modern Mozambique and Malawi had moved a part of their business south from Kilwa to the coast opposite Mozambique and, no doubt, to Ibo. The Makua evidently profited by allowing the transit of Yao caravans and the length of time that the slave ships had to wait in Ibo before receiving their consignments of slaves would seem to suggest that the ultimate source of supply was quite far into the interior of the continent, in other words among the Yao. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the same condition was said to obtain in Kilwa, which was the other main entrepot for the Yao traders. At all events, the delay they would have to undergo before they could acquire any supplies of slaves persuaded the Dutch that their business could not be profitably conducted in Ibo. In later years, their experience would be otherwise. In 1780, they were able to obtain a cargo of 320 slaves in Ibo, during a five-month stay, which obviated any necessity for them to go further north.[48] Four years earlier, however, they still felt that it was advantageous to sail on, in an attempt to break into the slave markets of modern Tanzania and Kenya.

The first attempts were made to reach Kilwa Kisiwani, which was the major slaving port on the southern Tanganyikan coast. As was

[43]Edward A. Alpers, "The French Slave Trade in East Africa (1721-1810)," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africains*, X (1970), 102.

[44]See below, 13 June 1776.

[45]Alpers, "French Slave Trade," 102; see also Luis Fernando de Carvalho Doas, "Fontes para a Historia, Geografia e Comérci de Moçambique (Sec. XVII)," *Anais: Estudos da Historia de Geografia da Expansao Portugesa*, IX (1954).

[46]Alpers, "French Slave Trade," 99.

[47]On this whole area, see above all Edward A. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa: Changing Patterns of International Trade to the Late Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), chs. 4 and 5; and Edward A. Alpers and Christopher Ehret, "Eastern Africa," in Gray, ed., *Cambridge History of Africa*, IV, 523-528.

[48]Jeffreys, *Kaapse Archiefstukken* (1780), 180. Unfortunately the journal of this voyage had not survived.

mentioned above, it was the major port for the Yao trading network which stretched inland through modern Mozambique, Malawi, and eastern Zambia, as well as through southern Tanzania. However, the Comoran pilots were not sufficiently well acquainted with the coast to direct the Dutch into Kilwa, which is hidden from the sea (and perhaps they had ulterior motives for avoiding Kilwa). At all events, the *Zon* sailed on, first to Mbwamaji on the mainland coast opposite Zanzibar, and then into the roadstead of Zanzibar town itself. It was there that their major efforts, on both the journeys described in this book, were to be concentrated.

Oman and Zanzibar

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese had lost all vestiges of the authority they had once possessed over the East African coast north of Cape Delgado. In 1698 they were driven out of Mombasa after a three-year siege, and with this they also lost the foothold they had had in Zanzibar (never a center of their power), and also any control they had had in Kilwa. The Portuguese did manage to recapture Mombasa for a brief spell after 1728, but this did not entail any major reimposition of European authority on the coast to the north of Mozambique and the Kerimba islands.[49]

The conquest of Fort Jesus in Mombasa in 1698 was inspired from Oman and its chief port, Mascat. In this the Omanis were continuing a long tradition of involvement with the East African coast. Arabs from Oman and the Hadramaut, and Persians from higher up the gulf had been active along the East African coast since at least the tenth century and had played a part in the establishment of the Swahili culture - Islamic, with a considerable degree of orientation to trade and the sea and limited to the littoral - that was to be found from modern Somalia south to Mozambique.[50] The Portuguese presence had in no way been able to eradicate this deep-seated tradition.

Nevertheless, the Omani capture of Mombasa did not immediately institute a period of Arab control over the coast. The political situation around the Persian Gulf precluded this. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the political structure of Oman was rendered ineffective by a series of wars with, and invasions by, the Persian ruler Nadir Shah.[51] Only after 1747 was there once again an expansive power in Oman, with the coming to power of the Bu'saidi dynasty, the establishment of Ahmad ben Sa'id al-Busaidi as ruler

[49]For a recent narrative, see Alpers and Ehret, "Eastern Africa," 527-536.

[50]For a recent reassessment, see James de Vere Allen, "Swahili Culture and the Nature of East Coast Settlement," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, XIV (1981), 306-334; on earlier contacts, see also J.C. Wilkinson, "Oman and East Africa: New Light on Early Kilwa History from the Omani Sources," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* , XIV (1981), 272-305. These works provide references to the extensive literature on the subject.

[51]L. Lockhart, "Nadir Shah's Campaign in Oman, 1737-1744," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VIII (1935).

and the final expulsion of the Persians from the Western shores of the Gulf.[52]

Omani society had two faces in the eighteenth century, as it always had.[53] Omanis were traditionally adherents of the very conservative theocratic Ibadi sect of Islam. In the interior this ideology had maintained its hold, and the ruler of Oman, whether or not he held the title of imam (spiritual leader) had to avoid antagonizing the military might of the desert tribes. The Bu'saidis were able to do this by playing on their ties of kinship with various desert tribes, which gave them leverage in the continually feuding world of the interior. Against this, the coastal towns, notably Mascat, were fully oriented towards the trading world of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, in close alliance with the coastal landowners, who were building up very substantial date plantations by the middle of the eighteenth century. It was this second group that was of major importance for the history of coastal East Africa.

With the re-establishment of a stable political situation at the west of the straights of Hormuz, Mascat bgan to regain its function as a major entrepot port, and the Omanis once again were able to sail to widely scattered ports. The period after 1750 saw a large number of Omani ships along the coast of Western India, south to Malabar and Sri Lanka, and perhaps even up into Bengal.[54] The goods they carried included East African ivory (and a few cowries), as well as the silks and so forth of the Gulf. In return they brought back, among other goods, Indian textiles to be sold on the East African coast.

The efficient operations of the trade along the Indian coast did not entail the exercise of political power by the Omanis. This was not the case on the opposite shore of the Ocean. Even though the Omanis did not manage to impose their rule on the various city states from Kilwa north to Pate, their conquest of Zanzibar in around 1700, and their establishment of a firm government there in the course of the century provided the trading world of the Swahili coast with a safe entrepot where the long-distance traders, whether from the Arabian peninsula or from Gujerat, could link up with the networks that stretched back from the ports of the mainland coast into the interior of Africa. Zanzibar became a thriving bazaar center. When they arrived in the 1770s, the Dutch were surprised by the number of goods on sale and the appearances of wealth. Despite their knowledge of the splendors of the port cities in Europe and Asia, they felt like poor relations at the sight of the Persian carpets, silks, porcelain, and gold and silver jewelry to be found on sale in Zanzibar. They realized very well why the Zanzibaris now refused to take the trade goods they had brought with them, which were generally inferior Indian cloths, and demanded that all transactions

[52]C.F. Beckingham, "The Reign of Ahman ibn Sa'id, Imam of Oman," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXVIII (1941); Robert G. Landen, *Oman Since 1856: Disruptive Modernization in a Traditional Arab Society* (Princeton, 1967), 54-59.

[53]For this, see especially Landen, *Oman Since 1856*, passim.

[54]The best analysis of this is Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800* (Cambridge, 1967), 89-101, though his main concerns are rather different. A full analysis of the ship lists preserved by the VOC for both Surat and the Malabar coast (and indeed many other Asian factories) would provide much valuable information on the development of this branch of intra-Asian trade - and of many others.

should be strictly on a cash basis.[55] The Zanzibaris could buy such goods cheaper from the Surat merchants who were regularly in Zanzibar town, while they needed the Spanish reals to finance their own trade that ran along the African and Arabian coasts, either to Mascat or into the Red Sea port of Jeddah.

The Omanis could achieve this without, at this stage, any significant formal control over the mainland coast. Rather they had discovered by experience that by establishing Zanzibar as an entrepot, they could draw the most valuable products of the mainland, that is to say slaves and ivory, to themselves. In the eighteenth century, the Bu'saidi dynasty seems to have contented itself with accepting the recognition of its suzerainty over the coastal towns, without converting this into effective occupation. Thus, at approximately the date of the voyages described in this book the inhabitants of Pate - which was then the major town of the Lamu archipelago, off the northern Kenyan coast - were persuaded to accept the overlordship of Oman.[56] Clearly there was a large enough party in the town who considered this desirable, perhaps as a counterweight to the Mazrui in Mombasa.[57] Certainly, contacts between Pate and Zanzibar were regular and friendly. This does not mean, though, that the writ of the imam of Oman ran in Pate. Otherwise, the construction chosen by the Dutch and the Zanzibaris to avoid the prohibition on the slave trade in Zanzibar (which involved going to Pate to do business there) would not have been possible.

In Mombasa, the situation is rather more obscure. It is generally accepted that the Mazrui, a family of Omani origin, ruled at Mombasa from 1735 to 1837. They had first come to the city as governors, after the Omani reconquest of Mombasa from the Portuguese, but they had stayed to rule more or less independently. Traditionally histories of Mombasa stress the fact that the Mazrui remained free from Bu'saidi control until well into the nineteenth century.[58] Certainly contacts between Zanzibar and Monbasa do not seem to have been as plentiful as those with Kilwa and Mafia island to the south, or with Pate to the north. Against this, a number of sources suggest a level of Omani dominance that was greater than the Mazrui-dominated histories would suggest. Thus Morice claims that only in 1775 did the "Moors" of Mombasa throw off Arab dominance.[59] In 1778 the Dutch in Zanzibar heard from the second-in-command of Zanzibar that he was going to "Bombase" to put down a revolt there, and the most appropriate identification for this place would seem to be Mombasa, malformed by a clerk's error.[60] Certainly in 1784-1785, the suzerainty of Oman over Mombasa was ac-

[55] See below.

[56] Charles Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et la commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1856-1858), I, 555-556.

[57] Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, 175.

[58] F.J. Berg, "The Swahili Community of Mombasa, 1500-1900," *Journal of African History*, IX (1968), 49-52.

[59] Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, 68-69, 105.

[60] See below, 23 August 1777.

knowledged.[61] But the Omanis probably did not demand any more from Mombasa at this date than such a declaration. Effective rule was certainly lacking. Similarly, further south in Kilwa, the Omani governor was expelled, apparently peacefully, in 1770, and Omani control was only re-established in 1784-1785.[62] Even then the governorship of Kilwa was used largely to neutralize a potential pretender to the imamate of Oman. In the 1770s, then, direct Omani control was limited to Zanzibar.

In order to control the trade, the Omanis did not have to control the coast, and it is indeed not certain just how much of Zanzibar Island they really ruled. The timing of the monsoons meant that dhows from the Arabian peninsula could only be on the East African coast for a relatively short period each year. That did not men, however that traffic between Zanzibar and the African coast was impossible at any season. Therefore, it was very much to the advantage of all the merchants, whether based on the coasst, in Zanzibar, in Mascat or, indeed in Surat or Bombay, that the produce of the coast, slaves and ivory especially, should be collected in Zanzibar before being bought up and shipped round the northern circumference of the Indian Ocean.[63]

Omani control of Zanzibar town, in contrast, was firm. They owned the fort, which was armed with several cannons (though the Dutch were scathing about the state of these pieces and the practice the Arabs made with them). There was a large and well-armed contingent of Arabs acting as a garrison in the town. They had evidently reached some sort of agreement with the pre-Bu'saidi ruling family of the island, which allowed them a certain income and prestige, but no real power.[64] Rather the Omani governor and his associates were able to control the town and to milk the trade that passed through it for their own benefit.

Although the Dutch wrote, rather vaguely, of the Second, in charge of the country districts, and of the Fiscal, who was head of the police, neither they nor, as far as I am aware, anyone else give much information on the workings of government or the organization of society in eighteenth-century Zanzibar. Nevertheless, one measure promulgated by the ruler of Oman, and enforced in Zanzibar, had such an effect on the course of the two journeys described in this book, that it is worth examining it in more detail. This was the prohibition on the sale of slaves to Europeans. There are two complementary explanations for this decree.

One of these explanations is purely economic. The ruler of Oman and the merchants of Mascat had every reason for attempting to direct as large a flow of slaves as possible their way. Their own wealth had increased greatly in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, and slaves were one of the major articles of consumption. They were used not only within the households of Oman, but also in

[61]Guillain, *Documents*, I, 557.

[62]Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, 41; Sir John Gray, "The Recovery of Kilwa by the Arabs in 1785," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, LXII (1964).

[63]Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven and London, 1977), 41-42.

[64]See below, 7 January 1777, and Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, 138.

the date plantations that were beginning along the southern shore of the gulf of Oman. In the course of the eighteenth century, this area became virtually a single date palm grove, one hundred miles long, interspersed with figs, limes, pomegranites, olives, and walnuts. One imam is said to have planted 30,000 date palms and owned 1700 slaves.[65] Evidently, a small but significant plantation society was coming into existence, based on slave labor and underground irrigation channels. Unfortunately, information on this process is very scarce.

The merchants of Mascat did not only need slaves for these Omani enterprises, however. They had a major interest in ensuring that Mascat remained the predominant entrepot between the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. These two trading worlds were relatively discrete and met at Mascat, which was at the time a most important port and market. Since slaves were one of the most desired commodities up the Gulf, either for domestic use in Iran or Iraq or as sailors or pearl fishers on the Arabian coast,[66] the maintenance of Mascat's position as the link between South Central Asia and the Indian Ocean world depended in part on the continued supply of slaves from East Africa. There would have been advantages and profits over and above those gained directly from the slave transactions.

This economic interest of the Omani merchantile community was complemented by an ideological one. Certainly basic tenets of Islam were used to justify the hegemony of the slave-owning class. Cooper describes it for nineteenth-century East Africa in the following terms:

> The starting premise of their ideology was the world of war outside of Islam. Taking a slave from that world saved him from death and made him a Muslim. A master's property rights coexisted with a community interest - that slaves be converted to Islam and not treated cruelly. The central image of this ideology was that of the Muslim patriarch: bringing his slaves out of heathenness into civilization, generously looking after their welfare, freeing them of his own volition to be members of a Muslim community.[67]

There is every reason to believe that this ideology was already present in Oman a century earlier. Its sources and the institution it sought to justify certainly were. If this was the case, then the additional pressure on the ruler of Oman to forbid the sale of slaves to Christians - out of the faith - must have been considerable. Equivalent measures were regularly promulgated by the Europeans, on the other side of the religious divide, for very similar

[65] Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 35-36; Landen, *Oman Since 1856*, 32-33.

[66] I am assuming here that the nineteenth-century patterns were already in existence several decades earlier, for which there is little information. See Landen, *Oman Since 1856*, 152; Esmond B. Martin and T.C.I. Ryan, "A Quantitative Assessment of the Arab Slave Trade of East Africa, 1770-1896," *Kenya Historical Review*, V (1977); Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade* (Evanston, 1971), 35-41.

[67] Frederick Cooper, "Islam and Cultural Hegemony: The Ideology of Slaveowners on the East African Coast," in Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa* (Beverly Hills and London, 1981), 283-284.

reasons.[68] In Oman, the pressure must have been greater still, because there was often a tension between the 'ulama, or religious teachers, amd the merchants of the coastal towns. This time, however, their interests ran parallel.

These forces should not be overestimated. The power of the Omanis in Zanzibar was not sufficient to prevent even the Dutch acquiring a sufficiency of slaves there. Nor did Islamic ideology prevent a Muslim "priest" fom being their largest supplier. Powerful as they were, the principles of Islam did not determine the structure of Muslim society in all its dtails and variations, let alone regulate the behavior of all individuals. The Dutch were thus able to achieve their ends in Zanzibar because they could exploit the divisions within Zanzibari society.

Moors, Arabs and Swahili

Zanzibar in the 1770s contained three distinct ethnic groups, excluding the slaves. These were the Arabs, the Moors and the Swahili. There was considerable tension between them. The Moors and the Swahili were considered to be in opposition to the ruling Arabs, who possessed the force to control the island, but who were thought of as parasites, sucking out the wealth of the island and repatriating it to Mascat.[69] The Moors and the Swahili were richer merchants and far more numerous than the Arabs, but they had to bow to Arab power, which was based on the control of the Castle, of firearms (notably artillery), and on the threat of the force that could be sent from Mascat.

The Dutch were able to exploit this division to evade the prohibition on the slave trade imposed from Mascat. The Moorish and Swahili merchants did not feel bound by the edicts of the imam, and were prepared to transgress them if they thought they could get away with it. Furthermore, particularly in 1777, they were afraid that the northern trade would not be able to absorb all the slaves they had in store. Thus the complicated constructions worked out between the Dutch and the Swahili leaders for the secret sale of slaves was thought necessary.

What was the basis of the distinction between the three groups? There was no cultural incompatibility between them. The Dutch commented that their behavior was not noticeably different, except that the Swahili guarded the seclusion of their womenfolk even more strictly.[70] The Arabs were clearly distinct from the other two groups, though, in terms of their political position and immediate descent. They seem to have been almost exclusively Omanis who had come to Zanzibar in the retinue of the governors, and would expect to return to the Arabian peninsula in the course of time. As yet

[68]Leonard Blussé, "The Caryatids of Batavia: Reproduction, Religion and Acculturation Under the VOC," *Itinerario*, VII (1983).

[69]A similar division was to be found in Kilwa, though there the Arabs had been driven out. Morice uses the term "Africans," rather than "Swahili," but the division is clearly identical. Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, 41-52, 81-82.

[70]See below, 24 August 1777.

they had struck no roots in the society of the island or the coast. But what was there to distinguish between the Moors and the Swahili?

The term Moor was a general one in the Indian Ocean at the time. It was used, suitably adapted, by the French, English, and Portuguese as well as the Dutch to refer to Muslims in general, and in particular to the Islamic sea-faring traders, who were found in every harbor from Mozambique to the Moluccas. It was the general term from which, if necessary, other categories were distinguished.

The distinction between "Moor" and "Swahili" was apparently on the basis of language. It is significant that during the first voyage, when they had Tjehamadi, a Comoran, as interpreter, the Dutch never recorded the term "Swahili." Tjehamadi, who was apparently fluent in all the languages spoken along the coast, as well as at least one European language (which is not reported), did not have the difficulties that the Dutch faced on the second journey, and therefore the Moor-Swahili distinction did not come to the surface. A year later, matters were different. The *Jagtrust* had on board an interpreter who could speak Arabic, and who had no difficulty in performing his office in discussions with the governor and other high officials in Zanzibar. On the mainland coast, in Mbwamaji, he was completely lost.[71] It was recognized that to trade on the mainland of East Africa, knowledge of the "language of the Swahili" was required.[72] The Arabic that was the *lingua franca* of the traders, and presumably also a high status language of the religious elite, was not generally understood even by the slave merchants of the coastal towns. Swahili - for it is surely reasonable to assume that the language of the Swahili was a close ancestor of the modern tongue - was even then unchallenged as the major language of the mainland coast.[73]

In Zanzibar itself, the Swahili seem to have been those with closer connections with the island agriculturalists. Whether the latter would have called themselves Swahili, and just what language they would have spoken, is beyond the reach of inference from these documents. But among the elite of Zanzibar town, it was the "priest of the Swahili nation" who had contacts with the villagers in the south of the island[74] - and incidentally also had the largest number of slaves for sale, presumably acquired from his mainland contacts. The Moors, in contrast, seem to have been more exclusively concerned with the overseas trade, and perhaps less firmly rooted in Zanzibar itself. But these were matters of degree, presumably a consequence of the length of time an individual family had been in Zanzibar and of the network of kinship relations. The two groups were seen to be distinct, but there was no indication that the passage of time would not lead to a fairly total integration of the free population of Zanzibar town, at least.

[71]See below, 31 July 1777.

[72]See below, 27 September 1777.

[73]This description would seem to confirm the arguments of Wilfred Whiteley, *Swahili: The Rise of a National Language* (London, 1969).

[74]See below, 13 August and 5 October 1777.

The Results of the Journeys

Despite the obstacles that were placed in their way in Zanzibar, the Dutch were able to acquire 50 slaves there in the course of 1776, enough for them to return there next year, when they were indeed much more successful, buying some 328, albeit clandestinely. In 1776 they also bought two slaves from a ship while off Brava and visited their second-choice market, the Betsiboka River in north-west Madagascar, where they also managed to acquire some 26 slaves. Holtzappel, the commissioner, hoped after the first voyage that his superiors would not think his failure to bring back a full cargo was a consequence of his own incompetence. Rather it was the experimental nature of the venture which was to blame, and Van Nuld Onkruijdt-successful dealings a year later would seem to bear him out. Once they had learned the devious methods required, the Dutch were able to fulfill their expectations in this branch of commerce.

It is difficult to work out what the cost of these expeditions was in real terms. The journals themselves give full details of the amounts that had to be paid for the slaves asnd disbursed as presents, but this does not allow a deeper analysis, in default of information on the distribution of rations to the slaves and the crews, on the consumption of naval stores, on the payment of crews or on the depreciation of the vessels, to name but a few of the factors that would have to be taken into account. Unfortunately neither the trading journals of the commissioners, nor the commander's log-books, which might have provided some of the necessary data, have survived. On their return to Cape Town, the slaves were written into the Company's books at f 107:8 and f 80:6, but this seems to be far too low to include more than their actual purchase price.[75]

A more meaningful cost of the journeys was that in human lives. In the *Zon*, which was caught in Madagascar in the height of the rainy (and consequently malarial) season, eight of the crew and ten slaves died before reaching Cape Town. In the *Jagtrust*, apparently, the crew were all spared, but the toll among the slaves was just as frightening, probably as a result of the crowded conditions as nearly 400 men, women, and children were crammed into what was a small ship. Of the 328 who had been purchased in Zanzibar, only 250 slaves reached Cape Town.

The effects of the voyages did not stop there. The first months after a slave ship reached port were always ones of high mortality, even in the relatively healthy climate of Cape Town, but the Zanzibaris seem to have been hit even more heavily than usual. It is impossible to give the precise proportions, since it is not known how many of those slaves which the *Zon* landed at the Cape were from Zanzibar. The place of purchase of those dying on board ship was not recorded. Nevertheless, in 1777, 12 Zanzibaris among the Cape Town slaves died, and they must all have been among the 68 slaves landed in March of that year.[76] In 1778 the level of mortality was even higher. In the eight months following the arrival of the *Jagtrust*,

[75] *Dagregister*, Cape Town, 25 April 1777, VOC 4287; Jeffreys, ed., *Kaapse Archiefstukken* (1778), 142.

[76] This is given in the *Dagregister*, on the last day of each month, VOC, 4287.

123 Zanzibari slaves in the Company's lodge died. This was almost half the number that the *Jagtrust* unloaded, and even of some of them had come to Cape Town in the *Zon* a year earlier, this frightening figure witnesses to the terrible effect of "seasoning."[77] Even to those who survived this period, long life was not granted. In 1795, there were no longer any Zanzibaris among the Company's slaves.[78] It is therefore not surprising that this death rate persuaded the Company to reverse its policy, and return to Madagascar to buy slaves.[79] The problem was that the old reason for avoiding the Great Island had not disappeared.[80] It seems as if the Company had to choose between the high death rate of slaves from the African continent, with the pecuniary losses that entailed, and the high costs and small cargoes that went with trading to Madagascar. Thus at the end of 1779, it was decided once again to return to the African coast, and if necessary to Zanzibar, but, as we have seen, it was possible then to purchase sufficient slaves at Ibo, although, once again, the level of mortality among these slaves was staggeringly high.[81]

The Authors

Friedrich Gotthold Holtzappel (born Holtzapfel) was born in Naumburg, near Kassel, in 1738, the son of a Lutheran pastor. He joined the service of the VOC in 1765, and arrived at the Cape in the same year. At that stage his rank was merely that of soldier, but he soon worked his way into the administrative ranks of the Company, becoming an assistant in 1768 and a bookkeeper in 1773. He was married, but does not seem to have had any children. He retired from the Company's service in 1788, and died in Stellenbosch in 1797. In this respect he was an unexceptional middle management man in a very large organization. There seems to be no indication of any particular personality traits, except in so as they are presented in his writings. If he had not been deputed to act as commissioner in the slave trade, he would not have been known to historians. It was the five slaving voyages that he made between 1768 and 1777, to Madagascar, the Comoros, and along the East African coast, that have given him a modest place. For him personally, though, they produced less desirable results. In 1788, he requested his discharge from the Company's service, claiming that the five sea voyages had injured his health to such an extent that he could no longer undergo any fatigues, especially at sea, and therefore wished to end his days in

[77] Jeffreys, ed., *Kaapse Archiefstukken* (1778), 144, 150, 160-161, 170-171, 178-179, 185, 189, 200.

[78] ARA, Comité van de Zaken van de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen, 152A.

[79] Jeffreys, ed., *Kaapse Archiefstukken* (1779), 156-158.

[80] Jeffreys, ed., *Kaapse Archiefstukken* (1780), 118; VOC 4292, 334-337.

[81] *Ibid.*, 180.

peace. It was above all the harrowing voyage described in these journals, his last, which broke his health.[82]

His successor in this speciality, Constant van Nuld Onkruidjt, had a rather more successful official career in the VOC. Initially, he seemed to be following the same course as Holtzappel. Born in Amsterdam in 1745, he arrived at the Cape in 1772 and rose fairly swiftly to the privileged rank of bookkeeper.[83] In 1777, he replaced Holtzappel as commissioner for the slave trade and made, in total, three voyages. to Zanzibar, to Madagascar, and to Mozambique.[84] Thereafter he was appointed Landdrost of Swellendam, at that stage the district of the Cape Colony farthest from Cape Town, where, according to Theal, he got "the district accounts into inextricable confusion and [allowed] the public buildings to fall into ruin."[85] In 1789, therefore, he found it expedient to retire to the Netherlands. The fault, if there was one, need not have been his, since the officials in the interior of the colony were on the sufferance of the local population, and had no effective back-up from the central administration. At any event he had no grudge against the Cape. He had married three Cape women, in succession, two of whom were widows, and had probably come into a very useful fortune from them. His interests in South Africa were such that, shortly after his discharge from the VOC, he returned to the colony and settled as a private citizen in Cape Town. Here he became a very successful merchant, apparently one of the Dutchmen to survive the transition to British rule with their mercantile fortunes unimpaired, very possibly because his daughter married an English merchant, Mr. Kenneth Duncan, and allowed the firm to make use of multiple connections. He served a term in 1808 as president of the Burgher Senate, the most important representative organ in the colony, before dying in Cape Town in 1813.[86]

The Ships

The ships on which these two journeys were made were not especially built for the slave trade. Rather they were in general service at the Cape, used by the government there for carrying stores between Cape Town and False Bay and, on occasion, for transoceanic transport. Thus the *Zon* was first sent out in 1768 and had made two return trips to Europe laden with grain. She had also made one previous slaving voyage before her journey to Zanzibar. Thereafter she

[82] J. Hoge, "Personalia of Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806," *Archives Yearbook for South African History*, IX (1946), 171; H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requestion (Memorials), 1715-1806*, 2 vols. (Cape Town, 1905-1906), II, 586-587.

[83] Paybook of the hoeker *De Zon*, VOC 6575.

[84] Jeffreys, ed., *Kaapse Archiefstukken* (1780), 118, 180..

[85] G. McC. Theal, *History of South Africa Under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company (1652-1795)*, 2 vols. (London, 1897), II, 225.

[86] C.C. de Villiers, *Genealogies of Old South African Families*, revised and edited by C. Pama, 3 vols. (Cape Town and Amsterdam, 1966), II, 225; Hermann Giliomee, *Die Kaap tydens die Eerste Britse Bewind, 1795-1803* (Cape Town and Pretoria, 1975), 201-204; John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, Undertaken at the Request of the Missionary Society* (London, 1815), 3, 13-15.

remained at the Cape before she was broken up in 1782. The *Jagtrust*, which had been sent out in 1775, made one round trip to Sri Lanka, as well as three slaving voyages (this was her first) and returned to Europe in 1785. Thereafter she made one final voyage to Batavia.[87]

Little is known of their precise build. Both are said to have been 110 feet long, and to have had a capacity of 450 tons. The *Zon* was a *hæker* and the *Jagtrust* a *fregat*, but this only entailed that the former had a rounded stern and the latter a straight one. They were, in other words, ordinary workabout ships employed for what was then thought of as an ordinary task.

The commander of both these ships was Cornelis Andriessen, an Amsterdammer of long service to the Company. He had made five return voayges to the East before he settled at the Cape in 1761, first as second mate (*Onderstuurman*) and later as mate (*Opperstuurman*) with command over a succession of the small ships used by the Cape government. In these he made a total of eight slaving voyages to Madagascar and the East African coast - those described in these journals were his fifth and sixth - in addition to two return trips to Europe in the *Zon*. These resulted in his promotion to skipper in 1778, in which function he remained in service at the Cape until he returned to Europe in 1785.[88]

A Note on Translation and Annotation

As will no doubt be obvious from the English I have made of them, neither of the two journals was written in what would now be considered elegant Dutch. Eighteenth-century official Dutch is characterized by the length and complexity of its sentences, but what, in the hands of a competent stylist, could be a sport - to see how long a sentence could be dragged out - could easily degenerate into an ungrammatical hotch-potch. Whereas Holtzappel clearly enjoyed those moments at which he had managed to let his sentences run over three or four days of the journal, Van Nuld Onkruijdt seems to have taken as little pleasure in his writing as he did in his negotiations with the governor of Zanzibar. The result is that there is very little structure or life to be found in his daily accounts. In both cases, indeed, the information is presented in a flat factual manner, with no attempts at stylistic elaboration or even at metaphor.

Save on those few occasions when a copying error has corrupted the text, or when one gets lost in the stodge of scarcely connected clauses, the translation was reasonably straightforward. The main difficulty came in deciding how to break the sentences up into manageable pieces. Furthermore, my rendition has been checked by Dr. D. H. A. Kolff, so that I am now as certain as is possible that I have accurately given the meaning of the original journals.

As regards proper names, I have in general modernized the orthography of the place names, at least when the identification is

[87] J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra and I. Schöffer, with assistance of E.S. van Eyck van Heslinga, eds., *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 3 vols. (The Hague, 1979-1981), vol. I. (I am grateful to Prof. J.R. Bruijn for showing me a draft of the relevant section of the as yet unpublished introduction to this work.)

[88] Paybook of the *Zon*, VOC 6525; Jeffreys, ed., *Kaapse Archiefstukken* (1778), 44.

clear.[89] When the original provided a different orthography, I have noted this in the footnotes. Also, the "Sualiers" of the original have been rendered as "Swahili." Personal names, in contrast, I have not attempted to modify. In general it should not be too difficult to see what names are being represented. It should be noted, though, that "ij" is a single vowel (long "e"), while "g" could be either hard (as "ch" in "loch") or soft (as in "goat").

As to the annotation, I have been deliberately sparing. It is easy to sink into the temptation of giving short, tendentious essays on all manner of subjects, but in general I have considered it best to let the texts speak for themselves, and to leave to others the task of integrating them with other sources on the eighteenth-century history of the East African littoral. Therefore I have limited myself to giving such information from the Dutch archives as is apposite and to making all possible identifications of people and places.

[89]Thus Zanzibar is rendered both in the modern spelling and as "Zanguebar."

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The First Journal

Journal kept as a report most respectfully addressed to His Excellency Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg, councillor extraordinary of the Dutch East Indies, and governor and director of the Cape of Good Hope, and its province, etc. etc., and to the Honorable Council of Policy there, by the undersigned commissioner, concerning the notable occurences during the voyage of the Hooker *De Zon* in the years 1776 and 1777 to and from the coast of Zanguebar and the Island of Madagascar and principally the result of the slave trade conducted there.

Your Excellency and Your Honours

Since the small number of slaves and the long time that on previous voyages had to be expended to acquire them on the island of Madagascar had induced Your Honours to have the coast of Zanguebar investigated with a view to acquiring a large number at a more reasonable price of slaves, so the undersigned will faithfully do his utmost to achieve the goal set by His Excellency's commands. However, respecting marine matters, he will refer to the Journal kept by the commander of the vessel, Cornelius Andriesse. Therefore beginning on
Thursday 2 May,* when in the afternoon, after the roll-call, we had received our papers from His Excellency the Governor, we went on board. Towards nightfall we sailed under the shelter of Robben Island and on
Friday 3 May, set to sea in the morning. We thus began our journey, with God's beloved blessing, with the intention of first putting in to the island of Anzuany.
Saturday 8 June, we saw the Comoro Islands at daybreak and
Monday 10 June, approached Anzuany. A pilot came on board and around one in the afternoon we anchored and saluted the roadstead [or *roads*; a place less enclosed than a harbor where ships may ride at anchor]. The undersigned, together with the second commissioner Hendrik Stuart went on shore, from where we were greeted with five cannon shots. We then informed the Governor Abdalla[1] and the crown prince Scheich Salem[2] (who had returned from Mecca about a year before) of our arrival and the reasons for it, so that we might be provided with an interpreter, or at least with some directions for the coast of Zanzibar. They received us in a friendly manner and

*Entry dates have been underlined to make them stand out.

[1]Abdallah was the second cousin of the sultan, married one of his daughters, and after a bloody struggle, succeeded him in 1791 (or 1794). Information from Dr. M.D.D. Newitt.

[2]Sheikh Salim, eldest son of the sultan, was assassinated around 1791, and thus did not succeed his father. Sir William Jones, in his "Remarks on the Island of Hinzuan, or Johanna," *Collected Works*, wrote of him, "if we had seen him first, the state of civilization on Hinzuan would have appeared at its lowest ebb." Information from Dr. M.D.D. Newitt.

promised immediately to inform their Sultan Chege Achmet Ponsoalij[3] of this at his residence, Domoni. They did not doubt that we would be helped with both our requests. Thereafter they gave us various English lists, signed by the captains of English ships which had put into this island. They contained the duties paid for anchor money and the prices set on provisions, which more or less agreed with those presented to the Hooker *De Snelheijd* in 1773, except that, in place of the Prince Zijdia Loui[4] (who was now staying with his friends on Mafia Island), another courtier, whom they called Purser had been appointed. We requested that we be excused from these heavy duties paid by the English in addition to private presents. This had been done by the sultan in the case of the Hooker *De Snelheijd* in 1773. To this they answered that this time we put into the island in our own interest, and not in theirs, but that they would forward our request to the sultan. Then we took leave of the governor, the crown prince and all the chiefs, and the governor went with us on board, to welcome the captain to the roads. After spending a little time on the ship, we had him taken back on land in the barge and at the same time we took a cow and some vegetables on board.

Tuesday 11 June, the Governor Adalla [sic], the Crown Prince Scheich Salem, the Purser Ban Hassannij Majombee, the Secretary Zacharias, the Mufti Monje Bahassan and the Duke Barkat, together with a multitude of lesser courtiers, came on board with all ceremony to welcome us. While taking breakfast, the governor informed us that they had sent his brother Scherf Backar to the sultan to present our requests to him. After they had been entertained on board until the afternoon, the captain brought them back to the shore in the barge.

Wednesday 12 June, we bought a head of cattle and vegetables to be able to give the crew refreshments tomorrow.

Thursday 13 June, we were invited to the midday meal by the crown prince, and there met the most important chiefs and were well received. During this time we saw some of the presents which had been sent by the English Company to the sultan and chiefs, each according to his position. These were in recompense of the good treatment which had been shown to an English ship which, on its way from Mozambique with 200 slaves last year, had run aground on the northwest point of the island and been lost. However the crew had been saved by the Moorish vessels and well looked after. The presents which we saw at the prince's consisted of two fine flintlocks inlaid with silver, three silver platters, and a rather smaller gold goblet with a small gold presentation plate, together with a gold areca nut box and various silver *ringkragen*[5] with the Company's arms, hanging on silver chains. Shortly after the meal we took our leave, thanking him for what we had enjoyed, and returned on board ship.

Friday 14 June, the governor informed us that his brother had returned from the sultan. Therefore we went on shore straight away, and found the governor, the crown prince and all the chiefs gathered. Then the governor's brother told us, in the name of the sultan:

[3]Reigned 1748-1791 (or -1794). See footnote 1 above.

[4]Said Alawi, perhaps a brother of Governor Abdallah, and certainly very closely allied with him. Information from Dr. M.D.D. Newitt, and see below, 10 January 1777.

[5]These were presumably large silver rings, used as jewelry.

that their ruler had learned of our arrival with pleasure, and would aid us, in so far as he was able, with interpreters and sailing directions. He had delegated the execution of this to the governor and secretary. However, he was unable to agree to our second request, namely the remission of the customary duties, since not only the English, who visited the island most frequently, but also all other European nations paid these, as could be seen from the signed letters of the ships that had been there; and they had no other means of subsistence, as the island produced nothing except for eatables. We therefore realized that, if we were not to go without the interpreters and sailing directions, without which we could not sail along the unknown coast of Zanguebar, we would have to agree to the customary duties, as did the other nations. According to the most recent English list, from this year, these consisted of:

to the Sultan
a barrel of powder of 100 lb.
a barrel of pitch, or 10 Spanish reals to the Governor
a half barrel of powder of 50 lb.
a half barrel of pitch, or 5 Sp. reals
plus, for the delivery of provisions, 5 Sp. reals
to the Crown Prince
Ten Spanish reals
to the Purser,
twenty ps. Sp. reals
to the Secretary and the Mufti, each
One flintlock
to the pilot
Four ps. Sp. reals
For middle-sized slaughter cattle: Five Spanish reals
For twelve baskets of purslane[6]: One ps. Spanish real
For 100 pieces of cut firewood: One ps. Spanish real

In addition, the governor informed us that one of his friends, named Tjehamadi,[7] who not only knew the language along the coast, but had also been to Krimba and various other places before, would sail with us, together with another Moor called Magemadi,[8] who, in addition to the Moorish language spoke reasonable English, so that in case of illness or death we should always have an interpreter. Two of their slaves would go too, one as cook and the other as watchman. From the secretary we could receive letters of recommendation, when the interpreters came on board Sunday evening with their gear. But they all agreed that we should first put into Krimba, since they knew for sure that large-scale slave trading was carried on there. Thus the Governor Abdalla wanted us to give to the governor of Krimba as a present a bull and a cow and 300 coconuts, as well as a request that he should help us fully. Under such good assurances, we resolve first to visit Krimba, and then proceed from

[6]Purslane is a leafy green vegetable, rather akin to spinach.

[7]A brother-in-law of Governor Abdallah, see below, 10 January 1777.

[8]Presumably Haji Amadi.

place to place along the coast, wherever it would be at all possible. Shortly after we went back on board.

Saturday 15 June, towards evening we had a head of cattle and vegetables for tomorrow brought on board.

Sunday 16 June, we went on shore and took our leave of the governor, prince, secretary and further courtiers, and paid the duties for anchoring, as specified above, and also for the three cattle and the vegetables, already enjoyed, and for 200 pieces of firewood and four cattle for the journey. Having done this, we returned on board. In the afternoon the governor and secretary, together with several chiefs came on board, bringing our interpreters and their slaves. Then the governor gave us a letter to the governor of Krimba, and the secretary handed us open letters to the Moors and Arabs along the coast. In the meantime our barge brought on board the bull and cow and the 300 coconuts which the governor of Anjouan was sending to the governor of Krimba, to ask him to treat us well. At the same time the four cattle, which we wished to take on the journey, and the 200 pieces of firewood were taken on board, as they said there were few provisions to be got along the coast. So, as we had everything on board, our friends took their leave of us, and, after wishing us a prosperous journey, they returned to shore.

Monday 17 June, raised anchor at daybreak, intending first to sail to Krimba.

Tuesday, 25 June, we anchored in Rio de Finga,[9] a bay on the mainland of Africa, and sent the barge with our Moors to the shore to investigate the country. They came back towards evening, having found it uninhabited. Therefore on

Wednesday 26 June we set sail from there, but were forced by fierce winds, heavy seas and a strong current, on

Thursday 27 June, to return to our former anchorage place.

Friday 28 June, the boat with our Moors left the ship, as they intended to set sail up the river that flowed into the bay, as smoke has been seen inland, in order to learn about the inhabitants.

Saturday 29 June. Nevertheless, they came back from their trip at night, without having met people or anything else of note.

Sunday 30 June. Therefore we again set sail, and, travelling along the shore, dropped anchor during the afternoon in an inlet.

Monday 1 July. A canoe with four Caffers came from the shore on board, from whom, thanks to the interpreting by our Moors, we could learn that their place was called Sitoe,[10] and Krimba was not far from here, but otherwise that they could give us no further directions. Thus we gave them a few small gifts, with which they returned to the shore most gratified.

Tuesday 2 July we left the Sitoe inlet and sent the barge out to find a way through between the islands, but, as it could only discover rocky ground, it returned to the shore during the night.

Wednesday 3 July, we saw that we had been driven back by the strong current, and had a strong wind and heavy seas, and so went back to Sitoe, where we anchored. We then sent our Moors on shore with the barge to find a pilot, so that we would not sail past Krimba. On their return home they brought a native with them, who wanted to

[9]This is presumably the modern Baai de Pemba.

[10]This is presumably the modern Baai de Montepuezzi.

take us to an outpost some hours inland from here, to find a pilot there. They could not help us without the permission of the commander of the post, who was a Portuguese. At this we immediately had our Moors brought on shore to go to the said post.

Thursday 4 July in the afternoon we saw various blacks on the shore, including our Moors, whom we recognized by their clothing. We sent the barge at once to the shore to collect them. On their return to the ship, they were accompanied by the head of the above-mentioned outpost, a so-called Portuguese captain, who handed over two natives to us, to show us the island of Krimba. In addition, while we were entertaining this captain in a polite manner, we learned that no large ships could lie off Krimba, but that they had to anchor in the harbor of the island of Ibo, near Krimba, where we would find two French ships from Mauritius. After the captain had given us a letter for the governor of the islands of Krimba and Ibo we took him, at his own request, back on shore.

Friday 5 July at daybreak we sailed from Sitoe and in the afternoon we arrived in the harbor of the island of Ibo, where our salute was answered with five shots from the fort. We found the French ship *Le Barberie*, Captain Mombree, from Mauritius anchored there to trade in slaves. The other French ship had left some days ago for Bengal, having loaded cowries here.[11] In the inner harbor a small Portuguese ship and some even smaller vessels from Mozambique were at anchor.

Saturday 6 July. The undersigned with the second commissioner and our Moors went on shore to announce our arrival. By the landing place is a small stone fortress with some cannons, above which a Portuguese flag was waving from an extra high flagpole. At our arrival on shore, we were taken to the governor, who had a guard in front of his house.[12] We found His E. with the judge of the town, two royal lieutenants and two priests, who all received us in a most friendly way. When we had taken our seats, we told the governor that we had been requested by the Governor Abdallas of Anjouan during our visits to that island, to give a letter to the Governor Sr. Petro da Costa when we arrived at this place, and also to hand over, as a present and sign of good friendship, an ox and cow, in addition to 300 coconuts, which we had now brought on shore. The governor thanked us most graciously for this politeness and invited us to the afternoon meal. After the meal we went to see the place and found, in addition to the fortress, as public buildings, a watch house and a strongly built prison, in addition to a new church, which was still under construction, as the walls are not yet completed. The houses of the five Europeans, that is to say, those of the governor, the judge, the two lieutenants and the Capuchin father, were reasonably built, but those of the inhabitants and natives were very crude. During this walk we had the opportunity to speak to the governor alone, and told him that the governor of Anzuanij had assured

[11]On the cowrie trade of the Indian Ocean, see Jan S. Hogendorn, "A Supply-side Aspect of the African Slave Trade: The Cowrie Production and Exports of the Maldives," *Slavery and Abolition*, II (1981), and subsequent articles in the same journal.

[12]Until 1749, the Kerimba Islands had been dominated by the Dominican father Fr. Joao de Meneses. At this time the governor of Mozambique, Pereira do Lago, had reasserted secular control over the archipelago, and farmed out the commendantship to the highest bidder. I have been unable to find any further information on either Petro da Costa or the Capuchin priest. See Alpers, "French Slave Trade."

us that at this island we could buy slaves with much more security and more advantageously than from the Arabs along the coast. We therefore requested the favor of the governor to be allowed the same rights as the French ship and permission to buy slaves. To this, he replied that we did not know the custom of this place, that for himself he wished sincerely that we should achieve our objective, but that it would not be possible for five to six months, as he had given his word to the French captain, and received cash and goods for five hundred slaves. But as there was then no time to explain everything in detail, he would order the Capuchin father to explain everything further, if we came on shore again. Thus we remained in uncertainty for the time being. In addition we requested the governor for permission for our two Moors to go overland to their friends in Krimba, as they had brought letters of recommendation from Anjouan to various Moors living there, so that they could hear independently whether there was anything for us to do here, and how the trade was organized. He agreed to this. As we took our leave, the governor said that the judge, the two lieutenants and the two priests would return our visit tomorrow on board, but that, according to his instructions, he could not leave the shore. With this we returned on board.

Sunday 7 July, we sent the barge to the shore with which the judge, the two lieutenants, the two priests and the captain of the Portuguese ship, together with two officers of the French ship came on board. We took the midday meal together, so that they only left the ship towards evening, having been very well satisfied.

Monday 8 July, we went on shore to visit the Capuchin father who had been recommended to us by the governor, and to speak with him alone. It chanced that we came to him during the normal siesta time and we offered him some refreshments and foodstuffs, which are here the best present and with which the father was very well satisfied. After we had sat with him, he told us that he had been requested by the governor to describe the customs of this place to us. This in short entailed that in general, under a Dutch flag, there was nothing for us to do here, and further that the trade was conducted deep in the country in the following manner: when a French ship came here to trade for slaves and had brought its goods on shore, the governor went with the merchants to inspect them and set a price on them in Spanish reals, at 25 for a slave. Then the governor took the goods over and divided them among the merchants, giving one the value of 50 slaves, another for 30, 20 or 10 slaves, determining the amount according to the number that each claimed to be able to deliver. The governor stood surety for these goods. With them the merchants went into the country and only came back after one or two months. Now, it could happen that the man who had taken goods for 50 slaves brought back only 10, and the others still fewer in proportion, and then returned into the country with the rest of the goods to trade, and thus plodded along for so long that a ship only acquired the slaves appropriate to the goods or cash which it had advanced after five or six months. However, when a French ship had lain here for three or four months another ship came from Mauritius. If the first had collected 200 to 300 slaves, it left and the other ship took over the goods and cash that were still outstanding among the merchants, and thus the second ship began its trading in the manner described. Thus the French ship which lay here now had paid out in cash and kind for

500 slaves to the governor, and after lying here for a month had received no more than twenty slaves, so that it would have to wait for several months longer for its complement of slaves, unless it was replaced by another ship, which would take over what was still owing to it.

As regards foodstuffs, there were here no cattle, sheep or poultry to be had. Everything that they had here had to be brought from Mafia Island, and the minor provisions came from Mozambique and the mainland. There was nothing except for maize and fish, on which the common people lived. Nothing else could be got, at any price. In respect of the neighboring places, the Father informed us that trade in Kilwa was conducted in the same way as here, that is to say: the cash and goods are paid in advance and the king values them at 25 Spanish reals for a slave. The difference existed, however, in that, when the slaves were delivered, we would have to take the sick as well as the healthy, or lose our investment, and it frequently happened, that, since it was very unhealthy there, of a hundred slaves more than half died during the time in harbor. Moreover the king of Kilwa would not recompense us if some of the merchants did not return with the goods. We would not be able to acquire a full cargo in less than four to five months, as they had to bring all the slaves from the mainland. Also we should never be able to go ashore unless we were armed with a pistol and sabre, and above all we should never sleep on shore. And the mouth of the river was exceedingly dangerous because of the hidden rocks, which lay under the water and on which more than one ship had been wrecked. But, the most important trade at Kilwa was in the hands of the Arabs, who came from Zanzibar Island in their vessels, bought slaves and sold them again along the coast. They never left this place without one of their boats, so that there was little for European ships to do there, as the people were satisfied with the Arabs and were held sufficiently under control. Mafia Island was only worth putting in to since cattle and other foodstuffs could be got there. Zanzibar Island was full of provisions, but the slave trade was exclusively conducted for cash by the Arabs. Of the coast from Mombasa to Paté and further he knew nothing, except that these places were inhabited by evil people. He did not know whether slaves could be bought there, as the Arabs themselves took slaves there from Kilwa. We thanked him for this information and noted it down, so that, when we came to these places we could see whether it agreed with the truth. After having taken our leave of the Father, we also paid a visit to the governor and offered him a present of provisions, which he gratefully accepted. He then told us that we could depend on everything the Father had told us being the truth. At this we went back on board.

Tuesday 9 July, in the afternoon we went on shore to see whether our Moors had returned, and took this opportunity to talk with the Portuguese ship's captain about the places along the coast, and in so far as he knew, he gave us the necessary directions. Further we visited the governor. After spending some time with him we took our leave and, as our Moors had not yet returned, we went back on board ship.

Wednesday 10 July, in the afternoon, despite a strong wind and a heavy sea, we sent the barge to the shore with a mate to look for our Moors. As they returned towards evening, he brought them back. They reported that they had spoken with their friends and heard that

under a Dutch flag there was nothing for us to do here. However, the previous year, after the departure of the war ships, an English ship had acquired a full load of slaves in Mozambique under a French flag. This was the same ship that was wrecked on Anjouan. Thus if we had come with a French flag, and if the French ship had not been here, we would have got slaves, providing we submitted to the local trade custom. Since this agreed with what the Father had told us, and since we realized that we could achieve nothing here, we decided to continue our journey.

Thursday 11 July. Therefore at sundown we raised our anchor and, after saluting the fort, left this place and headed along the coast.

Saturday 13 July, arrived in the afternoon before Kilwa, but found the river so nasty that the ship could not sail in.[13] Since there was no anchor ground outside, we sailed on.

Monday 15 July. In sight of several islands, of which we recognized the largest to be Mafia, we anchored in the afternoon, not to be driven back by the current, and to await a more favorable wind.

Thursday 18 July, we set sail in order, if possible, to reach Mafia.

Friday 19 July, we saw that, in trying to beat against the current and the wind, we had lost ground instead of gaining it. We sailed along a shoreline which we took to be that of the island of Zanzibar. Towards evening we anchored.

Saturday 20 July. The barge with our Moors went to the shore, and on their return we learned that we were off the mainland between Mafia and Zanzibar, and that this place was called Bonmaghi.[14]

Sunday 21 July, we again sent the barge to the shore, in order to learn from the inhabitants of this place whether there was anything for us to do here. When they came back, we heard from our Moors that the chief of this place wished to come on board himself tomorrow, if we had him picked up.

Monday 22 July. Therefore we sent the barge to the shore to pick up the chief of Bonmaghi, who shortly after came on board with nine Moors. Once they were seated, we learned in a friendly discussion that, along the whole coast, the shore was largely inhabited by Moors and Arabs. The Caffers with their king lived far in the interior, whither some of them went and bought slaves, so that months were required before they could go inland, and return with slaves. In consequence both the number of slaves and the time required was uncertain. As regards the price of slaves, the chief told us that, according to the custom of this place, before we began anything, or were allowed to fetch water and firewood, we would have to pay 25 ps. Sp. reals at once, and if we bought slaves would have to pay 1 ps. Sp. real per slave in duty. Then they asked to see our cloth, which were the only goods, besides the cash, for which we could buy slaves. We showed them the samples, and they approved of the *armosijns*[15] and cotton cloths, but had no taste for the *Photas-*

[13]The entrance to Kilwa Kisiwani was very difficult to locate. See Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, 13.

[14]The location would lead one to suspect that this place is modern Mbwamaji, a little to the south of Dar-es-Salaam.

[15]A thin, soft silk cloth, much used for linings. It is named after the town of Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

ses,[16] considering them too bad, and not the equal of those the Arabs delivered. They then began to fix a price for each sort, according to their custom, that is: for each slave, without distinction of sex or size, 25 Sp. reals, and the goods according to their valuation, until they were equivalent to 25 reals. However, they put such a low price on our cloths – even below the buying price according to our invoice. They claimed that these were the prices for which the Arabs sold their goods to them. Thus, taking into consideration, first the long time that we would have to stay here, second, the uncertainty as to whether, after that time, we would acquire a sufficient number of slaves, third, the heavy expenditure and expenses caused by the high price of the slaves and, fourth, the small number of slaves which we could buy for our cash and cloths, and the loss we would make on the latter, at that price, we could not agree to their terms and thought it better to continue our journey and to see if we could not succeed better in Zanzibar. Thus, after regaling them well and giving them a few trinkets, to gain a good name with the inhabitants of the coast, we had our guests taken back to the shore. One of our Moors, Tjehamadi, decided to sleep tonight with acquaintances on shore.

Tuesday 23 July, in the morning he came back in a canoe, together with a number of Moors, and informed us that he did not want to travel around with us any more, but would remain with his friends on shore, and would return in due time to Anjouan in one of their ships. This was because he considered that we would make little progress further along the coast, because, the further we went, the lower the price of our goods would become, and the higher that of slaves, since the Arabs sailed along this coast in such numbers and brought everything in abundance. He was so certain of his decision that we could do nothing to dissuade him, so that he went into the canoe with his servant and returned to the shore. However, the other Moor, Hagemadi, said that he would stay with us with his slave until we returned to Anjouan. Therefore we allowed the canoe to return to the shore.

Wednesday 24 July. According to our decision we sailed from there and met stormy weather, but towards evening came to anchor on the east side of Zanzibar.

Thursday 25 July, at first in dark and rainy weather, but in the afternoon, when the heavy sea had somewhat subsided, a canoe with five Moors came on board. From them we learned that this was not the correct anchor place, but that we should sail further north between the island and the mainland. In the roads before the town we should find a French and two Moorish ships at anchor. After they had said that they would bring us a pilot tomorrow, and after they had received a few trinkets for their trouble, they returned on shore.

Friday 26 July. The showery weather continued, and no pilot came on board.

Saturday 27 July, therefore we set sail at day break, but, as a result of many problems, it was not until

Monday 5 August, that we saw the capital of the island of Zanzibar, together with the ships. As the wind was against us, we were forced to anchor again. Shortly afterwards we saw the barge of the French

[16]Hard-wearing cotton cloths woven with a check pattern.

ship sailing towards us. The second lieutenant came on board. He said that he had been sent by his captain to welcome us to the roads. We learned that the ship was called *La Bricool*, Captain Clonard,[17] and had come from Mauritius to buy slaves. They had been here for six weeks and in the beginning had been well received by the Arabian governor, but now they were enemies, as the governor had promised slaves to the captain, but had gone back on his word and refused to deliver any. Since the captain had advanced so much money and goods to the governor and to various Moors and Arabs, and in this way would lose money and time, their friendship had ended, and only time could tell how the matter would be settled. After spending a certain amount of time with us, he took his leave and returned to his ship.

Tuesday 6 August, shortly after sunrise we saw that the castle of Zanzibar fired four heavy shots with cannonballs at the French ship, which were answered with several sharp shots from the ship. This continued, with intermissions, throughout the day until sunset.

On Wednesday 7 August the French ship took a position further from the shore, but we could not sail up the roads that day.

Thursday 8 August, at seven o'clock in the morning the castle again fired four shots at the French ship, but could not reach it. As there was no answer from the ship, everything remained still that day. At four in the afternoon we made sail and tacked up the roads, where shortly before sunset we anchored, and saluted the Castle. In addition to the French ship we found two Moorish ships from Surat under English flags.[18]

Friday 9 August. The undersigned went on shore together with the second commissioner and our Moors. On our arrival we were brought to an audience with the governor, who was gathered with his chiefs and a crowd of armed natives behind the castle in the shade of the coconut trees. Having been seated, we announced our arrival as friends, and asked him to provide us with water, firewood and provision. To this the governor said that for himself we were welcome, but that all the cattle had been sent deep into the country on account of the French war, so that none could be got, and there was even less chance of procuring water and firewood, as, since we were white, we would be taken for Frenchmen, with whom they were embittered to death and would certainly attack us. However, if we took no part in the enmities with the French ship, but rather did our best to persuade its captain to depart as soon as possible, he would then help us with both our requests. We told him we would do this, and, after taking our leave, returned on board. Shortly after this, we paid a return visit to the French ship, and were received most warmly by the captain and the other officers. Having been seated for some time, we informed the captain that the governor had requested us to persuade him to leave at once. To this the captain replied as fol-

[17] Captain Clonard had sailed from Rochefort on 21 August 1775, and had been in Cape Town from 25 November to 9 December of the same year, before sailing to Mauritius. *La Bricool* was described as carrying a crew of 90 men, and 20 cannons. VOC 4280, 223. For a French account of these events, see Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, 82-83, 87, 175.

[18] On the Surat and Gujerati trade to East Africa, see E.A. Alpers, "Gujerat and the Trade of East Africa, ca. 1500-1800," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, IX (1976).

lows: if the governor would reimburse him with the cash and goods he had advanced on shore, he would leave straight away, as he realized he could accomplish nothing here. In addition, the captain told us that the castle had begun the firing, and he had only returned the fire to damage their cannons, to preserve his ship from harm. Moreover, on his arrival he had given a very considerable present to the governor, according to the custom here (since it is a law among the Arabs not to appear before their chiefs without a sizable present). In addition, he had paid the governor 500 Spanish reals, and in addition had advanced even more goods and cash to private Moors and Arabs, even including an anchor, so that they would deliver slaves to him (at 25 Sp. reals a head, which was the price for a slave here). The governor had agreed to this, but now that they had been lying here for about six weeks, the governor completely refused to sell him a slave, and now the Arabs themselves had begun the war. Thus he had lost both slaves and provisions, since foodstuffs were exceedingly expensive here. For middling sort of cattle he had to pay 7 to 8 Sp. reals, and for 8 to 10 hens one real. Thus he requested us to do our utmost to have his cash and goods restituted, as then he would leave at once. Having told him that we would propose to the governor tomorrow, we took our leave and returned to our ship. On our return on board we decided on the presents which, in the circumstances and according to the laws of the country, we were required to give to the governor Zijdi Abdalla Bengadi.[19] These consisted of 1 Armosijn, 1 white coast Guinea,- [20] 1 blue bafta,[21] 1 Photas, 5 lb. copper wire, 1 cap mirror, 1 tin soup cup, six tin spoons, 2 tin cans, 1 iron pot, 2 rolls of tobacco, 1 gross pipes, a few cartridges of assorted spices and 1 canister of sugar, not only so that we might acquire provisions, but also, in the future, to allow the purchase of slaves.

Saturday 10 August in the morning we had the presents for the governor put into the barge and left the ship with them. On the shore, we were led to the governor, who again was in a gathering behind the castle. After various preliminaries, we handed over the presents we had brought, which the governor accepted with thanks. Then the governor gave us a return present, a rock-goat, some bunches of bananas, pineapple, coconuts and a number of hens, saying that it was not in his power at the moment to give us any more, since everything had fled out the town into the country. After this, we told the governor that the French captain would depart immediately if he only received back his cash and goods. To this the governor replied, that he would have everything collected and hand it over to us tomorrow in the presence of witnesses. Then the governor presented to us the Moor Tjehamadi, who had remained in Bonmaghi on the 23rd of last month and had come here on a native ship, with the request that we should take him back into our ship. The Moor had said much in our favor. He had not left us as a result of maltreatment, but out of fear for his life, when we had no pilot who could show us the passages on this

[19] I have been unable to locate any information on this man other than that given in his journal. As will be seen below, 3 January 1777, his term of office came to an end in 1777.

[20] Simple, usually checked cotton cloth, often used in the West African slave trade.

[21] Very fine cotton cloth.

dangerous coast. Therefore the governor promised us that he would send a pilot, who had been born in Pate, along the coast with us. After taking our leave, we returned on board. Towards evening we sent the barge with a Moor to the shore to collect a cow that the governor had promised to deliver to us, and he came back to the ship with it shortly afterwards.

Sunday 11 August. We went on shore and received from the governor and some prominent Arabs 894 Sp. reals in cash, plus three large bundles of textiles, for the account of the French captain. In addition, one of the Moorish captains who was in port said that he would immediately deliver to us in the ship an anchor, a load of iron bars and one of porcelain saucers and plates, which also belonged to the French captain. Then the governor told us that on his arrival the captain had advanced his goods and cash saying that he would only take provisions for them - and indeed they had already delivered him 100 reals worth of *millie*[22] - but then at once he demanded slaves for the remaining cash and goods, which they could not deliver, as they had received the most stringent orders from their king in Muscat not to sell a single slave to Europeans, as the slave trade along the coast was to be entirely in Arabs hands. The French captain had become very angry at this refusal, and had gone off secretly in the night, taking with them by force a canoe with three of his inhabitants, and so the war had begun. The governor earnestly requested that, as soon as we had settled the account with the captain, we should demand the return of the canoe with the three natives, to which we agreed. After taking our leave, we went back on board, accompanied by a friend of the governor and the Moorish captain, who would serve as witnesses at the settlement. Shortly afterwards two Moorish barges came to our ship, one bringing the anchor and the other the iron and procelain. We then invited the French captain to come to us, which he did straight away. Since he found the cash and the other goods in agreement with his account, he sent the three natives with their canoe back to the shore, at our request. He then said that on Tuesday he would sail behind the reef on the outer roads, and remain there several days to repair his mainsail and to take in his boat. At this the governor's friend and the Moorish captain returned to land. After they had left, the French captain told us in confidence that he had still easily as much cash outstanding with various Moors he had met on the shore as had been returned. These men had secretly informed him that they would send slaves at night to his ship in the outer roads. For this they had sent a boat, to avoid suspicion. After this, we wished each other favorable journeys, and the French captain left for his own ship, after having thanked us for the services we had performed.

Monday 12 August, we went on shore and came again to the governor, by whom we were very warmly received and now granted permission to cut firewood, to fetch water and to buy such provisions as we needed. We thanked him for this, and took our leave, being accompanied by the governor and his chiefs to the barge, because they were so glad that the French ship should leave.

[22]Mealie is the modern South African term for maize, deriving from the Portuguese *milho*. It is by no means certain that at this date it was not also used for various forms of sorghum.

Tuesday 13 August. In the morning the French ship set sail, but anchored again behind the reef on the outer roads.
Wednesday 14 August, we began to fetch water, having already brought several loads of firewood from a nearby islet.
Thursday 15 August and
Friday 16 August, nothing of importance occurred.
Saturday 17 August, the French ship set sail. Towards evening we sent the barge with the Moor Hagemadi to the shore, to request the governor to be allowed to buy a cow. Shortly afterwards they returned with the animal.
Sunday 18 August. Our second Moor, Tjehamadi, who was lodging on shore with a Moorish prince of his acquaintance, came on board and told us that he had met two Moors who wished to deliver us slaves by private contract at 25 reals each, which was what the French captain had paid. They warned us that the further we went, the higher the price we would have to pay for slaves, since all the slaves from Kilwa were transported along the coast via Zanzibar, so that their owners incurred heavier costs which drove up the prices. For this reason we accepted the offer, provided that he himself brought the slaves on board in canoes, and arranged for the payment of the owners, since we wished for no disagreement with the Arabs. He agreed to this. In addition Tjehamadi told us that he had discussed all the towns along the coast, and had heard that at Mombasa no slave trading was performed, as this place was entirely occupied by Arabs, who did not tade with any European nation, but limited themselves to their own and the Moorish vessels, with which they sailed to Muscat, Surat, and further. We then asked about Malindi and he told us that this once so famous town, since it had been captured and burnt by the Arabs about half a century ago, was now little known. Nowadays there was no trade at all conducted there, since it was only inhabited by nasty natives, a very ill-natured people. Thus even the Arabs did not dare to come there with their ships, and the anchorage was dangerous and unknown. On the other hand, the island of Pate was the best and safest place for the slave trade, as the Moors were the rulers there and ships with slaves always went from Zanzibar to Pate. Indeed, various rich Moors had agreed to follow us to Pate in their boats, and to bring slaves with them since they were not allowed to sell us slaves openly here. After having spent somewhat longer on board, he said that in the evening we should keep a lookout for canoes, since they would take the opportunity when there were no Arabs on the beach to deliver us the slaves on board. With this agreement he returned to shore and, for the agreed price, he delivered to us, from
Monday 19 August to
Friday 23 August, always shortly before nightfall, 38 male and 12 female slaves.
Saturday 24 August, our second Moor Hagemadi, who slept on board with us, was sent on shore to buy another cow and bring it on board in the barge. Also the two Moorish ships with English flags set sail to Surat.
Sunday 25 August. Our Moor Tjehamadi came on board and informed us that he could no longer deliver us any slaves here, since the Arabs had become suspicious that the Moors were surreptitiously sending us slaves from the shore. Therefore, they were maintaining a watch along the shore both by day as by night, and, since the Moors were

afraid of the Arabs, they no longer dared to despatch slaves. Nevertheless, they had promised him to send us their slaves to Pate. Thus he advised us that it was better to depart from here for Pate as soon as we had our water and firewood, to avoid bringing difficulties on our own heads. Therefore, considering the matter, we decided to leave next Tuesday.

Thereafter we went on shore with Tjehamadi and informed the governor of our date of departure, and asked him to give us a pilot and recommendations to the king of Pate, saying that we had acted as friends here. This he immediately agreed to do, saying he would tomorrow give not only a pilot but also letters of recommendation, not only to the king but also to the other chiefs on Pate, in which he would mention the true service which we had done to him and to the whole island in the matter of the French ship. After this, we took our leave, with many signs of friendship back and forth. Then we went to see the prince, with whom our Moor Tjehamadi was lodging, again to take our leave of him. Both he and other important Moors promised tomorrow to send us letters of recommendation to their friends in Pate. Thus, having done everything on shore, we returned to the ship.

Monday 26 August, our pilot and the letters of recommendation, both from the governor as well as from the other Moors, came on board. Also Tjehamadi came with a canoe with vegetables and so on for the journey. So the commander made everything ready to leave tomorrow. We discovered that during our stay in Zanzibar we had spent 30,000 copper beads, 31-3/12 dozen of knives, and 62-1/2 lbs. of tobacco on the country's fruits, vegetables and so on. Also for the cattle we had spent 24 ps. Spanish reals, and for 50 slaves 25 ps. reals a head, that is 1250 Mexicans. Then we asked our pilot of the entries to Mombasa, Malindi and further along the coast to Pate. However, our pilot was shocked that we wanted to put into Mombasa and Malindi, anbd said that he did not want to be responsible for taking our ship there, as they only went there in small boats. Moreover, we would fall in with an evil people. Therefore we decided to sail as close to the coast as feasible, to investigate for ourselves whether we would find everything as had been described to us, and to act accordingly in the future.

Tuesday 27 August, we left the roads of the island of Zanzibar and set our course along the shore.

Thursday 29 August. In the morning the pilot showed us some land in the distance, which he said to be the island of Pate. We had been taken past Mombasa and Malindi in the night by the strong current, since at night it was impossible to sail close to this rough and unknown shore, because there was a very weak breeze which could not prevail against the current, and so we would have been driven on shore, especially as there was no anchorage close inshore. In the afternoon we came closer to where the entry to Pate was supposed to be. The pilot showed us various rocks sticking out above the sea, close to which the water was breaking on a reef. He said that we must anchor and shoot for a pilot and that he could not take us any further, since he knew the entry for their boats but not for big ships. Thus we were forced to anchor in this place and to shoot for a pilot. However, since the sea was extra rough, with very heavy swells, no boat was seen to come out, and we passed the night not without danger. We could guess now what those places which they

considered bad must be like, when such a dangerous place was described by them as good and safe.

Friday 30 August, as we saw no pilot coming out, we did not want to endanger the ship. Therefore we did our best to raise the anchor so as to look for a better anchorage behind the reef. Sailing on and passing over the reef we came to anchor in good ground in sight of Pate in the afternoon. However the rough sea and the heavy swells remained with us, and there were various rocks above the water near the shore, against which the surf broke heavily.

Saturday 31 August a boat with Moors came to the ship, with two pilots sent by the king of Pate, but because of the rough sea it could not latch on to the ship, so it made sail and tacked back to the shore. In the afternoon the king of Pate sent another pilot in a boat to us, but again it was not able to attach itself to the ship because of the rough sea, and so it returned to Pate. However, we were forced to remain at anchor as the wind was against us and so we could not pass the point as the Moors did in their vessels. At sunset the wind got up and the sea became still rougher.

Sunday 1 September. As a result, at two o'clock in the morning our main cable broke and at half past three the bower cable, so that we were forced to make sail at once. We set course at first away from the shore, and then began to tack, but, as the wind was too slack, we attempted to gain ground by steering out to sea. This was fruitless, however.

Thursday 5 September. Nevertheless at daybreak we were in sight of land and sailed towards the town of Brava,[23] which our pilots described to us as the last safe anchorage which they knew before Mecca. All their ships which went from Zanzibar and Pate to Mecca, Muscat, and Surat, and returned from those places, anchored there. In the afternoon we anchored in sight of the town and of a tower which had been built on a large rock or small island as a signal for the ships. As before Pate, we found rough seas and heavy swells, so that we could not reach the shore in the barge as a result of the sea and the surf, which was breaking against various large rocks which were like small islands in the sea. If we had tried, the barge and its crew would have been irrevocably lost. Nevertheless a vessel from Brava came to us, from which through our pilots and Moors we learned that we were in the correct place, where all the ships anchored, but that, when the southerly wind blew, the sea always remained so rough. Moreover neither here nor further along the coast was a better anchorage known. However, we consoled ourselves with the thought that with the change of the moon the wind sometimes changed, so that we would be able to sail to Pate. After this, to our great admiration, they sailed back to the shore through the surf.

Friday 6 September. Yesterday's boat again came out to us. The inhabitants came on board and welcomed us to the roads in the name of their chief, who was called Duke Tjehamadi. They brought us a present of a cow and some fruits, and then informed us that, since they were on a friendly footing with the king of Pate, the duke would tomorrow send messengers to Pate overland, to inform the king of our arrival here and to tell him that we would sail back to Pate with the first favorable wind. We rewarded them with a few small gifts,

[23] A. Grohmann, Art. "Barawa," *Encyclopedia Islam*; Guillain, *Documents sur l'Histoire*, II, ii, 170 ff.

which mainly consisted of knives and tobacco, and since, to come out to our ship, they had had to risk their lives through the surf, and in appreciation of our thanks to Duke Tjehamadi for the cow sent us, etc., we gave him a return present of a white coast Guinea, a roll of tobacco, and a package of assorted spices. At this they were most satisfied and sailed to the shore. For the rest, the westerly wind, the rough water, the heavy seas and the northerly current continued, and even on

Thursday 12 September, with the new moon, little or no change occurred in wind and water.

Sunday 15 September. The boats came out from the shore to the ship bearing the message that the duke thanked us for the present we had sent him and again sent two sheep, some hens and a basket of eggs to us. With this he had us informed of a message which had come by word of mouth from Mogadiscu to the king of Pate, such messages being passed on from place to place with new messengers, as is the custom of the country. This entailed that a large ship had been wrecked at sea off Mogadiscu. Two vessels with white people had come to the shore but the water was so rough by the beach that both the barge and the boat were wrecked. All the whites were captured by the natives and murdered, with the exception of a black slave who had been with them and whose life was granted by the barbarians. Then they had pulled the vessels up and burned them, after taking out the cash, flintlocks, and other goods which were to be found in them, and then fled. Therefore we asked the natives and our pilots whether such evil and murderous peoples lived in Mogadiscu or further along the coast, and how the anchorages and water were in this wind. To this they unanimously answered that Mogadiscu was now inhabited by Arabs and a gathering of evil natives, and that no Moorish, let alone European, ships came there. The water was too rough and the entry full of rocks and thus highly dangerous for large ships. If we were wrecked or ran aground we would undoubtedly lose our lives and goods. Also it was to be feared that the natives who came on board as pilots would attempt to guide the ship onto the hidden rocks, simply to get it into their power. It has even happened that, while a ship was at anchor there, the cables under the water had been cut by natives who could swim well, so that it would be driven onto the beach and they could plunder its goods. Further along the coast it was the same, or even worse. For this reason their ships, when coming from Mecca or Muscat, would put into no port before they arrived at Brava, as otherwise they would put their lives and goods in danger. Only known Arab boats sailed to and along this coast. Further they told us that Pate was the last place where the slave trade was conducted, so long as they remembered, and that the natives from both there and Zanzibar took those slaves they could not sell to Muscat and sold them there for cash and fine cloths. Thus we heard that we could achieve nothing further along the coast, and hoped for nothing better than a favorable wind, with which we could sail for Pate. The pilots we had on board thought there was a hope of this. Then we gave the natives who came out in the boat for the duke, as recompense for the sheep, hens and eggs he had sent, a tin can, a roll of tobacco, some pipes and pocket mirrors. After they had been entertained and given some tobacco, which they are very fond of, they returned to the shore in their vessel. Nevertheless we were deceived in our hope that, with the change in the moon, the wind

would shift enough to allow us to sail out to sea, as it continued to blow on shore.

Friday 27 September, a male slave died.

Saturday 28 September, Duke Tjehamadi sent his boat out to the ship to inquire after our health. With this His Excellency sent us a slaughter cow as a present, which was most welcome to us. Therefore, when they left we gave the boatsmen an *armosijn*, a package of spices, and some pocket mirrors for the duke, and presented each of the natives with a knife and a piece of tobacco, with which they returned to the shore.

Tuesday 1 October, there passed us a large Arab vessel, belonging to the governor of Zanzibar, which we had seen being made ready there to sail to Muscat with slaves.

Friday 4 October, this was such a fine day as we have not had since we arrived here. Therefore the commander had the anchors pulled in to investigate the cables. However as a result of the breaking of the main cable we lost an anchor.

Monday 7 October. The wind was such that we hoped to be able to get to sea. Thus it was resolved to raise both anchors at once. However, despite using all the manpower, we could not raise them and were thus forced to remain here.

Thursday 10 October, the duke sent us three sheep, a number of hens and a basket of eggs, with the request whether we could not return some sugar for household use. Therefore, when they left we handed the natives a cannister of sugar and gave them each some tobacco for coming on board, after which they returned to the shore.

Friday 11 October, since the wind and weather were reasonable, the commander had the anchor raised which could not be brought home recently. However it came over the prow in no fit state, as both flukes had broken off the shaft.

Sunday 13 October, a male slave died. Also we now daily see vessels arrive here for Brava, which anchor not far from the town behind a large rock, and then, after staying for one or two days they continue their journey along the coast.

Tuesday 22 October the boat of Duke Tjehamadi came out to the ship, from which an Arab merchant from Pate came up on board. He lay with a vessel full of slaves before Brava and was taking them to Mogadiscu. In the canoe he had seven slaves which he wanted to sell to us at 30 reals each. We chose a male and a female slave, but refused two elderly slave women and three small boys, because the merchant would not reduce the price and we offered no more than the 25 Sp. *matten* we had paid in Zanzibar. The merchant said that he had first had to bring them from Zanzibar and then incurred many expenses before he had got them there. As he stuck to his demand, we bought the said two stout slaves for 60 Sp. reals. On his departure we informed the duke that since it was so dangerous for the ship to lie here we were resolved to leave here as soon as we saw any chance of putting to sea. Therefore we presented our compliments to His Excellency and thanked him for what we had enjoyed during our stay here. Examining the matter, we were fully convinced that in Mogadiscu and further along the coast, even if there might be a good anchorage, we could achieve nothing, since slaves from Kilwa first had to be brought here via Zanzibar and Pate and thus would be considerably higher in price than in Zanzibar.

Wednesday 23 October, Duke Tjehamadi sent us in his boat a cow, a number of hens, and some eggs, and wished us a happy and prosperous voyage to Pate. When his boat left we sent to His Excellency with our respectful thanks, a tin soup cup, six tin spoons, a cartridge of spices, a roll of tobacco and some pocket mirrors, and after saying farewell to the boatsmen, each of them received a knife, a piece of tobacco and a pocket mirror for their trouble and then they returned to the shore. In the afternoon, a large native vessel, presumably destined for Mogadiscu, passed by and four smaller ships came to anchor here before Brava.

Thursday 24 October, observing a breeze, on which our seamen thought they could sail from the shore, we resolved to lose no time and, for the preservation of the ship and its crew, having raised the anchor, we set sail around 1 o'clock in the afternoon and put out to sea as far as the wind allowed. We were convinced that if we had had the chance to run on shore, as a result of losing more anchors, we would have been robbed of both goods and lives by the evil inhabitants. We had partially gotten to know their malicious dispositions from those few who had come on board from the duke's vessel, despite the fact that we never let them go without presents, since we could not know whether something might befall us on this strange and highly dangerous coast, that would leave us dependent on the help and love of the people. It seemed to us that even our Moors from Anjouan did not go ashore out of fear. We thanked God who had so far preserved us with his grace. Thus we intend to steer for Pate with our pilots as soon as the wind allows, in the hope of making up lost time by a favorable trade wind of which they assured us.

Friday 29 November, two male slaves died.

Sunday 1 December, another male slave died.

Wednesday 4 December the commander summoned the ship's council and informed those who were gathered of how the drinking water and the provisions were noticeably beginning to decline. The shortage of the former derived from the fact that we had not been able to load any water since the 27th of August, when we left Zanzibar, since there had been no opportunity to send our boats on shore in Brava, and moreover the inhabitants themselves were suffering from a water shortage, and had to be satisfied with a single well and had only brackish drinking water for their animals. However the latter shortage, that of provisions, needed to be treated sparingly, since it had not been possible to obtain either rice or beans along the coast. While these could last till the end of February, one should not allow it to reach the ultimate. Moreover, we had been at sea now for a month and ten days since we had left Brava and had been struggling against continuing calms, contrary winds and currents, and there was no sign of any favorable wind which would allow us to sail to any land. Further, the commander suggested that it would be a good thing to sail south as we had now been driven so far east by the current. He hoped, by taking that course, to find a favorable wind and this would allow us to reach land by tacking towards it. This was considered by the assembled members of the council, and then unanimously approved, judged necessary and decided that, to preserve the ship and its crew, we should take action in time and to set course for the south, if the wind allowed, and then to see how to sail for the nearest land. It was also decided to reduce the

ration of water to eight *mutsjes*[24] a day, and to give only two meals until such time as God should graciously allow another decision. We hope that this decision will be approved by Your Excellency and Your Honours.

Tuesday 10 December. A slave woman died.

Friday 13 December. Towards the midday we saw a change in the water, so we took soundings and found chalky bottom at 12 fathoms. We then passed over depths of 11, 10, 10-1/2 and, in the afternoon, 13, 14 and 16 fathoms, until, at 4 o'clock we had left the bank.

Saturday 14 December. We saw land and then passed by a low island covered with trees, which towards sunset was recognized as the Island of Alphonse.[25]

Tuesday 17 December, shortly after midday we saw land, consisting of three small islands covered with trees, between which there were sandbanks with a heavy surf. The sailors considered them to be the Patran or Dos Banhos.[26] We passed them in the afternoon, but they were still in sight from the masthead at sunset.

Wednesday 25 December, a male slave died.

Friday 27 December, a slave woman died.

Tuesday 31 December, at four in the morning, we saw land, which was recognized as the island of Pemba. We proceeded along the shore to reach Zanzibar. At ten in the morning one of the Moors from Anjouan who we had with us on board, named Hajemadi, died. He had been ill for more than fourteen days. At sunset we were still in sight of Pemba, and so reduced sail so as not to pass the north point of Zanzibar in the night.

1777

Wednesday 1 January 1777, Sailing along the island of Pemba, at four in the afternoon we saw the island of Zanzibar and at sunset steered under reduced sails between the north point of Zanzibar and the mainland.

Thursday 2 January. At daybreak we were sailing past Dom Patoe.[27] We increased sail and set course for the town, where we came to anchor around midday before the castle. We found there anchored a two-masted ship from Krimba and two large one-masted native vessels, which had just arrived from Muscat with cloth and various other goods. Thus by God's goodness we had arrived in a safe harbor at a moment when our drinking water was largely consumed, to say nothing of the daily decrease in provisions and firewood. Therefore we would have run into great danger or perished either from lack of food or from sickness, as there were already various illnesses both among the crew and slaves and among the Moors. Almost all those on board, but principally the slaves, were already suffering from scurvy, which derived from the long sea voyage and the consuming of dry and

[24] A *mutsje* is a quarter of a pint. In other words, the sailors were to receive just over a liter of water a day.

[25] The island of Alphonse is in the Amirante group, at 7.05 S., 52.50 E. This shows how far from the mainland coast the *Zon* was forced in its attempts to reach Zanzibar.

[26] This is probably in the Cosmolodos group.

[27] This is Tumbatu Island, off the north-west corner of Zanzibar.

salty food, with little drinking water in such a torrid zone. With God's blessing, we hope to cure this, since edible fresh meat and vegetables and lemons can be got here, which are the best, indeed the universal, remedy against scurvy. Indeed, the loss of the slaves must be attributed exclusively to the consequences of scurvy. Also, putting into Zanzibar was thoroughly necessary to put down the pilots who had been taken on board here or in Pate and were now all sickly, as otherwise we would be considered by the Moors and Arabs who live in this island to be pirates, as they would not be able to believe that we were driven past Pate by contrary winds, storms and waves, thinking it was by evil intent. As a result we would have got a bad reputation in these areas, which could have resulted in most unfortunate consequences if, in the course of time, a Dutch ship was forced by necessity to put into this coast or one of the islands. This problem would now disappear as our pilots would be able to return to Pate from here in native vessels, because these can always remain in sight of land, and because at night and with contrary wind they can immediately pass between the rocks and put their boats on shore, as they know all the avenues through which their boats can enter. This is impossible for a large ship, while outside there are no anchorages.

Shortly after midday, the undersigned, together with the second commissioner, our Moor Tjehamadi from Anjouan, the pilot who we had taken from here, and the pilots who we had taken on board in Pate, went to the shore. We were received on the beach by several chiefs and brought to the castle where we found the governor and his chiefs assembled. They received us very warmly. Once we were seated, we had our Moor Tjehamadi announce our arrival and adventures, with, as a present for the governor according to the country's custom, a glass goblet, a glass cup, nine assorted porcelain cups and twenty-four porcelain plates. The governor, while thanking us for what he had been given, let us know that it had disappointed him that in our attempt to reach Pate we had undergone so much loss and misfortune. Then we asked the governor, while we were enjoying the various local fruits with which we were served, for permission to take on water and firewood and to buy provisions, which he immediately granted. Then we presented to him the pilots (who had been brought on shore) with the request that they might remain here until they could find the opportunity of returning to Pate, which he again accorded. At this point the pilots held a long discussion with the governor and his chiefs. After this had ended the governor informed us that the pilots had asked him to put in a good word for them with us, since they had now been wandering around with us for more than four months, and had suffered so many inconveniences, including the interruption of their occupations and the wear and tear of their clothing, and therefore hoped for a recompense from us, which he would however, in fairness, leave up to us. In prospect of future times, whether of further journeys of this kind or the wreck of a Dutch ship in this area, we could not refuse this, and thus we informed the governor that, if the pilots would come on board tomorrow morning we would present each of them both for their lost business as for new clothes, with one white coast Guinea, 1 bl. *salempoers*,[28] 1 *photasse*, 1 small Surat cloth as well as tobacco,

[28] Chintz cloths from Salempore (modern Salem) in Tamil Nadu.

knives, pocket mirrors and a number of copper rings to buy provisions, with which the governor, his chiefs and our pilots were most satisfied. Having done this we took our leave, at which the governor told us that he had sent a cow and a quantity of the country's fruits to our barge as a return present, for which we thanked him. Thereafter Tjehamadi delivered us vegetables and a good number of lemons, which we immediately sent on board. Since Tjehamadi wanted to remain on shore, we asked him to come on board with the pilots early in the morning, The evening was disturbed since almost every two hours we heard various cannon shots which we presumed to be from a ship arriving.

Friday 3 January. At sunrise we saw the ship sail in, and heard it fire shots, which were answered from the castle which flew the flag, with a cannon shot whenever the ship saluted. This continued with intervals of half an hour. Shortly afterwards Tjehamadi and the pilots came on board as had been agreed. They brought a message from the governor that on the Arabian ship that had just arrived was a new governor sent from Muscat for the island of Zanzibar, because he had asked the king of Muscat for his replacement on account of his age. However, we should not be afraid as he pledged himself that we would receive the same privileges from the new governor as we had enjoyed from him, since in a letter sent in one of his ships he had already informed his master the king of Muscat of the services we had rendered to Zanzibar. For this we sent out thanks to the governor via Tjehamadi. Further, as we had promised yesterday we handed over the gifts to our pilots, at which they were most pleased and thanked us. We also heard from Tjehamadi that various vessels had gone from here to Pate with slaves for us, but, as we had not arrived, they had had to decide to sail to Muscat to sell the slaves there. Therefore we asked Tjehamadi whether we could not acquire a number of slaves here, as we had done on our last visit. However, he answered that the merchants were even more afraid of the new governor and did not want to expose themselves to the punishments incurred by breaking the king's laws. Having done all this, our pilots with their baggage and the gifts they had received, returned with Tjehamadi to the shore. After wishing us a favorable journey home they said that they would have to stay here until there was an opportunity to return in a vessel to Pate. At nine o'clock the Arabian royal ship from Muscat, bringing the new governor, anchored here. It was a three-masted ship, flying the red Arabian flag from its main top and flag pole, and with pennants on the poles and the points of the yards. It also flew red waist cloths from the tops, while the masts and the ship were neatly painted and tarred. Shortly afterwards, it saluted the castle, and was immediately answered. Then we saw two barges leaving the shore, but the governor went on land in his own barge, with the flag, under escort from the above-mentioned barges. The we saw from our ship, which was anchored not far from the shore, that a mass of armed natives were drawn up along the shore, and fired off their weapons repeatedly. After the initial welcoming compliments were exchanged between the new and the old governors, the latter with his entourage, the new governor was escorted to the castle by the whole multitude, where refreshment for him and his entourage was prepared, and so this day was passed on shore in pleasure.

Saturday 4 January, we went on shore to pay our compliments to the new governor. However, he excused himself for today, because he was still tired from his journeys and hindered by his other duties. But he requested us to come tomorrow. Therefore we went with Tjehamadi to see something of the town and found living in almost evey house merchants and craftsmen, such as silver- and ironsmiths, sword, shield and other weapon-makers, carpenters, potters, weavers and so on, and public schools to give the children reading and writing in Arabic. We also saw various large and small ships being built, including one which stood out since it had a keel fully 60 feet long, but still would only carry one mast. It was held together with a great number of large and small iron nails and was caulked with kapok. It was even decorated on its uppers with smithing work. However, there were other large vessels, though with a smaller capacity, which were sewn together with coconut ropes. Further, we saw a mill to grind maize into flour, driven by a camel. At the same time we saw in various shops Persian carpets, silk and other handsome textiles, porcelain, beads, knives, mirrors, even gold and silver ornaments made of rings, locks, chains, krisses , and so on, and heard from Tjehamadi that the governor's ship contained a great quantity of the best Persian and Surat goods and that two more ships, which he had equipped, were daily expected. Thus we could understand why our cargo was not in demand, except the cash, for which they were all most eager.

We were therefore glad that our Tjehamadi had been able to acquire vegetables and lemons for small-wares. Not even rice, beans or maize as food for the slaves could be got in exchange for goods. They insisted on taking reals for these commodities, at such an enormous price that we could not agree with it. However the commander had reviewed his supplies, and promised, until our arrival at Madagascar, to supply ship's rice for the slaves, provided that we should reimburse him with as much as had been used at the first opportunity there. Since we had nothing more to do on shore, we had a cow, vegetables and lemons, which Tjehamadi had bought for us, taken to the barge and went on board in it.

Sunday 5 January. At daybreak a slave woman died. After this, in accordance with our promise to the new governor, Halphani Binhamen Binnan Barak Zijdi[29] to visit him today, we went on shore. On our arrival we were taken to the house of one of his principal chiefs, where we were given various refreshments until we were called to the audience. We found the governor before the castle gathered with his courtiers and surrounded by more than a hundred Arabs armed with muskets, great swords, krisses and shields, between whom we had to pass. The new governor then stood up, gave us his hand in a friendly way and then had us sit next to him. At this, by medium of our Moor Tjehamadi, we congratulated him on his arrival and new government and according to their laws, handed over a present consisting of one armozijn, one glass goblet, one glass drinking beaker, one glass cup, one tin sauce dish, six tin spoons, two tin cans, two rolls of tobacco, one gross of pipes, two packages of spices, nine diverse porcelain cups and twenty-four plates, with the request that we

[29]This is presumably the Khalfan bin Ahmed who in 1784 was still governor of Zanzibar and refused to hand over the island to Seif bin Ahmed, the unsuccessful claimant to the throne of Oman. See Guillain, *Documents sur l'Histoire*, I, 556-557.

might enjoy the same rights as under the old governor (who was today at one of his country houses) and be treated as friends. Having heard this, the governor again offered us his hand and, having thanked us both for the presents and for our congratulations, told us that we could live here on the same footing as previously, could fetch water and firewood, and also come on shore without fear and buy provisions, as the boons which had already been shown to Zanzibar had already been made known by the old governor to their king in Muscat by a native vessel, so that the Dutch nation would always be well thought of. On leaving the new governor presented us with a head of cattle, which we sent to remain at Tjehamadi's house until tomorrow. After we had taken over a consignment of lemons from him, we went back on board.

Monday 6 January we had the head of cattle given us yesterday which we had left with Tjehamadi, together with some vegetables for tomorrow, brought on board.

Tuesday 7 January, Tjehamadi came on board and informed us that it was one of the customs of this place to go to visit the Moorish king and queen,[30] together with an Arab prince of the king of Muscat's family, who lived inland, and to give them a present. Clonard, the French captain who had been there recently had done this, and they expected this from all visiting ships. However, we excused ourselves from this, because we had already been required to disburse presents here so often, without being able to do business about the slave trade. Therefore, at Tjehamadi's departure, we postponed our visit to a more suitable time.

Wednesday 8 January, we had a cow, vegetables and lemons for tomorrow night brought on board.

Thursday 9 January, every day we see native vessels arriving here.

Friday 10 January. A male slave died. In the afternoon the ex-governor with three of his sons, together with our Moor Tjehamadi and various notables, came to pay us a visit on board. The governor had a red awning and flag on his barge. After having been seated in the cabin for some time, the Moor Tjehamadi from Anjouan informed us that last night a vessel had arrived from Pate, from which he had received letters from Prince Zijde a Loui of Anjouan (who, since our departure from here, had come to Zanzibar from Kilwa, and thus had heard that we had gone to Pate, where he too wished to go, and where he now was and whence he could shortly be expected here before returning to Anjouan). Prince Loui had written to Tjehamadi that Governor Abdalla of Kilwa had loaded two vessels on his account and sent them to Kilwa, but that both had run on the rocks betweet Kilwa and Mafia, and lost both the ships and the cargo. Only the crew had reached Mafia Island and some of them had arrived here in native vessels. This was a great loss for the governor. In addition the prince had told him that, if this latter should catch up with him in Zanzibar, he should leave our service and wait here for him, and return in his own vessel, so that, if it were possible, they might be of advantage to the unfortunate governor. Tjehamadi who was the brother-in-law of the governor, told us this with much emotion. He added that he hoped we would not hinder him in his decision, since he could no longer be of any use to us, as we wanted to go directly

[30] On these, see above, Introduction for 64.

to Madagascar from here via Anjouan and as a precaution he would give us letters to the governor and to his family in Anjouan - informing them that he remained here of his own free will, that he had been well treated by us during the journey and that we had parted as friends. We did everything in our power to prevent him and to persuade him to return with us to Anjouan - but we could see no possibility of making him change his mind. Therefore, since he was a free person and we were in a foreign country where we could not speak the language, we agreed, half forced. Since we gathered from the commander that we were now provided with enough water and firewood, we decided to continue our voyage at the first opportunity. We informed the ex-governor of this, at which, in the course of other comments, he told us that when he came to Muscat he would do all he could to persuade the king to allow the Dutch nation free trade here, in contradiction to their laws, but out of consideration for our saving Zanzibar from the menace of ruin. The new governor, who was also our great friend, would support this request in writing. For this favorable offer, we thanked him. Then he further told us, that it had always been the custom, when foreign ships were in harbor, to send the king of Muscat some barrels of powder as a present and, in former times, when the slave trade was allowed to everyone, two reals for the king, two for the governor and one for the pilot had to be paid for every slave bought. We allowed this unpleasant comment to pass unnoticed, without answering them, and began on another subject, so as not to be forced to shell out more presents, since we had already incurred high enough costs. Thus we only gave the sons of the governor one or two things they seemed to take pleasure in as a present, including an iron balance with copper scales which was in daily use in the cabin, but we were glad we came out of the visit lightly. After the governor and his entourage had been entertained, he returned with his company to the shore again.

Saturday 11 January, having set our departure for tomorrow, we went on shore to take our leave of both governors, and found each of them assembled with his own courtiers in the castle. After having been seated for a while, we paid each other farewell, and they wished us a good journey. Then we went to Tjehamadi's house and received a cow and vegetables for tomorrow. We paid him 24 Sp. reals for the three head of cattle he had delivered to us, at 8 Sp. reals each. We learned that during our stay here he had expended 25 dozen knives, 5 lb. copper wire, 17 lb. copper rings, 3 boxes of pocket mirrors and 31 rolls of tobacco on lemons and various vegetables. We took back the remainder of the trade goods we had given him, after which he handed over various letters, as had been agreed yesterday, both to the governor and to his family on Anjouan. He wished us a good journey and we wished him a good stay. Thus we had done everything on the shore and returned to the ship, where everything was now prepared for our departure tomorrow.

Sunday 12 January, at daybreak we raised our anchor, set sail and proceeded along the island on the mainland side, between various islets. In the afternoon we read the south point of Zanzibar and set course for the Comoro Islands.

Tuesday 21 January. In the distance we saw the island of Angazidja.

Wednesday 22 January, we sailed past the island of Angazidja, and at sunset we were directly between Gadsidsa and Moheli, but, because of the darkness we could scarcely make out Anjouan.

Thursday 23 January. We sailed into sight of the Anjouan roads. The commander summoned the ship's council and laid out the necessity of putting into the island of Anjouan: First, to explain to the sultan, via the Governor Abdalla, why the two Moors, who had been given us as interpreters for the coast of Zanzibar, had not been brought back as we had promised, because Hagemadi had died on 31 December of last year and the second, Tjehamadi had remained with the two slaves on Zanzibar when we left the island on the 12th of this month - as otherwise it was to be feared that we would get a bad reputation in this area, as it would be believed that we had treated the Moors and their slaves who had been entrusted to us badly, or even driven them away, so that, if a Dutch ship arrived in Anjouan which could well happen in a case of want of necessities, this might be revenged, to the shame of our nation; and, second, to try to acquire one or two anchors there, and so recoup our losses, as Tjehamadi had assured us that the anchors belonging to the English ship that had been wrecked there two years ago were in the water and could easily be raised. Further, the commander brought into consideration the fact that, at this time of the year, the northerly winds make the roads of Anjouan into a lee shore, and so, if we put in, we could entrust the safety of the Company's valuable ship to our anchors and cables, which had already suffered so much along the coast. But the proposal was rejected by the seamen among us, because, with the northerly winds that were now blowing, there would be no chance beating away from the lee shore if an anchor was lost, and thus the ship would run aground. This was considered by all of us to be an irresponsible act. Therefore, after serious deliberation, it was unanimously approved, laid down and decided, to make use of the favorable wind and set course for Madagascar, entirely avoiding Anjouan. However, we would sail as close as possible to the shore, fly the flag and fire salute shots, in the hope of bringing out a vessel which we could send the letters which Tjehamadi had given us for Anjouan to the land. Also we would be able to present an oral report of our doings to the Moors in the ship. We trust that this decision will be approved by Your Honours. Then we hoisted the flag and fired off various signal shots, but, as we saw no vessel leaving the shore we set course for Madagascar.

Sunday 26 January. We set sail in the morning and in the afternoon arrived off Ampandre.[31] A number of canoes came on board, one of which contained the new captain of the anchorage, named Radiane, as the old Captain Jacob had died.[32] They assured us of their pleasure in our arrival. We heard, among other things, that a little while ago a Portuguese ship had come from Mozambique to buy rice. Then so as not to waste any time, we decided to go to the king after the ebb that night, accompanied by Capt. Radiane. Therefore he immediately returned on shore to send a canoe to the king in advance, to inform him of our arrival. After his departure we set out the customary present for the king and the ministers as follows:

[31]This is modern Majunga. See the map by Godlob Silo, ARA.

[32]Jacob had been the captain of the anchorage in 1775, VOC 4280, 327.

For the king: Haringe simang ambo,[33] 2 armosijns, 1 fine white guinea, 2 blue *salemp*,[34] 1 gingham bedspread,[35] 10 lb. beads, one dozen knives, 2 tin cups, 2 iron pots, 2 rolls of tobacco, 1/2 aam arak, 50 lb. powder, 1 flintlock, 30 lb. bullets and 450 flints.

For the minister Rayanak: 1 armosyn, 1 white guinea, as noted, 1 bl. salemp., 1 gingham bedspread, 5 lb. beads, 1/2 dozen knives, 1 tin cup, 1 iron pot, 1 roll of tobacco, 30 cans of arak, 20 lb. powder, 1 flintlock, 20 lb. bullets and 200 flints. We packed these, together with the other necessities for the journey. Around nightfall Capt. Radiane returned on board and warned us that the canoe for the king had already left. He remained on board to sleep.

Tuesday 28 January, at 2 o'clock in the morning, I left the ship in the barge, together with the mate Brussel, the interpreter Requeda and Capt. Radiane. Shortly afterwards four canoes with natives came to join us from the anchorage. However, as it was during the heart of the bad monsoon, we were hindered by heavy thunderstorms, rain showers and a strong ebb tide and so on, only on

Sunday 2 February did we arrive, along the normal way, in the king's residential town.[36] Thanks to the good offices of Capt. Radiane we had always a hut for our night's rest and a cow every day on the king's account. On our arrival at the king's residence, the minister came to greet us, and took us to one of his houses, that would serve as our lodgings. Shortly afterwards, we had occasion to hand over to this first courtier his presents, and asked them for a speedy audience, and for the maintenance of the old agreement. After having thanked us for his gifts, he said he would use his great authority to achieve this. In the evening we received another cow and numerous other refreshments as a present from the king, most of which was consumed by our guides.

Monday 3 February, at day break the minister came to warn us that we should prepare for the audience, so we put the king's presents in readiness. After this a cow was slaughtered for us and again we received much milk and other refreshments as a present. At nine o'clock we were taken with all ceremony to the audience. When we had arrived at the gathering and had been seated, the minister apologized that the king could not (for reasons of sickness) be present at the conclusion of the contract, and thus had authorized him and the viceroys to do so. After this the whole council inspected the presents for their king, approved them and, in the name of their monarch thanked us for them. Turning to the contract about the slaves, rice, cattle and the factory, it took a good two hours before we agreed on the price for a slave, without differentiation of age or sex, namely

[33]King Haringe Simang Ambo had been reigning since at least 1773. See VOC 4277, 292 ff. He apparently died shortly after this visit, and was succeeded by a woman. The decline of the Iboina is often related to the decrease in central authority under a succession of queens after 1780, together with the increased influence of the Muslims and the acceptance of Islam by the court, which weakened traditional religious-based authority. See Gray and Marks, "Southern Africa and Madgascar," 467.

[34]Small cotton or silk cloths from the Coromandel Coast.

[35]Ginghams are striped or checked cotton cloths. Although the name derives from the village of Guingamp in Brittany, by the eighteenth century it was very widely used for Indian cotton.

[36]This is presumably modern Ambato-Boeni.

35 sp. reals, or 20 reals and 40 lb. powder, or 120 lb. powder.
For the factory and its accoutrements
100 lb. powder amd 1/2 aam arak.
For rice in measures holding 30 lb.
for 1 armosyn, 30 measures
for 1 fine white coast guinea, 24 measures
for 1 salempoeris br. bl., 8 measures
for 1 tin cup, 3 measures
for 1 iron pot, 3 measures
for 10 lb. powder, 4 measures
For a full grown cow 30 lb. powder.

After this the contract was publicly announced and the four viceroys, Oudong, Mannahake, Thansacce and Maroe, together with the two bandars,[37] Tzimaike and Radiane, were appointed brokers of the factory. Thus with everything arranged, we took our leave, with the request that we should be delivered slaves and rice as quickly as possible, since it was impossible for us to remain long, as a result of the monsoon. They promised us this. Returning to our lodgings and having eaten, we packed our gear at once, and set out on the return journey. The two bandars Tzinaike and Radiane came with us striaght away, to help us for the time being, until the viceroys arrived at the factory. Now that we had the ebb with us during daytime we only stopped on the way to prepare food.

Wednesday 5 February, we therefore arrived back at the ship, where we found everything well.

Thursday 6 February, we went on shore in the morning, and delineated the factory. During the day we remained there ourselves to keep the men at work, and at night we slept in a house belonging to Radiane. We also took the two Maromitten[38] of last year into our service again. Despite all this the factory was not ready before

Tuesday 11 February. Therefore we settled into it in the afternoon.

Wednesday 12 February, we had the trade goods and other necessities brought on shore.

Thursday 13 February. In the presence of the bandars Tzimaike and Radiane. we paid what had been agreed for the factory, they dividing it between the workmen. We also satisfied the owners for the cattle delivered up till today, at the prices fixed with the king, and we told them that we would take three cattle a week so long as we remained here.

Friday 14 February. A Moorish ship coming from their factory anchored before Ampandre. It contained a Moorish ship captain and various Moors from Anjouan, who wanted to go to the king. Their vessel, which belonged to Governor Abdalla of Anjouan, lay by the above-mentioned Moorish office.

Therefore we took the opportunity to relate our doings on the coast of Zanzibar to him and to the other Moors, to say that Hajemadi had died and Tjehamadi had remained on Zanzibar of his own free will. We gave the captain all the letters we had brought from Zanzibar to Anjouan, at which he said that he would faithfully report everything to Governor Abdalla and deliver the letters.

[37] *Bandar*, though not part of modern Malagasy, clearly means port-captain, and derives from the Arabic for harbor, which was current throughout the Indian Ocean.

[38] *Maromite*, from the French *Marmiton*, which means servant.

Saturday 15 February, the four viceroys arrived with a large following and many canoes. Shortly afterwards they came with the bandars to the factory, and, once the welcoming compliments had been performed, they had two men slaves and one slave woman, together with a large quantity of rice, brought forward. They requested powder for the boys and cash for the girl, so that they were given 35 reals and 240 lb. powder. After this the rice they had brought was put in storage. Then the viceroys told us that rice and slaves would be delivered daily. After they had been amused by drinking a glass of arak, they took a good quantity to their homes and left the factory together with the bandars.

Sunday 16 February, the undersigned was struck down suddenly by the fever, which is the normal sickness which afflicts Europeans here, and which in the rainy monsoon now is especially virulent, and it hit me so directly that I could not leave my bed. On this day, the second commissioner bought a quantity of rice.

Monday 17 February, the second commissioner bought two slaves, a male and a female, for 240 lb. powder.

Tuesday 18 February, the second commissioner paid 35 reals for a female slave and also had a quantity of rice supplied.

Wednesday 19 February, the second commissioner paid the brokers 70 ps. Sp. reals and 120 lb. of powder for three male slaves.

Thursday 20 February, the second commissioner sent 10,620 lb. rice from the factory to the commander on board. This was the quantity that has been provided to the slaves from the ship's rations from 20 August till today, and has been consumed by them. It had been bought, according to the contract made with the king, for 5 armosyns, 6 fine white guineas and 20 tin cups.

Friday 21 February, the commander came back and forth to the shore and informed the second commissioner that he had received yesterday's rice in good order. He also said that his rations would only last to the end of February, therefore requested two months' rice for the ship's crew, and also as much arak as he could spare, since the sicknesses are daily increasing and, if he refused arak to the healthy, it was to be feared that, in the unhealthy rainy weather, more and more invalids would appear. As regards the rice we agreed, but no decisions were taken about the arak, since the viceroys and the bandars drink so enormously and would immediately balk at the trade, if they did not receive as much as they wanted.

Saturday 22 February the second commissioner spent the whole day buying in rice, and also paid 35 reals for a prime slave woman.

Sunday 23 February, the sailor Gerrit Piering from Amsterdam died. The brokers came into the factory and presented three male slaves and one female slave to the second commissioner, who paid out 20 reals and 400 lb. of powder as they requested for them.

Monday 24 February nothing but rice was delivered.

Tuesday 25 February, the second commissioner paid 35 reals and 120 lb. powder for two slaves.

Wednesday 26 February the second commissioner paid 240 lb. of powder for one male and one female slave.

Thursday 27 February the second commissioner paid 35 reals for a male slave and spent the rest of the day buying in rice.

Friday 28 February the second commissioner paid the brokers 240 lb. of powder for two slave women. Also he sent 8,040 lb. of rice from the factory to the ship, as the commander had requested. This would

last for the months of March and April to feed 67 persons at 60 lb. per head per month, since the rations were used up. This had been bought for 670 lb. of rice, as had been agreed. However, as regards the arak we sould not spare more than 1 legger, and therefore gave the commander written permission to take over 388 cans of the trading arak.

Saturday 1 March the second commissioner was also struck down this morning by the evil fever, with such intensity that he had to lie down immediately. Therefore we sent the barge to the ship, requesting the commander to come to the shore. He did this shortly and, finding us both sick, he resolved, first, to have us both brought on board, as the air was considered better there. Therefore the commander had the brokers informed of our decision, that we were forced by sickness to break up the factory, but that we would remain in the roads for eight to ten days, so that, in the meantime, if slaves were delivered, they should bring them on board. They agreed to this, saying that they would come to the ship every day. After this we were taken in the barge to the ship, and the commander remained on shore for the rest of the day, and sent in the barge and the boat the rice that was still in the factory, the Company's trade goods and everything else that could be found there, on board. He himself returned to the ship in the evening, after the factory was completely emptied.

Sunday 2 March, the brokers came on board and warned us that they expected slaves tomorrow, which they would bring to the ship immediately. After they and their following had emptied some bottles of arak they returned to the shore.

Monday 3 March they came on board with three male slaves, for whom, as they requested, the commander paid 35 reals and 240 lb. powder.

Tuesday 4 March shortly after daybreak the brokers brought two male slaves for whom the commander paid 240 lb. powder. But since every day more of the crew went down sick, the commander was afraid that if it so continued, eventually we would not be able to get out to sea. Therefore he most earnestly asked the brokers whether they were certainly expecting slaves within a few days. If not, then he would put to sea as soon as possible because of the unhealthy season and the many invalids. During the good monsoon, in contrast, a day or two would not matter. To this they said that we could not expect any more slaves from the king and his chiefs, but that it was certain that some would be sent by private persons. However, they could not say when this would be. Therefore the commander invited them to return tomorrow with the *maromitten* to receive the customary reward for their services, after which they went with their canoes back to the land.

Wednesday 5 March, died the second *oppermeester* Jean Joseph de Laide of Waveren. Thereafter the four viceroys and the two bandars, together with the maromitten, came on board. As we had already resolved and recorded what each would receive as a reward for his services, the commander distributed it as follows:

For the six brokers

6 gem. white guineas, 6 baftas br. bl., 6 gingham bedspreads 6 small Sourat cloths, 19 lb. beads, 3 dozen knives, 6 tin cups, 6 iron pots, 120 cans of arak, 120 lb. powder, 6 flintlocks, 42 lb. bullets and 600 flints.

For the two maromitten
2 gem. white guineas, 2 baftas br. bl., 2 gingham bedspreads, 4 lb. beads, 1/2 dozen knives, 2 iron pots, 2 cans of arak, 20 lb. powder, 2 flintlocks, 8 lb. bullets and 100 flints.

They were satisfied with this and thanked us most obsequiously, and wished us a favorable voyage and the recovery of our invalids. At this they wished to leave, but the commander ordered six cattle for the journey, saying he would have them collected tomorrow. They agreed to this and then returned to the shore.

Thursday 6 March, the two bandars came on board to warn us that the six cattle were ready. Therefore the commander arranged that these should be brought on board and gave the bandars their payment for the cattle, after which they again said farewell and returned on shore.

According to the records we had made, I saw that during our stay here three cattle a week - thus 17 in all - were consumed. As specified in the agreement, each cow was bought for 30 lb. powder. In addition, there were 6 cattle for on the journey. For the minor provisions and the vegetables had been expended 16 lb. beads, 6 dozen knives, 5 dozen of pocket mirrors. In the factory had been used and disbursed to the natives, 62-1/2 lb. tobacco, 1 gross pipes, 237 cans of arak, 3 lb. beads and 3 dozen knives. Also, for the natives, 769 measures, or 23,070 pounds of rice had been purchased, as follows:

for	1 armosyn	30 measures or	900	lb. rice
	21 salemopoeris	168 "	5,040	"
	39 tin cups	117 "	3,510	"
	38 iron pots	114 "	3,420	"
	850 lb. powder	340 "	10,200	"
thus making		769 measures or	23,070	lb. rice.

Meanwhile the commander had everything made ready so that, should wind and weather allow it, we could leave tomorrow.

Friday 7 March, we raised the anchor, which, since we had 22 invalids on board, including two mates, was achieved with great difficulty. Nevertheless we raised sail and came well out of the river, earnestly calling on God for this further help and aid. In the afternoon, died the constable's mate Johan Frans Schubbart of Straatsburg.

Saturday 8 March, after a sickness that had lasted since the 5th of this month, the second commissioner, Hendrik Stuart of Amsterdam came to leave this earthly life, which grieved me the more, as I was still suffering from the fever, and did not know what my fate would be. I immediately sealed his possessions and, on

Sunday 9 March, his body was put over the side in the manner of seamen, with full honors.

Tuesday 11 March, died the sailor Engel Vosdonk of Dordrecht.

Sunday 16 March, we were in sight of Tulier, and resolved to put in there for a day or so, in order to buy in some live cattle for the journey, as there was no salt meat, or anything except for rice, in the ship. Arriving at four in the afternoon, we anchored safely in the roads. Towards nightfall a canoe with natives came on board. We

gathered from them that the king[39] and his chiefs were still all prospering, but as it was late, the canoe returned at once to the shore, to inform the king of our arrival. Also, in the evening the *bosschieter* Andries Christiaan Amptie of Ringkopping died.

Monday 17 March, our old broker Thijsa,[40] together with various courtiers, came in his Portuguese barge to us on board. In the name of the king, they informed us of their pleasure in our arrival and requested that we should come to the shore straight away to erect a factory. However, we told them, that during the bad monsoon we could not stay there, and that we had only come to purchase some cattle and vegetables for our journey, so that we would leave in two days. This they all regretted greatly. Then we came to an agreement with Thijsa as to the price of the cattle, under the condition that he should deliver them to the ship in his own barge, as the commander did not wish to put out our barge, because of the many sick and to spare the healthy somewhat. For this reason we were forced to pay them 25 lb. powder and 250 flints for each head of cattle. Then Thijsa agreed to warn the natives that they should first of all bring lemons, purslane and so on on board. At this he returned with his company to the shore. Already by the afternoon a number of canoes came out to us with lemons and vegetables, which we bought.

Tuesday 18 March Thijsa delivered us a barge load of grass as fodder and four live cattle. As was agreed he received 100 lb. powder amd 1000 flints for these. In addition right up to nightfall the natives delivered us lemons and various vegetables, for which we paid 8 lb. beads and 4-9/12 dozen knives. After we had entertained Thijsa and his friends they wished us a good journey and returned to the land.

Wednesday 19 March, the *hooploper* Hendrik van Oort of Amsterdam died. At around 9 o'clock the commander had the anchor raised, and set sail. We were happily soon out of sight of land, beseeching God for a speedy and safe journey to the Cape.

Thursday 20 March, the *bosschieter* Andries Muller of Copenhagen died.

Friday 21 March, 1 gem. gebl. Coast guinea and 6 *Photasses* were distributed as necessary clothing for the slave women.

Thursday 10 April, we saw the coast of Africa for the first time.

Saturday 19 April, saw the coast of Africa around False Bay.

Friday 25 April, after almost a year, in which we had suffered nothing but the most terrible disasters and misfortunes, finally, preserved, against human expectation by the supremely wise guidance of God Almighty, we brought our journey to an end and steered into Table Bay. Nevertheless, despite every effort, we were unable to bring more than the small number of 68 slaves, consisting of 50 men and 18 women, who, in accordance with our Excellencies' revered order, were brought on land.

[39]The name of the king was Thoema, aged about eleven (see 27 December 1777). He had come to the throne in 1774, after his predecessor, his uncle Zeroanosi, had been dethroned because "he had ruled so avariciously and cruelly, and had always taken by force half the goods that his subjects had acquired for slaves and provisions, and had drunk so much that in his drunkenness he had not refrained from ruling as a tyrant." The government was in the hands of the chief minister, Rijkikoe. VOC 4277, 273 f.

[40]Thijsa had been the broker on the VOC's previous visits to Tuliara. See VOC 4277, 273 and VOC 4280.

Further, the undersigned would in all obedience wish to refer to the trade journals, which describe which disbursements were made with the most humble request that Your Excellencies should not judge everything too severely, but should take into account that new enterprises do not always immediately answer in a satisfactory manner the expectations that one had made of them.

With which, after having commended Your Excellencies' loved ones and families to the protection of Heaven, with all due respect, I remain your Excellencies' most humble servant

(signed)

Fk. G. Holtzappel

(in the margin) in the Hooker ship *De Zon*, at anchor in the roads of the Cape of Good Hope, 25 April 1777.

A true copy, T. C. Ronnenkamp, sworn clerk.