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DUTCH DOCUMENTS RELATING TO
THE GOLD COAST AND THE SLAVE COAST
(COAST OF GUINEA) 1680-1740

Translations of letters and papers
collected in the Algemeen Rijks Archief
(ARA), State Archives of the Netherlands
at The Hague.

A. Van Dantzig

PART I: 1680-1710.



(Abbreviations: WIC: Archives of the Second
General Chartered West
Indian Company (1674-
1791)

NBKG: Archives "Nederlandsche
Bezittingen ter Kuste van
Guinea" (Dutch Possessions
on the Coast of Guinea)

WIS: "Collectie Verspreide West
Indische Stukken" (Collect-
ion Various West Indian
Papers)

Most of these translations are in an abridged form, and certain words like "oppercommies" (chief factor), "ondercommies" (sub-factor), "makelaer" (broker), "armasoen" (slave-load) are left in Dutch, because there is no real equivalent for them in English. Other words, especially items of trade are left un-translated (e.g. "nepten", "plathiljos" (kinds of cloth) "olivetjes" (small beads) etc. because an exact translation has not been found.

Ceremonial forms of address are as much as possible abbreviated: e.g. "Uwe/Haare Groot Edelagtbaare": "Y.Hs." (Your Honours), T.Hs. (Their Hons.) Syne Edelheyt; Uwe Groot Edelagtbare: "H.H.; Y.E." (His Honour, Your Excellency) etc. Also the frequently employed title of the Dutch Governor: "Directeur-Generael": "D.-G.": (Director-General).

Legon, 1971.



Map for "The Dutch and the Rise of Ashanti & Dahomey"

Short Memoir on Trade within the Present Limits of the Charter of the WIC
(Munic. Arch. Rotterdam, "Handel n^o. 83) in: S. Van Brakel: *Bene Memoriae*
over den Handel der WIC, omstreeks 1670)

Between Cape Las Palmas and Cape Lahoue is the Tooth Coast, where one finds nothing but elephants' teeth. From Cape Lahoue to Assiné is the Quaqua Coast, where one finds nothing but quaqua cloth, which is sold to the Negroes in exchange of gold on the Gold Coast ...

... The Comp. used to have a small fort in Iguira ... and a stone redoubt on the other side of the river ... and a ferry, where it used to levy tolls.

We had a lodge from time to time at Commany, but the Blacks often quarrelled with us, because, although these people have sold the beaches of the entire Kingdom to us, they allow the English as well as the French to build lodges on the beach. In such cases the General mostly closes the paths from Commany to the Castle d'Elmina, which sometimes cools the natives down, but sometimes not, and consequently they are constantly troublesome. There is little trade.

... A lodge has been established at Anomaboe, without any jurisdiction, but to keep others away, and also to trade, in the days that the English had the fort at Cormantyn. ... the same at Adia, but during the English war it fell into the hands of the English, who still have it...

Cormantyn: ... since the Company has been in possession of it, there is little trade, because of the troubles with the natives. There is no jurisdiction attached to it ...

Accra: ... the King entertains there all Nations, but the English have no possession there.

Ardra: ... the Company has there a lodge, and it is so big, that it looks like a big village. Every year we buy there 2,500 to 3,000, sometimes even more slaves. The English and the French also have lodges here, and they are also doing their best. The King is tributary to the King of Benin.

Rio Benyn: ... the Company has there a lodge in the great city of Benyn. Nothing but Benyn-cloth for the Negroes is bought there. The whites are so much in esteem there, that nobody would dare to harm them, or even touch them with a finger, on penalty of death. The Directors send there twice or thrice a year a yacht, to collect the cloth, which is sold down to Cape Lopes. In Rio Camerones, Rio del Rey and Calabry we have no possessions on shore. The negroes who are bought in that area are bad and stubborn, and often kill themselves. They are excluded from the Spanish Contract.

We have a capital possession at Loango in Angola, in the form of a lodge manned by a factor; it is subject to the Blacks, but there and in the sub-stations the Company buys annually about 3,000 negro-slaves.

We have another possession in Sonho (Rio Zaire), in the form of a lodge. The Prince of Sonho is a Christian, Roman Catholic, but very friendly towards the Dutch and quite powerful. He is master of the Kingdom Congo

was able to bring 10,000 men into the (battle-)field within two weeks, and always pretends that he shall drive the Portuguese out of Loando St. Paolo (sic), if only we were to assist him with ships. Furthermore we have some small lodges, like the ones at Malemba and G'oy. Much ivory and copper is also offered ...

The particular Chambers of the Company are responsible for the following areas: 1. Chamber Amsterdam: Cabo Verde, with its main-lodge on the island Goedereede (Gorée), and minor tradoposts on the continent, on the cape, Pourto Dalié (Portendick?), Refisco (Rufisque), Sjouale (Joal), etc. There is one Chief-merchants, there are two or more sub-factors and 3 or 4 assistants, as well as a garrison of about 100. There are two forts on Goedereede, the upper and the lower one. It was only during the Second English War that a well was found in the upper-fort. There is trade in hides, wax and ivory. There are also some Negroes offered for sale; they are of the best quality, and the blackest of the whole of Africa, but they are dear and rare. 2. The Chamber Zealand is responsible for the trade of Argyn (Arguin) and the surroundings of Cape Blanco. There is a chief-merchant and a staff of about 25. Main articles of trade: ostrich-feathers and gum. The Zealanders try to revive fishery. The fish is dried and brought to the Canary Islands.

3. Chamber Maze (Rotterdam): Rio Sierra Leone. Trade in ivory and dye-wood. The Company has once considered establishing a colony there, but like the rest of West Africa, it is too unhealthy there. We once had a lodge there, but it has been abandoned. 4. Chamber Friesland & Northern Quarter: the Grain Coast; the Company has no forts or lodges there. Little trade, but sometimes profitable. 5. Chamber Stad & Lande (Groningen): the Gambia; since the English War, the English have built forts at the mouth of the river, and keep it closed to us.

ARA; Rademacher Arch. No. 587. Heerman Abramsz to Assembly of Ten, 23rd. November 1679 (written after his return)

... In the territory of the King of Aguaffo we have a lodge at Little Commany, which was erected in 1638. But we have abandoned that lodge several times and re-occupied it, like the English have done since they started competing with us in that area. At Chama we have a small fort, where we get some gold from Adom, ~~Wassa~~ and Tjuffer. At Sekondi too, the English have crept in, in spite of the promises to the contrary, the natives have allowed this. At Taccorary, ~~where~~ we also have a lodge, the trade is meagre, because the natives keep their gold to themselves till foreign ships show up ... quite contrary to their earlier promises they trade every day with English, Portuguese and other ships, and so we have decided in 1678 to abandon this lodge. The English have abandoned theirs in 1650, we left that place to avoid the payment of market-, ships'- and year-gifts which we had promised to those of Taccorary, if they traded exclusively with us. We also thought that it might serve as a warning to their neighbours.

There is little trade at Butri, but as English and other (foreign) ships continuously visit that place in order to get water, millet (milys) and other necessities for their voyages and their slaves, we should keep that place in possession, because otherwise others would take it. They would cause the gold from Eguira, Wassa, Adom and other areas to be sent there, to the great prejudice of our establishments at Axem, Sacconde and Chama.

Axim is a place of considerable value, ... because the surrounding peoples have to come there to put before the factor of the Company all their litigations ... if we lost it, the entire trade of the area would be lost to us ... therefore this place should always be provided with a proper "chief" (opperhooft = supervisor, leader), who is experienced with the jurisdiction and customs of those blacks. At Cabo Cors the Company established first a lodge in 1638 on the request of the inhabitants. It was quietly maintained by the Company till 1647, but in that year the English, seducing the natives with gifts, have illegally intruded, and acquired possession of a lodge there. We even saw ourselves compelled, because of the ill-behaviour of the blacks, to abandon the place in 1648, but the English who, in the aforesaid manner had crept in, have only been able to keep it for a short while, as those of Futtu in 1650 dedicated their land and beach to one Hendrick Caerlof, for the account of the Crown of Sweden, who has also built there a good stronghold and carried on a prosperous trade, till 1658, when the aforesaid Caerlof has ... robbed the aforesaid Swedes of that place and brought it under the Crown of Denmark. But later on those of Futtu have taken it from the Danes and given it in 1663, by agreement, to the Company; the latter also has possessed it only for one year, as it has been sold and transferred by its garrison to the English, who have much reinforced and extended it ... Fredericksborg officially still is a Danish possession, but it is badly cared for, and it has not received any supplies since more than 6 years. But they maintain it for their private profit, and they not only provide the interlopers to get their needs, but also the Portuguese who come to the Coast. The latter not only freely anchor on those roads, but the English Royal Company also carries on doing no small trade with them. Through their smuggle they invariably manage to sell their goods with 25% profit to the King (of Portugal), which enables them to spend a lot, through the intermediary of those Danes on those of Futtu, in order to continue. This is a matter which V.H. and the aforesaid Royal Company should no longer allow to happen, as it causes the decay of the trade of both.

Moure is one of the best trading places for us as well as for the Acannists and other merchants, because through the land of Saboe, which is there situated, they go straight to Atty, which belongs to

the Acannists. We therefore must maintain our fort there; the costs of maintenance could however be reduced. One mile below Moure begins the Fantyn country, at a village called Angesiang, where the English had started to build a stone stronghold in the years 1654 - '55, but at present it is in a delapidated state. Afterwards that place has been presented to the French and others to establish there a lodge, but so far nobody seems to have become really interested. We do however fear that that may happen one of these days.

Annemaboe has been dedicated to the Company by the Fantyn Braffo in 1638 or '39, and thus belongs to us, but we have left it "fallow", in order to avoid trouble with the English. This in spite of the written contract the Company made in 1624 with Braffo Ambroo, reserving the whole coast of Fantyn to the Dutch. But that treaty has proved ineffective: the Swedes first built there in 1651 a thatch-and-mud lodge, which afterwards was reconstructed in stone and taken over by the Danes in the same way as Cabo Corso and other formerly Swedish possessions. In April 1659 it was transferred by those so-called Danes to the Noble Company, which kept it till it was treacherously taken by the English on 19th June 1664, at a time everything seemed at peace.

Adia, a Mina fishing village, is situated half-way between Annemaboe and Cormantyn. The Noble Company built there in 1647 (in response to the challenge posed by the English, who in spite of our strong protests proceeded with the building a lodge next to ours on the Cabo Corso) a stone lodge, which was called "Good Hope". For a considerable time it was one of the most famous trading-places along the Fantyn beach. But the English pretended that the Fantyn beach had been dedicated to them, with the exclusion of other nations, and they constantly caused trouble, till on 12th June 1664 they treacherously took it, during peace-time, and destroyed it. But later, after having lost their fort at Cormantyn, they took Adia and Annemaboe again in possession.

The fort at Cormantyn was built by the English in 1638 ... and taken by the Dutch in 1665, as a special revenge against Francis Selwyn, who had taken the lodges at Annemaboe and Adia. Although the English have since that time spent a lot on the Fantyns in order to get the fort back ... it all has been in vain.

After Fantyn comes the country of Aguinae ... which has an easy approach (from the sea) and would offer good opportunities for trade, but because of the rowdiness of its inhabitants, who seem to prefer to make war rather than to trade, there is little gold trade. It must be added, that slaves can easily be obtained there. In the days of the Private Trade and in the early days of the Company there was some good trade in Great and Little Barku, which stretch all the way down to Accra, but now that trade has been totally diverted to other areas. Therefore the Company has so far not built any lodge

also because the English, who have a lodge at Wienba, would doubtlessly take this as a cause for dispute.

Craa, on the beach of the Craa-country, has been since long a regular trading place of this Coast, in spite of its bad harbour. Up to 1647 our ships used continually to do their trade on the sea, but in that year the whole beach and the trade -with the exclusion of all other nations- has been dedicated to the Noble Company by the King, who consented to our building a fort there, and so in that same year a good stone lodge, "Crèvecoeur", was established. The successor of mentioned King has confirmed our possession there, not, however, without having received from us considerable gifts, some of which are still paid to him at regular intervals. But the Accrase, who like it seems to be the nature of all the blacks, only stick to their promises as long as they see advantage in them, and so they have in 1648 welcomed the English, as well as the mentioned Caerlof, on the account of Sweden, to whom they gave the permission to build a lodge at Orsoe, which was given to the Danes in 1658, and in 1659 to the Company, which has only kept it till 1661, in which year the natives with the use of violence gave it to another kind of Danes who had recently come to the Coast.

.... Behind Atty lies the great country of Accaniën, which is partitioned in three main-parts: to the North of, or in the interior of Elmina the Akkanists are called Crysakeese, in the interior North of Cormantyn are the Cocoriteese and behind Craa are the Akimse Akkanists. Besides Accaniën follow the gold-rich countries of Adancee, Tafoe and St.Zocco, which is rich with mines. Adancee trades mostly with the Cocoriteese Accanists, as it is situated closest to them. Due to their mutual fidelity they have occasion to bring their wares to Adancee, and consequently the Cocoriteese Accaniste bring most gold. Tafoo trades with Adancee, of which they are a little afraid. St.Zocco, which is richer with mines, sticks to a fixed rule, that forbids other nations to tread into their territory in order to spy on it or to make war on it. They do their trade outside, in a forest which is made into a market, where those of Adancee, Tafoo and other trading places render themselves, putting down their gold, with the weight or the price on top; then they give a signal and go away. Then those of Zaccot come to view the gold, and put down as much as they want to give for it, and put aside the rest, thus putting their goods for sale, and then they give a signal and leave. Then the others come again, and give a sign if the goods please them, and leave again. Then those of St.Zocco come again, and pay what they like, and let lie that on which is too much weight. They go away, and don't return before they foreigners come to collect their goods and (what remains of the ?) gold, and afterwards each goes his own way; it is said, that behind that country whitemen are living. I think they should be **Moors**. (It is also said that) most of the gold is sent in that direction. From this description Y.H. can easily see how easily this area can be penetrated by anybody who wants to trade, and how easily this trade can be stopped by the disputes which the natives have every now and then in the

interior, and which are started on the slightest pretext.

The Accanists, who are real traders, used to trade in all these areas, and they alone controlled all trade, travelling with large numbers of slaves to carry their goods through all those places. But as a result of the wars which the blacks so often start for trifling reasons, this trade is suddenly stopped ... the passages are closed ... and especially since rifles and gunpowder have been introduced, things have become much worse, the natives having become much more war-like. ... Consequently the whole Coast has come into a kind of state of war. This has started in the year 1658, and gradually this has gone so far, that none of the passages could anymore be used, and none of the traders could come through. This has caused considerable damage to the last Company, the more as its liabilities did not diminish; and this would have destroyed it much earlier, if it had not been for the continued slave trade. Slaves were very easy to get by, on the Gold Coast, because of the wars. In Arder, on the contrary, the slave trade was entirely stopped because of war. Therefore Y.H. have done well to try -when assuming authority in this New Company- to bring this long lasting war finally to an end and to revive the trade. I have also done my utter best, when on duty in that land, to put Y.H.'s good intention into execution, and it has pleased to the Allmighty God to bless our labours and attempts, if not entirely, at least for a good part; Y.H. may be content with the fact that not only the Accanists have come to an agreement with their enemies and have brought other traders with them, so that the trade has again become as considerable as it was during the years 1676-'78 during my last stay on the Coast, and all appearance seems to be that it will continue, it also seems even to increase since I have made Adom, Wassa, Tiuffer and other states introduce a new market on every Friday, on which all merchandise is brought, and of which the good fruits could already be seen before my last departure from the Coast.

For this trade, in order to continue it on the various tradeposts of the Company, I have left for my successor goods to a value of about 400,000 florins, which with new supplies coming, we may expect to produce good returns for the year 1680.

In order to resist successfully the interlopers and others, we think it advisable ... that the Company maintain continuously a legger (stationary ship) or good yacht off Assinee and Abinee with a cargo of current tradegoods. This yacht may also sail up to Cabo La Hoe, were most ivory is brought (of which the interlopers generally take 10, 15, or even 20,000 lbs, and take at Assinee and Abinee in 10 to 14 days not less than 40 to 50 Marks of gold).(sic) There are interlopers who do their entire trade on the Upper Coast, and since the blacks on the Upper Coast and in surrounding areas wait for the arrival of such ships because they sell their merchandise for a better price than we do, it should be advisable that we set our prices first in such a way, that the interlopers can no more successfully compete with us.

The English and others, knowing full well that they are not allowed to trade in front of our forts, anchor about 1 mile East or West of them, and give to the blacks opportunity to come on board of their ships to trade ... our forts should always be commanded by good factors and be supplied with current tradegoods. Y.H. are well aware of the great importance of the slave trade; but proper transportation is also very important ... the sailors drink too much, and the ships often are short of crew. No proper care is taken of the slaves, and they are so badly treated, that they take those people so evil that they don't eat and sorrow themselves to death. Yet, if they are well cared for by captains, who let them sing and dance every day and let them be happy, they stay quite healthy, and therefore it is highly advisable to use only well-experienced people for this (trade).

We used to trade (every year) about 7 to 8 months in the Bight, which did not produce more than about 5 to 6,000 lbs of ivory; but now, with proper cargoes, the captains return after 4 or 5 months with 10, 12, 15, even 20,000 lbs of ivory. We suffer however of a shortage of ships (for this trade), so I beg you to increase our fleet with two yachts for this purpose, each long 64 ft., equipped with 10 to 12 men and 4 to 6 small guns ... a factor should be sent there with the ships, and, if possible, reside there.

Concerning Angola, or the Southern Coast of Africa, where the Noble Company has had for many years, and still has, a good lodge at Loango, we can state that every year 80,000 lbs of ivory and also a great quantity of red copper used to be bought, but this trade has much declined as a result of the negligence and rapacity of the factors ... there are many traders among the Angola blacks, who will not think any trouble too great to make some profit. ... if the Company were to require more slaves, it could get from there every year 4 to 5 ship-loads, and for this purpose lodges could be established at Lemba and in Zonje, but special care should be taken, that the Company employ there, as on the Gold Coast, only pious and good factors.

The garrisons of the forts and lodges could be limited, in time of good peace, to 120 men, besides the people needed for commerce and to man the yachts.

.... Outside the castle, in front of the gate, is a big square, on which it is difficult to walk, because of the unevenness of the rocks. I have levelled it and floored it with big square stones. I also made of yellow bricks a compass, similar to the one we have here in the yard of the Admiralty, in the centre of which has been put a sun-dial. I also built across the entrance a royal gate of stone, without doors, which is every day guarded by soldiers, as is (also?) done by the natives with a lot of show and dances in their own manner.

The little fort or lodge "Crèvecoeur", which was very delapidated, I have changed and I have added a new strong stone house, and consists now not only of the old storehouse for tradegoods, but also of a trade-counter

on one side, and of a room for the Factor on the other. In the centre is a Hall or Square for the Blacks, where they can walk or sit; on top of the platform are placed 4 little iron guns, in order to ward off eventualities from the side of the Negroes. The fort is garrisoned by one Factor, one Assistant and six soldiers.

The lodge at Little Commanly is made of wood and thatch, and surrounded with a fence. In Arder, Rio de Benyn and Angola there are no forts, but good strong lodges with houses attached to them, built in the manner of the land with wood and clay, and can therefore be maintained by the factors with little costs.

WIC 831; Special Memorandum & Instruction for Heerman Abramsz, Director-General of the Coast of Africa in Guinea, April 1675.

..... Art. 4: The Director-General should consider whether certain forts or lodges could be abandoned, in order to reduce costs on the Coast of Guinea, without running the risk that others might take them.

Art. 5: The Director-General should try to live in good friendship and peace with the natives, but also try to help them as much as possible to prevent the outbreak of war among them, so that the passes and roads are not unduly blocked ...

... Art. 11; The Directors of this Company once more wish to stress the rule that servants of this Noble Company are not supposed to possess gold privately in any considerable quantity.

... Art. 16: (He) should try to convince the natives, with sweetness or with harshness, whatever may be required, that once they belong to our trading-stations they should not trade with foreign ships, and in that way hamper our trade.

Art. 17: ... in particular with the King of Ardra he should endeavour to stay on good terms, in order to continue the slave trade ... as well as with other Kings whose friendship he may consider useful in this respect.

Art. 18: He should charge those Factors who buy slaves to apply their utmost diligence in acquiring slaves of the quality which has been specified in the Contract with Don Antonio Garcia.

Art. 19: He should also admonish those who are charged with the transport of these slaves, to take proper care of them, whether they are healthy or sick ... the surgeons in particular should be well provided with medicines against the runs (Dysentry) and other diseases.

WIC 52; Memo by the Directors of the WIC to the States-General, 16th April 1677;

... The Directors of the Noble Company draw the attentions of the High Mightinesses of the States-General to the fact that the French are sending Cruisers to West Africa with the intention of attacking Dutch ships.

Shipowners in La Rochelle are equipping a ship with 28 guns and two frigates, under the command of one Jan Doensen from Zealand with a French commission ... another ship has been sent from St.Malo to Cape Verde in order to make the sea unsafe there. We advise you that the Noble Company is arming its ships well, and request the States-General, in accordance with Art. 40 of the Charter, to supply two ships with 30 or 36 guns ...

WIC 40; Secret Minutes of the meetings of the Assembly of Ten.

17th January 1675. Contract with Jan Baptista Lieftrinck

On 1st December 1673 a contract has been made by the dissolved Company with J.B.Lieftrinck for the execution of a secret design to extract with little cost gold from earth and sand which may be invisibly contained in it ... He, Lieftrinck, by resolution of 24th January 1674 of the present WIC, now has the position of Deputy Commissioner on the Coast of Guinea, with a salary of 150 florins permonth, starting from the current month, for the duration of 12 months ...

... he shall present himself to the Director-General at Elmina, who shall help him in all his endeavours. ... He shall collect samples of sand and earth from all parts of the Gold Coast where he expects to find such gold to be contained in it. The best samples he shall send to the Netherlands, or bring them himself. He shall particularly apply himself to get samples from the Province of Iguira which is believed to be rich in gold. ... When communicating secret matters, he shall make use of a secret alphabet, of which the key shall be entrusted to three persons. ... His personnel shall consist of one scribe and one or two persons with experience in the opening (sic) of deposits, sands and shores of rivers and other bodies of water ...

It is to be understood that the Gold-rich Rivers of Axem have become the possession of the Portuguese because they have bought them from the black natives at the time that they were owners of Elmina Castle and other forts, which have been taken by force of arms in war-time by the Company ...

7th July 1678; The Assembly has resolved that:

... if it happens that slaves brought to Surinam do not at the Public Sales reach the set price of 2,000 lbs of sugar per Pieza de India, such slaves shall be kept in reserve or the factor shall sell them "out of the hand" (one by one), ... but in such cases the captains should make it appear as if they have the intention of leaving, in order to sell the slaves elsewhere. And these captains should also effectively do so, in case they become aware that on the spot no reasonable prices are offered; in such a case they should sail as fast as possible to Curaçao or other places

WIC 40;.(Secret Mins. Ass. of X)

18th June 1678. From the examination of the evidence concerning the affairs of the Island of Goeree as from the moment that a French squadron under the command of Admiral Count d'Estrée has arrived in that area ... it has appeared that Pieter Hoppensack, the Chief (Commander), has on the whole failed to take the precautions which a vigilant Chief should have taken in such a situation. He has handed over the island without having properly consulted a council-of-war, furthermore, mentioned Hoppensack, in stead of remaining within the fortress with which he had been entrusted, has gone outside and has rendered himself on board of the before mentioned Count's ship ... and has not (even) attempted to do his duty in safeguarding the Company's ships or most valuable merchandise on land ... It htereofore has been resolved not to pay the arrears of the emoluments of the mentioned Hoppensack, and that he shall never again be accepted in the Company's service...

14th September 1678. Having deliberated on the subject of P. Hoppen-sack, ... it has been resolved ... to let him receive the payment of one half of his earned salary, to forgive him for his omissions and negligence ... and have therefore declared null and void the resolution of 18th June ...

14th September 1678. ... has been read to this Assembly the Agreement by which this Company obliges itself to pay to the Gentlemen substitutes of the deputies of Don Juan Barroso del Poso a commission of one Piece of Eight out of every 120 or out of every 107½ respectively according with certain Conventions or Contracts which this Company has made for the delivery of Negro slaves. It has been demonstrated to this Assembly how His Excellency Emmanuel de Lira, Special Envoy of H.M. the King of Spain has been willing to promote from time to time the affairs in connection with the Slave Trade in the Kingdom of Spain as well as in this country and how due to his good offices and diligence many of the obstacles which existed and interrupted the mentioned trade have been removed, with the result that on 24th March of this year finally the above mentioned two Conventions or Contracts could be made between the Deputies of Don Juan Barroso del Poso on the one side and the WIC on the other, the one concerning the Negro-slaves who are still waiting on the Island Curaçao and the other concerning a number of 8,000 other Pieza de India Negro slaves, and therefore it has been resolved to let His Excellency draw the earlier mentioned one Piece of Eight out of every 120 or 107½ respectively. Similarly, it has been decided to let the Noble Manuel de Belmonte, Count Palatine of the Holy Roman Empire and Resident on behalf of H.M. of Spain in the United Netherlands draw the same commission, in recognition of his good offices to the promotion of the slave trade. ...

WIC 40; Secret Minutes of the Ass. of X., 11th April 1680.

... The honourable Members of this Presiding Chamber are of the opinion that, concerning the free trade at Cabo Verde, it might be good to resolve to send some presents and to issue a written act of security of the free trade for the King of France ... by which Cabo Verde, as well as Arguim might be extradited ...

15th April 1680 ; re: cargoes for slave-ships

fl. 16.013,-	for 500 Ps. from Ardra
16.422.-	for 500 Ps. from Angola
12.400,-	for 300 Ps. from Cabo Verde

... the Presiding Chamber has furthermore requested the listing of required merchandise for the purchase of 250 - 300 Negro-slaves in the Rio Calabry ... has further been resolved to dispatch from here two small frigates for the collection and transfer of 250 - 300 pieces Negro-slaves from El Mina to Curaçao, with a crew of 34 and provisions and medicine for 500 slaves ...

14th October 1680

... before the end of this year 1680 the following slave-trading voyages are to be made:

by the Chamber Zealand is to be equipped a vessel with merchandise to the value of fl 32,000 to Ardra, and two with merchandise to the value of fl 20,000 each, to Elmina and Arguim respectively;

by the Chamber Amsterdam: two to Ardra with merchandise to the value of fl 30,000 each, and one to Cabo Verde with merchandise worth fl 20,000;

by the Chamber "Stad & Lande": two to Angola, with merchandise worth fl 30.000 each. Making a total of Fl 212,000, for which should be bought about 6,000 slaves.

3rd May 1684

It has been agreed to send to the Director Jan Van Erpecum, of Curaçao, a secret letter, informing him that the strict prohibition for anybody from the Spanish Coast to come to Curaçao, or for anybody from Curaçao to go to the Spanish Coast has been abolished, that he should not hinder any ships in their sailing to or from Curaçao, but that only those ships which are arrested in connection with the Slave contract for the Asiento may be stopped and their captains brought before court.

WIC 228; Instructions Book

Instruction for Martin Witte, who is going to Ardra as *Commies* (factor),
dd. 3rd July 1687, sigd. Isaac Jan Nys.

1. Once arrived in Ardra, he should go to the Main Lodge of the Company there, at Offra.
2. There he should take over from the Assistant and Provisional *Commies* Jan Bruyningh (or his successor) the entire authority over the Company's affairs.
3. He should produce an account and the relevant papers concerning the latter's administration since the death of *Commies* Lonq
4. He should order mentioned Bruyningh to make an inventory of the possessions left by the deceased Lonq, like gold, silver, clothes, jewels or other credit, and in particular check if any of the deceased's effects have already been removed from there.
6. He has the strict order to buy all the civet-cats which may be for sale in that area for the account of the Noble Company, and to send them on board of the passing slave-ships to the Island of Curaçao...
7. ... and it is hereby strictly forbidden to him to buy any such cats for his private account ...
11. ... in order to discover more easily acts of private trade, all merchandise being sent to Ardra will be marked with a special sign, apart from the one commonly put on such merchandise by the Company, by means of an iron-mark burnt in all boxes, barrils and other containers, and all goods which will be found without this sign should be confiscated by him on behalf of the Company.
14. In case any interloper ships, fitted out in this country, but sailing on the commission of foreign Potentates, arrives on that Coast, in order to do there, contrary to the express text of our Charter, their forbidden trade, he should by all possible means try to get informations about them, from where they have come, who are the owners of these ships, what are the names of the ships and their captains, what kind of trade they are engaged in, and where else they have been trading or are going to trade, so that with these informations we may proceed against them in this country ...
18. He should endeavour to give detailed information about the number of slaves which is there commonly available, about the modes of the slave trade there, and how that trade could be furthered...
23. When purchasing slaves, he should pay special attention to their quality, so that they are all *Piera de India* of such a constitution, , age and sex as stipulated in the contracts between the Company and the proxies of Don Juan Barroso y Poso.
24. He should send twice per year a full account of his activities to the Directors in the Netherlands...
30. He should try to find out from the Natives, whether trade in any new commodities could be opened there, and whether any such commodities like pepper or other agricultural products could be cultivated,

and he should in particular encourage the Natives as much as possible to cultivate rice, which would be extremely useful for the Company.

35. ... He should also consider with the Director-General if it would be advisable to establish for the furtherance of the slave trade lodges at Fida and Popo too, on behalf of the Company.

WIC 228; Instruction for Commies Willem De la Palma, who is going to Ardra, by Nic. Sweerts, Elmina, 8th December 1685.

Arriving in Ardra, Y.E. should send the Ondercommies Cornelis Arebergh on shore in a canoe with 5 rowers, in order that he convince the Fidalgo that he send Ondercommies Steven Van der Elst on board (of your ship). As soon as you have that Ondercommies on board, you should send him here on board of the barque, but before Y.E. goes ashore yourself, the barque should be out of sight from Ardra. ... if the Fidalgo refuses to send Ondercommies Van der Elst on board of your ship, Y.E. should tell him, that Y.E. has the order to return with him, and that the Noble Company shall never again send any ships to Ardra, as he seems to desire to protect thieves of the Company, and that the Company could very well build a lodge at Poppo or at Fida, which would be the ruin of his land. If the Fidalgo remains adamant, Y.E. should tell the captain of the slave-ship that is lying there off-shore to sail to Fida. Once you have arrived on the Fida Roads you should repeat the above message to him. But by the time he (i.e. the captain of the earlier mentioned ship) has got about 240 or 250 slaves on board, he should return from Fida to Ardra, in order to load there the remaining slaves of Van der Elst, and thence pursue his voyage to America.

(once you have succeeded arresting Van der Elst ...) and the ship has sailed out of the sight of land, Y.E. should disembark and go to the Fidalgo and principal Captains of Offra, and pay them Our respects, tell them that Y.E. has been sent by us for trade, and present in our name to the Fidalgo the Art (?) beads specified for that purpose. Y.E. should then take possession of the lodge, and make an inventory of all unpaid debts, goods etc., as well as one of all the goods, metals etc. left by the deceased Oppercommies Maarten Witte, in the presence of two witnesses. Y.E. should in particular count all the iron bars in the iron room, and put them on the inventory, adding those of Longts. Y.E. should try to dispatch as soon as possible the ship which is now lying there in trade, and not keep it there for days just for 6 or 8 slaves. For each ship Y.E. should write off as costs 2 Ps. slaves to the Fidalgo of Jaquyn, in recompensation of water-carrying, and for each 10 pigs, 4 barrils of palm oil or 12 barrils of millet, what ever a captain of a slave-ship may require from you, Y.E. are allowed to pay (the Fidalgo the

value of) one slave. Y.E. should always send your accounts to the Gentlemen Directors, and furnishing your forms for required merchandise, stipulate them for cargoes of 500 P. d'India slaves. Y.E. should also keep the Gentlemen Directors informed about the conditions of the land, of war and peace, &c. Lastly, Y.E. should be very careful not to give credit, without some very important reasons, to people who are not beyond any doubt able to pay back; much damage has been done by this practice .

WIC 180; "Letters and Papers from Ardra"

Oppercommies Isaac Van Hoolwerff to Ass. of X, 8th Noy ember 1686; V.H. gives a report of his voyage from Texel, Netherlands, to Ardra, from 6th July to 20th October 1686 and on his reception by his "predecessor, Willem de la Palma, with great civility and politeness". ... De la Palma has just dispatched the ship " 't Huys Rotterdam" with 499 ps. slaves to Curaçao; the slaves are good and cheap here. Concerning the condition of the land here, we found general peace and quietness, and a reasonable abundance of slaves. But the English and their interlopers do here at least four times as much trade as we do, and when I passed Fida, which is **their trading place**, I met there four English ships on the roads, of which three have already left ... but the great number of Englishmen hardly frustrate the **natives** of Offra and Great Ardra, because the English are doing a shameful competition to us, as they, the English, give cowries for the men as well as the women, up to a weight of 82 pounds. One of the roguish tricks of the notorious Johannes Bruyningh and Steven Van der Elst, was that they have to such an extent given away the goods and effects of the deceased Commies (Lonq), which they had aquired without spending any of their own sweat and labour, that they have made the situation much worse here, and that nobody who attempts to do his best for the Gentlemen of the Noble Company could possibly do the same, with the result that the Negroes are surprised that the one is so much more liberal than the other ... Yet I shall try to do anything I can, such as paying considerable stipends or costumes (which have greatly increased since the death of Witte), which may contribute towards the continuation of Trade ... I have conferred with Director-General Sweerts on the subject of the establishment of one or more lodges at Fida or Popo, or at both places; (but it seems that) H.E. (Sweerts) has not approved of it, because if we do not get more ships here at Offra than we do at present, we are still quite able to dipatch them quickly ... In case Y.H. had the goodness to send to Offra so many ships that we could not supply them here, you may be assured, that in communication with the Hon. General we shall devise other means to take care of the slave trade to the greatest profit of Y.H. and the Noble Company ...

WIC 180; Van Hoolwerff to Ass. of X, 8th December 1686.

So far I have bought 517 slaves, worth 553 1/6 Ps.; spent 15,000 lbs. cowries, at an average of 80 lbs. per slave. . . . I hope Y.H. will soon send more ships, because the best slaves are to be found here, and their price is better than at any other place. I have offered, in Y.H.'s name a sedan as a present to the King, with which he was quite pleased. But we would like, with Y.Hs' permission, to present another one to the Fidalgo of Offra, under whose authority we are, and who seems to have nowadays most authority. I do not doubt that this would bring great advantage to Y.H. The conditions in the land are peaceful and quiet, and slaves are abundant, but the English Company and interlopers at Fida draw the greatest profit from this; consequently the Natives of Offra as well as of Great Ardra have no difficulty to decide where to send their slaves, because the English compete scandalously with us, offering cowries **for** men as well as women. . . . The Negroes have become here so high-handed since the death of Commies Long and Oppercommies Witte, that they seem to be grieved that not all the Company's goods and merchandise are put at their disposition; it is all the result of the roguish tricks of Bruyningh and Van der Elst . . . we can no longer pursue their way of trading, and in the days of de la Palma, as well as in my own, several difficulties have risen from this; I shall not neglect to spend considerable amounts on all those customs which may contribute towards the promotion of our trade.

(Encl: general invoice of merchandise in the ship " 't Casteel Cormantyn", destined to Ardra, which has arrived there on 31st October 1686)

Cowries	fl 7534:10:-- 80 lbs per slave
Guinese Nepten (Guinea cloth)	4940:25:8 60 lbs (!) per slave
Touquyn (beads?)	778:1:--	
Brandy	514:14:--	
fine beads	974:9:8	
iron rods	973:15:-- 14 ps. per slave
platthiljos (linen)	1585:--:--	

& oþher commodities . . . making a total of fl 19.597:19:--

Bill of general expenditure for crew and slaves:

21 pigs . . . worth . . . 3 Ps. slaves	to the Fidalgo of Jaquyn, for
6 half aums palm oil.. 3 Ps. slaves	water, the value of: 1Ps. slave
12 aums millet . . . 2 Ps. slaves	for water and wood, at Cape
chickens, beans, lemon,	Lopes: the value of: 1 Ps. slave
drums, "prapayen"	
e.a. refreshments . . . 2 1/6 Ps. slaves	

WIC 180; Van Hoolwerff to Assembly of X, 31st January 1687.

On 26th December the "Portugaalsche Handelaer" arrived, which I have dispatched to-day with 525 Ps. slaves, 386 men and 139 women. As before, there is great abundance of slaves here, but there is also great famine, with the result that I have not been able to provide this ship with as much millet as I would have desired. The Negroes, who, as I have mentioned earlier, are here not all that polite, have torn up the Noble Company's flag, on the day that the ship "Cormantyn" left. It is custom, and one is even obliged, to have such a flag on the beach on many occasions, for the reputation of the Noble Comp. This event is therefore a serious matter, and the English and the French at Fida were quite happy about it, as they concluded, as can be understood, that our presence in this country is no longer brooked ... I have therefore, on my own costs, prosecuted and eradicated the flag-violator on behalf of H.E. the General, and sent up to Elmina per canoe; the General has publicly sentenced him (to death) and decapitated him, and has sent the severed head on board of the Comp. ship "Goude Tyger" hither, and as an example (of the punishment for) such wantonness I have put it on top of a pole here in the lodge ... without doubt the bad government of those self-appointed predecessors of mine, the notorious rogues Bruyningh and Van der Elst is the principal cause of all disturbances ... Since the day I dispatched the "Cormantyn", the English have sent another three slave-ships with slaves, and if the slave trade does not succeed here in accordance with Y.Hs' pleasure in the near future, I shall, with Y.Hs' consent, soon go to Fida, or send somebody there whom I consider able to continue the trade with the many ships which come there. The Negroes there are much more polite, and a little better kept in check by the English and the French ...

Van Hoolwerff to Ass. of X, 2nd April 1687;

The "Hollandia" arrived here on the 6th of March, and I have dispatched her after less than a month with 539 Ps. slaves on board, which, I hope, will animate Y.Hs. to send ships more frequently. ... the situation is still quiet and in peace, but because of the great scarcity of wheat (called milhio here) I find much difficulty in buying that commodity. It makes them however also sell many slaves. The Noble Comp.'s lodge is now in a much better condition than in which we found it. Palm-oil is here more expensive than anywhere else on the whole Coast of Guinea ... but Rio Calabry is the principal place for palm-oil along this coast ... I may once more remind Y.Hs. of my earlier request for a sedan for the Fidalgo of Offra

WIC 180; Van Hoolwerff to Assembly of X, 5th September 1687.

... If the slave trade here in Ardra were increased a bit, Y.Hs. need not doubt that they can be acquired here as well and as cheaply as elsewhere, even if we established another lodge at Fida; the appearances are that we could, because I have been requested to do so by the King of that state. The latter even maintains a well-made lodge, which belonged to a deceased English interloper, named Thomson, for us as housing till we make further resolutions on the issue, no matter whether the French and English are there or not ... and I have made arrangements that they will not be able to prevent this ... On our request the King, to whom we have also given some presents, has taken possession of the lodge, in order to give it to us by the time more ships are received by me than up to now. The representatives of the Companies of the French and English Nations would certainly like to prevent this, with body and soul, in particular in case of war or suchlike occasions, but I have made such arrangements, that they will not be able to do so ... I have purchased 529 slaves, but so far no ship of the Noble Company has been forthcoming ...

Van Hoolwerff to Ass. of X, 26th January 1688.

The "Gouden Winthont" has arrived here, bringing with it a fregate called "De Stadt Berlyn", captured on the orders of the Hon. General **Swerts** off Little Popo. On the roads lies anchored at the moment the ship "de Salamander", sailing on the account of the Chamber Groningen, which was destined to buy slaves at Laay, but as they are very scarce there and difficult to get by, by order of the Director-General it has been sent hither; I hope to dispatch it within 27 days from these roads ...

Van Hoolwerff to Ass. of X, 10th February 1688.

After having suffered day after day several instances of the insolence of the insatiable Fidalgo of this place, I have finally decided to establish also a lodge at Great Popo, as we have had there before, and to which effect we were requested and begged every day. This will be to the great advantage of the Noble Comp. Y.Hs. should from now onwards give orders that the ships should no longer bypass Great Popo without anchoring there and wait there for orders to embark slaves. I doubt not that the Fidalgo, who as of old is very greedy, will feel the hint and change his mood, nay, will have to change his mood, and I therefore humbly request Y.Hs. to send me two more experienced and vigilant assistants, as we are not strong at all here with only four whitemen, which surely is too few to take care of such a lodge ...

WIC 180; Van Hoolwerff to the Directors of the Chamber Amsterdam,
10th February 1688.

On 22nd January 1688 the small yacht "Sara Maria", which had been sent hither on the orders of the Hon. Dir.-Gen. Nic. Sweerts in order to take on Y.Hs. account as many slaves as its cargo could buy, has been dispatched to Governor Wilhem Kerckringh of Curaçao with 173 slaves ... Up to now the slave trade has in my days well progressed, but these days it seems to slow off a little as a result of the lack of wars in the interior as well as the abundance of this year's corn crop, which does not, like last year the famine did, make them sell their slaves. At present there are at Fida four English ships lying in trade, and there are among them which have been there for over two months. The insolence of the Fidalgo, which has its origin in his insatiable greediness, which I have in my days never refused to satisfy, **exasperates us so much**, that we shall be compelled to establish another lodge at Fida or at Great Popo in order to keep him better in check; I therefore request Y.Hs. not to allow ships to sail past Great Popo and to order them to anchor there, because there will always be a white man ... I repeat my request for two assistants ...

Some months ago (th Fidalgo,) that insolent beast, brought a war on himself alone, which ended contrary to his expectations, upon which he felt so hard pressed, that he did not know -with your permission- ~~on~~ which arse-hole to sit. It was also very disadvantageous for ~~the~~ trade, because all the paths were so much blocked, that we could not get any slaves. I have therefore made a large number of Accra and Myna Negroes come here in order to compell his party to peace, in which I have succeeded ... at that time I also have extended, to nobody's disadvantage, but to great expense ~~of~~ myself, the lodge here a little, and reinforced it, in order to bring slaves and goods into safety. He has looked on benevolently whilst all that was going on, and he has not opened his muzzle until we had demolished our old walls and prepared everything to be brought under a new roof, which he has impeded and forbidden. Moreover, he has forbidden ³² all traders of this land to set a foot in our lodge. Everything is however in peace and quiet here, and Y.Hs. have not to be afraid, as we are sure that we shall be able to get slaves at other places near-by, and soon we shall be able to acquire as good and cheap ones as we used to, because we are every day invited thereto ...

Van Hoolwerff to Ass. of X, 15th June 1688;

I hope that Y.Hs. have appreciated our vigilance in the continuation of trade, that the lodge at Great Popo becomes quite effective, and that without this lodge it would have been quite impossible to us to dispatch as yet the ship "de Goude Leeuw", because at that time it was very difficult to get slaves here at Offra, as all the paths, on the Fidalgo's order, are closed here.

WIC 180; Van Hoolwerff to Ass. of X, 14th August 1688.

The ship "Gideon", which had been destined to Laay, arrived here on 27th March to take a cargo of 482 slaves, 330 men and 152 women ; I have dispatched it to-day ... The situation in this area has somewhat changed since my last letter; there are many rumours around here about wars, and there are few who are inclined towards trade ... the paths are everywhere closed, but the Fidalgo is now a bit more reasonable, also because these days he is afraid to be thwarted ...

[no letters from Ardra for 17 months]

Van Hoolwerff to Ass. of X, 26th January 1690.

Since the departure of the "Zierickzee", on 13th October 1688, I haven't received any news and seen even less of any Company ships to take slaves here, but I have learnt that Y.Hs. have sent the ship "Europa" for slaves to Angola, about which I am very surprised, as normally the slaves are acquired here more rapidly and rather more cheaply ... I pray Y.Hs. not to leave us in our present misery, because we are becoming the object of the mockery of Christian as well as of un-Christian Nations ...

Van Hoolwerff to Chamber Amsterdam, 26th January 1690.

(reports arrival of ship "den Grooten Africaen", and repeats complaints of above letter to Ass. of X) ... as we are not doing any trade here, I am afraid that the French will come to ensconce themselves in this place, and that would be very harmful to Y.Hs. if you were in need of slaves. I fear this the more, as news just arrived per express from d'Elmina, that two French ships have been sighted on the Upper Coast, and that they have captured there an interloper ...

Van Hoolwerff to Assembly of X, 28th May 1690.

We have tried to make known to X.Hs. our miserable condition in the letter we sent per "den Grooten Africaen". In view of the fact that I have served Y.H.s by now for over four years, although I have ~~not~~ been able to be of much service during the last two years as a result of the lack of arriving ships, I wish to request Y.Hs. politely and humbly to accept, with the first coming slave-ship, my resignation. ... If a certain person by the name of Hendrick Huybers were to come to offer his services to Y.Hs., you may be fully assured of his fidelity, knowledge and vigilance (and his ability to take my post), because for the intercourse with the Negroes here, a person is required who - and Y.Hs. may correct me, and, pray, forgive the comparison - is as noble and able as one who could be entrusted with a General's post at d'Elmina, as I now experience with the long delays and lack of arrivals of ships ...

(PS) ... I would also like to request humbly the dispatch of two assistants, to replace the two who have all the time been with me, and

I also pray that Y.Hs. may have the goodness to give me permission to take with me on my departure 20 slaves, as my permitted and over a long period sourly earned emoluments, on my own account ...

WIC 463; Letters from the Chamber Amsterdam.

Chamber Amsterdam to Van Hoolwerff; 24th December 1690.

In the year 1689 we had the impression that the delivery of slaves on Curaçao to those of the Asiento was to have a permanent character, and for that reason many slave-ships were in those days equipped, but unfortunately, some of those ships already having left, the course of those affairs has greatly changed, and the Noble Company saw itself compelled to stop further dispatches of slave-ships, and it remained saddled with a considerable number of slaves on Curaçao. We had already resolved to fit one ship out for the purchase of 500 slaves in Ardra for the Colony of Surinam ... but the ship "de Gouden Leeuw" of the Chamber Stad & Lande was already on the second day after its departure from Texel attacked by the French and set afire. Since that time we have agreed to destine again two ships to Ardra and Angola for the purchase of slaves as hitherto ... all these slaves must therefore be of the quality and condition as is in agreement with the Contract with those of the Asiento ... It should not be unknown to you, that the lodge of Ardra has always been under the jurisdiction of the Director-General on the Coast, and that his orders are to be promptly executed; we discover however, that Y.E. has not done this, when receiving written order from the same to send ondercommies Gros to Elmina ... We learn also that Y.E. has for some time not given sufficient accounts and proofs of the trade at Ardra to the Factory at Elmina ...

WIC 180; Valentyn Gros (Offra) to Chamber Amsterdam, 21st December 1690.

I do not doubt, that before the arrival of this letter Y.Hs. have learnt with regret the sad and miserable death of Oppercommies Isaacq Van Hoolwerff as well as the burning down of the Noble Comp.'s lodge ... also, that Director-General Joël Smits has decided to let me be the beneficiary of the vacant merchant's post at Ardra, pending Y.Hs.'s approbation ... I would have liked to report that there were greater abundance of slaves for sale, but to our regret the principal paths are closed, as **everything** is here in a state of confusion, because the surrounding Fidalgoes and other black chiefs pretend that they want to take revenge for the death of Oppercommies Van Hoolwerff, whom they presume to have been murdered by the natives of Ardra. Our trade has so far much suffered of all this, but we do hope that soon all troubles will be settled, and we humbly request Y.Hs. to send some more ships hither. ... We have received the flag-poles, flags and gilt knobs ...

WIC 463; Chamber Amsterdam to Valentyn Gros, 31st July 1691.

From Director-General Joël Smits we learnt about the death of Oppercommies Isaacq Van Hoolwerff as well as about the troubles with the natives and the burning down of the lodge. We do hope that the aforesaid troubles will be settled as well as possible for the interest of the Noble Comp. by Y.H.'s careful conduct, and that soon the slave trade may be carried on in the same total security as before ...

WIC 180; Valentyn Gros to Chamber Amsterdam, 7th August 1691.

We are still waiting for more favourable trading opportunities, and have to make excessive expenditures to keep it going. We had the greatest difficulty to supply the last batch of 460 slaves ... the Captain became impatient ... so we have requested him to come ashore to be witness of the endeavours I make everyday; we resolved to go together to Fida to acquire 50 Ps. slaves, having sent a Japanese silken nightrobe to the King with the request to help us. But the English who were at that time just making a transaction with the King considered this visit to be greatly prejudicial to themselves, and uttered many terms of abuse. But when the King heard this, fearing greater disputes, he demanded silence and let it be known that he would satisfy both parties. But the English maintained that they had since long been trading in his country, and that they had disembarked from their ships 40 fully armed Mina slaves and three field-guns in order to assist the King in opening the paths. I said that this was a matter of little importance ...

Considering the present unfavourable conditions and the long-lasting vehement wars amongst the natives, I may say that I should be rather satisfied that up to now the trade has succeeded well, the more as nowadays several Nations are represented here, and that during the last 8 or 9 months more than 9,000 slaves have been sold to the Dutch as well as to the English, Brandenburg and Portuguese Nations. This makes the natives so haughty, that it is hardly possible to reach an agreement with the merchants. As there is so much offer of merchandise, I pray Y.Hs. with urgency to send to the King of Fida a present for the promotion of the trade, because he is not only the protector of this area, but he can also totally impede the slave trade, or promote it, at will...

PS. The King of Fida just sent an express courier to ask me and the Fidalgo for arms and ammunition for the opening of the paths and for use against those of Great Ardra, his enemies. Time will tell what will be the outcome of this expedition, as well as what will be the reaction of the English. They will leave nothing undone to assist the King with all their might. To my regret I must

report that the English captains have made such arrangements, that many of the slaves are brought back by force from those who brought them to Offra ...

WIC 180; Valentyn Gros to Governor of Curaçao, (Copy), 7th August 1691.

... Our trade is much hampered by damaging encounters and troubles, in particular because the paths through which the slaves must come, have been closed for a long time, and this still causes us much misery every day; it is all the result of a vehement war amongst the natives, and moreover, in the last two months not less than seven ships have called here for slaves, each offering higher prices than the other in order to outdo it, so that the slaves have now become unbelievably expensive. The natives have also grown extremely haughty, as they have been able to sell 9,000 slaves to the English, Germans, Portuguese &c. The free trade seems to have changed into tyranny. I have however managed to dispatch the "Rachel" with 460 slaves, amongst whom 123 females ...

WIC 124; Resolutions of the Director-General and Council at Elmina

8th November 1682;

It has been resolved, in order to do damage to the trade of ships of other Nations, which steadily come to do prejudice to the Noble Comp., to reduce the price of French Brandy from 16 Angels 1 Ackie to 12 Angels and that of gunpowder from 2 oz to 1 oz 8 Angels.

24th November 1682;

It has been proposed to the assembled Members, that the Director-General (Verhoutert) has resolved, on the instance of the Caboceros and Chiefs of the village Commany, to re-establish the Noble Comp.'s lodge in aforesaid village, and that therefore a vigilant, able and experienced person is needed ... Joris Ernsthuy, who has served the Company for a long time vigilantly as an ondercommies, for instance at the important factory of Axim, has offered his services ... It has unanimously been agreed to appoint Ernsthuy commies in the Comp.'s lodge at Commany.

... it has also been resolved to remove from fort Crèvecoeur the commies Sebastiaan van der Lisse, in consideration of the miserable condition of the trade at that post, which costs us every year more than it pays. It has been resolved to do so, because the natives have prayed us with much urgency to send thither another commies, who may be expected to be able to entertain a better understanding with the natives and to revive the trade. Van der Lisse will therefore be removed from Craa, and as nothing could be said in disfavour of his person, he will be favoured with another factory. Commies Witma will replace him.

WIC 124;

3rd December 1682;

It has been resolved, in the service of the Noble Comp., the growth of its trade and in order to do damage to the trade of other Nations, to **change** the price of carabines from 10 Angels to 12 Angels a piece, that of long rifles from 7 to 8 Angels, and that of Brandy from 12 Angels to 10 Angels, 1 Ackie ...

it is also announced that the commies at Butri has reported the passage of a frigate named "de Ceurprins van Brandenburgh" ("the Elector of B."), commanded by Capt. Mattheus Vos, mounted with 36 guns, and with 40 soldiers and 60 sailors on board, most of them natives and subjects of the State (sic). The mentioned ship came in our view off Commany, clearly in order to trade there. It has been agreed to send two protest notes to mentioned Captain, one concerning his infraction of the State Regulation that no subjects of the State are to trade within the District of the Noble Comp's charter (without its expressed consent), and the other concerning its improper trade at the village of Commany, where the Comp. has a lodge ...

15th March 1683;

it has been decided to write to Henry Greenhill, at Seconde: /transl. Dutch/ Y.H. thinks to have been injured by us in Y.H.'s presumed priviliges, because we pay very little attention to unfounded threats ... we do not want to discuss this matter any further with Y.H., but let us state briefly, that in case Y.H. desires again to subvert our privileges among the natives of Sacconde with promises and expenditure, similarly to what Y.H.'s predecessors have done at Adja and Ananimaboe, we shall write about it to our Hon. Masters of the WIC ...

Public reading of a Letter of Their Hons. of the Chamber Amsterdam, arrived with the ship "de Africaen", in which it has pleased to Their Hons. to order that it should be loaded with 500 Ps slaves. But as it is impossible to obey this order, as at present on the entire Gold Coast no slaves can be had for gold or other merchandise, and it would even be impossible to buy 100 slaves in a period of 4 months, it has been considered what would be best: to send the ship back to Europe without any cargo, or to take from the storehouse here those goods which are in demand in Ardra and to load them in the said ship, in order to take its slaves in Arder. As the country is here so extraordinarily full of merchandise as a result of the many English and interloper ships, that we have hardly 10 Marks of gold in cash, it has been resolved, to disembark as soon as possible from the said ship its present cargo, and to load it at once with an Arder-cargo, with a note to Martin Witte that he should attempt as much as possible to sell the badly conditioned goods, even, if he can't do any better, sell them at Dutch rate, in order to supply the "Africaen" as soon as possible with its slave cargo for Curaçao ...

WIC 124;

17th March 1683.

Two other ships, sent by the Chambers Amsterdam and Maaze (Rotterdam), destined to trade slaves in Arder, have arrived ... It has been resolved to keep them here till we receive information about the conditions of trade in Arder ...

23rd March 1683.

Considerable complaints have been **received on commies Cornelis Witma** from the assistants working under him: on his private trade, his improper treatment of those under his authority, and on his agreement, made on his own authority and judgement, with the Negroes of Accra, to board by surprise a certain English snow ...

25th March 1683.

... request for dismissal has been received from commies Witma, to which has been consented; **this person is too** much disliked by the natives. It has been resolved to let commies Ernsthuyts vacate his post at Commany and take over that at Craa, and to move commies De la Palma from Ghama to Commany ...

7th April 1683.

... a certain "insinuation", written in Latin, has been received from Mr. Greenhill at Sekondi. It contains, among other things, that there will be an auction of an English interloper-ship at Cape Coast. It will be fixed as a public notice on the door of Elmina Castle ...

... it has been resolved to send the ship "Krygsman" half-empty to Holland, because there is little hope that the trade, very slack as a result of strong English competition, will soon ameliorate. ...

1st May 1683.

Reading of a secret letter from Jan Thiel, commies at Sacconde, with the information that an English yacht called " 't Casteel Cabo Corse" /Cape Coast Castle/, carrying a coast-cargo and an English merchant and a carpenter on board, had anchored with the intention to establish an English lodge at Sacconde. The mentioned writer gave into consideration whether such action should be allowed, in view of the fact that the Sacconde Negroes, who should not permit such an establishment, excuse themselves, saying that they are forced to do so by those of Adom, or whether something should be spent on some other nation in order to punish those of Sacconde for this violation and the harm they do in this way to our possession there, or, thirdly, whether one might better discern if those of Sacconde are the true cause of this matter by removing the Noble Comp.'s goods from Sacconde by embarking them on the barq, retaining the ondercommies and his assistant there, making the people of Sacconde

(WIC 124)

afraid that we will take revenge of their brach of oath. It has been resolved to resort to the last solution, and to see if the people of Sacconde will chase the English away.

3rd August 1684.

The Director-General announced that the broker Aban has warned him through his servant that those of Adom were marching down their entire army with the intention to attack the states of Ahanta and Chama, against which states those of Adom are imbued with bitter hatred. In view of this, H.E. proposed to vacate the lodges at Taccorary and Accoda, and to bring the Noble Comp.'s goods from Accoda to Fort Batensteyn and those from Taccorary on board of the yacht "d'Elmina" ...

4th October 1683

The "Ceurvorst van Brandenburg" and the "Eendragt", provided with a good quantity of tradegoods have arrived. In order to supply them soon with return-freight, it has been considered necessary to set our market-prices in such a way, that the merchants from in-land may be enticed to come to sell their gold to the Noble Comp. and diverted from trading on board of the ships or from the English at Cabo Cors in these days when constantly English and other foreign ships, in particular, as at present, one from Brandenburg, as well as interlopers continue their predujicial competition. It has therefore been resolved to put the bedsheets at the same price as do the English at Cabo Cors and for which they are sold on board of the ships, viz ... /illegible/

18th December 1683.

Reading of a letter from W.Scheffer, with an eclosed letter from the Brandenburg commander of Great Frederickburg, with the information that a small pirate-ship would have surprised the ship of Capt. Thomas Thoorts, the "Charlotte Emilia" in the Rio Sierralioens, as well as a small Brandenburg frigate; the latter would have been restituted to the (wounded) Capt. Thoorts, who sailed in it with his crew to Pocquesoe. The Director-General represented that it seemed to him very unwise under these circumstances to let the ship "Prins te Paert" sail to Cormentyn, and that it would be better to prevent a dangerous situation by keeping the mentioned ship on the roads of Elmina ... and if any ship or sail comes in sight, to send 50 or 60 armed Myna men in canoes to the mentioned ship in order to protect the whitemen on board, and not to send the "Prins te Paert" to Cormentyn, the more as it nedds still at least 50 boats' ballast. Furthermore, the Director-General will inform and caution those of Cabo Cors, and the Captains of the Myna village will be order-

ed to keep day and night 50 or 50 of their most able, well-armed Youngmen ready ...

3rd January 1684.

It has been decided to transfer Ondercommies Floris Van Schaerdenburgh, trading in the Noble Comp.'s lodge at Commany; although he is a youngman of modest behaviour, **he** lacks experience and the trade is completely dwindling there. He is hereby appointed ondercommies at Cormentyn, to take the post of Dirck Wilree, who has been repatriated after having squandered considerable funds both there and at Boutry. The post at Commany will be taken by Bartel Claes Smith of the yacht "De Liefde"...

... it has furthermore been resolved to lower once again the price of bedsheets, necessary in consequence of the continuing competition of English, French and interloper ships.

13th February 1684.

From Cormentyn are reported the protests of a certain Fantyn Negro named Tenufoeba on account of the Company slave Bossoe. The former pretends to have lent to this Bossoe the sum of 6 oz. 12 Angels. The slave says that he has consumed the said amount during the famine of some years ago, and that he, being an old grey man, is unable to contribute anything. The Fantyn negro has claimed his debtor in person as a payment. The oppercommies Adriaense therefore has come to ask, on order of the Director-General, whether this old macron slave should be maintained and whether the debt should be paid for him in gold. H.E. began by explaining that there were many objections to the maintenance of this slave, who had come to represent such a considerable sum of gold, and H.E. concluded that this old and disabled slave was not worth the risk as experience has taught us, that the natives of Fantyn do not hesitate to attack the merchants with the merchandise they have bought, to steal and to close the paths because of such differends. It has therefore been resolved to hand over this macron disabled slave to his Debtor (sic!) ...

3rd February 1684.

It has been demonstrated that a Portuguese barque has anchored here in order to disembark and to sell its cargo of tobacco, sugar and Brazilian brandy, and that the mentioned Portuguese, coming from S.Thomé, had not been molested, on the consideration that the Governor of that island treats the Noble Comp.'s ships always very well, and that we could therefore not act in a different way, but as this one is a Brazilian, to whom we feel not in the least obliged, the Council, asked for its advice, took into consideration, that no orders ...

had been received from Their Hons. the Directors in this respect, and deliberated whether one should make this Portuguese, who has traded on this Coast and has even gone to the extent of daring to anchor in front of our Castle, pay recognition duties or whether one should order the Portuguese to weigh anchor at once. It has been resolved, considering that the English offer freedom of anchorage on their roads and that the Directors have not given any order to molest the Portuguese or to demand recognition duties from him, to order the said Portuguese to quit at once our roads, and that he should not do any trade at any of our subaltern places ...

10th February 1684.

Received a report from D. Assenborgh at Takoradi, that the **Captain and crew of the pirate-ship** which had anchored there had come ashore in order to take water and fuelwood, and as this was tolerated by those of Taccorary, said Assenborgh excuses himself of not having been able to prevent this. When the robbers came into the lodge, he has treated them in a polite manner, but later some quarrels rose between said Assenborgh and the pirates. Initially the former found assistance from those of Taccorary, but soon he was abandoned by them, and the pirates have brought him by force to their **ship**, as well as his assistant, who shortly afterwards was however released on the insistence of the captain of a little English ship which had been captured by the said pirate. Assenborgh says that during his confinement on board of the pirates' ship he has been treated quite politely, and that the following day he was brought back ashore, where he found that the pirates had not taken any of the Comp.'s goods in the lodge. But now Assenborgh fears that the pirates, once they have taken sufficient water and wood, will demand some ransom out of the lodge's tradegoods; he has therefore provided those of Taccorary with gunpowder, lead and rifles, in order to offer resistance if that is needed. It has been resolved to send H.E. the Fiscal and the broker Aban to Taccoray with instructions ... /viz. that they are to visit both Sekondi and Takoradi, that the natives are to be kept well-armed, but should not attack before the pirates do, that if the latter are aggressive, an attempt should be made to capture their ship, but that definitely they should not be molested if they take indeed only water and wood/

1st March 1684. /cf. 13/2/1684 :/

It is reported that Appentyn or Tenu Soeba, the Fantyn Negro at Cormentyn, does not only demand the Comp. slave Bossoe, but also his wife (an old disabled female slave) in return for Bossoe's debt ... /D.-G. & Council decide, rather annoyed, to give up Bossoe's wife too./

WIC 124;

8th March 1684.

It has been demonstrated that there remains on this Coast not more gunpowder in the Comp's stocks than what is required for the safe-keeping of the forts ... yet, the traders come these days very frequently to ask for this commodity, and it is with great distress and heart ache that (we see them) compelled to go on board of the (foreign ?) ships, so that not only their gold is sold for gunpowder, but evidently various other goods are at the same time bought on those ships. The oppercousies Nicolaes Sweerts has been sent on board of a French ship lying off Houre to try to buy some gunpowder, but he was told that the gunpowder had been bought in such great quantities by a continuous stream of people coming in canoes, that the entire stock of the French ship, as well as that of a Zealand interloper also anchored there, had been sold. It has been resolved to let Sweerts buy 100 ankers French brandy ...

16th March 1684.

... We had expected that the newly arrived ship "de Dreyheyt" would have at least 20,000 lbs of gunpowder in its cargo, but only one half of that quantity has been found in it. H.E. the Director-General demonstrated the sad situation in which our dear fatherland finds itself at present and the already certain and public rupture between the Crowns of Spain and France, in which to all appearances our State will get rapidly involved and take up the sword on the side of Spain against France; in view of this important consideration the D.-G. felt that it is necessary not to sell any of the gunpowder we have at the moment, but to preserve it for the protection of our forts ... It has therefore been resolved to send orders to the factories on the Upper Coast to buy, for a reasonable price, as much gunpowder as is possible from English ships and interlopers

3rd. July 1684.

The Director-General demonstrated that the Cymons-cloths (?) are nowadays of little value and not such in demand, although they are sold for a very reasonable price; also that there is here a considerable stock of them, and that several thousands of them are still expected from Benyn ... H.E. therefore submitted whether it would not be advisable to stop the purchase of Cymons cloths altogether, and to order ondercousies Jochum Van der Sloot who trades there, to continue only the trade in ivory, for which a little cargo (of merchandise) will be sent to him in the yacht "de Diefde" . . and to settle present and old debts with the natives there ...

WIC 124;

7th August 1684;

As the Noble Company is ill-provided with work-slaves here on the Gold Coast, and as most of these Negroes still remaining are slaves who have been bought here on the Gold Coast, who consequently are inclined towards running away and seeking their freedom -in the last few months not less than 15 of them have already escaped- and seen the fact also that the yacht "de Vreede" is lying here and that the present season is not convenient for its departure (to Europe?) whilst there is not enough time left to let it make a tour of the Bight, it has been considered advisable to send it to Ardra with a corresponding cargo for Oppercommies Witte in order to buy a number of 80 Ps. slaves ... those slaves, being strangers, are less likely to run away...

It has also been decided to send the ship "de Gouden Leeuw" to Assiné, Abbiné and Cabo Lahou, to investigate whether a good quantity of elephants' teeth, and in particular at Abbiné and Assiné a quantity of gold, could be purchased ..

10th December 1684.

It has been given into consideration whether it would be advisable to buy for a reasonable price from a certain little Portuguese ship called "Nostra Signora de Monserva St. Anthony", arriving from Bahia, all the tobacco it has in its holds, on the condition that its Capt. pay beforehand 3,000 lbs tobacco as a duty for the licence of free trade ... It has been resolved to do so, and to buy the remaining tobacco ad 8 lbs per Angels, in the hope to sell it ad 5 lbs per Angels to the English ...

13th January 1685.

The D.-G. and Council have considered whether it might not be better to remove the Noble Comp.'s effects and servants from Mabor in the Rio Benyn, to claim the current debts and to trade at the said place only with yachts in order to buy ivory, in view of the fact that the Comp. has in stock over 12,000 Simons cloths, and that the yacht "de Liefde" has added to this number another 5,000 on its arrival on the 11th of last month, leaving 4,000 more in the Rio Benyn. Considering furthermore that the said cloths are to be sold ad 40 per Benão, but that there are no buyers, and that also the ondercommies Jochum Van der Sloot has died in the Rio Benyn on 28th August last year, and that finally the natives there do not sell elephants' teeth on land, because they get more profit when selling them on the yachts, whilst they only want to sell the cloths on land, it has been resolved to remove at the first occasion which presents itself the servants and effects from the Benyn ...

WIG 124;

1st December 1685;

Having received certain informations that the ship " 't Wapen van Ziericksee" has left Wielingen roads (in Zealand) on 28th August of this year and according to rumours would not call on Elmina but sail straight to Ardra, it has been decided to send on board of the barque "Alexandra" an experienced commies as well as an ondercommies to Ardra, in order to make proper purchases for the said "Ziericksee" and to take, with the help of Cpt. Banckert, the ondercommies Van der Elst from that post, in order to answer before us on the subject of the administration he has carried on there and the estate of the deceased oppercommies Maarten Witte ... It has also been decided to let Willem de la Palma go from Chama to Ardra as oppercommies ...
(....)

1st March 1687;

It has been demonstrated ... that there is in the Castle's store-house a large number of old and heavy rifles which are totally unsalable, and also of little value at home. It has therefore been proposed to arm the Noble Comp.'s serfs with the aforesaid unsalable heavy rifles, and to let them exercise with them, in order that in time of emergency they could use them, or in case of a revolt against the natives themselves, as has happened some time ago in Chama ...

5th June 1687;

The D.-G. has read out a report from oppercommies Ernsthuyt concerning a wall which has collapsed in the lodge at Commany, remonstrating at the same time that the ondercommies Jan Ainsworth treated the Commany Negroes in a bad manner, so that the lodge will never be reconstructed according to our intentions ... complaints have reached us also from Commany Negroes that they are being abused with words and threats (sic)... we therefore consider it to be in the interest of the Noble Comp. to remove the mentioned Ainsworth from Commany ...

20th June 1687.

... after the quarrels which recently have occurred at Chama between the commies Uden and the natives on the matter of the latter's evasion of the fish-toll, the D.-G. has sent H.E. the Fiscal thither with able and experienced persons as interpreters for an investigation and for mediation, but the dislike of the natives towards the commies is found to be so great, that it would only be in the disservice of the Comp. to let the said commies stay there. The D.-G. proposed therefore whether it would not be better to send another person thither ... It has been resolved to replace Uden, and to send Abr. Jager from Boutry in his stead.

WIC 124,

22nd July 1687.

The Council has deliberated on the stock of 300 slaves purchased lately, whether they should be sent on board of the ship "Den Holland-schen Thuyn" to be shipped via Ardra to Curaçao for the account of the Chamber Maaze, or whether they should be kept here till the return of the ship "T Wapen Van Amsterdam", in order to ship them then for the account of the Chamber Amsterdam, for whose account most of them have been bought ... But as for their maintenance every day $4\frac{1}{2}$ chests of milhio are needed, which amounts to $11\frac{1}{4}$ Angels or fl 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ 15 st. metropolitan currency, apart from the risk of running away or dying, and on the other hand considering that the cargo of slave trading merchandise which would be disembarked from the "Den Hollandtschen Thuyn" to make place for the said 300 Ps. slaves would not be current here, and only partly at Laay, and in particular considering that the ship of the Presidial Chamber will bring a cargo for the slave trade at Laay which will contain goods which will be current here on the Gold Coast, so that then the Ardra merchandise can be sent with that ship, which would be useful because there is at present great abundance of slaves at Ardra, it has been resolved to ship the slaves who are at present in the Castle per "Hollandtschen Thuyn" for the account of the Chamber Maaze, to disembark its merchandise and to store the latter here in the warehouses ...

The Director-General has demonstrated that the Negroes, in particular those of Myna, continue to go every day on board of the interloper ships in order to do there their illegal trade, and that they even go to the extent to induce the Merchants from the Interior to do the same. He added, that the Negroes are so bold as to compete in their trade even with the Comp., trading on board of those interloper ships even when they are guarded (?) by Comp.'s ships, as has appeared recently at Cormantyn in the case of the "Henriëtta Albertina" ... It has therefore been unanimously resolved to write to the Captains of the cruising frigates to hang the very first Negro they find on board of such a captured interloper ship from the end of the mainyard, and if they find more than one Negro, to let them draw lots for it ...

20 th September 1688.

The D.-G. proposed for discussion what to do in the best interest of the WIC concerning Benyn, since on the one hand it has been learnt that the late commies Beeltsnyder has given some reasons for discontent among the Benyn Negroes by abusing their King and sleeping with his wives, yet on the other hand, there are clear signs that they have taken up this quarrel mainly because of their own advantage, hoping to

avoid in this way the payment of a debt they had with the said commies and (the punishment for ?) their beating to death the Negro Caloor, who was a Comp. slave, but who was entirely innocent of the above. It has therefore been considered necessary to set, for the well-being of the Company, an example, which should serve them as well as the Ardra Negroes, and to take revenge and discourage them from ever going to the extent of slaying persons (in the Comp.'s service). After this exercise, an attempt should be made towards reconciliation with the Negroes, in order that the trade in the Benyn as well as in Ardra may be continued undisturbedly, and the D.-G. is therefore requested to make the necessary arrangements ...

17th January 1689.

The D.-G. has read a letter from Their Hons. the Directors meeting in the Assembly of Ten, concerning which places on this Coast should only be provided with one man and a flag, in order to bring the remaining men, merchandise and ammunition to other places in order to protect them better. It has been agreed not to abandon any of our places altogether, and to maintain at Axim 30 whitemen apart from the slaves, and to station among them a sergeant in order to keep better discipline among the militia, at Accoda 2 whites and 8 slaves, at Boutrou 10 whites and 10 slaves, i.e. to maintain the present force at the said places, at Taccorary 1 whiteman and 1 blackman, at Zaconde 5 whites and 15 slaves, most of them armed, at Chama 18 whites apart from the slaves, to drop Commany and to take away whatever men there may be at present, to maintain sufficient garrison at St. Jago and Elmina, at least 200 men, principally St. Jago, being the key to the Coast, at Moree and Cormentyn 25 men each, to be reinforced in case of attack up to 50, and lastly at Accra 30 whitemen ...

It is furthermore brought to the notice of the Council that the French ship "Le Poudor" (La Poule d'or ?) has taken the small Comp. ship "Cornelia", taken its merchandise and sent 23 of its crew to Martinike. The latter have been brought here on board of the "Winthont" and the "Prince Wapen", and they brought information that Cap. Rodon has order to capture all Dutch ships. The prisoners stated furthermore that the French have on 18th or 20th October declared war on Their High-Mightinesses of the States-General ... As the "Vryheyt" the "Bruynvisch" and the "St. Anthonio de Padua" are expected at any time now, an effort should be made to warn them, and everything should be brought into a state of defence ...

18th January 1689.

A letter from Hendrick Van Uchelen, Axim, is read in Council. He reports that a French ship with 30 guns and a crew of 100 has arrived at Assinie within 10 weeks after its departure from Rochel, having been

been equipped solely with the purpose of attacking Dutch ships. It has been proposed for deliberation whether it would be **proper** to let the ships "Prinse Wapen" and "Hester", which are ready to depart to Ardra, not leave for that destination, but rather sail to the Windward in order to attempt to intercept the mentioned Frenchman ... It has been resolved to send the said ships to the Windward ...

18th June 1689.

D.-G. Nicolaes Sweerts made it known that this morning the King, Fetaire, Dey and Samin of Fitu have come inside the Castle to ask H.E. for a surety of 120 or 130 bendas in merchandise, to be given to the Accaniste and the Krufose, in order that the latter assist them against Saboe. It has been taken in consideration that Fitu is still indebted to us for an amount of 68 bendas, that matters of war are unpredictable and that in case of a defeat of Fitu there will be little hope for the repayment of the first as well as the new debt, but on the other hand that, if we did not assist Fitu, it is highly probable that the Accaniste and the Krufose will join Saboe and defeat Fitu; and in that case there will be here at Hyna, as well as at Commany, as little trade as there is presently at Mouree, whilst if Saboe were defeated, we might not only count on a continuation of the trade here and at Commany, but also on the re-opening of the passages to Mouree ... It has therefore been resolved to lend Fitu the said 120 to 130 bendas.

17th February 1690.

it has been resolved to send the ship Hendriëtta to Rio Calabry, Gabon and Cabo Lopez for ivory and wax, and to **order** Capt. Coster to call on Ardra to buy there beef and bacon for the 4 oz. of gold which will be sent along with him ...

20th February 1690.

Reading of letters from Ardra, the one from H.E. General Sweerts / on 17/1/'90 Joël Smits had been installed as D.-G. at Elmina/, the other from ondercommies Gros, **addressed** to H.E. requesting him to settle the diiferends existing between him and his superior, oppercommies Isaac Van Hoolwerff ... This might also have been effectuated by H.E., if his sudden departure had not prevented such. **Consequently** ondercommies Gros requests urgently in his letter to be allowed to find employment on the Gold Coast, as he is being treated very rudely by his superior, without having given any cause to it. Also because a canoe with 7 rowers has been kept there, although they are effectively slaves of the Company, and very much needed here on the Gold Coast for repairs on the forts and for assistance of the slaves here, who are very small in number - if we had sufficient victuals here we would have sent a vessel to take 80 slaves from Ardra for employment in the Comp.'s forts and factories where needed - we have deliberated and agreed to summon

(WIC 124, cont.)

ondercommies Gros, as the oppercommies, as long as the slave trade continues at the present rate, can very well do without an ondercommies ..., and also the rowers with the canoe, as we need them badly and as they are of much more service to the Company here than in Ardra.

11th April 1690.

The galliot "Cornelia" /cf. 17/1/189 !/ will be sent to Benyn, Calabry and C.Lopez, and will call on Ardra to buy pork and other victuals with the 4 oz. of gold sent along with it ... the D.-G. furthermore submitted to deliberation whether ondercommies Gros should continue to stay there or should be summoned, in accordance with our resolution of 20th Feb.; he has stayed there, because oppercommies Van Hooolwerff pretended to need him, having too few people there, and that otherwise the lodge at Popo could not be maintained in the Comp.'s possession.

It has been agreed to summon Gros and let him return on board of the galliot "Cornelia", and to send as a reinforcement of the personnel at Ardra an assistant and a cooper ...

5th September 1690.

... the "Morgenstar", destined to bring 500 Ps. slaves to Surinhamen, and the yacht "Poelwyck", destined to bring 150 Ps. slaves to Isequebe, have arrived. As at present no slaves can be bought on the Gold Coast, it has been put before the Council whether the aforesaid ship and yacht should be sent to Ardra or to Laay. In view of the fact that we lack goods for the trade at Laay, it has been resolved to send them to Ardra, and to provide the "Morgenstar" with a cargo worth fl 21,000, and the "Poelwyck" with one worth fl 6,000 -metropolitan value -, from the warehouses at Elmina.

7th September 1690.

The D.-G. has communicated to us, undersigned Members of the Council, that he has understood from a letter from commies Jan Ainsworth at Accra that on the 3rd of this month some Negroes, coming from Ardra had reported that oppercommies Van Hooolwerff had wounded three Negroes there, but not fatally; that the Ardra Negroes had however had the boldness, after having observed the said oppercommies for 7 or 8 days, to attack him and to bring him before the Fidalgo. The latter would have bound his hands and his feet, and he would have taken away all the Ardra and Myna slaves who were in and near the lodge, without however touching any of the other effects of the Comp. Although these are only oral reports from Negroes, and none of the assistants there has given the least notice of it, the aforesaid Negroes say that they had told assistant Homma, that they would go by land to Craa ... We are very perplexed about these matters, and we also do not have current merchandise to purchase slaves at Laay. We have therefore decided, after deliberating what would be to the best service of the Company,

to send the "Poelwyck" to Ardra in order to get more certainty about what exactly has happened and about what action should be taken. Ondercommies Willem Meyburgh and private Van Aerdenburgh, who has been stationed for a long time in Ardra and who knows that country's constitution quite well, as his assistant are ordered to go there and to speak with the Fidalgo, demanding from him the reasons for his procedures against oppercommies Van Hoolwerff. They should try to settle the matter peacefully, and to that end 2 "massen" fine beads will be presented to the Fidalgo. But if it happend that he, the Fidalgo, does no longer desire the presence of oppercommies Van Hollwerff, his dismissal will be requested, he will be brought to Elmina with his luggage, and he, Willem Meyburgh shall command the lodge as a Chief ad interim. In order to get as soon as possible further informations, the 7-rowers' canoe will go thither with the yacht, in order to return at once with those informations ...

23rd October 1690.

... not yet having received any news from Ardra, in spite of the fact that we sent the 7-rowers canoe thither in order to get news soon, it has been resolved to dispatch at earliest convenience the "Morgenstar" to Ardra, in order to taken there its required number of slaves ... and as it is unknown whether oppercommies Van Hoollwerff will be restored in his position by the Fidalgo and the great men of Offer, or whether he has been sent up with the yacht "Poelwyck", it has been considered necessary to send on board of the ship "Morgenstar" somebody who has sufficient experience of the state of affairs and constitution of Ardra. Valentyn Gros has been selected to do this...

18th February 1692.

The D.-G. has read out three letters from Valentyn Gros, dated resp. 7th, 12th and 15th January, at Offer in Arda, in which he describes the very miserable state of affairs, caused by the war since the Great Ardra King has bribed Affory to destroy those of Offer and to ruin them as rebels against their King. The war has been so successful that the Fidalgo and the principal men of Offer have fled to Fida, and the surrounding villages have been destroyed and burnt, with the result that the passages are virtually closed and that the ship "De Roomsche Keyser", having acquired about 200 Ps. slaves has kept most of its cargo on board as its Captain does not want to commit his merchandise to the lodge, as the people there fear that it might be set afire or suffer other calamities which wars generally bring about. Apart from the ship "De Roomsche Keyser", the "St. Clara" has arrived with destination of Arda, in order to fetch there 500 slaves. Consequently we have deliberated, also in view of the fact that this information is already one month old, whether it would not be in the best service of the Noble Company to send thither the little ship Hendriëtta first, to find out what has been happening there, and, if the

(WIC 124 cont.)

Noble Comp.'s servants have fled from Offer, to establish a lodge at Popo. It is hoped that the "Roomsche Keyser" can be dispatched very soon. ... It has been resolved to summon commies Valentyn Gros because of his continuous indisposition and to give an account before us of his administration, and to order him to transfer the Company's effects to ondercommies Hendrik Barentsa, who should go to Popo to trade there, till the war is over, if he can't trade successfully at Offer ...

18th February 1692.

Reading of a letter from commies Jan Ainsworth, Craa, who sees a prospect for supplying the "St. Clara" with its required load of slaves in the area between Craa and Fida. Oppercommies Johan Staphorst, in consideration of the fact that the Atty war should not be left unused, offered to do the slave trade on the St. Clara. But considering that the Negroes come continuously over land to Craa, and that commies Ainsworth is well informed of the situation in the places between Popo and Craa, and on what goods are most in demand there since Laay has been destroyed by the war, it was resolved to employ rather him on the "St. Clara" ...

31st May 1692.

The D.-G. has shown a request from Valentyn Gros, commies at Offer in Ardra, in which he asks to be employed on the Gold Coast or at Fida, again in the service of the Company. Having taken in consideration that the said Gros has earlier abandoned the Company's lodge at Offer and retired to Fida, with the result that the lodge has been destroyed, and also that he has recently very urgently requested for his dismissal, because of his indisposition, and asked for permission to repatriate, it has been resolved to refuse said Commies' request and to let him repatriate on board of the little ship Hendriëtta, although Gros has offered to stay on the Coast on his own cost till a better ship arrives from Holland ... Oppercommies Hendrik Van Uchelen has offered to administrate the Company's affairs in Ardra ... it has been resolved to appoint him Chief Merchant at Fida (sic!)

16th September 1692.

The D.-G. has proposed for deliberation whether oppercommies Hendrik Van Uchelen, appointed according to the resolution of 31st May Chief Merchant at Fida, should go there on board of the "Postillon" ... It has been resolved that Van Uchelen should go there on the first occasion in the company of two assistants in order to learn there about the situation. There is only an ondercommies and an assistant at that place, and we do not know whether they are alive or not, or whether the Comp.'s effects are still there. An attempt should be made to prevent as much as possible any damage, the more because Afferry, in



(WIC 124 cont.)

in conjunction with the Aquamboes, is preparing himself to make war on the Fidas. He, oppercommies, should try to bring the warring parties to peace, and to make the King of Fida well-disposed towards him, or, if it appears that that is not successful, to extradite the refugee Negroes from Offer, or to give some payment for them, what ever he may think is best; but if it appears that such a policy would not bring a good outcome, and his person as well as other servants of the Noble Comp. with its effects would be exposed to the discretion of the victors, (in short) if he considers the situation not safe, he should embark all the Comp.'s servants, slaves and merchandise on board of the "Postillon", and give notice of his decisions at earliest convenience ...

WIC 463;

Chamber Amsterdam to Joël Smits, 9th December 1692.

... We have the honour to inform Y.B. that we have agreed to equip two ships for the slave trade, one destined to Angola and one to Ardra, and to put on board of the ship "Rachel", the one destined to Ardra, an extra cargo (left over) worth fl 3,000 ... We have learnt with regret that the lodge at Ardra has been totally ruined by the Negroes and that all the factors would have been murdered. If this is really so, other measures should be taken, but for the time being we are looking forward receiving further information about the true state of affairs ...

WIC 124;

19th January 1693.

The D.-G. gives notice that the ship "Kroonvogel" of the Chamber Amsterdam has arrived on the 18th of last month, destined for the slave trade ... The barque (? "brack") which was sent to Fida on the 23rd of last month for a reconnaissance, returned on the 15th of this month, bringing with it the Comp.'s servants and a part of its effects, as they were compelled to retire because of the war of Afferry against the Fidas. Consequently no slave trading transactions can be made there. It has therefore been resolved to send the "Kroonvogel" with oppercommies Van Uchelen to Laay and other places in that area to purchase slaves; but if they do not manage to acquire the full number of 500 slaves, the ship should be dispatched to Curaçao with a lesser number ... the barque will also be sent there, in order to bring the oppercommies and the remaining merchandise hither ...

(WIC 124, cont.)

6th July 1693.

... The ships "Hercules", "Rachel", "Peynenburgh" and "Eva Maria", since long expected, have at last arrived, three of them are returning ships, one is destined to the slave trade in Ardra ... As the season is over, it has been decided to send the "Hercules" as soon as possible to Holland with 300 marks of gold, through the Channel, because it is too dangerous to let it make its voyage around England, but because of the danger of attack by French pirates, it should join a convoy from England to Holland. It has been resolved to keep the "Eva Maria" and the fluytship "Peynenburgh" here till next spring, as we have no other vessels on the Coast than the ship "De Brack". "De Brack" shall have to sail to Ardra as there is no factory there, and to collect the remaining goods and the oppercommies from the ship "Rachel" ...

The D.-G. put the question who would embark on the "Rachel" to do the slave trade in Ardra, where we have no lodge or servants because of the war; the oppercommiesen Hendrick Van Uchelen and Jan Aynsworth said to be inclined to go, and offered their services. ... Jan Aynsworth has been nominated to the post ...

24th November 1693.

The D.-G. has demonstrated that some differend has arisen between the Quifferse and the Commanise, because the King of Commany has ordered his people to arrest some traders from Quiffer with merchandise to a value of 10:2:8 marks which they had bought from the English at Cabo Cors, on account of their having slept in his village. The said traders would also have promised to trade with the Dutch and not with the English, which promise they have not kept. Because of this quarrel the Quifferse have declared war upon the Commanise, and in response the King of Commany has distributed the confiscated goods among neighbouring states, in order that they may support him in case of war. Such a war would be to the great disadvantage of the trade, and if the passages were closed to the traders from Dinquira and Quiffer, we wouldn't make any money and we would find ourselves here in the same state as the factories at Cormantyn and Houree, where, may God help us, only 3 or 4 marks of gold have been received. The question has therefore been put forward whether we should lend to the King of Commany the mentioned 10 marks, 2 oz and 8 Angels claimed by the Quiffer traders, in order to avoid the war, or not. Considering that the Company may suffer at least ten times as much damage on merchandise which may spoil, and that the loan at a later date may be claimed back, it has been resolved to supply the said 10:2:8 Mk. worth of merchandise in order to settle the differend.

(VIC 12⁴ cont.)

27th January 1694.

... The yacht "Tholen" has returned from a voyage to the Bight, and it is reported that the trade is "fatal" there, because interlopers have spoilt it ... the Brandenburgers have also established a lodge in Rio Calabry, and they try to stop our trade ... it has been deliberated ... and resolved to send the "Tholen" back with a cargo to be sold at a somewhat more attractive price, and with commission to attempt to capture some interlopers ...

.....

7th August 1697.

The death has been reported of commies Pieters at Accra. Having taken into consideration the very urgent request of the Accra deputies to have the commies from Boetry, of whose mild temper they said to expect much for a peaceful and quiet co-existence, it has been resolved to appoint commies Koen as commies at Craa and to accede to the request of the Accras ...

23rd November 1697.

The D.-G. proposed to Council the following public circular ... that it has come to H.B.'s notice that lately some men have deserted ... but these deserters, not having the least reason to complain about their pay, will lose their salaries. Not only do they desert, they also debauch our faithful soldiers and undermine our defence system. Any deserter whom the Company cannot apprehend will be outlawed, in the sense that whites as well as negroes may "shoot such men under the foot" (=?) on the spot, and each white or blackman will receive 4 oz. of gold for each deserter. Everyone, none excepted, is hereby expressly warned to observe the rule that servants of the Company should not go more than one cannon's shot distance away from their stations ... on a penalty of 2 moths' salary, and that we shall not concern ourselves with anybody whom is shot at by the Negroes beyond that limit, no matter whether they have evil intentions or not. Officials are hereby ordered to bring this circular not only to the notice of the Comp.'s servants, but also to that of the Negroes.

26th March 1698.

Three ships destined for the slave trade in Ardra, the "Catharina", "Eva Maria" and "Gouden Putt", have arrived, and an experienced person is required to be dispatched thither, especially considering that many foreign ships are at the moment anchored on the Fida roads. Hereupon the Chief Merchants Willem Bosman and Nicolaes Poll have stood up, and it has been agreed to let mentioned Bosman do that trade ...

(WIC 124 cont.)

1st November 1697.

The D.-G. demonstrated that he was informed that there would be no interlopers on this Coast nowadays, but that all of them would have returned to Holland, with the exception of one Zealander who is on his way to Angola to trade slaves, whom he would afterwards bring to Cadix in Spain ... H.E. proposed that it would be in the interest of the Noble Comp. to send the frigate "Beschermer", sent hither for the express purpose of warding off the un-free traders, to Angola to capture the said interloper, also considering that most of the season having passed, one should not expect any other interlopers before February, and that the "Beschermer" would therefore cruise here to no avail. In order to prevent the natives from suspecting the true purpose of the dispatch of the "Beschermer", the ship will be provided with a small cargo. The captain should also take care that he has returned before February ... Pieter Hinke, Captain of the "Beschermer", is instructed ... to sail under a foreign flag to Angola, so that the natives, in case the interloper ship is captured, will not know that it is being done by a Dutch Company ship, as this might be to the detriment of the Company's trade. If the captain aforesaid manages to board the interloper ship, he should order those in command of that ship to hand it over with its merchandise to the WIC, under the promise that they may keep for themselves their private possessions and pay, but if they refuse to accept this proposal he should tackle them with violence. Once the ship is captured, it should be manned $\frac{2}{3}$ by Comp. personnel and $\frac{1}{3}$ of its own crew can stay aboard. Capt. Hinke should try to get hold of all the gold the interloper has bought, as well as the papers, but the slaves, ivory and copper may stay on board of the prize. Returning from Angola Capt. Hinke should sail to the Grain Coast and attempt to arrest other interlopers ...

23rd February 1700.

The D.-G. informs Council that he has addressed himself, on the order of the Directors of the Presidial Chamber, in a letter dated 16th February, to the Agent at Cabo Cors, in order to discuss with him ways to bring the long lasting war in the interior to an end, if possible, ... and to insist with him that the English no longer protect Dutch interlopers at their ports. D.-G. further stated that said Agent has answered on 18th February, with some mocking remarks about the consolidation of the interests of both our Companies, saying that agreements are always broken on our side, which statement they connect with a white lie, according to which he, the D.-G., would have ordered the imprisonment of a certain Negro belonging to Jan Kabes, provided with a cane of the English Merchant at Commany, in the Adom country by the Caboceer Eckouw (who does not depend of our Nation) and ordered him to seize all the English goods passing through his land ... It has been resolved to send the Chief Merchants Bosman and Rohart to Cabo Cors, and on 20th February they returned with a report ...

The said gentlemen were sent to Cabo Cors to request from the Agent of

(WIC 124 Cont)

the English R.A.C. permission to take away from their roads the Zealand interloper Jan Bokhoven, but they received answer from that Agent, that they should expect to be fired upon if they tried to approach the fort with the intention of executing the Directors' orders concerning the said interloper, all this in spite of the fact that the Directors of the RAC in London had assured the Ass. of X in a letter dated 27th October 1699, that Their Hons. had sent orders to their Agents in Cabo Cors not to impede our ships any longer in arresting Dutch interlopers, even under their forts, or to protect them ... Having gone on shore, the said gentlemen found at their arrival one of our soldiers lately deserted from Houree keeping guard, apparently intended as an insult ... having waited there for a considerable time before the gate, they were eventually received in a cool and offending manner ... the conversation with the Agent was so strong worded, that it looked as if we were the public enemies of the English... The English continued, with curses and abusive words, to accuse our D.-G. of having given orders for the arrest of Negroes subject to the English, and for the seizure of their goods, when they wanted to pass through the Adom country. Although they explained that General Van Sevenhuysen has not the least knowledge of it, and still less could have issued such orders, it was of no use. They said that they had not yet received any orders from their Directors to give permission to our ships for the taking away of interlopers from under their fort, and that since 27th October they had received at least three letters from their masters, but that in none of them the least mention had been made of this matter ... Considering that one cannot do anything useful for either of the two Companies with the present disobedience of the English Agents it has been resolved provisionally not to make any further move.

23rd February 1700.

... On the proposal to reduce the garrisons of those lodges and forts where trade is scarce ... it has been resolved not to abandon any places, except the lodge at Ponnie, which as a result of the continuous wars of the Aquamboes with the Akims is of little value, and to bring the assistant there stationed as well as the Comp.'s effects to Craa ...

10th March 1700.

Resolutions concerning morals and religion ... (art. 4) ... the D.-G. and Members of Council hereby rule, that anybody who thus has bred or is breeding children in whoredom, shall be obliged to take them on their departure with them to our fatherland on their own expense, or, in case he happens to die here, to reserve, each for himself, according to his position, a proper sum for honest maintenance and Christian education of such products. ... (art.6) it has also been agreed to build here a communal house, in which all such children at the age of 5 or 6 years will be brought and be separated from the natives, as well as from the Europeans, in order to be educated in the art of letters, the foundation of economics,

(WIC 124. cont.)

some crafts, as well as the making of plantations such as those of cotton &c., and to ask Their Hons. the Directors to send us some fathers and mothers for this house ...

... the Chief Merchants Bosman and Rohart, who have been charged with the making of written reports and advice on how to pacify the warring parties in these lands, have submitted to the Council their findings. (Bosman): During the term of office of Mr. Staphorst the first differends arose between us and the Commanies. ... after a long, and for the Comp. disadvantageous war, we made in 1696 a peace which was favourable to us, but it did not last long, as a result of English interference, and very soon we were compelled to engage ourselves in another war, in which we were as unfortunate as in the first, and thus we stood opposed to one another for years, without any party drawing profit from it. This moved us, not without the consent of the English, who had their representatives attending the negotiations, to make a second time peace with the Commanies, although not such a favourable one as the first. This peace would have lasted, if the English with their inconsistent character and their assassination of the Commany King, had not prevented such. We cannot quite penetrate into the reasons which have moved them, but one thing is certain: everything was again spoilt, because although we are living in peace with the Commanies, there exisits the greatest suspicion, as the Commanies expect that we will treat them in the same manner as the English have done. The rumour has spread, probably from the side of the English, who aim at making us more hated, that this murder has been committed not only with our knowledge but even on our advice. Consequently the Commanies have become more estranged of us, which has expressed itself in that they not only have had the insolence to capture some Mina people but also some slaves of the Noble Comp., whom they never have seen fit to release, in spite of the General's request. They continued to perpetrate new acts of wantonness, which compelled the D.-G. to attack them again, the more so as trade had virtually come to a standstill as a result of the quarrels between tJuffer and Dinkira. Since 4 months all good understanding with the Commanies has again been destroyed, and they are (again) our public -and not like the English, pretended- enemies, keeping the passages closeddt**obbbhh**. We can't even interfere in the quarrel between the Dinkiras and the Juffers, the former are claiming 100 bendas from the latter, because if we paid the Juffers, the Commanies would yet keep the passages closed. At the moment the situation is such, that the Commanies, reinforced with the aid of the Tetus, Abramboes and other peoples, are waiting to attack Tecci Ancan who is supported by some people from Akanny and Cabes Terra, with the result that there is no trade at Cormantyn and Mouree either. It is therefore proposed to come as soon as possible to some agreement with the English.

(Rohart): ... The disruption of the trade at Accra has its origin in the claims which the Akim Negroes pretend to have on the Aquamboes concerning gold and men supplied by them some time ago to the Aquamboe King named

(WIC 124 cont.)

Ahinsang in order to help him to defeat the Accra Negroes; there have been numerous palavers on this issue, and considerable sums have already been paid by the Aquamboes to the Akims. But every time the passages have been open for 4, 5 or 6 months, and then the aforesaid Akims would make new claims, till eventually (at the time I had the honour of being stationed as Merchant at Accra) the King of Aquamboe, named Bansjaar, died. He was succeeded by the former under-king, called Addo, who sent to the Akims a present of 30 Ps. slaves, 40 perpetuans and 50 small crates of brandy ... in order to promote friendship and trade, because the Akims, who live in a country which is very rich in gold, have to pass through his country in order to do their trade at Accra. But they, the Akims, rejected his offer, saying that they had the rights to the entire inheritance of Bansjaar; and though they had the goodness to leave the Aquamboes in the possession of it, they claimed such great sums, that it was impossible for the Aquamboes to pay them. Even when Addo proposed to give 300 bendas of gold (which he would have had to borrow) if the Chief of the Akims would give him his little cousin as a hostage and would not make further claims, this proposal was not accepted by them, the Akims, which makes us fear that this matter can have no other outcome than the total ruin of the one or the other, in which case none of the white Nations will dare to interfere. And even if the Akims were willing to take Addo's proposal into consideration, neither the English, nor the Danes would be ready to lend such an amount ... and if we were to lend those 300 bendas, the English and Danes would profit from it through their interlopers ... we shall have to leave the outcome of this affair to time ...

25th May 1700.

D.-G. communicates the informations he has received yesterday from Fida . . about the sad condition of the slavetrade there. Cornelis Gyssen van der Stolck, Capt. of the "Graff van Laanwyck" complains that in the period from 30th January to 26th April 1700 he has received only 357 Ps. slaves, of whom 30 have already died, and explains that this is so because of the numerous French and English ships which arrive there. He adds that he needs firewood and boxes of milhio, and that he will have to leave if he does not receive some soon. It has been resolved to send him some ...

Equipagiemeester (director of the victualling office) Daniel Pets has reiterated his request to be excused from sailing to Fida on board of the ship "Croonvogel" to supervise the purchase of slaves ... founding his request mainly on the fact that he has never been ashore in that area and that he is ignorant of the manner of that trade there, which is quite different from the one in Angola (which he knows very well). And as he would indeed be of little service there, mentioned Pets and the Capt. of the "Croonvogel" have been summoned to the Council-meeting. The Capt.,

(WIC 124. cont.)

when asked whether he would be able to do the trade to the satisfaction of the Hon. Gentlemen the Directors without the aid of an Equipagiemeester, answered "Yes", because he has on several occasions been ashore in Offra and assisted with the trade, and he has a fair knowledge of the Customs and the Habits of the Natives of that area; he admitted that the Equipagiemeester would be of little use to him, never having been there. As we need the latter here, it has been decided to write to Oppercommies Poll in Fida, that he should try to give the Capt. as much help as he may need ...

WIC 97; Letters from the Coast of Guinea.

Van Sevenhuysen to Ass. of X, Elmina, 8th May 1699.

... On the urgent request of the under-king of Aquamboe I have now for more than 1½ years encouraged the trade at Ponnie, where I propose that we should establish a fort or lodge. It has provided us with very good slaves and abundant gold, and it is of such importance, that the English have already insisted with the upper-king that he makes us depart from there. ... As there are abundant and good slaves for sale, so many that English and Portuguese ships sometimes get their entire load at that place, we could take over that trade, if only we had a fort there; in that way we could always provide the slave ships at their arrival if not with their entire load, at least with a large part of it from our stocks, which would much contribute to their early dispatch. Moreover, much gold is also being received there, even when the passages towards Accra are being closed by the upper-king, because then the other one authorises those to Ponnie to stay open ... the construction of this fort should not cost more than 10,000 florins ...

Van Sevenhuysen to Ass. of X, Elmina, 25th August 1699.

.... even the interlopers have at present little trade, receiving only poor gold, of which we cannot give any other explanation than that the peoples in th interior still have war rather than trade on their minds; we still have to wait for the outcome of all these wars ... Meanwhile, we hope that Y.H. may have better luck and profits from the slave trade, which, in our humble opinion has lately been rather prosperous here as well as at Fida ...

Van Sevenhuysen to Ass. of X, Elmina, 15th April 1700.

... I have received Y.Hs' highly esteemed letter of 26th September Ao.Po., and I see with the greatest regret that I seem to have caused Y.Hs' displeasure with my direction as well as with my writings, and I beg Y.Hs in the humblest way to grant me forgiveness ... I would indeed rather have had the good fortune of my predecessors, who could satisfy you with brief informations and lots of gold, than having to send Y.Hs. endless reports on local wars ... On Y.Hs' complaints that I have not held the Noble Comp.'s servants to their duty, I pray Y.Hs. will remember that

(VIC 97 cont.)

other Generals have from time to time had to make similar complaints. Examples like that of ondercommies Van Yperen are self-evident ... I really can't prevent all those who are inclined towards debauchery on all occasions, particularly those who in the middle of the night fill themselves up with strong drinks in their loneliness ... That the prosperity of Y.Hs' Noble Comp. depends on Trade rather than on wars, I thought to have shown to have understood, in particular if one reads my letters to the English on this subject ... Concerning Y.Hs' complaints about the poor returns in gold, I may indicate that from the books it appears that in a period of 8 years, viz. from 1668 to 1676, only 3,150 marks of gold have been sent from this Coast. And in those years there were just wars between the Natives themselves, whilst nowadays there are wars between the Europeans and the Natives as well as wars between the Natives themselves; hence Y.Hs. should very well realise that the present wars do not just cause impediments to Trade, but its very standstill ... and that the war continues as a result of the murder the English have committed on the King of Commany ... Y. Hs. are very well aware that D.-G. Sweerts has started the whole war against the Negroes in order to keep the French and the English away from Commany, and equally that General Smits has had a lot of trouble about that place with the English ... I don't see why the English are still trying to extend their possessions: the only profit which I believe the English expect from this Coast, is the recognition which they draw from a large number of ships dispatched to this Coast ... As for the Brandenburgers, who according to their own saying have not less than 60 men in their service at Frederiksburg, they have not had any ships of their own for years ... The third cause of the decline of the trade can be found in the multitude of interlopers ... in two days not less than 35 sails have been counted at the Brandenburgher fort, and the English say themselves that in a relatively short time not less than 80 recognition ships, from England as well as from Jamaica and Barbados, have arrived here. All of them are destined to trade gold as well as slaves, but this Coast cannot provide gold for so many traders. General Sweerts has, during his term of office, sold bedsheets to an amount of 685 marks of gold, at a rate of 34, 35 or even 40 ps. per benda, but in my term of office we have never given more than 32...

... I believe to remember quite well to have hears from the late oppercommies Jan Aynsworth how he found in the year 1693, anchored off Poppo with the ship "Rachel", such abundance of slaves at that place, and their owners so eager to sell them, that even without going on shore or paying the least customary duties, he got his entire load within 10 or 11 days, paying less for them than indicated on the pricelist...

... The English Premier Agent Buckeridge, who by his murdering the King of Commany is the cause of the earlier mentioned war, went subsequently to Annemaboe in order to move the Pantynse to help him against the Commanise. But although this request was accompanied by a promise of 300 bendas of

(WIC 97, cont.)

gold, they declined. On his way back, he visited Chief Merchant Bosman at Moure, where he complained about it, and made it known that he wished that I would co-operate with him, in particular in order to bear the war-expenses ... Later he has again expressed his desire that we should co-operate with him through the Negroes, in particular through Tekki Ankan ...

Van Sevenhuysen to Ass. of X, Elmina, 21st June 1700.

(Complains about laxity of slave trade ... of the 357 slaves bought by the Capt. of the "Graaff van Laanwyck" (cf. p.43) 102 had been bought on the Gold Coast) ... I therefore advise V.Hs. not to dispatch too many ships to this Coast for slaves, and rather to send them for that purpose to Angola. ... We do need more rifles here, because the Negroes inland seem to have a lot of war on their minds, in particular the Dinkirase, whose designs are however difficult to predict, as there are constantly rumours about them that they either want to fight with the Asjantese, or with the Fantynse, the Tjufferse, Adomse, Wassase or the inhabitants of the Ancoberse River (sic). And as long as those rumours circulate, there are no goods more current than fire arms. Other goods are little in demand or sold by interlopers ...

The Commanise have since my last letter of 15th April, been defeated, mainly because we are not provided with fire arms. Consequently I have not been able either to provide the merchants, who in spite of all English efforts to divert them, have come to this Castle over the Commany road, with what they asked for, and it is with the greatest regret that I have had to let them go to the English at Cabo Corse to buy their needs; this makes me very sad and heartbroken.

Van Sevenhuysen to Ass. of X, Elmina, 30th May 1701.

... At Commany the Negroes living under our fort have intercepted some water-barrels of an English barque ... The English merchants fired a cannon-ball through our fort, followed by 3 or 4 others fired into the village, with the result that one Negro was killed and another one wounded. ... the English answer our complaints with counter-complaints... Concerning the condition of Trade on this Coast, it is with the greatest sadness that we have to report, that it has never been so bad, as a result of the war between Assjantee and Dinkira, in which Akim got also involved, and consequently the three most powerful countries, which are also the richest in gold are now involved in heavy warfare. The Dinkirase have since long been very bellicose and proud of their victories, and so they have become unbearable to their neighbours. They have ruined the Akkanistse, the Tjufferse, the Adomse, the Wassase and the Awinse, but now it is their turn to take revenge on the Dinkirase. Most of them have decided to close all the passages to the beach, in order to cut off the supply of arms and ammunition to the Dinkirase, which has given to the Assjanteese, who are

are much stronger in men and well provided with everything, a great advantage, and if they know how to make use of it, both they and we ourselves would be happy, because as soon as they attack, all the other before mentioned states will attack Dinkira, with the result that it will be completely destroyed and that we could again trade; but on the other hand, if Assjantee, even if it is in such an advantageous position, does not dare to bite through, the others must also keep quiet, and in that case things would be even more miserable on this Coast for us, because in that case we cannot expect but a long-lasting war, and the Dinkirase will ruin all those who at present, by their closure of the paths, incommode them. Although everybody desires the downfall of such a fearsome and warmongering state as Dinkira, nobody seems to dare to declare that war, because the Dinkirase have always been lucky at war. If the Dinkirase won, this would be the death-blow to our trade, and I join my desires to those of the biggest party, although it would be much better if peace could be restored ...

... As a result of his utter greediness an Englishman anchored near the English fort at Infuma has bought a quantity of copper where he expected to buy 50 marks of gold ...

... The slave trade is in as bad a shape as the gold trade at the moment, although we thought that the present wars in the interior would rather promote the offer of slaves. But the English, competing among themselves, buy old ones and young ones, good ones and bad ones, paying as much as 2 to 3 oz. gold for them (more than 100 florins Dutch value), whilst in Suriname only fl 210.-. is paid for one Pieza d'India. It is my humble opinion that it would not be a bad thing to thwart, nay, ruin the English and other nations, if Y.Hs. could agree to open this Coast also to Dutch free-traders for a period of 2, 3 or 5 years, on a payment of 10 to 12 % recognition on the cargoes ...

Van Sevenhuysen to Ass. of X, Elmina, 16th November 1701.

... After his first visit on 26th September 1699 on behalf of His Majesty the King of France, in order to take possession of Assiné, the Chevalier Damon has on 2nd October 1700 returned in the company of earlier mentioned Negro called Hannibal, whom he brought to Assiné. He said that the King has allowed him to give away at that place gallantries to a value of more than 100,000 écus (which is unbelievable); they would consist mainly of some extraordinary medal or other piece of gold, offered to the Chief there, with images of the King, the Dauphin, the Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, Berry, Orleans and other Princes of the Blood, furthermore a heavy silver dinner-set, carpets, mirrors, chairs and other rich luxuries which are required for a royal household ... but from Axim it is reported that they are not only disturbed by peoples from the interior, but also that they are in Assiné deprived of the supply of victuals ...

It is again my sad duty to have to report on the bad condition of the trade; although the Assjanteese, quite in accordance with my and everybody's desire, have had a complete victory over the Dinkirase, yet we have on this very

(WIC 97 cont.)

day not even 2 marks of gold in cash. This is so because the Assjanteese are so full of the rich loot of the Dinkirase, that they do not think of trading, but rather spend their days lustily in the defeated country of Dinkira. All this has made us decide, on the advice of the principal Akkanists, on an enterprise which has so far never been undertaken, viz. to send ondercommies David Van Nyendael (who offered his service thereto) as an ambassador to the very feared Caboceer or Chief of Assjantee, after having provided him with an extensive instruction on how to behave himself, as well as with considerable presents for that Chief and his principal elders, all this in order that the wars may be ended once for all and the trade may be resumed ... We are full of hope, because the Accaniste, who were three years ago defeated by the Dinkirase, have been revenged, and seem again to be in a good shape. They seem to favour us much. They have always been great traders and they seem to enjoy great respect of the Assjantese ...

WIC 98.

W. De la Palma to Ass. of X, Elmina, 26th June 1702.

We arrived on 16th May 1702 on the Elmina roads, and the Hon. General Van Sevenhuysen came to receive us, about a pistol's shot's distance from the Castle; arrived in the Castle, H.E. the General requested the Council to convene, and in the presence of the Members of that Council I have given publicity to the orders and commissions of Their Highmightinesses the States-General ...

... Concerning the use of the cruiser "De Arent" for trade, I must say, with V.Hs' permission, that we must think twice before doing that, because if the Natives get to know what kind of ship it is, they will be afraid of going on board of it, as it is well known that on several Cruisers of the Noble Comp. excesses have been committed in the form of robbery of the Natives' gold and goods or of carrying them away in the slave-holds, and the promotion of private trade, contributing very little to the profit of the Noble Comp. ...

To our heart-rending sadness we have found trade in a condition of which no example has been seen since the days that this Coast came under V.Hs' authority; during a peiod of more than 1½ years not a single trader has dared to come to Elmina Castle; although some people pretend that this is so because of the continuous wars between the Asjantese and the Dinkirase, in reality the fault is with General Van Sevenhuysen, who has acted so rigorously that Elmina looks virtually devastated as a result of his robbing the inhabitants of their goods, his arrest of free Negroes and his selling them as slaves and his massacring of subject natives who came to seek protection under the Comp.'s forts. The Natives have generally been treated in such a harsh way, that they have become afraid of trading with the Dutch Nation. So we have found the Trade thoroughly disturbed and the Natives brutalized. If we had not been able to meet the Natives in a quiet way, their unbounded bloodthirstiness might have caused, to all appearances, a bloodbath on any day. Our predecessor, promoted to the

(VIC 98 cont.)

directorate of this Coast in spite of his premature knowledge of the affairs of this Coast, may have found it difficult to govern the Natives in accordance with their old customs and manners, and lacking better knowledge, he has left complete freedom to his boy, called Akim, and he has in fact allowed him to dominate him completely in his transactions with the Natives under our fortress at Elmina. Consequently more than two thirds of the Natives have felt compelled to retire under the protection of the English, Danes and Breandenburgers or to other refuges in order to escape their extortion of slaves and goods. So we have found Elmina quite depopulated, and in stead of the 12,000 able-bodied men of earlier days, we find that we would have to rely on a mere 1,000 in case of attack by another European Nation. With the most deplorable death of King William in mind, and the proclamation of Princess Anna as Queen on that same 24th March, and the great change which this must have brought about, we have very well understood that there are reasons to exercise all our powers in order to bring ourselves in a state of proper defence against all sorts of occurrences. Since no European Nation can feel itself safe in this Coast unless the surrounding Natives are on its side, I have applied myself with heart and soul to the procuration of the friendship of all neighbouring states towards the Noble Comp. On 29th May the Kings of Fetoe and Commendo have renewed the contracts of their predecessors in the presence of Fiscal Joan Rohart and oppercommies Nic. Poll. Afterwards we showed to them the presents in the form of the velvet (covered) chairs, and in order to animate them to continue the Trade with greater force, we have promised the aforesaid Kings to let them have those chairs when we see some fruits of that Trade.

Y.Hs. may wonder why we sent a petition for goods of which according to the accounts there is still a reasonable quantity in stock in the various factories; but these are so bad in their kind, that they are virtually unsalable; at the factory in Accra for instance, the trade seems to revive, and as 60 boxes of bedsheets are required there we find ourselves compelled to demand that quantity. The green perpetuans are equally so bad and miserably coarse, that no market in the world could be found for them, the more so as the English outdo us in fineness and size. I therefore inform Y.Hs. that I have decided to send back a quantity of spoilt rifles, powder and other goods.

The trade under Y.Hs' jurisdiction here in Guinea consists of three capital points, viz. that of the Gold Coast, the **forteful** continuation of the slave trade and the continuous navigation along the Bight and the Rivers. The Gold Coast is subject to many changes and uncertainties as a result of the continuous wars as a result of which the Natives have much deviated from their ordinary manner of trade; for this reason the market seems at present to demand only rifles and powder, and these only of the very best kind. For the Gold Coast trade we would need nothing but a good quantity of carabines of the kind of I enclose an example, fine long rifles, fine green perpetuans, green obtuse pipebeads

(WIC 98 cont.)

and yellow little beads ("olivetjes") or aheyne coffé. Although there is here abundance of rifles and carabines, we can't arouse the Natives' appetite for them, and if we want to sell some to them we therefore have to offer 21 for 2 oz. We have to put our prices at such a low level because of the great influx of English fine firearms if we want at least prevent other Nations from trading with the same methods and the best kind of merchandise.

Concerning the second chapter of the trade, the slave trade, that of ours should be considered of such a nature, that it should be carried on forcefully by a great number of ships. One might say that the annual provision for the colonies of Surinamen and Curaçao is satisfactory, but it is also definitely true that there are so many foreign Nations as well as Dutch and Zeland interlopers who profit by taking their slave loads to the Spanish West Indies. Y.Hs. would draw much greater profit from this trade if you sent a few more and bigger ships, and in that case we would advise to re-establish the Lodges at Ofra, Fida and Popo. But if Y.Hs. were to persist by resolving to be the masters of the importation of all cowries, buying them "à tou pris" (sic), we can assure you that in that way we would set the law to all Nations: they would have to regulate themselves to our will, and we would be complete masters of the slave trade. But I should add the request that in future that trade be entrusted to experienced captains only, and not to such men as Capt. Roem, of the "Beurs Van Amsterdam", who had never been to Fida before, and to whom a very valuable capital had been committed. We had to send him palm oil and milhio from here, whilst those commodities can be had much more easily and cheaply in Ardra, and he has in that way doubled the expenses. We have the greatest difficulties of the world with ships destined to the slave trade arriving here in Elmina with badly arranged cargoes or lacking all sorts of items, refusing to accept slaves who have been bought on this Coast. They want to make the greatest profit for themselves, and we can't correct them in this.

Finally, concerning the third chapter of the trade, that on the Bight and Rivers, we are of the opinion that annually four yachts would be needed. At present there are only two yachts, the "Anna Jacoba" and the "Neptunus", which have insufficient crew. In order not to have ships staioned fruitlessly on the roads, we have ordered the "Neptunus" to make a voyage along the coast; this yacht has left Elmina with an assorted cargo on 3rd June. If Y.Hs. were to decide to send us the required yachts, we could control the entire trade, thus preventing other Nations from taking part in it. In that case we could order those yachts ... to remain 3 or 4 months there in the rivers, till another yacht comes to take over coming from another river, like Rio del Rey, Calabry, Gabon or Cabo Lopez, so that we can keep continuous possession of our position there, and thus frustrate other Nations in their intentions ...

(WIC 98 cont.)

Concerning events which have lately taken place here on the Coast, I may present to you that ondercommies David Van Nyendael departed on 9th October Ao.Po. to Assiante on the orders of our predecessor. You may read about his activities there in the enclosed journal (not found), which begins on the last day of May 1701 and ends on this day. Aquamboe, a great kingdom at (sic) Accra which is very rich in gold is inseparably inclined (sic) towards the interest of the Company and trade is remarkably increasing there. At Commendo, 3 hours from Elmina, is the powerful trader Jan Cabes, nephew of the great Mercadoor Abam whom we animate with all our force towards the interest of the Company, but he seems to be afraid to come to Elmina, as a result of his fear of Willem Bosman, who, on the orders of Director-General Staphorst had the design of shooting him with a pistol. But before that could have been done, the aforesaid Bosman "ging het zyn zak los" (≡?) ... these are not the proper means to promote the trade. Y.Hs., receiving every day reports from whites as well as from natives that there is a general fright and fear of (meeting) General Van Sevenhuysen, we wish that he returns to the fatherland, as well as oppercommies Willem Bosman; otherwise the trade will never come back. They have only taken care of their private interest, and left the Company's goods rot in the storehouses. We have received requests from Christians as well as from Barbarians to tolerate a general amnesty.

In view of the general poor condition of the Trade, we have taken into consideration the planting of cotton and sugarcane. Concerning the cotton, with which our predecessor has started more than a year ago, we may say that it is reasonably successful, but, in order to continue this work with vigour we would need a very great number of slaves, which this Coast lacks completely. We have therefore resolved to send the yacht Anna Jacoba, as soon as it returns from its coastal voyage on which it has left on 4th April, to Fida in order to buy there 250 ps. slaves, in order to make use of them for the cultivation of cotton, on the banks of the river of Chama, as well as at Boutry and Axem. We may induce the natives, by our example that the planting of cotton is profitable, to grow those plants to their own profit, because this work can only be profitable when done in great quantity; we will require an instrument like the mills which are in use on Curaçao and other places, in order to purify the cotton.

We are of the opinion that it might be profitable to take an experiment with the planting of sugar on the riverbanks near Chama, Boutry and Axem; in order to get properly informed on its cultivation, we have, when we were sailing in the neighbourhood of the Canary Islands, already on 5th April sent a letter addressed to the Governor of Zurinaemen with the ship "Hercules". We may expect positive results from such an enterprise, if indeed the 12 requested experienced Negroes were sent to us from Zurinamen, who could inform the slaves here about the cultivation of sugarcane. I do understand that it would be very costly to erect sugar-mills, but it might be highly profitable in the future.

(WIC 98 cont.)

(Enclosure to W. De la Palma's letter of 26th June 1701)

List of Servants of the Company on this Coast.

At Elmina: W. De la Palma and	at Moure: 3 commiesen & Assistants
10 High Officials	<u>10</u> soldiers
5 Assistants	13
2 Auditors	
11 "Trynspersonen"	at Cormantyn: 1 Assistant
(craftsmen?)	<u>12</u> soldiers
1 standardbearer	13
<u>64</u> soldiers	
94	at Apam: 1 commies
at Commany: 1 commies	1 Assistant
1 assistant	<u>7</u> soldiers
<u>8</u> soldiers	9
10	at Accra: 1 commies
at Cama: 1 commies	2 Assistants
<u>5</u> soldiers	<u>19</u> soldiers
6	22
at Saccondee: 2 assistants	on St. Iago Hill: 1 commander
<u>2</u> soldiers	<u>16</u> soldiers
4	<u>17</u>
at Boutry: 1 commies	navigating persons: 34
<u>5</u> soldiers	David Van Nyendael: Ondercommies is
6	Asjante 1
at Axem: 1 commies	
2 assistants	
<u>6</u> soldiers	
9	

Total: 238 persons

Report by Fiscal Rademacher, Chief Merchant Bosman and Oppercommies Poll, 4th May 1701 (to Van Sevenhuysen)

... Accra could well be defended if only 25 men could be stationed on each of the bays (?) of Socco in the West and Labade in the East, on condition that the Natives kept neutral ... but as we are fully aware that the Coast is at present ill provided with men, and that the maintenance of our fort there is of the highest importance, it is necessary to look for other means, of which two come to our mind: the first is to move the Aquamboe King Ado to help us, which would be quite easy now that he is staying in our fort, and in fact has sworn to come **personally to our aid with a sufficient number of men.** In that case the fort would indeed be in no danger of attack; but in exchange we have also promised that King to protect him against all his enemies, to take his, and his under-king's effects in safeguard and to return them to them when they come to claim them. Even if the said King does not keep his word when we need his help, we have yet another safeguard in the form of the young men of the village of our under-king, if we provide them at least with 500 good rifles and 2,000 pounds of gunpowder. Even then we could very well withstand any attack from land or sea.

(WIC 98 cont.)

W. De la Palma to Ass. of X, Elmina, 17th July 1702. Copy of De la Palma's letter to Van Nyendael (n.d.)

... Y.H.'s first letter of 5th May 1702 has been received by Messrs. Van Sevenhuysen and Bosman, as appears from the journal Mr. Van Sevenhuysen has handed over to me, in which it has been inserted. On 16th July we have received y.H.'s letter of 22nd June, from which we see that matters have changed into your advantage; in order to make Y.H. acquainted with the affairs of this Coast, we may inform you, that we left Vlissingen on 19th March 1702 and arrived here safely on 16th May. We experience that the Trade and the Natives have been totally ruined as a result of the robbery of their gold, goods and blood, and I see that the Natives have been frightened away from any dealings with the Dutch. I believe that Y.H. knows well whose fault this is, and I do not have to tell you more on that matter. But the Natives say that the broker Akim has been the chief executioner, and therefore it is his master who is the chief culprit. Messrs Van Sevenhuysen and Bosman have been repatriated on 27th July 1701, with 50 marks of gold.

Although we have never been able quite to penetrate into the background of the reasons for y.H.'s embassy, we shall wait for y.H.'s return and a detailed report. Y.H.'s last letter, sent through the boy of Crantje, has been transmitted by my boys Jan and Affo, when on meeting them on their way to Accany with brandy and velvet cloths he showed them his little cap. They had been sent to the three Heads of Accany, viz. Tiboy, Awaree and Intimme Coffy, in order to find out what advantage we could draw from them ... We see from Y.H.'s letter, that you got permission from the Ruler Zay, and therefore our aim to open the passages through Accany and the present circumstances will much facilitate Y.H.'s return. We shall send the required provisions of tobacco, medicines, butter, one crate of distilled liquid, and, if we can get one, a red velvet cloth, as well as a black cocked hat with a red plume, a copy of the two I have brought for my own use. If it happens that my boy is received by the Ruler Zay in Y.H.'s presence, Y.H. may announce to him in our name, that in the ten years that we have been at Elmina, we have tried as best as we could as to do well to all Traders, that I have learnt of the great power and wealth of the Ruler Zay, and that I wish that his greatness increase and express itself in the greatness of the Trade which he may bring here to the Castles; and if he desires to send a son hither, he may be assured that our boys Affo and Jan will accompany him, and we shall treat him as a Prince of the Land. Y.H. should inform the Ruler, that we have, on his recommendation to open the passages of Dinkira and 'tJuffer, made proper arrangements, even before having received Y.H.'s letter, by summoning in the Kingdom of Commany the Kings of Saboe, Fetu and the mentioned Kingdom, as well as the Braffoes of 'tJuffer and Cabesterra, and that these Kings and Braffoes, as soon as the kermis is over, will come to Elmina, so that we are confident

that Y.H. can pass through safely. We also send hereby a costly linen cloth embroidered with gold and silver for the Prince, son of the Zay, or, if he does not have one, for his wife.

The Gentlemen Directors (read: officials) who in the past have used their authority only in their own advantage, are now no longer able to extort from the Natives their goods, gold and blood, and under our authority they will see nothing but a general affection and desire to revive the Trade. ... We are at present already indebted to the Mina storehouse to an amount of 15 marks of gold, but our emoluments over the past two months amounts to only 1 mark 4 oz., so that Y.H. may imagine what great profit we make nowadays. As soon as Y.H. returns from his good offices in the various countries, we shall keep open for Y.H. a place as Commies for the continuation of the Trade, so that Y.H. may enjoy a proper recompensation for the resolution which Y.H. took so courageously.

"Enclosure "M" in De la Palma to Ass. of X 17th July 1702:

To-day, 10th June 1702 appeared before me, J.Rademacher, Fiscal at Elmina, the Makelaer Akoe concerning 17 bendas gold he had provided to buy merchandise ... that the former Makelaer Akim, slave of the former Director-General Van Sevenhuysen, has in fact ordered his people to take away all the merchandise which had been bought with the mentioned quantity of gold, and that he (Akim) has delivered those goods afterwards to the mentioned General, who confiscated them on the spot on the pretext that it had been a transaction of prohibited trade. The said Akoe declares furthermore that it is true that Akim had told him, Akoe, on an earlier occasion that he, Akim, in the company of General Van Sevenhuysen had bought on board of two Zealand interlopers anchored before or near the English Castle Cabo Corse, perpetuans and other merchandise for the Coast trade to a value of 16 bendas ... and that at the time that King Abetecki of Commanie had come in the garden of Elmina in order to make a new peace, all the said interloper goods have been brought to Elmina on the orders of General Van Sevenhuysen, and that they have been stored in Akim's house...

(follows a "List of Pretensions against the former D.-G. Van Sevenhuysen" in which V.S. is accused of i.a. "falsification of 100 bendas worth of gold, on behalf of the Commanie King Abetecki for his war, and the extortion of various sums from not less than 41 persons)

... Akoe declares furthermore, that when there was war between Abetecki and Teckiankan, the General had sent the Makelaer Akim, together with him, Akoe, as well as Claas, the General's boy, to 'tJuffer, in order to ask the people there to march out in aid of mentioned Teckiankan; that the General had sent with the mentioned persons 11 bendas of gold for that purpose, and that the 'tJufferse have accepted that gold, on the condition that they would return it if they did not engage themselves in that war ... the said General therefore has to claim those 11 bendas back.

WIC 228; Instructions' Book 1664-1702.

Draft Circular by W. De la Palma (n.d.)

To all those who shall see or hear read out the present announcement, salute !

Whereas we have found in the period of 6 months after we landed on this Coast a general decay and ruin of the Trade, not only because of the evil conduct of the Natives but also because we find that some Christians have become very intimate and familiar with the Barbarians and Natives with no other purpose than to benefit from that familiarity in order to execute all sorts of frauds and extortions to the prejudice of the Interest of the Noble Company,

and that several Christians, making use of the right to take some goods out of the Company's storehouses in order to let them be sold by their boys or slaves at other factories use the occasion to carry on their private trade with interlopers and to board un-free ships in order to do the prohibited trade to the great prejudice of the Company, whilst if they are caught they pretend that it is being done in the name of their black boys,

Therefore is it, that the Council has deliberated and in order to prevent any further frivolous excuses of that kind, has issued the following regulations which shall have to be obeyed by the Comp.'s servants:

1. All Chief Merchants and Members of the Council on this Coast will henceforth be allowed to take into their service at most 2 black boys for their private use;
2. All Merchants or Commanders on the outer-forts will not be authorised to maintain more than one black boy in their private service. Infraction of this rule will be punished with the confiscation of such excess servant(s) on behalf of the Poor ...
3. If a black boy is caught in the act of private trade ... he shall at once be sold away as a slave, or incase he escapes he shall be outlawed, and he who shoots him or brings him back alive will be recompensated with one benda of gold.
4. From now onwards all servants of the Company will have to desist from taking any goods from the store houses or let them sell by their boys or by their whores. Goods will only be sold to black merchants coming to the fortresses of the Comp. straight from the interior, and servants of the Comp. shall no longer be allowed to defraud the Noble Comp. through the refinements of their black whores and boys.
5. But considering that there are some Merchants who may wish to send his servant into the land with some presents for approaching traders, it will be permitted to keep a boy for that purpose ...

WIC 98.

W. de la Palma, to Ass. of X, Elmina, 10th October 1703.

... At the time that we were Commies at Offra in Ardra, in 1685, we were able to dispatch a ship with 500 slaves for hardly more than 35 to 36 guilders a piece, but nowadays the market there has been spoilt to such an extent, that each slave makes a price of 100 guilders and more. It is the same with the slave trade in Angola ... We have dispatched Jacob Van den Broucke with a proper Instruction to Fida, in order to find out if it would be possible to re-establish our slave trade there in a proper shape. He reported that he has been received there quite satisfactorily by the King and other Chiefs when he presented them with a golden chair covered with red velvet, and that on the orders of that same King he, as well as the English and the French Factors in Fida, has had to make an agreement for the Freedom of the Roads and the Trade at Fida. Commies Van den Broucke has taken detailed informations for drafting a cargo-list for the purchase of 500 Ps. slaves, who would not cost more than fl 44½ a piece. He returned with 122 Ps. slaves to replace old and deceased slaves on this Coast as well as for the planting of cotton at various places near factories which may be appropriate for such an enterprise, having left there orders for the establishment of a considerable lodge to the provisional ondercommies Jan de Vries. As it has pleased Y.Hs. to entrust us with the direction of the slave trade, we have appointed Commies Van den Broucke under Y.Hs' approbation, after having asked all Members of the Council and Chief Merchants, all of whom refused however to take up that appointment as none of them had ever been in Fida. Commies Van den Broucke has gone thither on 7th June 1703. ... This being the beginning or foundation with which we hope to start the slave trade, we shall see if with all possible caution we could re-establish the lodges at Offra in Ardra and at Popo. If this is going to be effective, we can assure Y.Hs. that we shall make the slave trade flourish again.

We have understood from various reports, from whites as well as from Natives on this Coast, that several captains have sunk so low as to address themselves on our behalf to the French Merchant there, one Monsieur Bouchet, with the humble request if he would mind to take care of their trade, and how the said merchant has cheated them ... This is the main reason why lately the slave trade has been so costly to the Company.

As a result of various successive reports and a Resolution of the Council we have considered it necessary and demanded by the interest of the Company to prevent the French with the means we have from taking possession of the Mountain of Ancober, as well as to find out on that occasion whether anything could be successfully undertaken against Fort St.Louis at Assiné, which, to our regret has not been the case. Consequently we found ourselves also compelled to go to Accra, because the French had made several requests to the King of Aquamboe to allow them to build a fort or stronghold to the leeward of Fort Crèvecoeur. I have made

(WIC 98 cont.)

special efforts to turn his mind from that, because King Ado of Aquamboe had just died and his brother had succeeded him. ...

On 12th July 1703 we received information from Commies J.D. Ingelby at Axim that there were four French ships near the French fort at Assiné, and that (their captains) bragged that they would attack us, and that in revonge for the attack we had undertaken on their fort on 12th November 1702 they would now attack one of our forts. Upon this we had ourselves transported to Axim through Commendo, Anta, Adom, Axim and Ancober, where we found great enthousiasm to assist us against the French. The French, when they had got knowledge of this anchored off Jumoree, 8 hours from Axim, have evacuated the fort St. Louis at Assiné, taking with them the entire garrison and all the ammunition, abandoning it after having spiked the cannons. It was an extraordinary coincidence that the ships "De Tyger", "Carolus Secundus" and "Christiaen", coming from the fatherland and having reached that point, were warned by the faithful Negroes of Jumoree not to sail any further because there were 4 big French ships on the leeward of Cabo Apollonia. The French sailed subsequently to Accra, where they requested the King of Aquamboe for permission to build a fortress in his land, either at Chabra or at Ponnie, 6 miles from Accra. But on 13th August the Agents of Cabo Corso informed us in a letter that they had received a report from their factor at Accra, that the French had sailed straight to Fida in order to buy slaves. Considering the strong position that Nation has acquired in Angola, we cannot but conclude than that France has the intention of taking a similar position in Fida, and to attach the Natives in both places to their interest by means of gifts; if the Dutch and English do not take countermeasures soon, it will be difficult to drive them out again. (The King of) France imagines that he will be so victorious for his son's son, the Duke of Anjou, that he will conquer the entire district of the Spanish West Indies, and he knows that for the cultivation of those lands he will every year need an immense number of slaves, and therefore he has chosen the best places: Angola and Fida. ...

Concerning the Trade on Bight and Rivers, we doubt not that Y.Hs. will enjoy the required benefits, because Y.Hs. may please consider that if we have been able to collect in the time of 10 months not less than 38,000 lbs ivory and crevell (Small & broken tusks) with two old and tired yachts whose pumps could hardly keep them afloat, how much more could Y.Hs. not expect from three good little ships with a proper cargo! The factory at Accra alone has produced during our presence there more than 240 marks of gold, bought mostly with bedsheets, half "Guinezen", "Bree Tapzels", rifles and gunpowder ...

We shall execute Y.Hs' order to make the King of Commany arrest Eduard Barter or deliver him up to the English. Barter has indeed always been the principal cause/^{of the troubles} which have developed in Y.Hs' Trade. Although he is a naturalised Englishman and married in London, the English have decided to take everything away from him (note in margin: died at Commendo on 15th

(WIC 98 cont)

July) We wish to live in good harmony with the English, in particular in order to oppose with them the interlopers; but considering the infinite number of 10% ships which continue to trade on this Coast from the whole of England, Jamaica, Barbados and other English Colonies and are destined to the slave trade, we believe that it will be difficult to convince the Royal Company. When General Brown arrives, now expected any day, we shall however make another attempt.

With the present ship we send also a sample of the cotton which we have collected before the arrival of the "Sonn". We have during the last heavy rains made a start with the planting of cotton on the hills to the North and Northeast of the St. Jago Hill, in the same way as it is being done at Boutry, Chama and Saccondée.

In Assiné we have applied our industry to arouse some differends between the Caboceers and the French stationed there ... with the result that they, the French became aware that they would never be able to do there a profitable trade. It is also remarkable, that during our attack on Assiné, the Chief, Acassiny, has demanded from the French a recognition of 500 bendas of gold before he would gather his people to assist them. But when all had been done on the part of the Negroes, the French later failed to pay, with the result that broils have developed, and the French eventually decided to abandon their fort, leaving their cannon and other fixtures behind, escaping in the silence of the night with great danger to their ships. In the high surf they have lost four whitemen. Because they were so badly in debt with the Negroes (and also because of our attack as Y.Hs. may well understand) they had to retire so confusedly. The Caboceer Acassiny, who is supreme in Assiné, has announced that we could be assured, that if we wished to take Possession there, he would be happy to start negotiations with us. But lack of men and the most required necessities make it impossible for us to do that. Socco, where the French have made their fort, situated on the route from the rich gold lands of Dinkira and Aweyne, and virtually the first place of the Gold Coast where the interlopers ususally call, would be very useful and it would also be to the great convenience of the respective Negroes there if we took it in our possession. We are waiting for Y.Hs' orders in this respect. We have made an agreement with the English Agents and with the Provisional Brandenburg General Mr. Joh. Muntz to make it impossible for the French if they were to attempt to ensconce themselves again in any place here.

We have been honoured with the visit of an ambassador from the King of Popo, and later on also with one from the King of Great Ardra, both with the urgent request that we establish at each of the mentioned two places a lodge manned by two of our servants for the continuation of the slave trade, with the assurance that we would enjoy their preference above all other Nations; how relevant those offers are, could be concluded from informations we received from one of our black servants, native of that area and therefore well knowing those states, whom we sent thither on board of the ship "Christina", which left from here on 21st August for

(WIC 98 cont.)

Popo, in order to find out cautiously, and whilst offering some pleasant presents to the mentioned two Kings, whether such could be done in good faith without arousing the jealousy of the King of Fida; we have also written on this subject to Commies Van den Broucke. From the enclosed petition for the purchase of 500 ps. slaves Y.Hs. may see that at present one can do with fl 20,000 as much as one could do with fl 33,000 in previous years.

.....

Enclosure No. 2 to W.de la Palma to Ass. of X, 10th Oct. 1703:

Report by Jac. Van den Broucke & Nic. Du Bois on their Voyage to Aquamboe, dd. 27th March 1703.

On 22nd March 1703 we departed per hammock from Crèvecoeur at 4,30 AM in Northeastern direction. Till noon we passed through uncultivated countryside, and arrived then at a village called Fetubercou, which is only inhabited by slight and poor people. The road along which we marched (the slaves told us that they could no longer carry us) was on both sides planted with fairly tall trees standing at a distance of about 12 feet (from each other?). Half an hour later we arrived at another village, called Ouma, where the Caboccer was called Assemeny, who, after having received us with three guns of salute accompanied us to the King. About half past one we arrived at a big square in the crom of the King, where we had to wait till somebody was sent to us on behalf of the King. The King's swordbearer then came to tell us that the King was waiting for us, and all of us then went to the King whom we found on a big square, sitting with his brother under an umbrella ("Quitasoll"). We gave him the greetings from the General and we made the Makelaer Pieter Pasop tell him the reason of our coming, about which he was entirely satisfied. The King answered that the Gentlemen of the Royal Company, when they were in Accra lately, had asked him not less than four times to come ...

After having stayed there till 5 PM and having honoured him with the presents which we had taken with us, he offered us a big pot of palm-wine and 2 goats. We then left for the lodgings which had been prepared for us.

23rd March. To-day the King assured us, that he would accompany us to the beach. In the afternoon the King came personally to visit us in our lodgings, asking us to be happy with him; so we sat down under some trees and drank a calabash of palmwine.

24th March. We wrote to H.H. the General with a request to send to pieces of serge for the Makelaer Pieter Pasop and went for a walk in the village. We came into a well-built avenue swarming with people. Everybody had a sword in his hand, men as well as women. We asked Pieter Pasop what this meant, and he informed us that the mother of one of the Caboccers had died, and that they would behead some male and female slaves. Indeed, we saw shortly afterwards two male slaves with vegetables around their necks being led to the slaughter, and soon again a male slave and a girl, all whose heads were shortly afterwards carried past us, which barbaric

manners we could not but behold with the greatest horror. Therefore we went away from there as soon as we could and went to the King in order to wish him a good day; but he was not well, mainly because of heavy drinking and his jumping about yesterday.

25th March. ... we saw the King's slaves passing by with cutlasses on their way to clear the bush, and shortly afterwards the mentioned Caboccer Assemanny came with some men who brought a letter from the General.

26th March. Pieter Pasop informed us about the date of the departure of the King of Aquamboe. We left the Aquamboe country about 3 o'clock and arrived safely between 10 and 10.30. As a further description of the land is in fact not needed in this kind of report, it may suffice to state that it is a good land, but that it has remained un-cultivated as a result of the laziness of its inhabitants.

Enclosure No. 3. Provisional Instruction for Jac. Van den Broucke, Commies for the Slave Trade, dd. 2nd April 1703.

Art. 1. The Commies shall sail to the leeward and be careful to check the position of his ships, so as not to sail past Popo, Fida or Ardra.

2. Arrived at Popo he shall greet the King or one of his Captains in the name of the General, offer presents, and announce that he has orders to establish a lodge for the Noble Comp. in order to revive the old Trade, and he shall ask for the King's assistance to build there a considerable lodge.

3. He shall acquaint himself with the principal favourites and grandees of the King and take informations about the general conditions of the slave trade and about the conditions in the states of Fida and Ardra, and find out whether the King of Great Ardra lives in great friendship and familiarity with the King of Fida ...

5. He shall take informations on the first occasion about the price and assortments of all goods which are being traded there.

6. All the slaves he may buy should be healthy and "deliverable", and if they do not make the Piece d'India, he shall timely inform the General, as they may not be debited to the accounts of the Comp.

7. He shall try to find out where the kind of indigo with which the Natives dye their cloths can be found, and also how leather is worked there.

8. He is hereby ordered to buy samples of all rare animals, birds, fishes and quadrupeds.

9. He shall make notes on all extraordinary encounters and the condition of the lands, people &c.

10. He shall try to convince the King of Great Ardra and plan with him how the Dutch Company could again establish a lodge at Offra, and if the King were to come at once to greet him, Commies, in Ardra, he, Commies, should before all arrange that in Ardra, before his departure two Great Captains be surrendered to him as hostages.

11. Coming from Popo, Fida and Offra he should watch and speculate which place would be best to chose for the building of a lodge.

12. He shall act with the greatest caution and live in good friendship with the English factor in Fida or Offra, but take care that he does not

(WIC 98 cont.)

become too familiar with them, which would enable the English to impede the Dutch Trade ...

Enclosure No. 4: Report by W. De la Palma about his Voyage to the Factories at Apam and Accra from 15th March to 7th April 1704.

... On 17th March the Danish Governor, J. Traan, accompanied by J. Hantius, factor on behalf of the English Royal Comp., came to welcome us. The brother of the Aquamboe King Aquando, called Aschanedou came also to greet us, and we requested ^{him} to come next Monday when we intend to begin to settle the differends which exist here at present. He was a young man of about 20 years, and crownprince of the Aquamboe empire, and like his other brother a great friend of our Nation. (follows a report of de la P.'s encounter with Governor Traan, whom he calls "a silly Danish ox" who became drunk and said all sorts of nonsense)

20th March. We sent a messenger to the King of Aquamboe in order to inform him about our arrival and to request him to come here.

21st March. Messengers from the Aquamboe King come to tell that that King is pleased to have learnt of our arrival, but that he desires that someone among the whitemen comes to collect him. The Chiefs of Labbade came to greet us, and promised everything they could do to achieve a good Trade. We decided to send Commies J. Van den Broucke with Secretary Nic. Du Bois to Aquamboe in order to collect the King. We honoured the King's brother with a fine piece of cloth, because after all, that is what they are always after. The Great Mercador Pieter Pasop, who is a brother-in-law of the aforesaid King, will go ahead of Van den Broucke & Dubois. This enterprise should be considered of great importance, because our fort being situated between those of the Danes and the English, they will do all they can in order to make us hated among the Natives. After the death of King Ado, the English Agents Hicks and Douze left about six weeks ago for Accra, and after their arrival they have asked three times the King to come, but they were told that he was not intending to come to them, but if the Dutch Admiral called him, that he would do that, and so, after a short stay and many expenses they had to return unsuccessfully.

23rd March. We received information from Van den Broucke & Du Bois that they had arrived in Aquamboe.

27th March. Van den Broucke & Du Bois have returned with their report and information that the King was at only a gun's shot distance from here. The latter came indeed about 8 o'clock with a small suite to greet us, showing much inclination towards our Nation. I honoured him, on Y. Hs' behalf, with a chair covered with green velvet and gilt woodwork, of which he was very satisfied. Nothing else happened.

28th March. Several caboceers from Aquamboe and surrounding lands came and we honoured them with various presents. The King would wait for another day or two before making palaver, because other caboceers were still expected.

30th March. To-day the King of Aquamboe came into the fort with his Chiefs in order to start the palavers, but he was so soaked that he could hardly

(WIC 98 cont.)

speak, and therefore we are compelled to wait another day.

1st April. When we inquired from the Accrase why they had called me so often, they say that they don't know of anything, and that the King of Aquamboe has never treated them badly.

3rd April. In the afternoon the Aquamboe King Aquando came with his Caboceers in order to sign the agreement which has been made with him, which was indeed done, except that the King wanted to keep for himself the freedom to go on board of our ships, which we were willing to allow, as we were not provided with any merchandise ...

Enclosure No. 5: Agreement between Willem de la Palma in the name of Their Highmightinesses of the States-General of the United Netherlands as well as Their General Chartered West Indian Company on the Coast of Africa on the one side, with Aquando, King of Aquamboe as well as his Councillors and Principal Chiefs on the other, that:

1. An eternal and durable peace is hereby made.
2. The aforesaid King of Aquamboe and the people of Accra living under our fortress who should be obedient to that King will bring all their differends, if any arise before the Merchant, and settle them in his presence.
3. the King shall take care that none of the Caboceers and Chiefs under his authority will close the passages for the traders.
4. nobody shall be allowed to make palaver but those who are legally authorised to do so on behalf of the King by showing his cane or staff.
5. Also nobody will be authorised to buy goods from interlopers on his behalf, and if the Company in case of shortage of certain commodities is not able to provide them, the King shall have to send first of all his servant to the commanding Merchant at the fort at Accra to inform him about that.
6. The King promises not to enter into any war out of his own will, but in case a war against those who want to disrupt the trade is necessary, General Willem De la Palma promises on behalf of the above mentioned to assist him with 100 young men fully armed, as well as 3,000 lbs gunpowder and 300 lbs bullets.
7. The D.-G. promises that/^{concerning} the boat which the Mina Negroes still have to pay to him, being 9 slaves (sic) he shall do his best to arrange that he will be paid.
8. The King shall have to allow, and eat assurance (take an oath) upon it, that all those who go to buy goods from interlopers and who are not his subjects, and bring (those goods) with daring self-assurance into the bay of the Dutch fort, that they are arrested and their goods confiscated, of which the King will profit by receiving one third (of those goods), in order to prevent that evil trade which does nothing but cause the ruin of the Dutch Company.
9. The King will give into the hands of the General one of his next of kin as a hostage .
10. In case the trade flourishes at this factory, he, King, will enjoy above

(VIC 98 cont.)

the ordinary "kostgeld" (subsistence allowance) of 20 oz. of gold, another amount of 20 oz. for every 40 marks which according to the bimonthly extracts have been traded.

Made in the presence of Mic. Du Bois and H.A. Michielsen on this 3rd April 1703 in the Comp.'s fort Crèvecoeur,

(sigd) W. De la Palma, Du Bois, Michielsen & Aquando (his X mark).

Enclosure No. 5: "Extract-Resolution : Regulations for Capts. Thos. Valies of the "Beschermer", Gillis Joosten van den Brandt of the "Arent" and Wouters of the "Peynenburg", destined to attack the French fort at Assiné" (NB. These instructions are clearly made for an aggressive expedition; each capt. was to select 30 soldiers for the purpose.. The "Mount Ancober" for whose protection De la Palma pretended the expedition was principally equipped, is not even mentioned in these instructions)

Enclosure No. 6: Mic. Du Bois, Mittle Socco, t6 de la Palma, 11th Nov. 1702
11th November 1702. ... I have transmitted Y. H.'s message to the Caboccer Accassiny, that Y. H. had sent us for their benefit, in order to liberate them from people who, if they were given the time to make themselves strong in this Coast, would submit all of them to the most miserable slavery of the world. But he (Accassiny) answered that he had taken an oath on the arrival of the French, that he would never, to eternity, chase them, or permit that such would happen because of any other Nation. I answered him that he was not bound to that oath, because the French had broken theirs as they had sworn always to bring sufficient merchandise, and they had not done so.

Concerning the French fort, I have not been able to get any further information than that it seems to be of a triangular shape ...

Report by Valies & Dubois (Elmina, dd. 12th December 1702)

In order not to let this whole journey be fruitless, we decided to bring all three ships, the "Arent", the "Peynenburg" and the "Beschermer", as close to the fort as possible in order to ruin it. Our ships continued to bombard it till noon. Considered that we had hit the French fort so badly, that its ordnance could no longer be used, and that we had seen with our own eyes that the French fled from their fortress taking all their goods with them, we thought of making a landing; but considered that the surf was very heavy and that our people were very tired because of the continuous bombardment, we proposed to leave that to the following day. But the mine-master Abraham Heytens solicited the General several times, and although His Hon. refused several times, the former insisted, saying: "I would rather lose my head than not take the fort now. If we don't take it now the General will have the name of having wanted to prevent the success of our victory." Eventually the General gave in, and about 4 PM a landing was made with 4 canoes and 2 sloops. But as soon as the first canoe went through the surf, far below the fort and beyond the reach of our ships' guns, it capsized, and suddenly the barbarians, hundreds of whom

(WIC 98 cont.)

had hid themselves in the bush, emerged, and attacked the people of the canoes. Near all of those who had been on board of the four canoes, among them 17 soldiers of the liina garrison who had done nothing but calling out that they should allow them to swim ashore, were massacred. It has been learnt that the mine-master Abr. Meytens and the General's personal servant, Jan de Paauw are kept prisoners in the French fort. During the entire attack, not a single shot has been fired from the French fort ...

WIC 484; Correspondence Chamber Amsterdam.

Willem de la Palma to Presidial Chamber, 10th October 1703.

At present there is a reasonable prospect for general peace, and to our knowledge none of the black Nations between Axim and Accra is at the moment in arms. We also try, with threats and promises to divert them as much as possible from that, and although we could not possibly prevent wars in the interior, yet the authority of our Great Makelaer Pieter Pasop has made such a deep impression on the Natives, not only due to his well known courage and knowledge of black warfare, but also to his being related to the powerful King of Aquamboe, that because of this black Pieter Pasop they have laid down arms. We therefore believe that we are now to some extent master of the balance, peace and quietness of the Gold Coast. In order to increase trade, we have also summoned the Akannist Captains from their land, in order to know from them what suggestions they could make for the revival of the trade of earlier days. They declared frankly that all the traders of D'Inquirá, 'tJuffer, Assjante and other states were equally tired of war, and that the D'Inquirase, when the bad season comes to an end -recently rain has fallen like a deluge and the paths have become inaccessible- will come to the beach, but that in the beginning the trade will not be as great as when we had the honour of being Chief Merchant here at Elmina, in the year 1690-'91, when just in two extracts more than 500 marks of gold used to go to our coffers, because most of the old or deceased ones have now been replaced by young ones who have no experience in trade. This was also affirmed at the arrival of ondercommies David Van Nyendael, to whom we had sent a delegation on 2nd July 1702 in the Assjantese land, with presents for all the Chiefs through whose states trade has to pass. Mentioned Van Nyendael arrived here on 12th October 1702, physically wasted, and died already on the 20th of the same month. We had great expectations of a detailed report we hoped to receive about all the rare experiences during his journey of a year, but at the time of his arrival he was not able to tell anything about them.

As we expect a flourishing trade, we request V.Hs. humbly to send us the items of enclosed petition, in order to encourage the chiefs of the trading peoples the more in the interest of the Company with some presents, such as 18 "kasketten" or helmets made of thin gilt brass, with plumes, and 6 gilt chairs, such as were presented to the Kings of Commany, Aquamboe and Fida; because without some presents the trade has no force. In the last 15 months trade on the Gold Coast has ameliorated, wars have been

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settled and peace has been restored. Of the trade in neighbouring lands we can't say much but that we have not been able to to pursue it in th desired way because of the lack of yachts, men and merchandise; concerning the slave trade, we would like to stress that that trade should be considered as the most important and necessary trade of Y.Hs., and that it has so much ameliorated that the captains who two years ago, and in fact still quite recently, were allowed to pay 70 to 80 florins for one slave, manage to buy them now for less than 44½ florins a piece, as appears from the petitions of Commies Van den Broucke.

Nic. Poll to the Presidial Chamber, Elmina, 1st February 1703.

... I have learnt to my greatest grief that from this Coast has been written about my person that I would be a great debaucher, a drunkard who frequents harlots. I am not surprised about this, but I shall demonstrate to Y.Hs. how this godless libel has developed. ... when General De la Palma was to arrive on this Coast, of which we were well informed here, Mr. Van Sevenhuysen has demanded from me to sign a false attestation as if I had not paid to him 1½ oz gold on each slave I had bought for the Noble Company at Fida, amounting altogether to 30 marks of gold; I have absolutely refused to sign that attestation, on which he swore that he would cause my ruin. I have been for eleven good years in the service of the Noble Comp., first as a bookkeeper, then as merchant in the Bight of Benyn and Guinea, as well as at Commanie, Kormantyn, Moure and at present at Elmina, but principally in the slave trade at Fida... Concerning the accusation that I am a drunkard, I readily admit that I do from time to time drink a good glass of wine, and also that generally I take in the morning a little glass of brandy or other "distilled waters", but I would like to know a person in this melancholy land who doesn't do that; it is even necessary for the very preservation of one's health. Considering that often one cannot get proper European food and drinks, and that one has then to satisfy one'self with drinking water, it is not surprising that at the arrival of ships or on other occasions that good drinks could be had, from time to time there have been some excesses, but never it will be proved truthfully that for that reason I would have neglected my duties ...

De la Palma to Chamber Amsterdam, Elmina, 31st August 1704.

... On 25th August the "De Sonn" left Fida with on board 513 Ps. slaves. 82 had already died (whilst the ship was "lying in trade"?). The French, when they fit out their annual fleet for Fida, arrange it in such a way, that htey arrive in the monts of June and July on the Upper Coast, where they provide themselves with water and fire wood in the Rio Cester, then they give a "general scrubbing" to the Coast, during which this time they have captured not less than 9 ships. We therefore are of opinion that it would be in the Comp.'s interest if our fleets were fitted out in such a way, that in May or the beginning of June six ships, apart from

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the Cruiser, would be ready to sail to this Coast . We also humbly request Y.Hs. to provide us with more men. Then we would be able, that is, if we get also a good quantity of the arms of which we hereby send a sample, with gunpowder, to send all of them within 4 months full of slaves to the Colonies of Curaçao, Suriname and Ysekepe. The trade here on the Coast has so far been rather meagre, not as a result of wars, like the ones which were started by my predecessors for their own profit, but because the English send such extraordinarily strong fleets to this Coast. Since my last letter to Y.Hs. (28/2/104) more than 80 of their ships have passed here, of which 20 have sailed to Fida. Yet, they come with current merchandise for the Gold Coast, such as fine arms, gunpowder &c. , paying for slaves up to 2 oz. 12 Angels or 3 oz gold-value for a male slave. The Negroes, seeing this, concentrate themselves nowadays much more on the slave than on the gold trade on the whole, as they see that the former is more profitable to them. Moreover, there have continuously been at least 5 or 6 interlopers on the Coast, and they have at many places had to sell their goods against Dutch value.

(complains that his private mail has been kept for more than 8 monts...)

This is not the first time that I am treated in such a way; something similar happened to me in the year 1685, when I had to give up the factory in Andra, for the contemplation of others, in spite of the fact that it had been restored by me and that the Company recovered a loss of 250 slaves ...

WIC 98; (from:) W. De la Palma to Ass. of X, 31st August 1704.

... Y.Hs. must have seen often enough in our successive letters, that the slave trade is considered by us as the unique cornerstone of Y.Hs' interest, and that Y.Hs. should be persuaded that apart from that (trade) nothing could be found which could render the Noble Company happy. But since the years 1700-101 the price of the slaves has gone up by more than a half. The trade at Fida is of such a nature, that every year more than 30,000 slaves are being sent from that place to all parts of America by the English as well as by the French, Danish, Portuguese and Brandenburg Nations. We could supply Y.Hs. annually at least 6,000 of those slaves. Although Y.Hs. seem to be more interested in the slave trade in Angola, we are of the humble opinion, that as long as this war lasts no ships should be sent to Angola, for the following three reasons:

1. because of the danger of being captured, which does not take place at Fida.
2. because of the high cost of the slaves there, sometimes 30% more, and
3. because of the great length of time which the ships going to Angola need before they start to buy their slaves.

The foundation of the lodges at Offra and Popo has not yet full taken effect, because nobody among the Gentlemen Members of the Council seems to be interested to go there, excusing themselves with childish subterfuges such as that they never have been there or that they do not have

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enough money "to keep up a proper fashion"; and we have to consider ourselves as unfortunate as the late D.-G. N. Sweerts in 1684, when he requested four Chief Merchants (Messrs Scheffer, Joël Smits, J. Ernsthuyts and Adr. Van Beest) to present their services for the upkeep of the mentioned lodge Ardra, which is one of the most important posts for Y.Hs' finances, and none of them showed any interest in it. At that juncture ~~the slight person~~ of me was sacrificed thereto with (the order to arrest?) one Steven Van der Elst, who had made a false last will and testament after the death of Oppercommies Marten Witte and who had stolen 250 slaves from the Comp. The said Witte was subsequently flogged with the noose around his neck and branded here at Elmina; we have at that time repaired the affairs of the Comp. in such a way, that it recovered all its stolen slaves ... But now that the affairs have been brought in proper order, and, as said before, 6,000 slaves could be supplied per year, this refusal of the Members of Council and Chief Merchants has to us the appearance of a public refusal to the general service of the Comp. Because the slave trade has declined only as a result of the fact that since the repatriation of General Sweerts not a single Director has succeeded him since 1690 who had any fundamental knowledge of this trade. Take for instance the last one, Jan Van Sevenhuysen, who according to the reports of the Oppercommiesen Bosman and Poll would have enjoyed over 70 marks of gold in recognitions from them, and that constitutes all the knowledge which he has ever had on the affairs of the Noble Comp.

Of all the areas of foreign trade, none is as uncertain as that of the Gold Coast, and anybody who has some experience in the trade here knows that there are not more than two states which possess gold from its origin, viz. Dinqira and Akim, both situated, according to information, about 7 days from Elmina; they never lack gold, and they are also very willing to trade, but all too often they are impeded in this by the coastal kings, either by their robbery of their merchants, or by the closure of the paths, the levy of heavy tolls and public wars. And this is the real reason why the gold trade does not flourish. The decay of the trade in general can be imputed to the English Nation, which has sent since my last letter over 80 ships ...

In order to discuss the poor condition of the Trade we have summoned the Members of the Council on 9th April 1704, and there and then it has been resolved to send to the mentioned two states Inqira and Akim a solemn deputation, of which Y.Hs. may hope to enjoy positive results. We have promoted Isaac Bardet at Accra as Chief Merchant, considering that that place has furnished last year 300 marks of gold on its own, but at present trade seems again to have relapsed completely at that place. On his request we have given the yacht "Opmeer" to him in order to make a voyage to Rio Benyn, so that he does not have to sit back completely ...

We have learnt that the French have been provided with 50 soldiers, cannon, materials and all that is needed for the construction of a fortress in order to build at Fida a considerable castle, and we therefore consider



it our duty to present Y.Hs. the bad consequences this would have for our trade, and that we are in fact now compelled to build there an equally considerable fort, for which Y.Hs. will please send the required men, cannon and materials at earliest convenience ...

NBKG 1; Minutes of Council-meetings (Archive of D.-G.)

5th June 1702. ... It has been resolved, for the continuation of the trade, to send the Negro Affo to the land of the Akkaniste, to the Great Caboceers Tiboiij, Owairij and Tinne Coffy with some presents, in order to honour them in our name, and to labour in favour for the continuation of trade and the repression of war. ... It has also been resolved to send to David Van Nyendael, at present in the Asjantese land, and already held up there for over 9 months, the requested goods, being a debt of 40 bendas, which the Accanists have with the Assiantese ruler Zaij and for which they have given the said Van Nyendael as surety ...

1st May 1703. The D.-G. demonstrates that on his arrival on the Gold Coast in Guinea it was entirely dead and ruined, ... and that he has employed the most forceful means which might help towards the opening of the passages, by first establishing a General Contract of Peace for the entire Gold Coast, and an Agreement, dd. 3rd August 1702. As second means to that end a deputation has been sent to Dinkera and Assianté, with the double purpose of opening the passages and of releasing ondercommies David Van Nyendael from his arrest in the Assiantese land, which has been of such effect, that after the defeat of King Amba of 'tJuffer by the Accanisten King Courantje, that same King of Accany has come here to Elmina with traders, with the announcement that the traders from Dinkera had arrived in Accany, and that they were waiting till the passages to Elmina were safe ... That he, General, had then requested, in the presence of the Council for the quantity of 30 bendas or 7 marks and 40 oz worth of merchandise, in order to open with that amount the passages for the 'tJufferse through (? as well as) Accany and Cabes Terra, so that the Dinkorase traders, who had already arrived at the borders of 'tJuffer, could come to Elmina ... and that he has constantly to struggle against the English Nation and its offers, as the Negroes contribute to the said Nation greater Trade as it offers the greatest gifts. It has therefore been resolved to grant the request of the said Accanisten King, and to grant him a quantity of merchandise worth 30 bendas gold on a security of 3 hostages, two of his nephews and one of his sons. Apart from that, the King of Great Commany becomes surety as fiadoor. ...

9th April 1704 ... The D.-G. demonstrates had he has exercised over a period of 22 months all his forces in order to bring the decayed Trade, of the Gold Coast as well as of the Slave Coast, Bight and Rivers, in proper order. That he has to some extent succeeded in restoring the peace, but the Barbarians are destined to be ignorant of all natural laws and rights, also because of the evil behaviour of some Christians themselves ...

That it is true that in earlier days a lot has been contributed and given to the Coast Kings of Commendo, Fetu, Saboe, Adom and many others for their friendship, but that (friendship) has never lasted for long, because the whole coast of Africa is open for all other Nations of Europe. But in order to profit most of the gold trade, the D.-G. has given into consideration to the members of this Council ... to send a deputation to the States of Inquira and Akim, which are widely known as the richest in gold. They are the only two states which possess the gold from its origin, and the Chief of Inquira has also requested us specially that we send as soon as possible deputies to him, in order to discuss with the Akkanists what would be the best way to open the paths, that during many years the Coast Kings of Fetu, 'tJuffer, Commendo and Saboe have killed, robbed and plundered the merchants he sent, and always violated the highways; that one day he would come to the decision to visit the Coast Kings for the well-being of his own people, and that he desires that we should continuously provide him with arms and gunpowder in exchange for his gold. It is the same with the State of Akim, where the Chief called Affory has issued a special request to us to have the honour of friendship. We have sent back his deputy with a red woollen sack (=?) bordered with silver, one mas red coral, two metal musquettons and a fine rifle to Akim, in order to assure him of our friendship, and to ask him to come to the Cabes Terra State if he wishes to speak mouth to mouth with us ...

WIC 98; W. De la Palma to Ass. of X, Elmina, 12th February 1705.

... in a letter written to Commies Van den Broucke on 10th October 1704 we have ordered him to direct things in such a way, that the freedom of the Fida roads be maintained as long as this war may last, which has had the effect which we had expected and hoped for; because he sent us enclosed in his last dispatches of 30th November and 9th December 1704 copies of further contracts made with the French -on the insistence of the Fida King- by which the freedom of that roads, with the exclusion of all other Nations has been established. Now, what only remains to be done, is the erection of the two lodges at Offra and Popo, as ordered by Y.Hs. It would be necessary to charge one or more members of the Council of this Coast with that commission, but these gentlemen showed no taste for it, and refused, saying that they rather would administer the factory at Fida as Commies... (in a PS to this letter, de la P. complains about too much work & worries and throwing up blood)

(Encl.) "Extract from Council's Resolution of 4th February 1705."

... In view of the fact that the Slave Trade should be considered as the veritable cornerstone of the Comp.'s interest, and that since the French have erected a stronghold at Fida our Trade there might come to nought, it was decided in a resolution of 10th October 1704 to send the Opppercommiesen Pieter Nuyts and Jan Dirk Ingelby to Fida, as soon as the expected ships were to arrive, in order to induce the King of Fida, with friendliness or violence, to make the mentioned French retire from there. But because

(VIC 98 cont.)

of the long delay and also because of the capture of the mentioned ships, the "Tyger" and the "Duynenburgh" we were not able to do anything. The more since by order of the King of Fida an agreement has been made between Commies Van den Broucke and the French there, according to which the freedom of the roads there should be considered as unviolable; as long as this war lasts, it will be virtually impossible to execute the aforesaid resolution ...

...It is also very necessary that we be provided with a considerable number of slaves, firstly for the factories of Axim and Boutry: at least 50 Ps. slaves if we are to provide those factories with "Enclosing-planks" (palissades?). This would also relieve the Comp. from having to send every year a lot of wood-work. Secondly for Chama, in order to provide the required fuel-wood for the ships and "chalk-wood" (charcoal for lime-kilns?) for masonry and for the main factory (i.e. Elmina) for all sorts of work; in total about 150 to 170 good male slaves would be needed.

W. De la Palma to Ass. of X, "Zabbé in Fida", 31st March 1705.

... We left on 19th February with the ships Arent, Tyger and Duynenburgh, and arrived on the roads on Fida on 26th February and found there the French 30 guns' ship "l'Amphitrite" together with the unrigged ship Margaretha Catharina which it had captured. On 27th February we went on shore and were received by the King with all signs of affection. We communicated to him Y. Hs'. orders concerning the re-establishment of the lodge at Offra, and requested him to assist us therein, which he indeed promised. Knowing that Y.Hs. require a more detailed information on that subject, I may remind Y.Hs. that mentioned Offra, after the spoliation of the lodge and the death of Commies Van Holerwiff, has been devastated by those of Jakyn, a Nation situated between Great Ardra and Fida, and totally depopulated; I should add, that the mentioned Jakynse are strongly opposed to the re-establishment of that lodge, but as Commies Van den Broucke was instructed in 1703 to do all he could for that re-establishment, he has judged, with the old King of Fida, that no other means to that end could be found than to start a war against the mentioned Jakynse; to that purpose 8 to 9,000 men were at that time ready, under the command of one Afferry and others, who were only ^{waiting} for some presents to be paid by King Carte and Blanke (sic), as interested parties. That is how things still were when we arrived, and we were not a little surprised to discover that not more had been done during all the time which has passed since. We therefore thought it good to make a compromise with that King, and to send for the meantime one of our Servants to the King of Great Ardra, in order to induce him, if possible, to attack the Jakynse from that side, and to find out whether there is any chance to take possession of Offra against the will of the Jakynse ... We hope to send Y.Hs. in due course a report of the fortunate outcome of these endeavours ... It is with the greatest regret that we have to report that the Slave Trade proceeds very poorly, for which we cannot give any other explanation than that the French after their capture of our ships have suddenly an abundance of merchandise, and they do not hesitate

(VIC 98 cont.)

to buy their slaves for the most unbelievable prices, and they seem not to be bothered whether they buy good Pieces d'India or not ...

(Encl.) ... To-day, 22nd March 1705, Willem de la Palma, on behalf of Their High Mightinesses of the States-General and its Chartered WIC, in conference with the mighty King of Fida called Ahinsan Mazé, as well as with some of the Captains of the Land, the principal of whom are called Carte and Blanke, has demonstrated to them that 12 years ago, when the Commies N.Van Holewerff was murdered, the Comp.'s lodge at Offra was plundered, and also that subsequently, as a rightful punishment, aforesaid State of Offra was depopulated ... that since that time the Company has bought its slaves here in Fida, without ever having had the occasion to re-establish the mentioned lodge, and that W. de la Palma ... had decided to go thither in order to examine the possibilities of such a re-establishment ... King Ahinsan Mazé and Captains Carte & Blanke replied that in order to be sure that the re-establishment of that lodge were successful, it would be necessary to ruin first those Jakynse, living between Ardra and Fida, with a war, or that they were compelled to accept a durable peace, considering that they themselves have devastated mentioned Offra.

These propositions have been considered by mentioned General of such value that he has agreed with mentioned Ahinsan Mazé, Carte & Blanke, that they, Ahinsan Mazé, Carte & Blanke will make war on the Jakynse with full force and also pay for the expenses which are to be made. And having brought matters to the desired end, mentioned General will honour the mentioned King and his Captains in the name of the General Chartered WIC with a considerable present for the trouble they have taken. Thus agreed ... in the King's palace in the presence of:

(sigd) Jac. Van den Broucke,
Commies for the Slave Trade
Capt. Jurriaen Sass
Capt. Jac. Ven der Hoeve

(sigd.) W. De la Palma

Ahinsan Mazé His X Mark
Capt. Carte X
Capt. Blanke X
Capt. Ago X

WIC 180; (Letters & Papaers from Ardra) J. Van den Broucke to Camber Amsterdam, Fida, 26th August 1705.

... we have received the goods in proper order, and we have endeavoured to sell them in accordance with our duty, but unfortunately the supply of slaves has been poor, and it does not look as if it is going to be any better; for 6 or 7 months in succession it has been like this ... because those of Harder and of this country are not to be moved to friendship, and all the slaves have to be brought through Harder. The Harder King has closely blocked all the paths. One has to pray to buy one or two slaves, and then be able to present the correct goods. Y.Hs. ordered me to indicate how much I pay for one slave, on which I reply with the enclosed list ... I just add, that apart from slaves, nothing else can be bought here.

(list: cowries:	100 lbs p. slave	iron bars:	18 ps p. slave
servetten:	19 ps. p. slave	fine beads:	3 lbs " "
platthilios:	16 ps " "	yellow striped	60 lbs " "
nepten	9 ps " "	torquyn	70 " " "
graetjes	5 ps " "	French brandy	1 anker "

WIC 98; W. De la Palma to Ass. of X, Elmina, 5th September 1705

... In Fida ... the French have built a fortress, ... a little less than a mile from the beach, and about a rifle's shot from the English fort called William fort. It is about square, and it has four large bastions, mounted with 28 guns, mostly from the captured ship "Rachel"; it's all just made of red earth, and to all appearances it is already on the point of collapse, and, as I have said earlier, they would not have been so fortunate in their trade, if they had not had the good luck of capturing our ships ...

... Concerning the trade on this Coast, we notified Y.Hs. already that it has completely changed into a Slave Coast, and that the natives nowadays no longer occupy themselves with the search for gold, but rather make war on each other in order to furnish slaves, nay, go to the extent of violating the public roads. Of those we have, to serve as an example, hanged two. A remarkable example of this (highway-robbery) may demonstrate to Y.Hs. a proof of this. We had the intention of sending an official deputation to the States of d'Inquirá and Akim, and that has subsequently also been executed. We had already started to reap the fruits of it, when on 3rd June 1704 50 marks of gold were brought by the d'Inquirase, who said that that was only a sample, and that they would soon return with greater quantities ... their principal desire was gunpowder and arms, but the latter were so bad, that they did not show much interest in them. But these merchants, on their way back to their country, were attacked by the 'tJufferse, who not only looted them, but also sold or massacred a part of them.

Although we have given out of our own pocket -and to the decline of our own means (sic)- 20 bendas of gold for the continuation of the Trade (and of which the honourable and highly estimated Pieter Nuyts has managed to put 5 marks in his own pocket, of which he has not even returned 5 oz. to the Company) it has not made the gold trade any more prosperous, so that the Gold Coast has changed into a complete Slave Coast ...

The English ... have taken the liberty to erect a lodge at Cherou, about a mile below Bercou. It seems that that Nation will never become quiet; which appears also from their taking in possession of the Mount Cong, situated half-way (between Cape Coast) and our fort Nassau at Moure, as a result of which they have aroused the anger of their only friend, the King of Saboe, who threatened to let the English die of hunger in Cabo Corso; and he (the Agent) recognising the mistake he had made, wrote to us on 14th January, asking if we had any part in what had happened at Cong ... and that was not the only thing, but having got some quarrel with Jan Cabes, and as a man-of-war of Her Majesty ^{was here} for the protection of this Coast against the French, he went with two other ships to Commany where he demolished with gun shots the houses of Jan Cabes and of other poor fishermen ...

... On the list of vacancies Y.Hs. may see that we have added one for a Commies for the continuation of cotton-planting, as we consider it necessary to fill such a post if we are to enjoy the fruits from it. Similarly we also need a Commies and men, as well as a sugar-mill if finally we want to proceed with the planting and making of sugar, which, we believe, could be

(WIC 98 cont.)

on this Coast better and more successful than in any colony of America. We may add, that the cultivation of indigo has also been neglected up to now. As a consolation for the many expenses Y.Hs. have to make on this Coast, we furthermore inform Y.Hs. that we have resolved to buy the Portuguese tobacco which is being brought here on Brazilian barques, for very low prices, and not only that, but also only with non-current merchandise that has been brought here by themselves; we are confident that this trade will bring great sums in Y.Hs. coffers ...

As the period of the three stipulated years has expired by now, we request once more urgently to be allowed to resign; we do not see any signs that ever ~~this~~ Coast will see any proper regulated order or reconstruction as long as Y.Hs. do not provide us with people of intelligence and sound judgement, which is really the only thing which is needed here.

Encl. 1: Report by W. de la Palma on his Voyage to the Kingdom of Fida, 19th February to 6th April 1705.

28th February ... We told the King which was our reason for coming: to ask for his permission to pass through his country to Great Ardra, to make contact with that King, and to know how he, King of Fida, could have been so foolish as to let the French Nation enjoy so much power, where he knew very well that they are just making a big show with the goods which they have captured from us, and that they, the French, would not accept such little respect and esteem as was now being shown to our Nation, and that we would rather retire from there ... On this the King replied that he could not give permission for our journey to Great Ardra, because he feared that because of the unsafety of the road some inconveniences might occur to us, and concerning the last point, he said that being a new and young king, he tried nothing but to maintain the prerogatives of our Nation. We feel somewhat betrayed in our belief in the capacities of Commies Van den Broucke. Look at our lodge there! we could not compare it with anything better than a peasant's cow-stable and hovel ... After this refusal of the King of Fida, we changed the topic of conversation, and represented to him that it was a well known matter that first Commies Van Holewerff had been murdered in a brutal manner at Offra, and that subsequently mentioned state had been devastated by the Jakynse, that the Company up to this date had never had a better occasion to take proper revenge for that act than now, if indeed, as he said, he felt affection for the Dutch Nation, having to send only a few presents to Dondo, who has already 8 to 9,000 men ready, and to tell him to come and either to defeat the mentioned Jakynse or to compell them to sign a good peace, so that we could re-establish the lodge at Offra. The King was better pleased with this, and he agreed on everything ... Afterwards the presents for that purpose were sent by our servants and those of the King to the mentioned Dondo, who stays at present near Kittouw, which is about 6 miles below the Rio da Volta. Meanwhile, we insisted with the King of Fida, that he gave us permission for the journey to Great Ardra. This permission he gave on 29th March when he allowed us to send thither one or more of our servants ... We therefore made an instruction for the Secretary-Commies Nic. Dubois and ondercommies Jan de Paauw,

(WIC 98, cont.)

whom we sent with a present of 4 pieces of silk with golden flowers, a big mirror and a Dutch anker of French brandy to the King. This journey was as successful as we had desired, because returning on 4th April, they reported that they have been received politely, and that the King of Ardra has expressed his satisfaction about this intention, and that he shall distribute the necessary orders to the Fidalgo of Jakyn as well as to all his subjects that the fortress should be built there, that we would soon be able to trade there again, and that once the country is again inhabited we would have a favourable trade. He promised to send by that time no longer any slaves to Fida. And as it is well known that all of them, or the great majority of them comes from there, we shall by the resettlement of that place see the French and the English not a little embarrassed about **their trade**. In order not to let go by the occasion, we wrote an instruction for ondercommies Jan de Paauw, who is extraordinarily liked among the natives, to go again to Great Ardra, in order to make a written contract on all this ... and to take immediately after the signature of this contract possession of mentioned Offra, but under the supervision of the factory at Fida ...

Encl. 2. Van den Broucke to De la Palma, Fida, 24th February 1705.

... On 12th inst. arrived here a French ship, together with the ship "Margareta Catarina", which it had captured from our Company; they say it had separated from its comrade near Lampi in order to continue its voyage, according to some with 300, according to others with 500 slaves on board. Here on the roads everything remains quiet, and the English as well as the French do everything they can to insist with the King that they are not to be molested on the roads, on which the King not only promised that he would be guarantee for payment, but also that he will cut the heads off of all those whitemen who would undertake anything, and give those as a payment to the injured ... Willes (=?) says that he is expecting war-ships, and that he will then take everything away ...

Encl. 3. Copy of Agreement of 25th April 1703.

His Majesty the King of Fida, having ordered the undersigned to come together in order to maintain the security and liberty which he pretends that his roads have known as of old, not understanding the war which we have in the Christian empire, has summoned us to a meeting in his house, where he has presented to the undersigned the following articles:

Art. 1: None of our Nations will be allowed to capture any ships on the Fida roads or **molest another** in any way; these roads include the area as far as one can see the flags. If anyone were to capture within these limits any ship, the Merchant of that Nation from which the capturer has sailed (exception being made for interlopers and pirates), will have to pay to the one who has claims in this way 8 good male slaves for each foot **the captured ship measures** from back to front, which measure will be taken by a confident Negro to be appointed by the King ...

Art. 2.: All Captains who anchor on these roads and come ashore will have

(WIC 98 cont.)

to sign these articles ...

Art. 4. All Nations here on shore should live in peace and friendship, and not do any molestation to either whites or slaves of each other, on a penalty of the confiscation of 1 Ps. or 4 Angels gold for each day, counting from the day that it becomes known ...

Art. 6. Any ship, once it is ready to sail, shall not be allowed to pursue any ship of the Nation with which (its own) Nation is at war, or do any harm to it ... all this for the time of the next 18 months ...

X the mark of the King of Fida (sigd.)	Bourget	Amiot
	de Cazali	Rech.Marsh.
	J.Van den Broucke	Jan Geelboom
	R. Norcourts	Doueze
	P. Duffiets	J.De Vriest

(PS) Mr. Gomets and the Capt. Commander of the Royal Assiento Comp.

have agreed that above contract shall be valid till the end of the war between the French Royal Company and the Dutch WIC.

Actum, Fida, 31st October 1704

(sigd.) Gomets (sigd) J.Van den Broucke.

Encl. 7. Report by Nic. Dubois, on what happened during the Journey to Great Ardra, 30th March to 2nd April 1705.

30th March: From 5 AM till noon we had to run around in order to get hammocks and carriers. Once we had all we needed for the journey, we continued up to Capt. Appurga's Krom, where we were compelled to halt for about an hour because of a heavy travado (rainstorm). Capt. Bandele, sent with us by the King of Fida, joined us there. Passing through Torre we visited the King there, asking him for some men to escort us; we got such escort and continued, in the hope of reaching Great Ardra before nightfall. At sunset we met two Negroes, sent by the King of Fida to Ardra, in order to inform those people of our arrival, who told us that that was not the way along which the whitemen normally go to Ardra, but that we should rather have taken the road through Jakyn or Offra; although this sounded rather strange to us, we continued our journey till about 8.30 PM. We were then about 1/2 an hour from Ardra, but we were ordered to spend that night in the lodgings of the under-king of Debbi, because the gate or barrier of Ardra was closed.

31st March: In the morning the mentioned Underking of Debbi, who had been in Ardra yesterday, came to give us a polite reception. Soon he sent some of his people together with one of our boys to Ardra, and we followed them obediently ("softly"). After half an hour's walk we were received by one Capt. Blanke, who brought us at once to the lodgings of Capt. Cavall, where we were told to wait till the King would send for us, and with the urgent request not to go to anybody else before we had been with the King. We found the natives very happy about our arrival, as appeared (from the reactions of) Cacazi, the Mercador of Offra, and Wansoly, the brother of the Fidalgo. After sitting here for a long time, hoping that the King would send for us, we addressed ourselves finally to mentioned Capt. Cavall, and demonstrated to him with urgency how necessary it was that the King should

(WIC 98 cont.)

grant us an audience. But although we threatened that if we had no response before the evening or the following morning we would certainly return, he let us know that he was not able to obtain that for us.

1st April. In accordance with what we had said yesterday, we made everything ready for our return, but as soon as they became aware of that, they brought us to the King's apartments. After having waited there for another hour he appeared, but not before he had sent somebody to us informing us that we would be allowed to see him, but not to shake hands with him ... We gave him a detailed account of the reasons for our arrival and why Y.H. had sent the presents with us ... that it was in order to learn whether it would be possible to re-establish the abandoned lodge at Offra without having to be afraid of the Jakynse, and what assurance he could give us thereon. Upon this he replied, that already a month ago he had heard that His Excellency would come here. We answered that H.E. was feeling a bit ill, and that we had full authority from H.E. to negotiate with him; but he replied that (he knew that) H.E. had been in Capt. Appurga's Crom, and that he preferred much to speak to H.E. personally. Seeing that we were not making any progress, we presented to him the gifts, hoping to get better access to him. But we could not obtain anything better, than that he promised us to give us a definitive answer to-morrow.

2nd April: We got up early, in order to speak to the King as soon as possible. But when this seemed to be without effect, we paid our respects to the Capt. Grande, to whom we complained about the poor outcome. He consoled us however, and asked us if we would like to eat a little with him, and that afterwards he would go with us to the King, as he indeed did afterwards. The King repeated that the rumour had spread through the entire country that H.E. would personally come to see him, but that he saw very well that that was not going to happen. That he was however quite pleased with our arrival, and that our re-settlement at Offra was a matter which was to him desirable to the highest degree, and he assured that we would not have to fear any further accidents. But we replied that we wanted to know what guarantee he could give for that, as those gentlemen, the Jakynse, after having devastated the lodge, had not been punished or even been asked to pay for the damages. He replied that the Jakynse were not so guilty in that matter as the house of the Fidalgo of Offra, and that when he, the King, asked the Merchant if he wanted to punish them, that he had said : no, it is our people, and so the snake is fed who has cut their throat (sic). That he was certain that the Jakynse prefer to live in peace rather than in war with Offra, and that at any rate he would himself order the Jakynse to work on the fortress which is to be erected there. That he would also summon the Fidalgo of Jakyn, and entrust him to the Merchant who is going to be appointed there, with the serious recommendation to live in peace and friendship with him, and that furthermore he would again populate Offra and appoint a Fidalgo there; but we were not able to get to know his name. He also assured us, that

(WIC 98 cont.)

once we have taken possession at Offra, no other Nation would get permission to establish itself there. He furthermore requests T.H. to honour him with a couple of pistols and a barrel of gunpowder ...

Encl 8: "Agreement between W. De la Palma and the Great Mightiest King of Ardra" (n.d. summary:)

(1) that the lodge at Offra shall be rebuilt, (2) that the General promises a regular supply of merchandise (3) that the King promises to send labourers as soon as the Merchant arrives (4) ... that if it were to happen that any Nation, none excepted, were to be attacked by the Jakynse ... that he, King, would take care that the Merchant and the Comp.'s effects were not to be exposed, as we ourselves are not able to prevent such. (5) that a considerable fort will be constructed, and that the King should not tolerate any other nation ...

WIC 917; Chamber Amsterdam: Letters & papers rec^d from Guinea.

"Circular Letter by W. De la Palma, dd. 22nd June 1705."

We, Willem de la Palma, Director-General &c.&c. ... hereby make it known, that this whole Coast was devastated as a result of the bad government of the former D.-G. Van Sevenhuysen and his sanguinary procedures, mostly directed against the Natives. That he has also debauched the Natives to do to the prejudice of the interest of the Noble Company private trade along the whole Coast ... in which are the principal accomplices Fiscal Johan Rademacher ... as well as the Honourable Pieter Nuyts, Oppercommies and Member of the Council, stationed at Moure and the to the bone unwise boy Johan Dirk Ingelby and the false Bookkeeper General Hendrick Deldyn ... who all of them have set up a bloodthirsty conspiracy after the departure of the D.-G. to Fida in order to restore our affairs there, which had been ruined principally by the French ...

WIC 98; Provisional D.-G. Pieter Nuyts to Ass. of X, Elmina, 13th November 1705.

(Although Nuyts & Ingelby, aware of the accusations made by de la P., were prepared and willing to repatriate and to defend themselves, Nuyts, at that time at Axim as Chief Merchant, received on 20th October 1705 the news of the death of de la P.)

... Not only were there various matters pending concerning paid and unpaid debts, there was above all a great problem concerning a certain cargant (neck-chain?) made of gold-nuggets, belonging to the Crown of Aquamboe, which had been pawned to Commies Jan Snoeck, who has given it in payment for private goods to the late General for an amount of 6 Marks. And as it is certain that the said King of Aquamboe would claim (one day) the mentioned cargant, and not getting it would not sit down before he had recovered it, and would not hesitate to demand more than twenty times the real value of the Thing, or even ruin the fortress at Accra -the best fortress Y.Hs. have on this Coast- and learning that he (de la P. ?) still had it shortly before the departure of the "Africaensche Galeij", we

(WIC 98)

concluded from it that he might well have sent it to the fatherland. We therefore asked Capt. Arent Cornelis Jongerheld whether he had perhaps taken any gold from the General. He declared, that before his departure he had received from the said General a box, containing letters according to his saying. He had never insisted (to know its real contents) but sealed it after his departure. After a resolution of the Council, on 26th October, it was agreed to send Commies Le Candele and Abram Lieftinck on board of the "Galey" in order to collect the said box, as well as a barrel filled with silver which was missing, and which had been presented as containing lemon juice. From the enclosures Y.Hs. may read attestations which are^{so} terrible, horrifying and scandalous, that (it is understandable that) all respect which our Nation has enjoyed in these lands above other Europeans has now entirely declined. (There is for instance the attestation that)... the General has ordered in October last year Commies Joan Snoek to buy for his private account from the first interloper who might arrive gunpowder, arms and brandy to a value of 25 marks, which he has indeed done ... When the General returned from Fida he passed Accra, where the mentioned Snoek gave him the said cargant to settle his account, with the promise to pay the remainder within two months; by that time he was however not yet able to pay, and he was summoned to Elmina. There the General put an assagai on his breast, and threatened him to pierce him; eventually, moved by many promises he let him go ... (De la P. summoned him again, shortly afterwards, but Snoek refused to come) ... and wrote that he could not come, as he was too fond of his life ... the General then went personally thither with Bookkeeper Dubois . . . but not being able to effectuate anything there, he returned to Elmina.

(reports on Whydah trade:) On 26th August 1705 the "Grooten Tyger" and the "Duynenburgh" left for Surinamen with resp. 452 Ps. and 473 Ps. slaves, after having traded there for less than 6 months. The General has been to Fida himself, but he may have forgotten to report, that he left in all silence, without having said good-bye to the King. After our return here we have also learnt that the late General has summoned, on his own request, Commies Van den Broucke, and that he has sent in his place Commies Pantzer thither. We are not very pleased with the state of the trade at Fida, mainly because neither Van den Broucke, nor Pantzer is sufficiently experienced. The slave trade on the Gold Coast is more favourable: ... the "Peynenburgh" and the "Christina", after having been delayed fruitlessly for two months by the late General, were sent to Apam, Bercou and Accra, and both got their loads (of resp. 348 and 548 Ps.) within 2 months. The first number, of 348, is admittedly insufficient, but this is so because Commies Snoeck was declared unable by the late General to continue to do any trade. It is true, that Trade on this Coast has been extraordinarily poor during the last 8 months, but in reality it has never been so bad that the returns sent by H. late G. could not have been considerably bigger, if he, as well as Mr. Poll and the Fiscal had not shared among themselves an amount of 80 marks of gold in the form of profits from their private trade.

(WIC 98 cont.)

That trade has diminished is even less surprising, considering that I heard that coming to Accra on his return from Fida he began to shoot in an "inimical way" with bullets on the King of Aquamboe, having requested the latter to meet him, with the drunken head he always seemed to have. Here in Elmina too, he has set fire to some houses with hand-grenades and cannon shots, and had them looted by some Company slaves ... all this in ~~stea~~ instead of promoting the trade.

Concerning the slave trade on the Gold Coast, we may say that the situation is nowadays more favourable ... (because within 2 months the "Christina" and the "Peynenburgh" got resp. 548 and 348 slaves at Apam, Bercou and Accra) ... we shall send the "Quirina" also to the said factories, and count on dispatching it within 10 weeks, the more as we have already 100 Ps. here in stock ...

At Axim & Ancober the trade is reviving a little: about 12 marks of gold have been extracted from those factories lately. At Boutry trade is poor, because those of Wassa block the passages. The same for Sacconde. Chama is good for water and fuel wood, but there is no trade. At Commany trade begins to revive, because the English have got such disputes with the notorious Jan Cabes, that to all appearances they are irreparable, but with us they (i.e. the appearances for repairing relations) are great, and he has requested us for permission to come here to Elmina for a conference. Here at Elmina the trade is deadly (sic), but the makelaer Pieter Pasop says that there are good signs that trade is coming, and that the old Merchants, the Akanists will soon arrive in great numbers, which indeed we hope Heaven will provide. At Moure too, trade is poor, but once the Accan-iste and Cabes Terrase traders are coming through, we expect good trade. At Cormantyn there has always been good trade, but from time to time we have difficulties with the Pantyn Nation. Those Messieurs constantly badger us for ships' gifts, also for ships which were destined by Y.Hs. to the slave trade, and which we believe are not expected to pay any such duties. English 10% ships frequently visit that place too. There is also quite a different cause to be indicated for the poorness of trade here, viz, that the late General has hanged two people from this place, on the pretence that they had violated the public roads ... but this matter has been settled by Oppercommies J.D.Engelby before his departure from there. At Apam trade has for some time quite reasonable, but nowadays one can't get there anything but slaves, because of, as they say, the war which Akim is carrying on against Aquamboe. At Bercou and Accra the situation is similar. The general condition of this Coast can be summarised by stating that the English don't have an advantageous time either, because apart from angering their only support, the King of Saboe, which at the same time made those of Fetoe their enemies, they have the famous Jan Cabes now also to count among their enemies (P.N. suggests to be cautious in restoring friendship with Cabes: the Dutch should not give the English cause to say that they were at the origin of their troubles)

(WIC 98 cont.)

Encl. F/G to Nuyts' Lt. 13/11/'05 "Inventory of the gold & silver brought on board of the "Africaensche Galey" by D.-G. W. De la Palma "

Found in a sealed box a sealed satchet marked "Mk 11:2 , WP (monogram), containing an amount of 11 marks and 12 oz., in gold nuggets, among them a chain weighing Mk.6, which belongs to the King of Aquamboe, and was pawned for some merchandise ...

Silverware: among other things: punch-bowls, fruit-dishes, coffee-can, dinner-plates, powder-boxes, spoons, forks &c., &c., amounting to a total of Mk 101:12, which will be sent to the Hon. Direcons, Amsterdam

Apart from gold & silver are left by the Hon. W. De la Palma at his death furniture belonging to the Noble Comp. : 3 big mirrors with gilt frames, 1 old dito with black frame; 14 paintings; 2 prints; 2 portraits; 2 arm-chairs; 28 chairs of various kinds; 1 tea-table; 1 big bell; 1 cupboard ("cabinetje"); 2 "watersteen en pot" (Waterstones & pot); 1 couch; ... beds, pillows; 20 pewter dishes; 18 dito plates & 2 cans; brass cans & kitchen utensils, ... silver Communion chalices; silk & woollen clothing with golden buttons ... etc.

Encl. "O":

To-day, 6th November 1705 testified before me. Willem Van Medlum, Commies for the soldiers' pay: Hendrik De Haan, foremen of the tradesmen, G.T. Heermans, Assistant, and Claes Van Westreenen, butler ... that the late General had ordered him, Heermans, to call the Fiscal, Joan Rademacher, to whom he, the General said ... in the presence of the two other attestants: "Don't you see, you crook, that there are two big canoes, full of Portuguese tobacco entering the River? Why don't you stop them? I think your boys have arranged this for you." On this the late Fiscal replied: "Sir General, I do not know what is in them, and I have no part in it, but I shall go and see what is in them". Thereupon the General, without answering him, caught his head, and after having dragged him by his hair along the stones, he gave him two or three punches on his body, and then he threw a cannon-ball at him. Then he, General, went away, and ordered him, witness to go and see what those canoes were charged with, and he, witness, declared that there was nothing in them but the effects of the deceased Assistant Rynier Van Bullestraeten, which had been sent from Chama. Attestant Van Westreenen declares to have witnessed how said late General has tried to catch mentioned late Fiscal, and after having uttered many abuses, kicked him in the groin. All witnesses declare, that about 4 days before the death of said Fiscal witness Den Haan went to the General to report, and that he, General, said: "It seems that you have better access to the Fiscal than I do, so go and have a look at him; he is lying in his bed so lazily for such a long time. Tell him that I shall teel four soldiers to drag him from his bed if he does not appear on the scene by to-morrow, and that I shall have him flogged tenthousand times ...

Witnesses furthermore tell about the senseless shooting and throwing of hand-grenades by the late General into "the Crom" on 4th August 1704.

(WIG 98 cont.)

One of the witnesses, when he asked the late General for the reason, was answered: "You are talking rubbish! Mind your own business. You are also one of those rascals; if I had a rifle, I would shoot you through the head"... Witness Thomas testifies, that he, whilst painting the little room above the hall, on that same 4th August, had been approached by the late General, who, having closed the door behind him, asked him, witness, if he wanted to earn 10 Marks of gold ... that in that case he should go with as many Negroes as there were rifles, brought that day in the Hall by Master Claas who had just finished them, to Moure in order to shoot Pieter Nuyts or kill him in any other way. That he, witness had answered that he was not able to do that, and that the late General had replied: "Oh, so you are also one of those rogues..." (Other witnesses testified that de la P. had fired on at least two occasions pistol shots on various people for no other reason than because of his "rage", and that it was sheer luck to the victims that he missed his aim)

Encl. 4: "Short information about the manner of Slave Trade during the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years that I have taken care of it" by J. Van den Broucke. 10th November 1705.

... Before one is allowed to start the trade, one is compelled to pay to the King 720 lbs cowries customary duties, 200 lbs to the Captains, and 30 to the town-crier who announces that the traders are allowed to sell their slaves. Subsequently one negotiates the price with the King, Carte and Ago, but one should be careful to exclude from this price what is paid to the King and the two aforesaid Captains, because to them one has always to give more than to the private traders; i.e. to the King 120 and to the Captains 100 lbs cowries ... one has to make an agreement with them about the number they will furnish ~~fo~~ that high price, because otherwise they will buy all the slaves from the private traders. Furthermore, one has to pay 120 lbs cowries for the "tronk" (pen), for which they guarantee that the slaves will not run away. One has also to pay (the value of) one slave for the interpreter, before he is willing to announce your desires ~~to~~ the King, one dito for the watchman who receives and guards the goods when they are brought ashore, and 400 lbs cowries for the carrying of the goods from each ship.

These days the slave trade is slowing off, as a result of the disputes between Hardra and Fida; because those of Hardra see that those of Fida, who sell their slaves to the whites, receive a much higher price than what they retribute, and therefore they would be pleased to see the ships anchor at their places in order to trade with them. For that reason those of Harder, through whose country the slaves have to pass, have put strict controls on all the passages, arrested merchants and even killed some of them and looted their goods. The visit of the late General, who came "to restore the trade" and who did not believe me, has not done any good; to the contrary: he rather has greatly impeded it with his behaviour, as the quantity and strength of liquor (he consumed) ~~disabled~~ him, so that he has hardly seen

(WIC 98 cont.)

a traders, and even less slaves. At last, in as a polite way as I could, I made him understand, that it would be better to leave Fida, but for that reason he counted me also among the "rogues". Subsequently, the Hon. General, without announcing so to anybody, or even saying good-bye to the King, departed two days later in the night, which was taken very evil by the natives.

The Dutch trade at Fida is also much hampered by that of the French, who have acquired most of their merchandise from Dutch ships like the "Opmeer" which was conquered by an act of piracy.

Something which might greatly ameliorate the situation, is the intention of the Fidase to do what four years ago they have already undertaken, viz. to destroy the state of Jakyn, which would also been regarded with pleasure by those of Harder, although it is subject to it, because they are disobedient ... (De la P., who presented his idea to re-establish the lodge at Offra as his own, only abused Van den Broucke...) but the King of Harder has offered to me and requested me to come to chose a place in his country to trade and to have a lodge constructed for us. The principal Captains of Harder have also requested me to grant the King's request, and they have also let me know, that once the lodge is ready, they would not object to our bringing guns there for our defence; up to now the King has however continued to refuse us that privilege ... It is also highly necessary, that the Merchant treats the Natives with the greatest politeness, and that if he has reasons for complaints, that he presents them to the King without conceitedness.

Request to P. Nuyts, Elmina, 3rd November 1705.

Undersigned, Jacob Donder, Auditor, and at present since Joh. Rademacher died, Fiscal, reverently reports on the sad revolts which have taken place recently.... How Mr. J. Snoek, Commies at Accra, has abandoned in an impolite letter all homage and obedience due to the late D.-G. De la Palma, when His Hon., in order to execute his warnings, wanted to sail down to Accra with the "Arent". When on 30th September H.E. left indeed for Accra, Snoek, Sibout Heinsius, the former merchant at Bercou, and Bardet, Chief Merchant at Cormantyn, have conspired to cause a public rebellion against the Person of the late General, closing the gate (port?) of Accra at the arrival of the late General, firing two cannon-balls when H.E. arrived on the roads. Thus acting on behalf of Mr. Dubois, they have trampled the authority of H.E., of the Noble Company, nay, of Their High-mightinesses themselves. In the same way these gentlemen have dispatched a circular letter full of bloodthirsty expressions, in order to cause a public rebellion, first to Apam, then to Cormantyn, where it was not without effect, and then to Moure. This rebellion was taken so evil by the late General De la Palma, that he was at once deprived of his senses, and gripped by a violent fever, he has paid for it after an eight days' illness with his grievous death. Undersigned therefore demands permission from the Hon. President of the Council, ordinary and extraordinary Members of the Coucil to arrest within 48 hours Snoek, Heinsius & Bardet.

WIC 180; Letters & Papers from Ardra. J. Van den Broucke & Adriaan Schoonheyd to Chamber Amsterdam, Fida, 21st June 1706.

As both of us were ordered to go with Y.Hs' ship "Amsterdam" to Fida for the Slave Trade, in order to provide it as soon as possible with its required number of slaves, we have indeed immediately after our arrival here, on 16th April, done our best to dispatch it as soon as possible; but because of the arrival of several Portuguese ships, we had a lot of trouble to get for the said ship, with the partly non-current tradegoods we had, its required "armasoen". Yet after hardly 2 months it has left, with on board a good 500 heads of slaves, all proper Piezas d'Indias. We nearly forgot to mention, that shortly before our arrival our lodge here was entirely ruined by a fire; according to Commies Pantzer it was a great ... (?) of the Company's effects.

WIC 124; Minutes of Council, Elmina

11th January 1706; As the Hon. President experiences every day that the slaves taken from Portuguese ships and barques arrested along this Coast and confiscated in accordance with the orders of the Ten are of such poor quality that none or very few of them are accepted by the Captains of the Comp.'s slaveships, and they consequently have to stay for years in this Castle, without the Comp. drawing any advantage from them, and, on the contrary many of them, nay, most of them, die. It is now, that President thinks there is a good occasion, whilst there are so many English 10% ships and trade is weak, to deliberate on what to do with these slaves. ... It has been agreed that the Hon. President shall have the Council's consent to sell such indelivvable and macron slaves for the best price he can get (from anybody)

13th February 1706. ... According to Commies Rempelaer a large quantity of gunpowder, which because of the porr trade has been for a long time in stock, is on the point of decaying. The President therefore proposed for consideration if the price of gunpowder should be lowered to 2 oz, 8 Angels per C^{to} (=cwt?), the more as another 75,000 lbs gunpowder are expected shortly with the ship "Carolus Secundus), and also because Commies Landman has written from Axim that a large number of traders had arrived there who want to buy powder, but who do not want to pay more than 2 oz 8 Angels per C^{to} as the Brandenburg General sells it at that price

15th February 1706.

Caboceer Igniem of Annemaboe arrived from Cape Coast in order to greet us in the name of Mr. Dalby Thomas, requesting us to ask Caboceer Aduamma why he had arrested three slaves of the R.A.C. at Commany and kept there in the Commany territory. Aduamma was therefore summoned, and he replied that his people had gone to Moure, a year ago, in order to buy palm oil and yams, but that on the orders of the English General they had been arrested on the high seas, under the pretext that they had come to do priavte trade on his Roads, saying that Mr. De la Palma had arrested deserters, but it should be said, that such was only done after Mr. Dalby had shown him the way thereto. Finally, concerning what has happened at Acon,

(WIC 124 cont.)

about which the English make also a lot of noise, we shall not repeat here how long ago we have acquired, through the dedication of his coast to us, the Mount Cong from the King of Saboe. Abr. Liefertink and Abr. Pantzer reported on 20th January 1705, that it is true, that on the 12th of that month (representatives of) the R.A.C. have been attacked on the spot called Acon, which the English call Queen Anne's Point; that some un-armed Moure fishermen have gone in two canoes into the bay, on the signals of two slaves of the RAC, who had gone to the sea in order to save their lives from the Saboese; one of them, who could not swim, was drowned, the other was saved by one of the fishermen. This fisherman, called Cabbena, has brought that slave to Moure, where the Merchant has at once taken him into protection. On 15th of this month he has even delivered him, the slave, to Mr. Dalby, for which aforesaid Knight has had the politeness to give to the Merchant an amount of 8 oz. as compensation for the Negro Cabbena, which amount has indeed been handed over by Mr. Nuyts to this Cabbena. Mr. Nuyts has also ordered his subject Negroes not to undertake any hostilities against the Saboese...

26th May 1706. Public reading of a communication from Abr. Liefertinck, Zacconde: The multiplicity of malicious acts by the English Nation, as well as the cruelties of the indigenous Natives is growing from day to day. These acts are not only directed against the Company, but also against their fellow blackmen who from a tender age take service with the Noble Comp. There are constantly attempts being made on their lives, under the pretext of some shallow lie, but in reality for no other reason, than that these people let themselves be used by the Company. This is a great disadvantage for the Company, because one can't properly trade without making use of interpreters on account of our inexperience with the language of the Negroes. If we are to be deprived by these gruesome murders of our interpreters, we would not be able to promote the real interest of our Masters. It is my duty to let Y.Hs. know, that under the fort at Zaccondee one Negro called Braffo is hanging around, who, like other sworn Adom Antese (sic) chiefs, sworn enemies of the Noble Comp., has the intention to deprive the person Jan Tolck ("John Interpreter) who has worked for many years at Zacconde, in a scandalous manner of his life. For that purpose he has influenced one Janta, chief of an Anta village which is under the protection of the English at Dickjes Schouw, as has appeared from the fact that said Jan Tolck was imprisoned, and only liberated as a result of the vigilance of Commies Van Dalen at Boutry ...

21st June 1706. President proposes to send the barque "De Twee Moriaenen" to Fida in order to bring Jac. Van Den Broucke and Adriaen Schoonheyd there together with unsaleable and non-current goods, and to order Commies Pantzer at the same time to buy from the French a quantity of smooth bangles ad 9,000 to 1,000 lbs.(sic) per 5 slaves in order to continue the ivory trade with force, because at the moment we are very ill provided with that commodity.

(WIC 124 cont.)

16th October 1706: President Nuyts announces ... to have received information how the allied powers have had an amazing and miraculous victory over the proud and haughty enemy, who has now suddenly fallen; that we may therefore hope and expect a general peace for our dear fatherland. For that peace a day of prayer shall be held ... and each shall have to abstain from whoring, drinking, gambling, swearing, fighting and shouting, on penalty of the confiscation of three months' salary...

31st January 1707. Pres. demonstrates that the Cruiser (Beschermer) has chased a little snow into the bay of Sacconde, but that its crew managed to escape on shore, because of the protection offered by the English ... a protest-note has therefore been sent to Sir Dalby ... From reports it furthermore appears that the Caboceer Alexander Avarico, one of whose subjects has perpetrated an offence against the King of Aquamboe, has recently entered the service of the English Nation; but as he has always enjoyed costgeld (subsistence-money) from us, he has once more changed of opinion, and returned to us, and he has been pardoned by Commies Dubois. Yet, Sir Dalby has come to claim mentioned Alexander as a deserter. It has been resolved to charge Commies Dubois with this issue and to ask him to seek some accomodation with Sir Dalby...

14th March 1707. The Council has resolved to write to the Ass. of Ten, concerning the religious policies of Van Sevenhuysen, the way in which the inheritance of De la Palma was divided, and concerning the settlement of disputes among the Natives: the Council has great objection to (the idea that?) a Fiscal would have the direction of criminal justice, as it would be impossible to put this into practice in accordance with the customs of this country and without causing a great decline in the esteem for the Noble Comp. and the respect for the D.-G. and various other chief-executives, and that rather all criminal matters should continue to be tried with all possible modesty and candor, in accordance with this country's customs, by the D.-G. and the Chiefs of th various factories, and that fines will continue to be paid into the Company's coffers ... Concerning the lodge at Offra, it has been agreed to answer, that it would be an excellent occasion to extend the slave trade in time of peace, but that under the present circumstances of war and general insecurity it seems us to be premature and too dangerous, as no protection can be offered to the ships on the roads there comparable to the one offered at Fida ... Concerning the sugar, ~~cotton~~ ~~and~~ ~~indigo~~ plantations, that we would be quite able to continue that work, if only the required tools, slaves and other materials were sent, and especially if we were to be allowed to buy as many slaves as Pres. Nuyts proposed in his letter of 24th April 1706. It should however be added, that a difficulty in the cultivation of sugar is, that much of it is stolen by the Negroes themselves, as they have a very great liking for it... Finally, to request the dispatch of the following military and marine people (sic): 150 soldiers, 12 lantsmatrosen (? land-sailors), 10 constables, 12 surgeons, 2 ships-carpenters, 2 house-d^o, 3 masons, 1 blacksmith, 2 coopers, 1 sail-maker, 1 brazier.

(WIG 124 cont.)

22nd April 1707. ;;; Resolved to arrest all the canoes of the English Comp. which may pass, because this morning two of the Noble Comp.'s slaves have been massacred on the Ampenie road, and it is an undisputed fact that this has been done on the orders of the English General Dalby Thomas. They have taken away from them the letters which they were bringing to Commany, and as this is periculum in mora (sic) we are compelled to take exact informations.

22nd April 1707. As the Kings of Saboe, Commany and Fetoë have volunteered to give us some men to help us against Sir Dalby, we have agreed to accept that offer under these circumstances, and to supply them with the required ammunition.

27th April 1707. The factories at Boutry and Saccondeë are at present only manned by two provisional ondercommiesen, in view of the present frequent differends with the English and the quarrels about Taccorary, it should be advisable to provide the said factories with abler chiefs (elected: Commies Verwy and ondercommies Bolcool)

2nd June 1707. The D.-G. having been informed that Sir Dalby is again making preparations towards some design, and as we believe that that will again concern Taccorary ... we shall this time to prevent Sir Dalby from execute these evil designs, and send thither ondercommies Earent Bosch with the required labourers, materials and ammunition, in order to build there a small tower-like stronghold, in order to prevent the English General from taking possession of that place another time.

16th September 1707.

Public reading of a protest by Messrs Cuep and Schoonwitz on behalf of the Hon General Hendrik Lamey representing His Royal Highness of Prussia, in which it is being insinuated ... That you, D.-G. P.Nuyts ... have started to build a fortress at Taccorary, a district which is however under the jurisdiction of His Royal Majesty of Prussia. When we requested Y.H. on ~~3rd~~ 5th September in a friendly manner to desist from the construction, Y.H. replied on 4th September, that no letter could have surprised you more. We are however certain and maintain that we have always had Taccorary in free and peaceful possession (sic), and we have also built there a stronghold in 1685, but then, contrary to all justice and reason Y.H.'s predecessor Nic. Sweerts, by means of a multitude of Negroes -dismissed soldiers- has completely demolished it and spiked the cannon of His Royal Majesty of Prussia and stolen all the ammunition; worse even, the whole garrison stationed there has been massacred in an atrocious and un-christian manner. But two years later we were again able to live peacefully in the said trade-post, under our own flag; but then again, that lodge was ravaged by Y.H.'s predecessor, who sent a multitude of canoes with Mina Negroes, whose commander sailed under a French flag, and that without having given us the least warning. Furthermore, Y.H.'s Merchant at Axim has made the Abocroese and Vierase Negroes eat an oath in accordance with the use of this land, but

WIC 124 cont.)

under threats, that they should not allow traders to pass through their lands to trade with us, and to confiscate those goods which we might have sold. But as those Abocroese and Wieraese do not belong to Y.Hs'. protection but to ours, and we have also accordingly supported them in the Adom war, without which support they certainly might have been defeated. We therefore protest in the strongest terms against your procedures at Taccorary ... (follows: text of agreement made by J.Muntz on 26/11/1703 with Abocroe and Wassa, renewed by Lamey on 14/2/1707 : ... As the Adom Caboecer Jan Kango and his men for several years has troubled the country, made the roads unsafe, has plundered the traders, nay, has actually with a large number of his men invaded the States of Abocroe and Wiera in order to ruin them, in which he would have succeeded if those Abocroese and Wierase had not timely been assisted by us and the Wassase, through whose help they have totally defeated the Adomse and decapitated the Caboecer Jan Kango. After these actions the victors of the States of Abocroe and Wassa have come to me in the fort and offered their faithful subjection in the service of His Royal Majesty of Prussia, and we, the Prussians offer them in return a safe and free retreat to our Fortress Gross Friedrichsburg in case of war..) On this letter P.Nuyts has offered to send the following letter in reply: Hon. Sir General Lamey ... It should be evident, that Their Highmightnesses of the States-General have conquered with Their glorious arms the territories which formerly belonged to the Portuguese on this Coast, and in particular in 1640 the village of Taccorary, whose Anta Natives have subjected themselves to Their Highmightnesses of the States-General and Their Chartered WIC by an act of vassalage in 1656, long before His Prussian Majesty ever had shown any sign of intending to occupy any domains on this Coast, and it is simply due to the peacefulness and connivance of our predecessor that Y.Hs. have been able to trade in peace and quiet. We are the more surprised that His Prussian Majesty makes any pretension on Taccorary, because for more than two years now Y.Hs. have not dared to oppose the enterprises of the English RAC at the said place, and we are sad to note the details from the Contract which Y.Hs. have submitted to us, how Y.Hs. have sapped the authority of Their Highmightnesses and corrupted the Abocroese and Igwirase, whom Y.Hs. dare to call "subjects of His Prussian Majesty", whilst it should be quite clear that they have since 1642 submitted themselves entirely to Their Highmightnesses and Their WIC, which agreements, as well as the one with Ankobra we have renewed on 22nd August 1697 and 13th July of this year. All these things may have extreme results, which would be very inconvenient, in particular in view of the present close alliance between our mutual sovereigns in Europe ...

13th October 1707. D.-G. demonstrated to the Members how Oppercommies Jan Landman at Axim has traded over the past months August and September an amount of 100 Mk, 10 ø, 6½ E. gold, 904 lbs ivory, 80 lbs crevell and 16 slaves and that he has given so many proofs of proper conducts and diligence in the service of the Noble Comp, that now that Oppercommies J.D.Ingelby has... repatriated, to recompensate him with a better position. ... unanimously agreed to propose ... Landman as Chief Merchant to the Ass.of X, on a salary of fl.80.

(VIC 124 cont.)

28th October 1707.

D.-G. informed the Council that the Underking of Commany, Teki Coma, has handed over to him, on the 9th of this month, the son of the King of Saboe, whom he had redeemed from the 'tJufferse for 15 bendas of gold, and that furthermore, at his arrival on 22nd of this month, he had handed over to him one of his Caboceers. Teki Coma requested him to take both these men as pawns for an amount of 3 Marks of gold, which he would pay back by the time the disputes between him, his brother and the Kings of Fetu and Saboe are settled. Considered that the State of 'tJuffer is very important for him, that the 'tJufferse have the opening and closing of the paths for the Assjanteze merchants in their hands, and that he, Teki Coma has for that reason paid even more to them than what they had claimed, the Council has resolved to lend Teki Coma against the mentioned pawns the said 3 Marks, as it is in the interest of the Trade.

24th November 1707. On 7th May this year it was decided to summon Commies Pantzer from Fida, and to leave the lodge there in the hands of an ondercommies, and to entrust a Chief Merchant with the dispatch of the slave ships, this on the one hand because of the multiple dangers to which the Comp.'s goods are exposed there as a result of frequent cases of arson at that place, on the other because of various complaints the King of Fida had sent about him, Pantzer, in two different letters. When mentioned Pantzer arrived on 8th July from Fida, and was summoned to the Council Meeting where explanations for his actions were demanded, the D.-G. and Chief Merchant Van Weesel have clearly perceived from his response that the oppercommiesen Jan Dirk Ingelby and Van den Broucke (the latter had offered to take over Pantzer's job) had a premeditated and detestable passion against mentioned Pantzer, and that they have corrupted the King of Fida to send such complaints about Pantzer, as appears very clearly from a letter dd. 6th June 1706 from Ingelby to Van den Broucke, which was intercepted ... Later it was learnt from other sources that Van den Broucke has paid to Ingelby the sum of 4 Marks in order to let him forego his turn to go to Fida, in order to be able to claim some un-paid debts there. For this there are no written proofs, but when asked, (Ingelby) said that he preferred to give priority to somebody else, and fearing that more of the roguish tricks which he has perpetrated might leak out, he thought it wiser to ask for permission to resign. Since the slave trade is most essential to the Interest of the Company, and without it little progress could be made on this Coast, but also it could be expected that the trade at Fida may decline from time to time as a result of the impudence of the Natives, who seem very confident that we feel compelled to send the Noble Comp's ships always to their roads, and also because he, Van den Broucke has totally ruined the esteem which our Nation used to inspire there with his rogueries and intrigues, so that he doesn't even dare to show his head there again to the King of Fida and his Grandees ... the Members have agreed to seek redress by which one would always be able to dispatch the slave ships quickly, and therefore they have sent Commies Pantzer in a canoe to Appa in order to go from there to Great Ardra for an "ocular inspection" and in order

(WIC 124 cont.)

to make there an agreement with the King for the continuation of the slave trade, as well as that in gold and ivory. On 4th November the said Pantzer returned, and his report was offered to the Hon. Members of this Council. It shows that Appa is situated very conveniently near the beach, with a better bay (than at Whydah or Jaquin?) and without a very strong surf, that there is a beautiful fresh water river near-by and also enough firewood, to supply slaveships with water and wood, which would relieve the Noble Comp. from the need to send costly canoes for that purpose from this Coast. This place has also some advantages for the speedy dispatch of slave ships, as they can set up their schoven (sheafs =?) whilst they do their trade, which is not practicable at Fida because the lodge is there so far away from the beach. Tradegoods also risk there to be frequently reduced or stolen by the Natives whilst they are carried from the beach. Furthermore, the King of Great Ardra alone has the closing and opening of the passages to Fida and Appa in his hands, and has been making promises to supply slaves to no other Nations (exception being made for the Portuguese), which in time of peace, when all Nations sail to this Coast, would bring the greatest advantages to the Company. ... It has therefore been unanimously resolved to send Commies Pantzer on the "Waterland" to Fida, with a proper instruction to embark there the merchandise which are still in the Company's lodge, and to go with them to Appa, in order to establish there a new lodge for the Noble Comp., leaving only ondercommies Heermans at Fida, who from time to time should report to us on what is happening at Court there, and Pantzer shall continue the slave, ivory and gold trade with the said remnants of merchandise till it will be decided, at the arrival of the next slave ships whether they should be sent to Fida or to Appa.

20th March 1708. D.-G. demonstrated to the Hon. Members with the help of the minutes of a previous meeting of the Council, that the Great Asjanteyn Sovereign Zaay claims by mouth of his deputy, the Caboceer Assaminiaquara and the General's servant Ampa satisfaction for 80 Ps. ivory-tusks which he would have sent hither in the days of D.-G- Van Sevenhuysen, and for which the said Van Sevenhuysen would not have been willing to pay more than the value of one Mark of gold, whilst said Zaay sustains that they were worth at least 2 Marks of gold. Hereupon Their Hons. summoned the servants Bossum Equi and Aussi of the said D.-G. Van Sevenhuysen, who had been used for the sending of those tusks, as well as the Makelaer Pieter Pasop, who declared that (indeed) those tusks have been brought here at that time ... As it has come to the notice of Their Hons. that they (i.e. the Asantes) make at other places similar pretensions, and as they want to promote and reinforce the trade with these people -which has been troublesome enough-(to start), Their Hons. have unanimously requested the D.-G. to accede to the pretension of this Asjanteyn deputy and to satisfy the Great Sovereign Zaay in order to encourage him the more to continue the trade with our Nation...

WIC 125; Minutes D.-G. & Council, 1708

30th April 1708. Oppercommies Landman informed the Council that a Negro the Caboceer Aussikoe, who lately gave up his obedience to the Brandenburg Company, has come to live with all his people at Axim. But he owed the Brandenburg General the sum of 16 bendas of gold on account of goods he had bought on credit and which he, Aussikoe had sent to Aowin in order to sell them there with some profit, and of which he expects to receive the returns soon. He humbly requested us to be kind enough to pay the aforesaid debt to the Brandenburg General, so that no troubles like panyarring or other irregularities will develop at Axim, promising to return the borrowed sum at Axim as soon as his people return from Aowien ... It has been resolved to lend to Aussikoe the mentioned sum, in order to be paid to the Brandenburgers ...

6th July 1708. "Translation of a Letter from Sir Dalby Thomas, dd. 25th June 1708, addressed to P.Nuyts" (NB i.e. re-translated into English!) ... Y.H. having bribed a Negro called Quaggio Aqua, the present Chief-caboceer of the Negrocroom of Annamaboe, and some others to arrest one Thomas ... mentioned Quaggio Aqua has indeed caught mentioned Thomas when he was for some business at Annamaboe on 21st of this month, and brought him to the Dutch Fort Amsterdam at Cormantyn (where mentioned Quaggio Aqua has been very well recompensated by Y.Hs.) in order to be transported from there to St. George d'Elmina, where, according to my latest information he still is, under the pretence that he should be condemned by Y.H. and Y.Hs' Council, because he once deserted from the service of the Dutch WIC; but this is entirely contrary to the treaty of 1st December 1674, signed in London ... concerning the freedoms of subjects of each Nation in Africa.

9th July 1708. (Nuyts has invited D.Thomas to discuss various disputes which they have had lately, but D.Thomas replied that he was feeling too weak to come to Elmina. Nuyts pproposed therefore to write to Dalby Thomas:

As Y.H.'s weakness does not allow Y.H. to come to Elmina, we hope to have the honour to meet Y.H. to-morrow on the banks of the Sweet River; we shall for that occasion bring two tents to be set up there, and bring with us some food and drink ... (Answer from Dalby Thomas, received on the same day:) ... I shall meet Y.H. at the appointed time, hoping that we may arrive at some agreement which may please our masters, which, I believe, could best be done drinking just a little cup of coffee or tea, without any great ceremony ...

24th July 1708. D.-G. demonstrated how a new dispute had arisen with the English, when Sir Dalby Thomas demanded that two rowers who had deserted to Accra were slaves of the English Company, and that they should be restituted to him; D.-G. had however replied, that they were free-born Natives from Moure, and that by some roguish trick they had been stolen and sold to him, on which the English General had replied that it had never been his habit to inquire into the manner in which sellers got their slaves.

(WIC 125 cont.)

On this D.-G. had replied that in that case he, English General, should excuse him if he were to rely, if the occasion presented itself, on such rogues in order to take his revenge, and also that Mr. Phipps should not have been so precocious as to have first committed an act of kidnapping in the open sea, and immediately afterwards to have fired in an inimical manner on the croom and the fort...

31st July 1708. D.-G. read out a paragraph from a letter by the Commissioners Landman and Engelgraaff, who have been sent to Fida in order to buy there slaves to be used as craftsmen on this Coast, demonstrating, that they would not be able to buy 50 or 60 slaves on this (Slave-) Coast, unless they paid to the King of Fida the usual custom paid for a slave ship, which would mean the payment of another 20 Ps. slaves above the before mentioned number. The D.-G. gave this into deliberation to the Council, as those slaves are indeed badly needed here. It has been agreed, that the D.-G. should send a gift of 12 yards red cloth, and to write to the Commissioners that they may add to that as much as they may deem necessary ... and demonstrate to the King of Fida, that the Company does not make any profit on such slaves. (It was also decided to let the Commissioners Landman & Engelgraaff renew "the contract made in 1703 with the French Nation about the freedom and safety of the roads at Fida")

22nd October 1708. President gave into consideration to the Council ... that the Portuguese tobacco is these days very popular on this Coast, and that with this commodity much of the trade could be attracted to our factories. It has therefore been unanimously resolved to buy that Portuguese tobacco for the Comp., because if one let these Portuguese depart with their tobacco, others, in particular the English Nation, would take the opportunity to buy it ...

WIC 124.

7th January 1709 A Bill of Expenses of Commissioners Engelgraaff and Landman, made in Fida, was presented to the Council:
320 lbs. cowries, 57 Ps. "servetten", 40 Ps. "graetjens" and 20 Ps. "caffa".
For robbed goods on the River of Jaquyn (sic): 600 lbs cowries for expenses on 200 slaves, who because of bad weather had to wait 8 or 10 days on shore before they could be embarked, and 137 Ps. servetten for refreshments for they yacht "Cormentyn".
Commies Pantzer has furthermore declared Mk 3, 7 ø and 2 E. for his mission to Great Ardra and Appa ...

WIC 180; Letters & Papers from Ardra (Chamber Amsterdam)

Van den Broucke to Ass. of Ten, 25th July 1707

... Trade is much in decline here because the Natives of various states have disputes, which makes the slaves extraordinarily expensive, in particular (those from ?) Harder, which has tightly closed all the passages because it does not receive sufficient contributions as they say, but in my opinion chiefly because they desire us to bring our trade again to their country to the old place at Offra, as they have on previous occasions said.

(WIC 180 cont.)

This could indeed be quite effective if there were peace, but in time of war this would be too dangerous ... This ship could have been dispatched much sooner, if the slaves embarked on it had been shown, because then those of Harder would readily have added theirs to them, to all probability, and connived at the opening of the paths for that purpose ... We have taken into Y.Hs'. service here a free Negro in order to watch the slaves, which in my opinion is useful for the safe transport of the slaves. I hope Y.Hs. will not be dis-pleased with this.

All Nations have the habit to fire their guns when arriving on the roads here, in order to announce their arrival, and I have also given orders to that extent, but as Y.Hs. have ordered that this should not be done, as it is not conducive to the respect of the Comp., I have obeyed, and given orders to the contrary, upon which has followed a present from the King of Fida in the form of a cow, in gratitude.

A.Schoonheydt to Ass. of Ten, 16th November 1707.

Not only are most of the tradegoods we have here non-current ones, there were also not less than six Portuguese and two English ships anchored here, and most of the time we had to compete with about 9 other ships; yet I have been lucky enough to be able to dispatch the "Amsterdam" within 2 months with an armasoen of 200 heads, having applied in the meantime all my diligence not only here at Fida, but also about 5 miles to the Leeward at a place called Chakyn, to buy slaves ... I was informed by Messrs Boerhave and Heermans, whom I had sent to that place to take care of the trade, that a Portuguese brigantine was anchored there, and as it happened that the yacht "Elmina," Capt. Thomas Gerard, had just arrived on the roads here on its way to the Bight in order to trade ivory, I thought it good to inform Capt. Gerard of this, and indeed, shortly afterwards he had the good luck to encounter the said Portuguese and to relieve him of as many contrabandsgoods as is permitted, taking also a number of 100 slaves from it, whom he embarked on the "Amsterdam"; I hope that this is not unwelcome news to Y.Hs.

An extraordinary event worth mentioning happened here shortly afterwards, when Capt. Hendrik Broerse, sailing on Y.Hs'. ship "Eva Maria", received information that a French ship mounted with 16 guns and with a crew of 60, in the company of a Portuguese brigantine which it had captured three days earlier, was sighted on the upper-part of the Gold Coast. When he encountered the Frenchman, he found his crew to weak to be able to attack the French ship itself, but by sailing fast he managed to deprive the French of their Portuguese prize, with which he arrived safely at Elmina. The French could not prevent this, but they they boldly sailed past Elmina within the sight of the Castle on its way to Fida in order to buy there slaves, which made the General decide to reinforce Capt. Broerse with over 20 soldiers and to send him in pursuit of the French ... But Broerse did not catch up with them before Little Popo, a little more than 5 miles from here, and there they fought which each other from early morning till noon, more than 5 hours, and eventually the French, who according to Capt. Broerse could not have resisted much longer ...blew up their ship. 23 Frenchmen were

(VIC 180 cont.)

salvaged by the sloop of our ship, whom Capt. Broerse has left here with the French Director on the latter's request. We had two casualties on our ship.

J. Landman & W. Engelgraaff to Ass. of Ten, 2nd February 1708.

... On 16th June the "justitia" left Fida with 673 heads of slaves on board, after having taken in a number of 114 heads in Elmina and the factories of Moure, Cormantyn, Apam, Bercou and Accra. We would have liked to be able to follow up the General's order to embark 700 or even more slaves on the ship, and for which purpose he has also sent a special cargasoen, but as the Captain sent us a note that he could not decently put more slaves on board of his ship; he therefore requested to stop the trade, which we did, in order not to over-charge the ship, which, particularly in case of an outbreak of smallpox or other diseases can be disastrous, because sitting so closely packed together, once one is sick he rapidly infects all the others. It is sad to note how difficult the trade is here for our Nation, in fact not only ours, but also the English, French and Portuguese; it is virtually impossible to prevent the Negroes from stealing goods when they are carried from the beach, which is more than three hours from here, in particular the cowries, which is the money of the Natives here. We have kept day after day 3 white sailors armed with swords and rifles on the beach in order to be present whilst the goods are being carried on shore and to prevent this pilfering, but in spite of all those precautions they continue to do it, and we can never get any recompensation without lodging a complaint with the King. The only solution would be, to our humble opinion, to put the cowries in double casks or waterproof barrels with iron hoops.

Jan De Paauw to Ass. of Ten, 11th February 1709.

(reports arrival at Whydah, as successor of "Chief Merchant and President" Adriaen Schoonheyd, on 7th November 1708) ... I learnt that the King of Fida had died on 28th October of last year, and that his little son of about 12 years had succeeded him as King. When I came here in the lodge, I learnt from ondercommies Evert Drugman and assistant Albert d'Altuna that the slaves were at that time very scarce. Capt. Carte, one of the grandees of this State who with this young King has the whole government in his hands, explained that it was solely due to the death of the King that the trade was poor, that this country is always in great disorder and confusion when Kings die, which brings great disadvantages to the trade. I send with the ship^{"Quirina"} which brings this letter 530 well conditioned slaves to Mr. Jac. Beks, the Governor of Curaçao. I would like to propose to Y.Hs., with due submission, that if the cowries are priced in Holland 9 to 10 stuyvers per lb, to put in the cargo of the following ships always for 1/3 of the total of slaves to be bought cowries, as cowries are always current merchandise here, as well as platthiljos, if they are of good quality, groote nepten and iron rods; the latter are seasonal commodities, in particular for the months March and April. Trade in beads is rather dangerous

(WIC 180 cont.)

and it is difficult to predict ... as appears from the remainder of beads we have to return hereby... only the small sparkling/^{yellow}ones are rather much in demand. The lodge is in such a poor condition, that there is hardly anything worth the name of servants' lodgings, and one can't find at all a proper store-house for the merchandise, which have now to be stored in a barn under a thatch roof. Because of this lack of room in the lodge I am compelled not to take more goods on shore than I need in one day. I suppose I have to ascribe the poor condition of this lodge to the many changes of commiesen and merchants here, who having traded for one or two ships used to return to Elmina. If they had been able to stay here for some time, they could have built some proper storehouses. It would have cost the Comp. at least 12 or 14 slaves in goods, but I should think that it would be better to make some small expenses than to have to suffer big losses, such as we had in 1706, when the storerooms were consumed by fire. The King here is obliged, according to promises and agreements, to maintain the lodge, and provide it with ^{proper}tronken or store rooms. He does not offer less than that, but if one needs something from him, he keeps one waiting for years. The French and the English have therefore decided to let everything be made on their own expense by their own slaves, and are in that way provided with proper lodgings and store houses ...

PS. I forgot to mention that I sent assistant Albertus d'Altuna with a canoe full of tradegoods to Jaquin in Ardra, as that seems to be a good place for trade too, and because trade here was at my arrival most miserable. I had hoped that he would be able to buy there at least one third of the required number of slaves, but that trade was not as favourable as I had thought. It has however helped in the trade; But I perceive that the King of Great Ardra is not very pleased with the trade in this manner, and he demands that we come with our ships directly to his country to trade ... There is at the moment no other Comp. servant with me in the lodge than assistant Brugmans...

Jan de Paauw to Ass. of Ten, 6th September 1709.

... The "Catharina Christina" arrived here on 23rd July, after having met with much disorder and adversity. On the orders of President Van Weesel (Curaçao) 294 Ps. slaves have been bought on the Upper Coast, among them 11 boys and 8 girls, making together 287 Pieces d'India, and afterwards we have bought for Y.Hs. yet 215 Ps. slaves, and Capt. Corn- Boes has therefore bought a total of 509 slaves. He left these roads however with only 459 heads, because there has been great mortality among the Mina slaves. The slaves are scarce here as a result of the great number of ships coming to trade here, and one can hardly sell even the best tradegoods. There are at the moment not less than 11 ships anchored on the roads here, and on top of that the passages through this country have been closed by the King of Ardra to such an extent, that hardly a single slave comes through. I have therefore sent one of my gentlemen here with a big canoe with tradegoods by sea to Aquin (sic) in Ardra, where we have continued the trade, and in fact the slaves bought in that manner constitute the majority of those we have bought (lately), and otherwise I would hardly have been able to embark more

(WIC 180 cont.)

60 or 70 slaves in this ship. Yet, the King of Fida and his Grandees show great discontent about our trade there and they try all they can to prevent us from trading there, claiming that for this reason the King of Great Ardra is impeding the passage of slaves still more. I objected however, telling them that if they could assure me that there would be abundant slaves here, that we would then certainly stop our trade there, but that as long as there were so many ships here waiting on the roads and hardly any slaves could be got, it was my duty to send our ships to those places where they can be got, or that otherwise I would have to let this ship depart without slaves. Things being as they are I have therefore continued the trade in the same manner, but I doubt if we could continue for long, because the French and the English instigate the Negroes to thwart us, and if we would have to retire from here, the slave trade would be for some time be in a very bad shape for us ... Three slaves escaped by night, and up to now we have not managed to get them back. But the King of Ardra has sent a messenger to promise us that we shall have them back. As I can't go myself to Ardra, I must stay content with that promise ...

NBKG 81; Elmina Journal.

14th October 1709; (D.-G. Adriaen Schoonheyd) ... written to Engelgraaff at Fida: ... our Cruiser "Eva Maria" has been so fortunate as to capture a Portuguese ship which earlier had been captured by a French ship with 20 guns, which in its turn was stopped and captured by Capt. Jan Thomas. This letter is to accompany the present 5 French officers, among them one Capt. Bertrand La Bury, who says that he is a cousin of Monsieur Dérougain, and for that reason we have treated him politely, and even written a little note to mentioned Dérougain, hoping that Y.H. lives in a good understanding with that Nation ... the remaining Frenchmen will be shipped when the next buys ("herring-boat") leaves for the rio Benyn.

16th October 1709. Wrote to-day a circular letter to the commanders of the Upper and Lower Factories:

Messieurs! We have decided to order Y.Hs. not only to continue the slave trade with the greatest possible vigour, but also to be careful that the slaves will be found to be good and deliverable; each Commander shall have to keep the purchased slaves at his factory, till we give orders that they be collected. We have made this decision principally because we have the intention to send the ship which has been captured by Capt. Seraat (?) within 6 weeks, or at most 2 months with an armasoen of 300-350 slaves to Curaçao ...

22nd October 1709: Received a letter from oppercommies Haringh, Accra, in answer to ours of yesterday, asking for further order concerning the purchase of salt. He also informed us that the brother of the King of Aquamboe had died there, and that he feared that that would not be a good thing for the trade.

24th October 1709: Received to-day a letter from commies Robberts Norré, Cormantyn, that it was already ten days ago, that the Braffo of Fantyn had

(NBKG 81, cont.)

left for Abora, where he is negotiating with deputies of the Aquamboese, the 'tJufferse, Commany and Ackanny in order to make war on those of Cabes Terra. He asked for gunpowder, in order to sell it against good Fantyn kakeraas.

1st November 1709: Received a letter from commies Norré, dd. Cormantyn, 30th October, informing us that the Fantynse ~~are~~ very divided amongst themselves about how to distribute the gold which they have received from the Ackaniste in order to begin their war against Cabes Terra ...

8th November 1709: received a letter from oppercommies Haringh, dd. Accra, 27th October, informing us that he had already traded 21 marks, but that the Akimse, who had provided (him with) this boon, had left for their country, after having learnt that the Assjantynse were really at war with them, which would also be the reason why not many slaves and tusks were being brought down. Also, that he had the intention to send one of his whitemen to Lampi in order to open the trade there, but that the King of Aquamboe had dissuaded him to do so, because his merchandise might run the risk of being robbed, as he (the Akwamuhene) was at war with the Aquahoeze.

9th November 1709: from d.^o, 5th November: ... that he has already purchased 600 little boxes of salt, but that they will have to be collected a little to the leeward of Craa. That he had sent with the yacht going to Fida 19 male and 7 female slaves, and that he had again 8 men and 5 women in stock.

10th November 1709: Received from commies d'Outreleau a letter dd. 5th November, Bercoe ... that the King of Aquamboe was said to have the intention of making war on the Agonnase, and that he has threatened to attack our fort, which is at present in a desolate condition, two of its batteries having collapsed during the last rains, for which reason he (=?) requested for a quantity of ammunition and 4 soldiers. We trust that these are just rumours, as we don't have any dispute with the King of Aquamboe.

19th November 1709: received from commies Haringh, dd. Accra, 12th November: ... that he had sent one of his whitemen to Ponnie in order to trade and in order to attract the other Lampi Negroes to that place with some tradegoods, to which the King of Aquamboe had agreed, but the latter did not permit that any arms or ammunition be brought thither ...

27th November 1709: received a letter, originally in French, from Sir Dalby, dd. Cabo Corse, 15th October. some traders arrived here, who said that they had taken the road to Mina, because they had met the boys of Pieter Pasop near the place where they make salt, who had told them to go to Mina to do their trade, and when they objected, they have beaten our trading people very badly ... Not long ago I had here some Assjantynse who told me that they had encountered some of their people going from their country to that of the 'tJufferse, who advised them not to take the Fettu road, telling them that they would be captured if they took that road in the country of Abramboe, according to what they had been told at Mina; and it has indeed happened, that some of these people were captured in order to prevent them from coming to us and to frustrate them so that they go to Mina. Y.H. should excuse me if I use

(NBKG 81; cont.)

the same measures. Upon which we replied this evening ... Concerning the Natives of the interior, I have always thought that our mediation and exhortations towards union are preferable to spending a lot on wars, as has been done by several of our predecessors, and which has brought little advantage to our Dutch Company. The Company is a trading, and not a war-making body, and therefore I could not see how it could be good to arm ourselves in order to reduce the Negroes; and if we were to reduce any of them, it would be the Fantynse, who nowadays have become rather too big, and therefore we are also of the opinion that it would have been better if the Saboe state had never been defeated(? "ge-emperteert") by them. The war which all the states -and among them the Fantynse are the most powerful- are now preparing against those of Cabes Terra, is in our opinion quite justifiable, as the Cabes Terrase have virtually invited such action, because there has never been a state which has so much thwarted the trade everywhere. Personally I would however not like to involve myself in this matter, and if V.H. were of the same opinion, I am confident, that it would not take long before they are defeated and the trade from that side, principally that of the Akanists, will revive. It may also please you to know that we learnt, by a sidewind, that the Cabes Terrase would be happy to accept our mediation, but as each state seems in motion in order to defeat it, we have declined such proposals, as we could not see how this could agree with our commercial interests.

same date (27/11): To-day our servants returned from the Akkanists' country, in the company of a group of Negroes of that nationality, rather in order to survey the situation than to buy tradegoods, but they reported that the presents which had lately been sent to the principal personalities had pleased them. They added that before long they would come to trade in large numbers, but that for the time being they were still engaged in a war against those of Cabes Terra.

Received also a note from commies Butler at Ancober, accompanying the balance from the factory Ancober, informing us that he had made sales up to a total of 14 marks.

29th November 1709: Received a letter from Engelgraaff, dd. Fida, 8th November: in which he describes the poor condition of the trade there ... and how he has constantly to trade in competition with some 12 to 14 other ships. he furthermore wrote: In the neutrality treaty it is clearly stipulated, that from these roads no ships may depart at the same time as those of such Nation with which the Nation of the first mentioned ships is at war, but rather that their departure should be delayed for 24 hours. This was not done by the French Capt. Thomas, who left 14 hours after the departure of our yacht "Axim". As the French were unwilling to give me that guarantee, I deliberated with the English Merchant how we could in some way compell the Frenchman to obey, knowing that we have the King, the Caboceers, the Natives and other Nations on our side, and also because Caboceer Auferri of Popo (who had heard of our troubles) had offered to help us with armed men in time of emergency, I resolved to send commies De Paauw, together

(NBKG 81, cont.)

with the English second (in command) to Popo, in order "to make palaver" with Aufferri on that subject (and to insist) that he should not come down with his people before we had written, and that in the mean-time we would spread the rumour that he would come down with 6 or 700 men in order to bring the French to ~~their~~ senses and see if this would not frighten the Natives enough to make them compell the French to give us satisfaction. This proved to be as successful as intended, because when we told the Captains Carter and Agou that we did not have the least differend with them, the King or the Fidase, but rather with the French, and only asked their assistance in preventing the French from ruining us and this country (they seemed to agree). We also told them, that if the French would not be willing to grant us the safe departure of our ships, and mentioned Thomas were to capture any of them, we would seek redress here with violence. But by midnight I received the fateful news that the "soetendael" had been taken by mentioned Thomas a little to the windward of Great Popo, and this afternoon 4 men of the mentioned boat arrived here, having escaped in a sloop. This afternoon the boat was sent up to the roads here, and anchored between two other French ships. So far I haven't received a single sign from them, but I have gone to Mons. Derouguin in order to claim it from him. He said however that he had not yet heard from the boat either. The King and Carter say that they will convince the French, with or without violence to release the boat. With the English Merchant I have made an agreement (as in such-like cases I assist him too) that provisionally he will blockade the road to the beach, so that neither goods nor slaves will travel either way and the entire trade comes to a standstill, and if it is really necessary we shall make use of Afferry's people, but in first instance Capt. Carter has requested us not yet to try that...

NBKG 59; WIC- Letters from the Guinea Coast.

P. Nuyts to Ass. of Ten, Elmina, 25th May 1707.

... I have learnt that the English General is going to make a contract with the Portuguese from Brazil allowing them to trade freely on this Coast, and to provide them with Fida slaves, if they pay 3 ϕ per man and 40 Angels per woman in excellent Brazilian gold. The General has also sent one of his Chief-Merchants, Mr. Blindey, to Brail; he is expected back soon. On 26th February I received a letter from commies Haringh, Accra, that the English had corrupted a pagan Baäl's priest (sic!) to burn down Dutch Accra. ... We have taken some gold out of Portuguese ships, because we were informed by a Portuguese that His Majesty of Portugal had sent a proclamation to Brail in which H.M. forbids all his subjects there, on penalty of death, to send any Brazilian minerals to this part of the world, ordering them to bring them straight to Portugal.

Those people of Fida have become so rich of the trade which they have carried on over the past years with all European Nations, that they can just set our lodge afire and leave the criminals who did it free, even going to the extent

(NBKG 59 cont.)

of accusing our servants. We need therefore a good Oppercommies who is able to take such things up with the King and his Grandees and who can decide when to send the ships to Appa or to keep them at Fida, depending on the political conditions in the area.

Meanwhile, the King of Fida has sent two messengers hither, who arrived on 15th November last year, and who came to greet us in the name of their King and his Grandees. They asked us to persuade the King of Aquamboe to send a big canoe to Fida in order to collect a big quantity ("party") of gifts which they have prepared for him. With these they hope to change the bad ideas which that King has conceived about them, the Fidase, into a good friendship. The King of Fida (thus) having sufficiently shown his weakness, we decided not to let this chance slip by, and so we sent those ambassadors in the company of one of our own servants on 23rd November to Accra. They found the King of Aquamboe near our fort, and we caused Pieter Pasop -who is a brother-in-law of the King of Aquamboe- to convince him to treat the Fida envoys a bit roughly and to represent our interests to them. We also sent two of our servants with the Akwamboe and Fida envoys going to Fida, having promised the Aquamboe envoy a recompensation if he represented our interest to that King our interest by speaking to him in an unfriendly manner in the name of his master ...

Whenever English ships from Jamaica or Barbados arrive here, our slave trade virtually comes to a halt; even if one paid 3 ø per head, it would be difficult to get any.

WIC 41; Secret Minutes of the Resolutions of the Assembly of Directors, meeting in the Chamber Amsterdam.

12th November 1708; ... Examined this year's petitions for merchandise from the Guinea Coast, and it was found, that among those goods required are 60,000 lbs cowries. As the required cowries should certainly be sent to the Coast, and on top of that a certain quantity of cowries will be needed for the Ardra slave ships, and as on the occasion of the expected auction of the East Indian Company they will to all appearances be sold at lower prices than by private merchants, the members are unanimously of the opinion that these cowries should be bought from the East Indian Comp. But as the Treasury of the Noble Comp. could at present not carry the expense of the monies needed for the purchase of such cowries, the Hon. Members of the Assembly were sounded out if they might be inclined to buy some cowries on their own account for the Noble Comp. ... on which two gentlemen came forward, and offered each to buy 25,000 lbs ...

12th April 1709; ... Yesterday afternoon Pensionary Heynsius came to speak about the introduction of slaves by this Comp. into the Spanish Indies, once King Charles III will be established as Monarch of Spain. We had in that connection sought the support of the Hon Pensionary, and as he promised us such support, it was resolved to go and thank him officially for his good offices ... Those who were commissioned to do that, reported that the Hon.

(WIC 41, cont.)

Pensionary had read out to them in secret a letter from Mr. Vrybergen, Their Highmightinesses' Envoy to the Court of the Queen of Great Britain, insinuating that the Royal African Company of England would be compelled to abandon its trade on the Coast of Guinea, and that Their Hons. might inclined to sell Their fortresses on the mentioned Coast to the Dutch WIC or any other persons, because the mentioned English Company would not be able to get any profit out of the trade on that Coast... Upon which it was resolved, as this case seemed entirely new to the Gentlemen Commissioners, that each of them should give knowledge of this to their respective Principals with due secrecy.

16th April 1709;

Mr. Borss Van Waveren, delegate on behalf of the Assembly of Ten, reports that he has had a meeting with Pensionary Heynsius, who has promised to send instructions to the Dutch Envoy to the Spanish Court of H.M. Charles III . It was resolved to request Mr. Borss Van Waveren to go and greet Mr. Heynsius before his departure from The Hague, and to entertain mentioned Mr. Heynsius once more on the subject of the free trade for the Company with the Spanish in the West Indies
