

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 II: 1710-1740



WIC 124; Minutes of the Council Meetings, Elmina.

23rd January 1710; ... D.-G. proposed to send the ship "Africa" with its present armasoen to Curaçao, as it is already too heavy to make still a voyage to the Bight and the Rivers, and as we are also provided with more appropriate vessels for that purpose at the moment. But the mentioned ship, as a result of the great mortality among the slaves confiscated in various searches of Portuguese ships, had not yet acquired its complete armasoen, whilst on the other hand it should be considered a matter of the greatest urgency that the said ship be dispatched as soon as possible. At this juncture Oppercommies Haringh expressed his opinion that along the Lower Coast, around the Rio Volta, a good quantity of slaves could surely be purchased, because the peoples of that area had been involved in the recent wars at Accra and other places and had for some time now not had the occasion to bring their slaves and ivory to the market.

6th March 1710; Messrs Schoonheyd, Ingelby and Haringh demonstrated that it is frequently being reported that soldiers and craftsmen stationed in this Castle, as well as sailors from ships anchored on these roads, have made it their habit to wait on the paths for Negroes who come to sell palm-wine in the Crom, and to take it away from them with violence. They therefore proposed an ordinance for the suppression of that malpractice

4th April 1710; D.-G. informed the Council that an exchange of protests and counter-protests had taken place between himself and Sir Dalby Thomas, concerning robberies and panyarrings committed lately by the Fantyns against servants of the Noble Comp. On this Sir Dalby had replied that he did not know about those (specific) acts, that Fantyn is a big country in which there are bound to be some rogues, and that if they were found out, they certainly would be punished. Sir Dalby added that it appeared as if the Fantyns have the intention of not permitting to either Company as much trade as it desires, to panyar a lot of people, and in fact to take away from both Elmina and Cabo Corso all the trade and to cause an un-limited war. They also threaten to take revenge on all those of our friends and allies who have refused to help them in their war against Cabes Terra, which they expect to win. Sir Dalby therefore proposed a mutual agreement containing the following articles:

1. To offer protection against the evil designs which the Fantyns may have on the goods, men, slaves, vassals and others of both our Companies at and around our factories at Cormantyn, Agga, Annemaboe, Mouree, Cabo Corso, Elmina, Commany, Aguaffo and Fetu;
2. To join as many Natives to our alliance as is possible, and to make all Chief-Captains eat fetish that they will remain faithful to both of us, and that those who refuse to do so should be driven out from those places which enjoy our protection.
3. If the Fantyns again molest anybody belonging to our protected areas, we shall jointly declare war on them, and in every respect treat them as

the enemies of both of us.

Considerations of D.-G. Schoonheyd addressed to the Hon. Sir Dalby Thomas, Governor-General on behalf of the English Royal African Company ... It is true that the Fantyns have molested our servants, and committed other insolences to both our Companies, broken their contracts, and even have had the impertinence to demand more gifts, but H. Hon. will have to admit, that this is mainly so as a result of the continuous trade of the English 10% ships at Anemaboe, which is very profitable to them, and which gave them occasion to prefer their own interest above the duties they owe to our Companies. And this must also have been the principal cause for their kidnapping in the forest many innocent people, like highway-men, whom they sold afterwards; They did this already before the Saboese and Fetuse had been defeated by them, but the practice has increased since, together with their presumption. In broad daylight they have taken away from under our fort at Moure some people in order to abduct them to Cabo Corso or Annomabu and to sell them there, notwithstanding they had received sufficient satisfaction about the Saboe people who had fled. We could perhaps try to compell our Caboceers to eat fetish that they remain faithful to us and that they put a stop to these robberies, considering all those who do not want to join our alliance against the Fantyns as their enemies, but that would involve us in warfare along the whole coast, because there is hardly any state here which is not allied to the Fantynse; they would rather have both of our Companies as their enemies than Fantyn alone. It is also easy to say that war should be declared on the Fantynse on account of some minor dispute, but we do not see which state or who else would make such a declaration, and if we did it ourselves, we would expose the reputation of our Companies, in particular if we could not from the outset be sure of our victory, and the outcome could be an evil much worse than the present one.

WIC 2; Minutes of the Ass. of Ten.

17th September 1710. It has been taken into deliberation and agreed that since the slaves being bought for the slaveships at the various factories on the Gold Coast are very costly to the Company because of the many expenses for maintenance, their long voyage and the great mortality among them, and that they are therefore more expensive than those bought in Ardra and Angola, to write therefore to the D.-G. & Members of the Council, that after receiving this letter they should desist from further purchases of slaves on the Gold Coast, and to barter the cargoes which arrive rather for gold and other current tradegoods. If for some very important reason the slave trade on the Gold Coast were to be continued yet, and could not be totally abolished, they should explain to us on the first occasion which presents itself the reason for it. As we presume that on receiving this letter there will be some slaves present on the Gold Coast, it will be recommended to send them to Curaçao on board of the yacht "Elmina".

13th November 1711; ... Agreed to reply to D.-G. & Council, that T.H. the Directors have seen their considerations concerning the slave trade on the Gold Coast and that they can approve of them, and that therefore they are willing to approve of the purchase of slaves on the G.C., but as few as possible

WIC 41; Secret Minutes of the Presidial Chamber.

C.Bors Van Waveren, on behalf of the Ass. of Ten, to Adr. Schoonheyd, D.-G. at Elmina, Amsterdam, 29th December 1710.

We received Y.H's letter of last year, but learned with surprise that Y.H. considers the discovery and search for gold there on the Coast for the Comp. impossible and rejects it completely, where we, on the contrary, had expected that Y.H. would have indicated to us some expedient means to acquire gold, the more as Y.H's predecessor, P.Nuyts, had very positive ideas on this matter. We are therefore also definitely of the opinion that it should be possible for the Company to acquire some gold on the Coast, if it were provided with the necessary means thereto. As we think that this is one of the most considerable and essential points for the prosperity of the Noble Comp., we hereby request Y.H. to let Y.H's thoughts dwell once more on this issue, and we therefore send to Y.H. a copy of a letter of the late General Nuyts on this subject. (dd. 24/4/1706).

Copy of: Messrs. Hoevenaer, Haringh and Engelgraaff Robberts, Elmina, to the Gentlemen Commissioned to Secret Affairs, dd. 21st June 1711.

... We hereby inform Y.H. that we are entirely ignorant of what thoughts may have moved the late General (i.e. Schoonheyd) to consider the search for gold impracticable, unless he meant to say that the suggestions of the late Gen. Nuyts had remained without effect and that the Very Honourable Gentlemen of the WIC had not even thought fit to send hither a sufficient number of men needed for the conservation of the fortresses, let alone to start such an enterprise. Y.Hs. should not forget to take into consideration what the late General Nuyts thought to be required for such a project, and before even thinking of starting anything with a chance for success such should be sent hither. However, Gentlemen, we have the impression that Mr. General Nuyts must have been gravely mistaken, or that there must have been a kind of revolution, because what H.E. wrote about the good intentions of the Negroes living on the banks of the Ankober we do not find at all, on the contrary, we have the impression that they will with all their force resist all our attempts, so that the required men would not only be needed, but even be of the greatest necessity and be increased in number, because really, Gentlemen, Y.Es. should not indulge in the idea that Their power extends anywhere farther than the fire of Their guns can reach.

Concerning Y.Es' request that we take into serious consideration the demolition of some, or even all the forts, with the exception of the Main Castle, without abandoning any territory, Y.Hs. proposing to indicate or mark those places where the Company once owned (a building) by means of a big pole or stone, we humbly pray Y.Hs. to accept our advice; of old, even from the very days of the discovery and conquest of this Coast, it has been the true interest of the conqueror to acquire land, to build strongholds on it and to put in them as many men as necessary for both the bridling of the inhabitants and the conservation of those forts. But as in the course of time the commanders have experienced that the vastness of the land makes it impossible to them to bring it under their control by means of the sword, they have

come to the conclusion that in order to draw advantage from the conquered posts, it would be necessary to make contracts of peace (sic) with the Natives. The latter, seeing in particular in the days of the foundation of the Dutch WIC the simplicity and straightforwardness with which it proceeded, have not hesitated to seek more and more its protection and to take refuge under the walls of the Company's forts, and later it happened more and more frequently, with the increasing number of wars among the Negroes, that many people driven from areas deep in the interior, have also sought refuge under the walls of the forts of that Company; and so they have begun to form together a fairly big household (sic) by which ... the paths are being kept open. If now such a fortress were to be demolished, those dependents would also go away and take their protection from others, and go to the English, the Danes or the Brandenburgers. We can hardly believe that Y.Hs. are really of the opinion that the Noble Comp.'s property could be conserved by a simple marking sign, the more as Y.Hs. must be sufficiently aware of the fact that the people here are strangers to laws. These people know so well what is in their advantage and they have among themselves such strong laws of sovereignty, that they would see nothing wrong in violating such imaginary international regulations (laws) ...

WIC 3; Minutes Ass. of Ten.

20th November 1711. ... For some time now, frequent complaints have been received from the Coast concerning the poor quality of the rifles, and time and again large quantities of them are returned damaged. It has therefore been agreed to request all the Chambers to pay more attention that the stock and butt-ends of the rifles consist of one piece, and to arrange clearly with the suppliers that they sell only rifles of that quality. Furthermore, that each seller shall have to mark the rifles he sells to the merchants of the Chambers with his own mark, and that before purchase these rifles be properly inspected ...

WIC 124; Minutes Elmina Council.

21st March 1711. Reading of letters from the Ancober and Axim ... that the Caboccers of the Brandenburg forts, named Dikke Jan (Fat John), Mosson and Basko had made known to Appery, that a large number of Wassas^{and Anta}/soldiers had already arrived in the Bandenburg crom in order to help Dikke Jan, and Commies Butler expressed therefore his fears, that the Brandenburgers may in this way get the upper hand, and that in this way they could entirely ruin our trade in that area. In addition he wrote that the Ancoberse (who have declared to be ready to help him to their best ability) have let him know that if he, Butler, leaves them to their fate and takes the Comp.'s goods elsewhere, that he may be certain, that they will arrange matters in such a way, that our Nation will never again have the opportunity of having any trade, let alone a lodge there. In another letter, from Hermans, a similar warning was made concerning an imminent war ... It has therefore been resolved to send to Opppercommies Butler 50 armed Negroes, and to let the most valuable merchandise be brought from the Ancober to Axim in safety, but to let the person of Heermans and his servants stay in the lodge, and to let him assure the Negroes that he will defend it to the end...

WIC 124; 18th April 1711. The Council approved of the proposition to make the factories at Axim and Ancober interdependent of each other. Various reasons were given, principally that each of the factories having a Merchant of its own and being visited by the same traders as they are situated very close to each other, both Merchants tend to compete with each other and (even) to draw the traders away from each other. In that way they do not only ruin each other, but they make the traders also impertinent, disturbing greatly the regular trade in that way. It has therefore been agreed to appoint Commies ~~William~~ Butler as Chief (headman) of the two factories, and to put Solomon ter Smitte as Ondercommies under his authority on the Ancober Hill.

16th August 1712 (sic: should be 1711). Reading of a letter from Commies Boerhave, Boutry, in which he writes that Jan Connie, the headman of the Brandenburg Natives is chasing away more and more our subject peoples, robbing some of them, killing others; even, that having treated the Natives under the English fort at Dixcove, he has burnt the "voorcrom" (Suburb) of that town. That furthermore he has dared, together with Obim, to declare war upon us, threatening to commit similar acts of violence under our fort. The President then demonstrated how mentioned Conny after the peace which had been made ending the war between the Axim and Brandenburg Natives, has violated that peace, and at once has attacked again the very ones with whom he had just made peace, and on that occasion chased the friends of the Apper-rys, subjects of the Noble Company, completely out of the Anta country. Similarly he has compelled the English Natives again to withdraw from the protection of the guns (of Dixcove fort) and to stay now under the protection of our fort at Boutry. For that reason he is now threatening with some of his rebellious subjects to cause the ruin of our crom, which may lead to the death of the trade there. The reputation and the honour of the Comp. could not suffer that T.Hs' own subjects were not to be protected by their arms. T.Hs. therefore agreed that in order to put a stop to this evil a person should be sent thither who due to his experience with those Natives will be able to bring about a settlement in these matters, either by friendly or by forceful means. If he can't obtain with blandness what is needed, he may reinforce himself with as many men and arms as will be necessary to attain our aim. If Conny is still staying at Dixcove, and if the English are still trying to avoid any cause for dispute, it has been agreed to inform still this evening T.Hs the English in a letter, requesting them to act de communi concerto with us in this matter ... H.Haringh has been requested to supply all the needed Minase with arms and to render him thither, and, if more men are required, to arm all the people under our neighbouring forts in that area.

25th October 1711. President proposed to station Commies Jan de Paauw as Permanent Merchant for the Slave Trade at Fida, as he has earlier taken care of the service of the Noble Comp. at that place and is quite experienced in that trade. Josua Boerhave will take his position at Bercou, and Heermans will go to Boutry ...

WIC 41; Secret Minutes Ass. of Ten.

3rd December 1712. A letter from Messrs Haringh, Hoevenaar and Engelgraaff who are in charge of the management of the Coast of Guinea, dd. Elmina, 21st June 1711 was read out, concerning their considerations on how to raise a fund to cover the great expenses of the Company. They pray Y.Hs. to take into consideration the Portuguese who have the habit to go thither from Brazil in order to buy slaves all along the Coast, in exchange for gold, tobacco, sugar, kerduyvel (=?) and other produce, which trade seems to be more profitable here than at Fida or elsewhere. Whenever a **cruiser** of the Company searches such Portuguese ships, T.Hs do not draw any advantage from it, as they take mostly the precaution of being free of contraband goods. Yet, Y.Hs. can clearly see that the Portuguese have in fact free trade there, the more as they are able to escape the Comp.'s ships just by sailing under the protection of the guns of any fort of Foreign Nations. Considering that the Comp. could draw great advantage if these Portuguese could be necessitated to anchor, when coming straight from Brazil, at the Main Castle, by putting all their goods, like indigo, Brazilian tobacco, hides, gold &c. in a there-to specially designated store-house, exchanging then all those goods against metropolitan value-for slaves, and eventually making them sail straight to Brazil with those slaves without calling on any other ports, they (i.e. the writers of the letter) have made this proposal, as it has been felt, that one could easily bring the Brazilians to this (procedure).

Y.Hs. would in this way acquire a considerable **influx** of people deep from the interior, which will certainly bring advantage to all factories, and this would bring a boon not only in slaves, but also in gold and ivory. The various commanders of the factories would have to keep the slaves to their own charge till the aforesaid ships arrive at Elmina, where they should at once be exchanged for the goods they bring, to the latest known value in the fatherland, and with the same profit-margin as with which other goods are sold. In this way the Comp. would get double profit, viz. first with the purchase of the Negroes, and then again in the barter with the Portuguese. As the returning ships would in that way mostly be empty, this would also develop new perspectives for the Coastal trade. Interlopers too, would become soon more and more disappointed in their expectations, because the local people, seeing how easily they could sell at the Comp.'s forts would not retain their merchandise for the interlopers. The latter, who have to restrict themselves to the gold trade, would not know where to go.

... If Y. Hs. were to perceive the advantages of the above, it would be required to negotiate secretly such contracts with the Brazilians, avoiding publicity as much as possible, so that the Portuguese Crown, which is very jealous of the Brazilians, does not get any information about this, and also in order that they will not be prevented from this by the English, who nowadays subsist nearly entirely on the Portuguese. It has therefore been resolved to maintain the necessary secrecy on this issue and to propose it to the next meeting of the Ten.

WIC 41; 20th September 1712. It has been understood and consented to, to write to the present D.-G. Haringh a secret letter that the Gentlemen of this Assembly have a favourable opinion on the concept and the considerations concerning the admission of Portuguese ships arriving straight from Brazil and to barter their cargoes for slaves, and that they are willing to approve of an experiment with that trade ... but on condition that no contraband goods are found in those ships. And since the Directors received here the information that the Company could in this barter make about 300 guilders in goods and merchandise from the Brazilians for each slave, those goods should be valued as low as possible, if it wishes to make a proper profit on the Coast. Such Brazilian ships should also be provided with a certificate or passport concerning the slaves bought in this way at Elmina, so that later, in case of a search no dispute may arise about their origin.

WIC 124; 13th February 1712. Reading of a letter from Commies De Paauw, dd. Fida, 28th January 1712, including a protest by him and a counter-protest by the **Director** of the French Nation there, Mons. Jean Chamois, about the little ship **Aéra**, destined to the Bight-trade, which, having anchored on the Fida-roads on 15th January, was chased by a French pirate from Martinique and exploded miserably in the fight which ensued. This constitutes a notorious infraction of the Contract of Neutrality concerning the **security** of the Fida-roads, signed by three Nations. Considering that in these days of war the Noble Comp. cannot retaliate with violence because of the serious consequences now that the French send so many ships to Fida, the Commies could do nothing but ask Mons. Chamois for a proper recompensation for the losses incurred. There is no doubt that the "Acra" was attacked by the French pirate, and that it could not escape because of the lack of wind ... It has therefore been resolved to write the following protest to ... the Director of the Royal Company of France contractee of the Assientos in Guinea ... (follows the above story) ... Two people from Popo witness that they could see the flags, although they could not recognise them because of the lack of wind, which is a proof of the fact that the fight did indeed take place on the Fida Roads, which extends as far as the flags of ships can be seen. ... Undersigned do not doubt that Mons. Chamois, in consideration of the good harmony which has been cultivated by our Nations at Fida up to now, will be of the same opinion, and chose peaceful means above violent ones. We therefore claim from this mentioned Gentleman recompensation and restitution of all the damages suffered; but if this is refused, we shall give proof, in the name of and on behalf of Their High-mightinesses of the States-General and Their Chartered WIC, of all the calamities, damages &c. which will result of our dissatisfaction and retaliate with the war-ships which are here already at hand.

15th February 1712. D.-G. related that in compliance with the Resolution of T.Hs. the Directors of 16th August 1711 he had gone to the Upper Coast in order to settle the war against Jan Conny, and having stayed at Boutry

and at Axim for nearly 6 months we have done, together with the Hon. James Phipps, Agent at Cabo Cors, all we could to settle the matter. D.-G. then laid before the Council the following detailed report on the war in Anta: (summary:)/J.Conny's "boys" Bossum & Cra fled to his enemy Apperry in Axim. Conny raided A., carrying off 60 or 70 people, and sought an alliance with Wassa. Caboceer Jetuan of Wassa reported to have been offered 200 bendas for his help, and shortly afterwards Wassa Caboceer Bo Coffy arrived with large number of men at Pokesu, causing consternation at Axim. Young men of Axim and Ankobra urged, by mouth of Axim-caboceer Pinga, that Apperry give up Bossum & Cra. In March they were surrendered, but Conny continued to threaten with a Wassa invasion of Axim, Ancober and Abokro, till Axim paid 9 bendos and Ancobra 10 (June), when Conny dismissed the Wassa. But Conny withheld Bo Coffy, for an alleged debt, and Jantua closed therefore the paths to the Brandenburg factories. Blenke (Sekondi) reported in Sept. that Wassa caboceer Ajepa had asked him to urge D.-G. not to make peace with Conny, because the "Zaay" had given permission to him to attack Conny on condition that he (Jetuan) assist Amanqua, then marching on Aowin./ follows: "List of Expenses on the Anta war, from 17th August till 10th February 1712" : rifles: 70 to the quarter of Accomany, 60 to the Dinkirase, 30 to the Akimse, 35 to Pieter Pasop and his people, 4 to 4 white boys, and 30 to Jan Amsterdam and his people.

Furthermore: 93 rifles for the people of Endiba, Abien and Anbretta, 6 for Annim and the Ancobrase, 14 for Pieter Pasop, and gold and presents for the above mentioned peoples, as well as for Abbetekje and the Abramboese. Finally, 10 rifles to Acon, 20 to Abbecan, 10 to the Abramboese and Commanise, and (?) to Boutry. Commies Butler sent to Igwira and Wassa: 2 oz 6 angels of gold, and again 6 oz. to Caboceer Intwam of Wassa (&c.,&c.) ... making a total of 60 marks, 2 oz. and 7 angels.

27th February 1712. On the demand of some Fantyn deputies and re-iterated letters from ondercommies Boerze at Cormantyn claiming that ten shipsgifts are still due to them by the Company, according to the contract...It has been resolved, considering the quarrelsome character of mentioned Negroes who in case of alienation could cause the Noble Comp. a great deal of harm, to write back to ondercommies B. that we authorise him to negotiate with the Fantynse, and to see if he can't reduce this claim on the Comp. to 3 or at most 4 shipsgifts.

16th March 1712. D.-G. made it known that he has received orders from the Noble Comp. that unless strictly necessary no slaves should anymore be purchased here on the Gold Coast. Yet, information has been received, that there are at the moment 8 or 9 English war-ships, 10% ships and Company ships on the Coast, and that several of them are on the verge of sailing down to Fida. The Comp. ship "Clara", destined to trade at that same place, has still to stay here for a short while to disembark some of its cargo, to take water and fuel, but its trade at Fida would be greatly disturbed by mentioned English ships. D.-G. wondered if it would not be better and carry the approval

(WIC 124 cont.)

of the Highly Esteemed Directors if it purchased yet some slaves at the factories on the Lower part of the Gold Coast, but only if it could do so without any interruption of its journey; to this end a circular letter would have to be written to the various leeward ("lower") factories, ordering the respective commanders to purchase in the meantime as many slaves as possible, embarking them on board of the "Clara" when she passes those stations on her way to Ardra, and to stop that trade again immediately afterwards. D.-G. informed the Members furthermore, that aforesaid Esteemed Gentlemen had sent an order that the Merchant at Fida make a precise account of the slaves he has purchased. In obedience to those esteemed orders Chief Merchant Engelgraaff will be requested to make a draft of such an account ... and to send it to Commies De Paauw.

1st May 1712; / From 2 letters dd. 18/4/'12 it appears that the Comp. ship "Eva Maria" was captured by Martinique pirates, off Cape Mesurado. It was brought to Whydah, where its crew & passengers, together 70 men, destined to the G.C., were put on shore. Council deliberated and resolved to try to buy the cargo of the "Eva Maria", which was not appropriate for the trade at Whydah, for a reasonable price back from the French, and, if possible the ship itself too, as it was reported to be still in a good condition. 50 marks of gold were issued to Capt. Wenman, who was leaving shortly for Whydah, to be given to De Paauw for this purpose./

5th December 1712. Reading of letter from Commies Butler, Axim, concerning the attempt of the English to terminate the still pending differends with Jan Conny and his helpers. D.-G. proposed, and Council agreed, that it would be good to try to involve in what Conny would consent to Obim and Nanta, being subjects of the Comp. Once these two are silenced, they might soon bring Conny to his senses, even if it were only to compell him to offer some small presents, by which the Negroes would become aware that whoever offends T.Hs. (the Directors) will have to do penance, whether early or late ... (followed by copy of:) Agreement between James Phipps, Agent of the Royal African Company, H.Haringh, D.-G. &c. and Nic. Dubois, prov. D.-G. on behalf of His Royal Maj. of Prussia and His African and American Comp. on the Coast of Guinea ... sigd. in the Prussian Chief-fortress, 20th Dec. 1712. 1: That there should be a lasting peace among the Nations and their subject Natives. 2: that the "inhabitants" (sic: read people living around) of Great Fredericksburg, belonging to H.M. of Prussia will pay to Messrs Phipps & Haringh the sum of 80 bendas by means of which they buy off the war; 40 bendas to each Nation, to be paid in Guinea gold and Dutch Troy weight, to be paid in 4 instalments within 3 years. 3. Concerning the dispute between Conny and Apree about the Negress Ajebba, it has been decided, that the Caboccers of Axim and Great Fredericksburg will be ordered by Messrs Haringh and Dubois to do justice in accordance with the customs of the land, and that they will have to obey the judgement, and if they were yet to refuse, that they will be compelled to do so on the authority of the Generals.

4: that to this general settlement belongs also the payment of the fines imposed on the two makelaers Nanta of Dixcove and Obim of Boutry, on 3rd October last as a result of the agreement made between Director Dubois on the one side and Messrs Phipps and Butler on the other, viz. Nanta to mentioned Phipps 50 bendas, and Obim to D.-G. Haringh 50 bendas ... 5: that since some Company slaves have disappeared from the fortress at Dixcove, General Dubois promises to do his best to recover them from the Negroes under his authority and to return them to Mr. Phipps. 6: Mr. Haringh will order Apperry and his friends to stop any further molestation of inhabitants of H.M. of Prussia's Dominions. 7: that if Jan Conny and his friends do not obey to the above, the Prussian General agrees hereby to compell him to it by armed or other means, in conjunction with the Directors of the English and the Dutch Companies.

19th December 1712. In consideration of the multiple tumults among the Natives and the danger of possible attacks against the Comp.'s fortresses, D.-G. gave into consideration, whether it would not be better to keep the ship "Acredam", which is ready to continue its journey to Ardra, for some time here on the Coast. Resolved to keep mentioned ship another 15 days here on the Roads, it being Coreet (?), the good days of the Negroes, during which they usually undertake matters of importance.

23rd December 1712. Reading of a letter from oppercommies d'Outreleau and ondercommies Heermans, reporting that Aquando and Bobbie claim one benda of gold per month as "costgeld" for the lodge at Ponnie. It has been resolved to write to D'Outreleau that he must tell the Aquamboe King and Caboecer Bobbie, that the profits on the trade at Ponnie are not considerable enough to bear such expenses, and that we much rather would abandon that place than pay such big sums for costgeld. d'Outreleau should (indeed) order that the Company's effects and whitemen are removed from there in the safest manner, and this having been done, he should refuse to pay to Aquando the Accra costgeld and not pay any of it till he receives further orders.

WIC 101; Letters & Papers from the Guinea Coast.

D.-G. Engelgraaff Robberts, Elmina, to Ass. of Ten, 15th August 1712.

Never in our memory and as far as old manuscripts concerning events here show has the condition on this Coast been such as it is now, when one cannot find a single little village of which it could be said that it has stayed outside the war ... the entire Gold Coast is split in two, each part sticking to its party, which is most ruinous for the Trade. We hope that soon it will come to a major clash in which one of the parties will be defeated. Assiantyn, the principal and most powerful state ruled by one Chief, has drawn to its interest Ouwien, Wassa, Agouaffe, Abrambo, Akanni, Fetu, Saboe, Fantyn and Acron in order to drive the Caboecer Commomoree of 'tJuffer out of his country, an excellent enterprise for which we and many of our predecessors have always been waiting with impatience, because in this manner all those small powers which occupy themselves with robbery are finally to be brought to heel, and free passage will be assured. This Commomoree has

was indeed driven out of his country and has retired to Cabesterra. The Cabestarrase, old enemies of the Fantyns and the Akannists, are allied to Akim, and are now making a firm stand to receive the other party. Added to this, the Dinkirase, who about a year ago withdrew their obedience from Assiantyn, have fled with all that is dear to them to Akim, adding much to the weight of this party to which later joined the Agonnase and other states which are tributary to Akim. We can hardly make up our mind in favour of the one or the other, because if Assiantyn were to be defeated, the most powerful and the best merchants of the Upper Coast would be ruined, and all the small brigands will again come out of their holes, but if the Akimse get into trouble, the principal goldmine will come to a standstill, and the Aquamboese will lose the little respect they ^{still} have for that state and compell the entire Lower Coast, in particular Accra, to trade with cowries in stead of with gold, keeping the gold in their country, in the manner as we have experienced with serious consequences 4½ years ago at Accra; the best thing would be if these great bodies took in their sway many of those small ones in their fast movement and would reach a proper agreement, but this is hardly imaginable. What is rather going to happen, is that those who are most powerful let go by the best time because of their superstitious beliefs...

WIC 124; 4th January 1713. Demonstrating that 50 marks of gold were still deposited on the Comp.'s account at Fida for the purchase of the "Eva Maria" or its cargo, which had however failed, D.-G. asked the Members whether it would not be better to send the mentioned 50 marks on board of the "Acredam" to T.H. the Directors, in view of the fact that **keeping-that amount fruit-**lessly at Fida means only exposing it to undue dangers. He furthermore asked the Members' opinion on what should be done with the fortress at Taccorary, which has now been empty for a considerable time as a result of the tumults of the Natives. Considering that **both forts, at Taccorary** and Sacconde badly need repairs, the same kind of traders pass there, and that all reasons for disputes with the English should be removed, it was resolved to put the fort at Taccorary in a state of sufficient defence and to occupy the Sacconde fort by 2 or 3 men.

13th January 1713; D.-G. demonstrated that the time for keeping the "Acredam" at Elmina had expired, but that Commies De Paauw had written a letter dd. 10th Dec. 1712, in which he expressed his fright at the prospect of the arrival of a Comp.'s ship: although there were only 2 Portuguese ships on the Fida Roads, the platthiljos supplied by the Noble Comp. are invendible in comparison with those of other Nations. He therefore requested to take them out of the cargo (of the "Acredam"), as well as the basins, red cloth and glasses, and to put in their stead another quantity of iron bars and 500 Ps. piped rifles ... Resolved to keep the "Acredam", in view of the poor prospects for trade at Fida, for another 14 days here.

(In a second meeting of the Council, on the same day, it was however decided to let the "Acredam" after all do some slave trade along the G.C., and to let her go to Whydah if she could not make her "full armasoen" on the G.C.)

(WIC 124, cont.)

27th July 1713. This afternoon a letter arrived from Chief Merchant Engelgraaff, Chama, written to-day, announcing the arrival there of the Caboceer Caffo, Chief of the 'tJufferse, who demonstrated to mentioned gentleman all sorts of expressions of friendship and inclination for the Dutch Nation, saying that he was ready to make war on the Accanists, and that he had made agreements for that purpose with the Akimse, Dinkirase, Assiantyn, Arransz, Tacqua &c., who are also according to him ready, and to whom he had already paid a large part of the allocated money; but he added that he was still lacking some money for the full payment of those states, and that he therefore requested the Hon. D.-G. to assist him with yet some more money, viz. up to 100 bendas, including the old debt. He proceeded to make some great and good promises (sic) to recognise it (the debt?) once the matter was settled and quietness has been restored in their country. Upon this the Hon. Members have deliberated, that if the Comp did not help 'tJuffer, the English would do it and draw that state, which has at present all the power in its hands to close the passages to all our fortresses and consequently impede the entire Trade, to their side. Moreover, if mentioned Chief, allied to so many powerful states were to triumph, he would be able to disturb our Trade considerably, and he is therefore more useful as a friend than as an enemy. On the other hand, one may object that we may have to expect some trouble from the side of the Fantyns, who are faithful and powerful allies of the Accanists, especially against our fortress at Cormantyn, if they get to know that we have given financial aid to the enemy of their ally. D.-G. therefore ordered that a letter be written to Mr. Engelgraaff telling him that he should reply the Caboceer Caffo that we are fully aware of the fact that he has involved himself in a justifiable war, but that it is impossible for us to involve ourselves in it, as such involvement would not provide as many advantages (to the Comp.) as it would to private people, of which one can see several examples, like lately with Jan Cabes and the 'tJufferse: he has many times stolen from them and sold several of them, in spite of the contract and agreement signed between them, and now they (i.e. Twifo) have again bought gunpowder from him. We can't therefore resolve to spend this money, the more as we are by no means certain about the outcome of this war ... It is true that Caffo is the Chief and that he has most power among the 'tJufferse in relation to the government, but in matters of trade the position is quite different, because he has no means to compel the private traders to do their trade where he thinks they should, and they trade simply where they think they make most profit, as long as the passages are open. He, Chief Merchant should also tell him, Caffo, that if he does not win the war, we will be much bothered by the Fantyns on account of our support to their enemies, and that because of lack of men, victuals and water we would be in a poor condition of defence against them. Yet, that we have also taken into consideration the consequences of our refusal to supply Caffo with our assistance, in particular if he were to be victorious, as we may then expect impediments to our trade; that we therefore do not think it wise to disappoint him suddenly, but that the Comp. for the money that it is going to lend will demand

as many securities as possible; that we know that if he had golden impias he would give them as a pawn or even as full payment for his needs, but we cannot let the Comp.'s money go out of our hands without proper surities, and he shall therefore have to produce sufficient impias, either golden ones or Conte de Terra, to the greatest value he can find, even if it were up to 100 bendas, but we cannot take Negroes as pawns or impias; firstly because we don't consider them sufficient, and secondly because that would cause too many rumours, and the Fantyns might hear of it, whilst we want to do this business in secrecy. The reason that we make mention of the Fantynse in this letter, is because H.H. makes mention of the Accanists. And if Caffo does not want to make war on them, that would have no other reason than that the Fantyns are so closely allied to the Accanists, that the one cannot be harmed without the other, and the Accanists would also immediately resort to the Fantyns in case of an unfavourable attack. However, if Caffo is not inclined to agree with H.H.'s plans, other measures might be discussed.

29th July 1713. Another letter was received from Chief Merchant Engelgraaff in Chama, dd. 28th instant, in which he wrote that the 'tJuffer Chief Caffo urgently requested to receive the supplement of the required 100 bendas, against an impia of a chain of Conte de Terra, another similar chain to which are attached some golden fetishes, as well as some human pawns, viz. some of his best friends and some wives, whom he proposed to leave at Chama as surities. It has been agreed, in view of the importance of maintaining the credit-worthiness of the Noble Comp. as well as the balance (of power) among the Natives to grant mentioned Caffo's request, and to credit him with the sum of 13 marks, 20 oz 8 Angels worth of merchandise, being the supplement of the required 100 bendas, all on impia od the mentioned two chains, both weighing 1Mk, 6 ϕ , 8 ϕ and his friends and wives ... The latter will be handed over to Commies Van Zelst, and they will not be allowed to claim any expenses for their maintenance or otherwise ...

7th November 1713. A letter from Commies De Paauw, dd. Fida, 9th October '13, was read out, concerning the poort trade at that place ... as a result of the frequent arrivals of foreign ships and the excessively high prices of the slaves. Although he had already received permission to buy the slaves at a price exceeding the ordinary "market-letter" (price-list?), he had hardly been able to purchase any slaves. He therefore requests his discharge, stating that he had spent a considerable number of years in the service of the Noble Comp. He also proposed to abandon the factory at Fida, and to transfer it to Ardra ... It was resolved to take out of the "Koningin Esther" all basins and glasses, those goods being no longer in demand at Fida, and to supplement its cargo with 35 Ps. rifles and 1,000 Ps. iron bars.

Considering that the frequent arrivals of English, French and Portuguese ships seriously hamper the trade and considerably reduce the trade of the Comp., and that with the low prices which the Comp. is prepared to pay for the slaves the trade could entirely grind to a halt, against which the utter caution should be observed, as it is the only nerve of the Comp.'s commerce on this Coast,

and if we were to retrench in that trade, this could not but lead to the decay of the entire body. It was therefore resolved that as several commodities which are indicated on the market-letter as having been bought in Holland for a lower price, to continue to sell those goods for the old price, and that those goods which of necessity ought to be sold have to be put against a higher price in the market-letter, viz. the platthiljos up to 20 Ps. per ~~male~~ slave, iron bars up to 22 Ps. ditto, nepten upto 90 yards and rifles up to 12 Ps., the other goods remaining at the same rate, so that each slave bought by the Noble Comp. should be worth 43 guilders Dutch value. Concerning the proposal to transfer the Comp.'s factory from Fida to Ardra it was agreed not yet to effectuate that move, in view of the risks of robbery, damage and other possible unforeseen damages accompanying removal, and secondly because the King and State-grandeers of Fida, with an eye on their own interest and advantage would not allow that the factory of our Nation were to be removed entirely from that place. Since this could not be done without their knowledge, the Comp.'s servants and goods would be exposed to the greatest danger. Thirdly, once we are dislodged from Fida, we would in case of changing circumstances, principally in case of war, find no liberty to trade, as the Fida King and Grandeers would never allow our return to their land. Fourthly, it is by no means certain that the trade at a new place would be all that better and more profitable.

... As the G.C. urgently needs to be provided with slaves, and it is said that Kita, about 6 miles below the Rio Volta is a good place to buy some, it was resolved to send the "Bosbeek" thither with some merchandise to buy there as many slaves as possible ...

18th March 1714. D.-G. read out a complaint which has been received from Cabo Cors, that Commies Boerhave would have infringed upon the treaty signed between the English and the Dutch Company in 1708 and which was renewed in 1713, by doing private trade with an English interloper. The Council examined the case, and found that Art. 6 of mentioned treaty prohibits both Comp.s from offering protection to any interloper, and that in fact they should be fired upon, when they are ^{being} prosecuted by the English or Dutch ... Council concluded that Commies Boerhave was by no means trespassing, because the English did not dispatch any ships for such an enterprise. Concerning the matter of private trade, that is something which is not at all the business of the Director at Cabo Cors, but rather of this WIC ...

4th April 1714. D.-G. showed a letter from Oppercommies Valckenier, dd. Fida, 19th March, concerning the poor trade at that place, and more in particular concerning the decision of the King of Great Ardra to close effectively the passages, thus preventing the traders who wish to go with their slaves to Fida from going there; that not only the trade of the Comp., but also that of other Nations is now limited to such an extent, that it is virtually impossible to get a single slave. This resolution of the King of Great Ardra would have no other aim than to see the trade of the Noble Comp., for which he would be longing so much, re-established in his country. Mentioned Opper

(VIC 124, cont.)

Commiss therefore requests to receive as soon as possible orders whether the Comp's factory should be transferred from Fida to Ardra or not. All this having been taken in serious consideration, and in the meantime orders dd. 9th November 1713 from the Illustrious Ass. of Ten on this issue having reached the Council, it was agreed to write to Oppercommiss Valckenier that he should at once send Ondercommiss Albertus d'Altuna to the King of Great Ardra in order to negotiate with him on that King's offer, viz. that the slave trade of the Noble Comp. will be done exclusively in his country, either at Offra or at Jaquin, whatever he, Oppercommiss, may consider most advisable, excluding all other Nations except the Portuguese, and that he, King, will have to build ^{and maintain} on his own expense at the chosen trading place such troncken and lodgings as will be sufficient to contain the Noble Comp.'s goods, slaves and servants and to prevent them from being subject to such accidents as robbery and arson, ... and that this ship "Guntersteyn" and all those which henceforward will be sent thither will have to be supplied with their entire required armasoen of slaves within a maximum time of 8 weeks. It was therefore resolved to send this ship "Guntersteyn" at once to Great Ardra (sic) and to let mentioned Ondercommiss d'Altuna purchase it required armasoen. And in order not to cause too much surprise to the King of Fida and his State-Grandeas -that King probably being unwilling to see us depart entirely from his place- he, Oppercommiss will have to treat these matters with the greatest caution, and induce the servants of the whites, the King, the Grandeas and all those who might have any interest in it, to believe that the "Guntersteyn" had been destined directly to Great Ardra, and that Ondercommiss d'Altuna had been specially appointed to purchase slaves for it. He (Valckenier) should assure the King, that he himself will stay at Fida in order to purchase slaves for ships destined to Fida, and in order to make this the more believable, he, Oppercommiss, will have to stay there with all the other servants and whatever merchandise which are still there in the troncken till the time that he receives further instructions. He should also give us proper and detailed informations about the developments in Great Ardra, in order that we may send him as soon as possible the orders for the abandonment of the Fida-factory. But he should certainly not abandon Fida at once, as the King of Fida might confiscate our goods there and exclude us forever from that place.

4th December 1714. D.-G. showed a letter from Commany ... that the English Merchant had assaulted some Assiantyn traders who were on their way to the Dutch fort in order to trade, beating them up and taking away from them ^{one of the} the elephants' teeth they had with them. Such incidents have already happened there on at least two occasions, and it is to be feared that this is not going to be the last instance. This is in flagrant contradiction with Art. 5 of the Treaty of 11th July 1708 made by P.Nuyts and D. Thomas, which art. has been re-approved in the latest agreement of 16th May 1713 between H.Haringh and his Members of Council on the one side and Messrs. Seth Grosvenor, J. Phipps and R. Blaeu on the other. (follows: protest **Hoyman** to Bailly)

(WIC 124, cont.)

on which Bailly replied that his sub-factor (ondercommies) had done so without his orders and in his absence ... and that he had written to Cabo Cors that that tusk should be restituted. He explained in addition that this action had been undertaken as a result of the disobedience of the Negro Tando to English authority and his absconding and finding of protection in the Dutch fort, which, he sustained, is contrary to the first article of the mentioned agreement.

A letter was received from Pastor Ludovicus Adama requesting to be allowed to enter matrimony with Helena Van den Burg, widow of Mathys Deldyn, and that similar request was received by mouth from the said widow. D.-G. thought he could not decide on this matter alone, and therefore proposed it for deliberation to the Council. Orders and Regulations of the Noble Comp. having been checked, and nothing being found among those orders of the Illustrious Gentlemen of the Comp. contrary to such proceedings, it was agreed that there is no reason to believe that **the wedding could not take place** in this country. In fact we have found several examples in the marriage-register. Council therefore does not have any objection to this marriage, but on the special recommendation of the Chamber Amsterdam the widow of Deldyn should pay special attention to her proper conduct and life, and in particular that she does not relapse into paganism, and it should also be understood ... that this marriage taking place under the jurisdiction of the Noble Comp. she will have to obey the orders of the Comp., according to which she may be ordered to go to Patria.

7th December 1714. D.-G. informed Council that a letter from Oppercommies Valckenier, dd. Fida, 24th November had arrived, that on 18th November the English Agent there, one Joseph Blennie had come with 60 or 70 **armed** Negroes under an English flag to the gate of our Comp.'s lodge, demanding that he, Oppercommies, would come out, which he refused, unless he send first away his armed troops. Upon this the English Agent has tried to overpower him, Oppercommies, with violence, and in this he has also succeeded, after having fired several shot on him, Valckenier, to the extent that he was indeed made prisoner by the Agent's men, and dragged in an inhuman, nay, barbarian manner along the Comp.'s lodge, clearly with the intention of bringing him in this manner in triumph down to the English lodge. But through the intervention of the French Directeur, Colombeau, he was released. Whilst all these acts of violence were going on, the King of Fida intervened with a large number of his own men, who chased in a fight all these English armed men from our lodge and forced them back to their own, making Agent Blennie their prisoner. It is not known where he has been brought by these men, but the King of Fida has occupied his lodge and its surroundings with his troops. Valckenier believes that the reason for the Agent's misbehaviour was, that the King of Fida had consented to, and decided with Valckenier, to take from a certain Portuguese ship anchored on the Fida roads all its slaves, and to embark them on board of the ship "Eemenes", offering to him, King, one half if he desired so, keeping the

other half for the Dutch WIC. All this has indeed been effectuated accordingly, and in order to please the Portuguese captain, mentioned Jos. Blenie has taken up ~~arms~~ as if he wanted to take him under protection, in an attempt to recover the slaves in this unprecedented manner. The mentioned Oppercommies requests now a second time to be relieved from that factory and to send another merchant in his place. Furthermore, it appears that the Negroes at Jaquyn have stolen several goods from the Comp.'s lodge. It was resolved to demonstrate to the Agent in Cabo Cors how the credit of the Noble Comp. has been so seriously damaged, and to suggest that our Comp. be properly recompensated.

11th December 1714. Answer was received from the English Agents, Messrs Gore, Phipps, Blaeu & Logan, in which they explain that their jurisdiction extends only over the Gold Coast, and not over Fida ... It was decided to write to Valckenier, that he should insist with the King that he receives proper satisfaction, and that he should also demonstrate to him, King, that as master of his country he should be prepared to maintain the general peace and quietness in his country, and that we demand from him, that he makes us get our full recompensation, as we are under his protection in his land; he has this obligation towards us the more, as it was he who requested us to search the Portuguese ship ...

WIC 41; Secret Minutes of Ass. of X.

4th March 1714. Reading of a ~~secret~~ letter from D.-G. Haringh concerning the proposal to trade with Brazilians ... Since the time I received Y.Hs' letter Capt. Anth Gtz (?) commanding the little ship "Na. Sa. da Purificaca & St. Anth. da Barra" (sic) containing 492 ps. rolls of tobacco and 25 Mks gold has arrived. We provided him with his cargo of slaves for his tobacco, but as he did not want to give more than 4 oz of gold for a male slave, we had to let him depart again with his gold; but we are informed that he has bought his slaves at the Danish fort for that gold, ad 4½ oz. per slave ... We gave the Capt. a letter for his ship-owner, explaining in short on what terms we would like to trade. On 13th February another Brazilian snow arrived, with 1114 rolls of tobacco and 30 Mks of gold, with whose Capt. we agreed to sell male slaves for 5 oz. of gold or 7 rolls of tobacco and the women for 6 rolls of tobacco; but as the trade is rotten here and we hardly manage to get any slaves, the profits will not be very great: we have to buy the slaves here for at least 4 oz. worth of Comp. goods for a man and 2½ for a woman, and we hardly sell a roll of tobacco for more than 12 Angels; on the other hand, it is true that in this way goods of the Company are sold which otherwise would have to wait a long time to find buyers, and that with the same ordinary profit as with which they would otherwise be sold directly to the Natives in exchange for gold. We would however wish, that the Portuguese brought rather half as much tobacco and twice as much gold, but as their interest seems to be different, they won't change. But we understand that the only commodities which we may expect from Brazil are Tobacco and a little gold, or sometimes a few hides or a little sugar, but nothing in

large quantities, because there is a death-penalty on the bringing of any commodity elsewhere than to Lisbon, and most commodities apart from gold are too voluminous to be smuggled out. Moreover, as we have not yet received the latest price-lists, we have not yet dared to make any other transactions than in tobacco and gold ... That the profits are not as great as we had at first imagined, can also be attributed to the peace which reigns now among the Great Powers of Europe, which has led to a much increased navigation by all Nations. On the other hand, this means also that a large part of earlier expenses can now be avoided ("stopped"). To this may be added, that even if the Comp. does not want to buy for its own account slaves on this Coast for 4, 5, or even $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz, yet it has the advantage that its tradegoods are being sold, at the same time thwarting the English, whose South Sea Company sends these days ships with cargoes for the purchase of 500 slaves, but these ships have now to depart with only 300 slaves on board. This causes them indeed much chagrin, and they curse the Portuguese, threatening to take revenge on them; this matter is the more difficult (to digest) for those Noble Gentlemen, because they find themselves now victims of the 6th Article of the Agreement made - with Y.Hs' consent - with the Royal Company, by which all the advantages which they had intended to have on us have now reversed (against them), because accordingly they can't do any harm to Portuguese who have put themselves under our protection.

If we could bring the Portuguese so far that they pay 7 or 8 oz gold (per slave?), leaving the tobacco to what the times may bring -on that commodity there is always some profit to be made- we feel certain that we would be able to close the trade here on the Gold Coast for the English and to make their contract with the Assientos or the South Sea Company founder totally, unless they were to trade on equal footing with us ...

PS. From what we have experienced up to now, we fear that it will not be possible to get any slaves for the Portuguese, because since the last Portuguese ship arrived here on the roads (i.e. three weeks ago), not more than 3 male slaves have been purchased along the entire Coast, and we are afraid that we will have to let the Portuguese go without any slaves ...

/Rademacher Archive No. 592; (printed bill, WIC, 1715)

WARNING

Whereas the Directors of the Dutch General Chartered WIC have become aware that interloping has greatly increased during the last war ... nay, that some want to continue that forbidden trade by force of arms, the Comp. not having been able during the war to take proper measures against them, we make it once more known by means of this proclamation, that nobody is allowed to trade within the First Class limits of the Charter of the WIC, that is the Coast of Guinea.

If they, interlopers, voluntarily surrender to servants of the Company on its ships or fortresses, they will be allowed to keep their goods, their monthly allowance will be paid, and all those who desire so will be accepted in the service of the Noble Comp. ...

WIC 124; 4th February 1715.

After deliberations with the English at Cabo Cors on the affairs and tumults which had recently taken place between Oppercommies Pieter Valckenier and Agent Joseph Bleny, it was **agreed by** the Agents of the English Comp., that the procedures of Agent Bleny could really not be excused, and that his **treatment (of Valckenier)** had been too harsh, but they added that Oppercommies Valckenier had given cause to it by his infraction of the contract made on 11th July 1708 between us and that Nation, on this Coast, by his searching of and taking away from a certain Portuguese ship anchored on the Fida Roads a number of slaves. The Agents furthermore sustained that the King of Fida could not ignore that contract to their disadvantage. H.E. (=D.-G.) demonstrated however that this contract is however only in force at those places where the R.A.C. exercises some jurisdiction, with which they (Agents) had to agree, admitting that they do not have such rights at Fida. When it was pointed out that if the King of Fida decided to exercise his right to **revoke his permission** to any Nation to trade in his country or to search other ships, the R.A.C. could not prevent him from doing so, as the English live, just as we do, in his land only by his tolerance; a point which brought visibly embarrassment to them. Their accusation that mentioned Valckenier would have given to the King and other grandees of Fida over 100 slaves in order to convince the former to chase mentioned Joseph Bleny from his country is in our opinion improbable and unbelievable. As we understand that the English feel ashamed that their first servant at Fida was chased away by the Negroes, we would like to give them all satisfaction **they** might desire concerning the King of Fida, who, as has been sufficiently clearly shown in various written reports, has reasons enough to deny him, Jos. Bleny access to his country. But taking in account the advice of our Esteemed Principals to avoid as much as possible disputes with the English, we shall order Valckenier not to oppose whatever they, Agents, may resolve to do in order to restore mentioned Jos. Bleny to his post. They, Agents, even insisted that Oppercommies V. be ordered to co-operate actively towards the redress of Bleny, but we can by no means approve of that, as that would be asking far too much from somebody who has been that seriously offended. We could however send somebody on our behalf to Fida to take informations, together with one of their representatives on board of the first ship going there ... with which **they** agreed, and with **which** these negotiations came to an end.

14th May 1715. ... Capt. Bruyn of the "Engelenburgh" complains that the outer planking of his ship is totally rotten and eaten away by worms, and that it might sink if an attempt were made to clean it, as its leaks are mostly filled up with dirt and rot ... and that he considers this ship unable to repatriate with a load of grain (=pepper) from the Grain Coast. We are however of the opinion that if the great sail and fore sail are replaced it could still sail with a load of slaves to Curaçao. It was therefore decided to send said ship not to the Grain Coast, but straight to Curaçao, and to write to the outerforts to buy as many slaves as possible...

17th October 1715. It was resolved to write to Oppercommies Butler that he may offer to the Ancoberse, Abocroese and Igwirase all kinds of protection they may request in recognition of the fact that they have always remained faithful to the Company and recognised its superiority, and also in order to divert them from amusing themselves (sic) with any foreign Nation, but under the condition that the Ancoberse first of all restitute the monies they received during the last war ^{which} but/they have not used, not having marched out or having done anything else, and also that the heirs of Oussikroe pay his un-paid debts to the Company, or otherwise give proper pawns for them. Furthermore, he, Oppercommies should not concern himself with the Ouwinse unless there is a need for it and tell the mentioned Ancoberse, Abocroese and Igwirase not to engage in any acts of robbery or cause any other trouble which may give to the Assiantynse later any justifiable cause for protest or even to undertake something with violence.

2nd November 1715. Reading of a letter from Visbeeck, dd. Cormantyn, 1st. November, reporting that the Fantynse are inclined to restore the under-king Abbetekki in his kingdom of Agwaffo. D.-G. gave into deliberation, and it was agreed to give permission to King Abbetekki, at present residing here under the Castle, to go to Cormantyn in order to learn there the proposals of the Fantynse; if he gets the impression that they are sincere in their intention to restore him, he may make use of the opportunity, and if it appears that such would be impossible in first instance without the spending of some gold, it was agreed to support mentioned Abbetekki a little. But concerning Visbeeck's note that the Fantynse and Akkanists had requested that the D.-G. himself or somebody else of high position go thither in order to negotiate on certain issues, T.Hs.were of the opinion that such should be declined, and that they, Fantynse and Akkaniste should rather tell to Visbeeck what they have to say. Visbeeck should also tell the Fantynse and Akkaniste concerning the protection they may claim in case the Akimse or other enemies were to triumph over them, that it is the habit of the Comp. to maintain those who are under its protection, and that the forts of Cormantyn and Moure in resp. Fantyn and Saboe are there as the nearest ones to which they may retire.

10th January 1716. D.-G. exhibited the Instruction which has been given to Commies Revixit Van Naerssen for his journey to the Benin in order to negotiate there a contract with the King ... as well as an Instruction for the Gentlemen who have stayed there. It was agreed to write to the Comp.'s chief residing in the Benin that T.Hs. have seen Assistant Leysen who trades at Arrobo, after the departure of Commies Van Naerssen, and that he had given them hope that the ivory trade, and apparently also that in gum could give great advantages to the Noble Comp., and that because of the favourable promises on that issue made to him by the Natives, it really looked as if this is going to be a highly successful

(WIC 124, cont.)

business, if a lodge were to be established there. T.Hs. resolved to satisfy the request of the Natives and to let one of the gentlemen stay there to trade ... but if there are no further appearances that the exposure of the Comp.'s goods would have any effect, that then the Comp.'s chief representative should content himself with his stay at Aggaton ... Van Naerssen has reported that Art.9 of the contract (made with the King of Benin?) concerning the demand for credit for 1700 cloths at the arrival of each ship is causing trouble ... although he does not want to impede the trade, it is clear that neither the King, nor his subjects are able to bring before the departure of each ship the number of cloths for which goods have been credited to them; the Comp.'s chief (representative) should therefore demonstrate most vigorously to the King that he should content himself with as much credit as he could possibly exchange for cloths before the departure of each ship ... and that the outstanding debts resulting of the credit in merchandise for the above-mentioned 1700 cloths will be deducted from the credit to be given at the arrival of the next ship, because otherwise such a cancer of debts will develop for him to the Comp., that soon in stead of peace and friendship enmity and mischief would develop, which would be very damaging to the King. He should also tell the King, by means of a threat, that he should not imagine that the Comp. feels compelled to obey his stubborn character, that it can very well trade elsewhere, and that if he does not treat the Comp. with greater softness, he should be aware that the inhabitants of the lands east of Fida and those of Rio Lagos have offered the Comp. to trade and residence for its servants on much more favourable conditions; but that because the Comp. has traditionally maintained a good harmony with his predecessors, it would not like to break this link ... it has not immediately entered into the proposals of aforesaid states, confident, that he, King, would soon become more reasonable ... It was also understood (from Van Naerssen) that the gum-trade is not as favourable as was initially believed, and it was therefore decided to set the following limits in that trade, viz. 1 pound ivory for 7 lbs gum, and also 12½ lbs redwood for each lb of ivory ...

12th February 1716. Reading of a letter from Butler, dd. Axim, 2nd February, concerning a request from the Cabo Appollonia Negroes who ask the Comp. to build there a fortress, in order that they may live ^{in peace} under the protection of the Dutch Company, to which they offer their entire country, and to be liberated from the robberies of all those to whom it pleases to persecute them, demonstrating that during the last 6 years they have hardly more than 2 months lived in quietness. After deliberation it was resolved to ask Oppercommies B. to decline this request in the softest possible manner, explaining them that we would need special orders for such an enterprise ex patria, and that moreover T.HS. the Directors had recently written that no new fortresses should be constructed ... also if this request were satisfied, the trade would remain insecure, and the

(WIC 124, cont.)

and foreigners
Natives would continue to be able to trade with interlopers/as safely as they do at present, because the entire beach of that area may serve as a huge bay to which goods from the interior can be secretly brought ... D.-G. proposed for deliberation whether the Tapoeyer (mulatto) Willem Bosman, who has been in the service of the Prussian Company but who is at present here should be allowed, on his written request, to return to Great Fredericksburg, without first having given satisfaction about two hand-written bills, made by him on behalf of the former interloper D.Brakman, but which were confiscated for the WIC by a verdict of the Council on 16/3/1715 and which are worth 7 ϕ 12 E. It has been resolved to let him go after his having paid this sum, censuring him sharply and prohibiting him ever to come again in the districts of this Comp ...

12th May 1716. D.-G. demonstrated that one of his predecessors, W. De la Palma had ordered, at the expense of the Noble Comp., the manufacture of a golden crown, according to his own declaration worth Mk 1, 2 ϕ , 8 E., in order to crown the King of Cormantyn with it. But as such manners have never been in practice among the Natives, and the gold of which this crown was made is now lying ^{fruitlessly} in the Council-room, he suggested that it would be better to break that crown, and to send the gold to the Hon. Directors. (This was done, but eventually the gold was valued only ϕ ϕ , 8 E.)

WIC 41 (Secret Minutes Ass. of X & Chamber Amsterdam)

19th November 1716. Members of the Secret Commission of the Ass. of X resolved to write to D.-G. Engelgraaff Robbertsz: ... that Hieronymus Haringh has arrived in this country safely and in good health, that he has reported to the Gentlemen of the Ass. of X and handed over to the Gentlemen of the Secret Commission some mineral stones: 2 of a very dark blue colour and one light brown; of these it is clear that they were not hewn from a rock: they were reportedly found by people who were planting indigo. Other stones were white with blueish veins. He said that Oppercommies Butler had delivered these stones to him before his departure, and that he had knocked them from rock situated within the range of the guns of the fort at Axim, and that consequently it would not be difficult to provide any quantity of these stones. These stones were sent to an essayist, and it appears that in the blue stones there is no mineral of any value; but the seven white stones, of which hereby little samples are returned in order to avoid confusion, seem effectively to be of the true gold-material (=ore?) from which rich quantities of gold could be extracted. The Hon. Directors have therefore decided to send on board of the next sailing ship "de Compagnies Welvaaren" two gentlemen who are experienced in the working of rocks and stone-quarries, and who will be able to demonstrate, with the required tools, soldiers and blacks how to go about this work. After their arrival Oppercommies Butler should be ordered to embark without delay on mentioned ship and sail to Axim, where said Oppercommies should indicate the place where he found those stones. The

Oppeercommies B. should, in our opinion, be the only one who should be allowed to have knowledge of this affair and the other servants of the Company should be kept in the dark about it, so that none of the Natives may get the least suspicion. One might pretend, that these stones are needed at Elmina for repairs of the Fortress. If Oppeercommies B. perceives that yet the people there (Axim) make some objections, such merchandise should be sent with said Oppeercommies as may be most pleasing to them. We think and hope that this business will give great advantages and profits to the Comp., and that in this manner we will be able to support the many heavy expenses which every year have to be made for the maintenance of the Coast (even if we may have) to reduce the prices of merchandise, by which the Natives would buy those goods with greater eagerness. But if the Natives were to try to stop this salutary work, and if they were not to be convinced with presents and other extraordinary expenses, a sufficient number of soldiers should be sent thither to plant there some palissades to be guarded by some two or four metal cannon; but we do not think that this will really be necessary, as Mr. Haringh told us, and we have heard this from other quarters too, that the Axim Negroes are soft and of a peaceful character...

NBKG 82; (Elmina Journal) (from Furley Coll: vol.II, "Native States")
letters from Axim, to Haringh

17th October 1715 (from Butler) ... The Motjé Comze, an inland state between Cabo Apollonia, Ancober and Ouwien, have taken a good booty ... The Ouwians seem to have asked the Assjantyns, Akannists and Dinquirase residing in their country to help them in their defence against the Assjantyns ... The Igwirase, Abocroese, Ancoberse, Willempreeze (=?), Motjé Comse and Cabo Apolloniase are never without muskets in their hands ... if the Igwirase and Abocroese were defeated by the Assjantyns and they came to us for protection as refugees, we should not refuse them that protection, or they would go to Jan Conny in the Prussian fort: as Igwira and Abocroe constitute in fact borderposts of the Axim District, we better stay on good terms with them ... if these people were to go away, others would occupy their country ... and the Assjantyns might make an attempt on Axim: they show already hardly any respect for the Europeans ...

25th October 1715: ... It is said that it is only some people from Wassa and Assiantie who have banded together for plunder of Ouwien, and that Amanqua and Jetuan are their leaders. The Zaay seems not to know about it.

28th October 1715: ... It is learnt from dependable sources that the Ouwians have bravely rebuffed the Assiantyns ... that the Wassase have separated themselves from the Assiantyns during their advance ... ~~some~~ add that the 'tJufferse are on the march to invade Wassa.

27th January 1716: ... that Amancotjo and Jetwan have come to an agreement with the Ouwians, for 300 bendas of gold, and that they will leave some of their people in Ouwien to collect from all the Assiantyns who are in

(NBKG 82 cont.)

Ouwien 2½ Angels as tribute from each of them ... this will constitute a considerable treasure for the Zaay, because it is said that about a quarter of the whole of Assiantyn has stayed in Ouwien ...

7th April 1716: ... for the first time some gold -10 oz. only- has come again to Axim from Ouwien, after a long time ...

NBKG 83: (D.-G. Engelgraaff Robbertsz:)

from Van Maerssen (Axim) 27th May 1716: ... The Ouwians are disinclined to return to their country, and have settled in a country acquired for them by one of the Chiefs, called Dinkje ...

3rd August 1716: The Ouwien traders trade now with no gold except a few fetishes which they concealed when the Wassase invaded their country. At present they want nothing but powder and guns ... we think that they are preparing for an invasion into Wassa at the first occasion which may present itself ... They also divide themselves into small parties, some going to Assiné, others to Poquesoe ...

31st August 1716: since a week we have had many traders from Ouwien here, with slaves and ivory, but they mostly demand powder and guns, of which I have only a small stock ...

(NBKG 84:)

from Blenke (Axim), 29th October 1717: ... on the 23rd the Ouwien Caboceer Crou Adamu arrived here. He said that he had been here earlier, in the days of Opperconnies Landman, that he had taken oaths with the Caboceers, priests and Assjanny that they would trade here. That during Butler's time too, there had been good trade. He asked me to convoke the priests, Pinga and Asjanny, to renew the oaths. It was arranged that when the Ouwianse, Bromse and Boonairse traders come to Axim, in large or in small numbers ... they should not be molested ... This morning they should have proceeded with the trade, but they wanted only iron rifles. I offered them brass rifles, but they did not want these, as they could get them at Cabo Apollonia, 8 for 1 benda ...

20th December 1717: ... All trade is at a standstill because of the war between the Asjantyns and the Akimse. The Wassase are continuously trying to plunder the Ouwians on the ways, which are now very unsafe...

9th March 1718: ... Trade is now very bad: we don't even have enough gold now for the subsistence of the garrison. The cause is that the Ouwians, 8 to 9,000 of them, have marched up to attack the Wassase and the Assiantyns.

NBKG 85: (to D.-G. Butler)

from Munnickhoven (Axim): 21st March 1718: ... It is reported about the Ouwians that they have returned from Assiantyn with a considerable booty, including 20,000 ~~women~~ and children, that they found no resistance, and that they have exhumed the dead Assiantyns. It is said that they have found much gold and konte de terre, ... and that they would come shortly to trade ...

21st April 1718: ... it is reported from Acbo Appollonia that a large number of traders is expected there from Ouwien any day from now. The Cabo Appollonia Caboceers have promised to send them down here. The few Ouwians

who came so far, came mainly to trade salt.

(from Van Maerssen, Axim) 19th September 1718: The Ouwians and the Wassase think that the Assjantes will come to fight them ... both these people are providing themselves with powder and guns ... the Wassease say that they will leave their country and go to Ouwien ...

12th October 1718: The Head-chief of the Wassase, Tia Vanvo, alias Boesje, has gone to Ouwien ... probably to consult with the Ouwien Head-chief on putting up resistance against the Assjantes. Captured Wassase, returning from Assantyn, assert that the Assjantese are very much at variance among themselves ... that Aman Coya had died there, and that the country was preparing for war ...

11th November 1718: The Wassa Caboceer Tieranvo has returned from Ouwien and has made a treaty of friendship with them; he paid them 30 bendas as satisfaction for what he has robbed them of in the company of the Assjantyns ... he sent one of his trusted men to me, to assure me that he was disposed in future to have the goods he required purchased at this factory. To make a beginning he sent 80 slaves, of whom only about one half were suitable ... I regret that these traders did not bring any gold or ivory.

(NBKG 86): 14th January 1719: ... There is a rumour that the Assjantyns are on the march, which does damage to the trade: the Ouwians and the others stay in their country out of fear ...

WIC 124. Resolutions D.-G. & Council, Elmina

12th March 1717. ... As the Benin trade proves to be successful, it was resolved to continue that trade, if possible and to prevent interlopers or other Nations from taking part in it, either by means of the establishment of fortresses on the river or by any other means which may be satisfactory ... furthermore to prohibit all gentlemen servants of the Comp. in this country from sending guns and powder to that area in order to be sold to the Natives, and not to let any gun be bought there or to accept under the pretence of a gift, so that the gun may remain entirely within the power of the Comp. ...

8th April 1717. D.-G. (Engelgraaff Robbertsz) demonstrated that the Directors had considered abandoning a number of forts on the Gold Coast, but he argued that the power of the Comp. here does not in the first place derive from its European servants but rather from a good harmony with the Natives ... that those of them who have settled under our forts or have been continuously trading with us would not refuse us to help us, as long as we don't refuse to help them: if we were to abandon or demolish forts, they would take their own measures. The power of the Comp. is on the seas not more redoubtable than on land, as was demonstrated recently, when two big interlopers dared to sail in broad daylight quietly along the coast and within the sight of this Castle, after they had greeted the Company's Cruiser Jacoba Galey off the Upper Coast in such a manner that it was not

able , or at least not very eager, to make another attack on them. If we were to abandon some forts, it would become difficult to travel between (the others) with canoes, and proper contact with the outlying tradeposts might become impossible, because the Negroes would in this way not only become complete masters of the passages on land, but also of those on the sea, which up to now has at least been prevented by the interspersed forts. We are therefore of the opinion that none of the forts should be abandoned, and stress that certainly none of them should be demolished. ... It should also be noted, that at only a few forts more than 3 soldiers are stationed: at Moure: one Merchant, one corporal and four soldiers; at Cormantyn: one Merchant, one Sergeant and nine soldiers; at Commany: one Oppercommies, one ondercommies, one corporal, one constable and two soldiers; at Zaconde: one ondercommies, one corporal and four soldiers; at Boutry: one Commies, one ondercommies, and because of the war between the remainder of the Adjase who have remained faithful to us and their enemies, ten soldiers (who otherwise would be stationed at Elmina). In this Castle there at the moment not more than sixteen military men. It should also be noted, that from 1st January 1705 to 31st December 1716 has been traded the sum of f775,596 at the above mentioned five forts. The decline of the trade may be explained chiefly from the growth of the navigation by foreign Nations, as can for instance be seen from the tradefigures extracted by a certain English captain from their books and which were exhibited to Chief Merchant Butler: from January 1702 to August 1708 they brought to Barbados: 11256 slaves and to Jamaica 18885, together not less than 30141, and in this figure are not even included the transactions made for other ships sailing to such islands as Nevis, Montserrat, St.Christopher, for the South Sea Comp., the New Netherlands (sic!) and others, which would increase the above number considerably, and of which Annemaboe could provide about one third. The R.A.C. has sent General Johnson and a large number of new servants and soldiers hither, on board of 6 ships (of which 3 are still being expected from Sierra Lione ... clearly with the intention of restoring that at present decayed Company ... Hereupon the Bookkeeper General produced a neat account of the gold, slaves and ivory purchased over the period 1705-1716:

	Moure		Cormantyn		Boutry		Zaconde		Commany	
	gold	slaves	gold	slaves	gold	slaves	gold	slaves	gold	slaves
1705:	Mk. 26	12	Mk. 36	36	Mk. 16	9	Mk. 6	2	Mk. 23	0
1706:	40	92	30	30	27	16	15	10	16	33
1707:	20	9	33	43	25	30	14	40	18	34
1708:	14	20	17	15	14	11	28	64	9	13
1709:	20	13	44	21	29	18	39	93	24	29
1710:	32	5	29	1	60	31	96	57	34	21
1711:	24	0	76	0	46	7	147	5	71	4
1712:	20	0	48	0	20	0	32	0	22	0
1713:	13	0	31	3	20	4	28	10	21	0
1714:	10	1	31	0	17	2	50	11	32	6
1715:	34	2	42	0	5	0	56	60	28	10
1716:	50	1	64	0	11	28	47	52	22	1

(WIC 124 cont.)

... Our fortresses are situated in such a way, that they seem to be mixed with those of others, nay, at some places, such as Commany, Zacconde and Accra so close to those of others, that a buccaneer can reach the one as well as the other. The Natives have also founded special crows under each fort, depending on the profit they expect from either us or the English, and each has its Caboceer who maintains contacts with other Natives in the interior ... and who brings those to whom he feels most inclined to the forts to sell their gold, slaves and tusks ... If we were to abandon such forts, this would be seen as a sign of impotence of the Comp., and those under our protection would join the remaining Nation, which they would regard as much more powerful ... the rumour would also spread to the interior, and our esteem would much decline; and what opposition would three soldiers and a flag offer when such an abandoned place were to be attacked by a band of armed Negroes? The English would also see this as an opportunity to make themselves masters of the entire Coast and its trade, because we have seen often enough that all our contracts and agreements (with the Africans) hold only as long as they see advantage in them; and even if they did not violate those contracts themselves, the English could easily arrange that at such places as Zacconde and Commany through the powerful Negro John Cabes, who, as everybody knows, is with the Brandenburg rogue John Conny virtually master of the entire Upper Coast ... it should be added, that if we abandoned Commany the whole business of collecting and sawing wood on the river of Chama would fall in disuse as a result of the intrigues and the power of the Negroes of that region. Apart from Chama and Boutry there are no other places for the supply of firewood for the ships. Moreover, if Boutry were abandoned, what bad name the Comp. would make for itself, leaving the small number of Adjase, still defending themselves courageously with their weapons against many enemies, as a prey to their cruel foes.

It would be virtually impossible to follow up the Noble Comp's orders concerning Moure and Cormantyn: in between those places is Annemaboe, that important trading town from which English ships take every year a nearly unbelievable number of slaves. The Negroes of Cormantyn and Moure are simply too careful and also too powerful to let the Dutch depart like that: those two fortresses are, after St. George, the strongest along the whole Coast, and the Negroes consider them also a safe refuge, in particular the Saboese around Moure from the weapons of the English subjects, whilst the Fantyn natives at Cormantyn would not allow us to go because of their annual claim of shipsgifts which are being paid since 1665 in connection with the help they gave to Admiral De Ruyter to take this fortress out of the unjust usurpation of the English (sic!) Concerning the behaviour of the Natives, long experience has taught us that the Negroes are by nature slavish, and that they want nothing but to submit themselves to a mighty yoke and to serve only those who have the power to put loads on their backs and spurs into their sides. Up to

(WIC 124 cont.)

now it seems that the esteem and power of the Noble Comp. among them is considered greater than that of the R.A.C., because they have always found that the Coast is being well provided with **good merchandise**, every time that we have the fortune that the Comp.'s ships and cruisers arrive ... whilst the arrival of English ships is much more irregular; their Comp- any sends no or hardly any ships, and since a long time no new servants or military men have been sent by it; the English now find themselves compelled to trade with all sorts of ships in order to make it possible for their own men to subsist. Although we have not yet made any sign of abandoning any of our forts, let alone so many, the English are yet watching us ... Three soldiers without a proper commander would not instill much fear in the Natives, and we know very well from our own experience how well these people know to handle firearms; they would by no means be afraid of the empty barrels of the mounted cannons, and these bloodthirsty, cruel and unbridled creatures, once they know that they are stronger, **would** not hesitate to denude such fortresses of their tradegoods and other effects. It should also be noted, that due to their long experience in trade, the Negroes are very well aware that they can buy the goods much more cheaply on board of the ships than in the forts, and knowing very well where is their own interest and that of some of the Europeans, they go far out into the sea with their canoes, disregarding the dangers, in order to trade on board of passing or anchored ships whenever they see the least profit. They would see nothing with greater pleasure than that the Coast were deprived of all its fortresses. It is no use to contradict that at least 50 times as many English ships cruise along this Coast as do ships of our Company, and in fact the Dutch Company is the only one which distracts them a little from the booty; and although they dare not anchor within the reach of the guns of our fortresses, the Natives belonging under our fortresses do not hesitate to sail to those (English) ships whilst our servants are looking on. But at least they do know, that if they are caught, they have to give up all they have bought in this manner to the Noble Comp. But everybody knows, and it has also been shown on many occasions, such as in the case of the sugar, indigo and cotton plantations, that the jurisdiction of the Company does not reach beyond the area covered by its cannons ...

16th April 1717; Considering the Directors' suggestion that certain maintenance allowances, such as 4 Angels of gold for the servants of Commanders, could be abolished, Members of the Council demonstrated that this could cause great harm to the Company, because none of the Commanders would be able to do without them, because it should be remembered that the Commanders need such a servant mainly as an interpreter for the traders coming from the interior, because there are very few Europeans who are able to communicate in the language of the Negroes, and all the disputes or protests which may develop among the Natives and which are brought before such a Merchant have to be interpreted by them. Members are also

aware of the fact that these servants have on many occasions been sent as deputies to important and distinguished Negroes living in the interior, in order to inform them about what current tradegoods are available and at what price, or to send them considerable presents in order to animate those Natives and to encourage the trade in the Comp.'s fortresses. If these allowances were to be abolished, one would have to rely on strange Negroes for this purpose, and in order to make the Natives bring their gold, ivory and slaves to the Noble Company, one would on one occasion have to spend as much as otherwise in a whole month. It was therefore resolved to suggest to T.Hs. to maintain the existing allowance of 4 Angels of gold.

26th August 1717. D.-G. presents to Council the report of W. Butler entitled: Concerning my activities at Axim between 19th April and 13th August 1717, and the negotiations between the Aximse, the Ancoberse and Jan Conny. ... Told immediately after my arrival that the D.-G. through reports of Oppercommies Blenke and an oral message by a servant of Jan Conny had been informed that they, Caboceers of Axim and Ancober had made peace and friendship with Jan Conny ... and that H.H. the General was willing to agree, but that he sent somebody to Axim in order to receive the still outstanding debt of 30 bendas, and that it was for that reason that I had come to them ... They asked for 3 days of respite, which I accorded to them, after which they replied very submissively that they understood that the D.-G. was not pleased, but that Jan Conny, until recently their enemy, had engaged some Assjantynse who were at that time some miles inland in order to commit acts of robbery in Aowien, pretending that they had been sent by the Zaay of Assjantyn in order to settle the dispute between Jan Conny and his friends and the Aximse, Ancoberse and Appre ... but with the threat that if they, Aximse, Ancoberse and Appre were not willing to do this, that he had the means to compell them to it, reminding them of the fact that more (Ashanti?) troops were encamped in Eguira. These (Ashanti) mediators had not allowed them, Aximse, to report Jan Conny's proposals to Oppercommies Blenke, but the latter had learnt about them from other sources, and reported them to D.-G. We therefore took immediately informations on what means Conny proposed to settle the matter, and learnt that they, Aximse and Ancoberse would have to promise to pay the 30 bendas of gold which he, Jan Conny, owed to the Comp., as well as 13 bendas of gold more to him, Jan Conny; they had to agree to all these conditions, out of the fear that by means of the mentioned Assjantynse Jan Conny would impose his will upon them as a law ... resolved therefore to disapprove of the transfer of this debt to the Aximse, and to demand that Jan Conny pay those 30 bendas himself. It is abundantly clear that Conny wants to dominate these Aximse as their lord and master, by buying a group of robbers who under the name of Assjantynse who pretend to have been sent in the name of the Zaay of Assjantyn

(WIC 124 cont.)

in order to mediate in these matters. But it is well known to the Natives that the Zaay does not have the least knowledge of it, as the mentioned Assjantynse are not provided with those distinctives which according to local custom are in use among them. However, the gold of Jan Conny and the force with which those Assjantynse came, were enough to make the Aximse, who at any rate are not known as very courageous people, even less couragageous, ^{compelling them to} agree with everything that was being proposed to them; the Aximse admit that they have to bend for Jan Conny, nay, that they have to give their wives and children to him, if he desires them to do so. And if we satisfied him by letting him have those 30 bendas from these people, one can be sure that in little time he would make himself completely their lord and master, and become so powerful that no Negroes could any longer stay under our fortresses at Boutry and Axim to receive the traders who would come to us there ... Resolved to let the debt of the mentioned 30 bendas stay in the name of Conny ... to wait and see if we can on another occasion make Jan Conny pay them, and to write to Blenke that he should claim from the Aximse the boys who have been held at Axim as pawns, assuring them that we shall let them free to go outside the fort ...

WIC 41; Secret Resolution Assembly of Ten, 9th November 1717:

After the negotiations with Mr. Van Meynertshagen, Envoy of His Royal Majesty of Prussia, a Provisional Project was proposed concerning the delivery and payment of H.M.'s Possessions on the Coast of Africa, ... and it was decided to take the Fortress of Great Fredericksburg and those places which are subject to it in possession either with Industry (sic!) or violence, on the cost of the Comp., but as soon as this has been achieved, 2,000 Ducats should be paid to the Comp., and after a proper act of transfer, H.M. should no longer give any commissions or passports to whomsoever to sail to those places. Argyn (Arguim) shall also be delivered by H.M. to the Comp., which shall pay 4,000 Ducats for it in ready money ...

WIC 41; Secret Letter Ass. of Ten to W. Butler, 18th March 1718.

... We have received from the "Geertry Galley" the 18 barrels of mineral stones, and we sent at once stones to several assayers, but all four of them reported unanimously that no gold or silver of any value could be found in them. After that we had again 2,000 lbs of those stones assayed both in Amsterdam and Utrecht, but nothing of value could be extracted from those stones. Yet, all those who got to know this mineral say that if the rock from which these stones were chopped off were worked in a professional manner, some of the (desired) mineral could certainly be found, and that there are good signs that there is in fact a hidden mine there. We therefore have ordered somebody who is experienced in mining to make an instruction

for the two German miners who have already been despatched to the Coast. These men should first find the corridor or vein, and if necessary Christiaan Steller should take every day a sample ... We are not certain whether Steller is able to make proper mining-galleries, and we have therefore decided to summon two more persons from Germany; of these Laurens Johann Christoffel is said to be very experienced in the making of galleries and showing them ... We are rather surprised to learn that the first sample showed more gold-contents than any sample taken from the whole mass of 8 or 9,000 lbs of stones which was sent to Holland ...

WIC 124; Minutes of Council-meeting, Elmina, 17th February 1718.

Oral report by Bookkeeper-General Ph.Eytzen about his return over-land from Fida, where he had gone on board of the "Groningen, sailing via Benyn, but from where he could not return in time by sea, as the slave-ships Acredam and Eemenes had already been despatched, giving as further reason for his decision that there was a dispute between the Caboecer of Little Popo and the Mynse Negroes at Fida, which had to be settled in order to preserve the free passage of letter-carriers between Fida and Mina, and lastly, that he was curious to see the countryside between Fida and Accra ...

16th December (1717) Left per hammoc in the company of 40 Negroes and some women and children, and stayed after my departure from our Lodge in the French Fortress for the night. 17th Dec.: reached by about 4 P.M. the river of Great Popo, which we crossed in canoes. Was very well received by the Chief, who requested me very urgently to ask the Hon. General to let a whiteman reside there with a flag. I promised him to do what I could; but added, that although I would certainly tell the General about this proposal, the Merchant at Fida has instruction to take care of the trade in the neighbouring places too; but that the desolation of the trade in that place had caused many of us to dislike it, and that he could be assured, that if we got a better trade in his place, we might very well continue our trade there. On this he made serious promises, and he asked me to send something as a token of our good intentions. I thanked him, and told him that my travelling over-land did not allow me to do much more in this matter, but I left a velvet cap with him on my departure. Great Popo is situated about 6 hours from Fida, travelling by land, and it is there that the great river which runs in a wide curve around Jaquyn and Fida has an outlet to the sea. The village is rather large, and the Negroes, as I experienced on an earlier occasion, are polite and friendly. But they are poor, having now been suppressed by the Fidase since a long time, thus being impeded in their trade. Left Great Popo at 7 P.M., and reached Little Popo, having travelled by night, at 5 A.M. This village is inhabited by Mynse Negroes who have come there from time to time. It is situated on the beach, and the aforesaid river passes here

too, but at a distance of several buccaneer-shots from the sea. It has also a tributary running from this village in a perpendicular direction into the country, with several other irregular tributaries, along whose banks there are said to be good villages. I stayed at this town on 19th and 20th December, and I mediated in the dispute between Caboceer Crakou and the Mynse Negroes who live at Fida: the latter paid a satisfaction of 5 slaves in merchandise and one anker of brandy. The Caboceer Offori came also to see me immediately after my arrival giving me several tokens of his friendship, thanking me for the present I had sent to him when I was at Fida, at the time that the letter-carriers had been arrested. I found here still a flag-mast of the Comp., but no flag. Like those of Little (sic) Popo, they requested me here for a white resident on behalf of the Comp., promising that they would no longer allow the Englishman to reside here. I answered as well as I could do at the time, and left after having dashed here and there a little brandy on 20th Dec., at 3 P.M. I then travelled through a village which was very nicely planted with trees, about a 21lbs gun's shot distance inland from Little Popo. At about 9 P.M. we camped in an open field, not encountering any villages. Around midnight we continued our march, and arrived about 11 A.M. at a village called Offra Lade. We were very tired, also because along this road of more than 13 miles we did not find any water. This last mentioned place is very impoverished, and water is not only scarce there, but also brackish; yet, my companions filled their bellies up to the throat, out of fear of having to cross another such desert-like area. I did not remark any difference between these Negroes and those of Fida in their attire and ornaments, but as there was nobody among us who could speak properly with them, I could not get any further informations about them. Their attire consisted only of a kind of coffee-coloured raffia-cloth, and they had painted their bodies in a similar colour. They feted us in their own rather poor manner, their chief honouring me with some chicken, and a lot of their beer, called pito. We left by 4 P.M., and marched through a wide plain with many coconut trees, and saw three groups of deer. By 8 P.M. we made camp in a big dry water-hole. In the morning of the 22nd we reached a big lake, on which floated a large number of canoes. On the south side of this lake, on the beach, is the village of Abodja, situated on a fairly good bay where passing ships often do their trade in ivory and slaves. The Caboceer therefore asked me to request the General to send a whiteman to Quita in order to trade there in a lodge. They showed me several big tusks, assuring me that one could provide us with a large quantity of them. When I inquired from them from where these tusks and the slaves came, they pointed to the inland area in an oblique direction (sic), which they said to provide a lot of both. When I asked them furthermore which lake this was, they said that it got its water from a great river -which is the rio Volta- and that this lake continues deep into the interior. Indeed, I could not see any land

(VIC 124 cont.)

beyond the horizon. I tried to get some more information about the area, but I got nothing more to know than that there is a great body of water, this (lake) being an overflow of the Rio Volta, and that there is a large number of villages on its banks, to which they sail in their canoes, and that there is a great trade in slaves and ivory. By about 6 we continued our voyage to Quita, which is about 2 miles from Abodja. The Danes have since about 5 years kept servants here in permanence, in order to trade slaves and ivory, and they reap good fruits of their labours. At the moment there is however no whiteman; recently one was drowned/^{in bad weather}, and another has died. As there are at present no proper whitemen in the Danish fort, they had to interrupt that trade. I was requested to pay a visit to the King or Caboceer here by a Negro called Louis Hannibal, the same who was baptised/^{at the Court of France} by the late King Louis XIV ... with the title of Prince of Assiné. He told me how he had been left behind here by the captain of a French ship, who had taken him on board after four years at Assiné, in order to take him with him to France, but that that captain had sent him ashore to do some trade for him and sailed away, leaving him here. His intelligence has however helped him to acquire here a position of great respect, and he is virtually considered a king here. He introduced me to the King, who welcomed me in a friendly manner. He told me that he had given about 6 weeks ago a goat to the letter-carriers for the Hon. General, with the request to send a whiteman on behalf of the Comp. to trade here as a resident in slaves and ivory; that he regretted that there was nobody of our Comp. here, as he could not agree very well with the Danes ... I answered him that I would make inquiries about it, but that it was not our method to risk at once a whiteman, and that at first he should content himself with the visits of a boat, and that the Hon. General, once he finds that he would keep his promises would take further measures. He presented a sheep to me, and a lot of drink to the people who were with me, in exchange of which I gave him 2 lbs ? ... ? and some cowries. We lodged with mentioned Hannibal, who received us very well. This village Quita is also situated on the seashore, and has a good bay, accessible to canoes, and it is backed by the same lake which I found at Abodja. The village is fairly big, and pleasant high trees are planted around it. Along the mentioned lake a multitude of cows and sheep were grazing. Left by 3 A.M. for Awouna, about 4 miles from there, where we arrived about 9 A.M. This road passes through an area which is richer with cattle than any place I have seen before, and in that short distance I saw not less than 13 herds of cows, each consisting of at least 100 animals. I was received (at Awouna) by the principal Caboceer called Offorbiacan, who made room in his house for me and he entertained me in such a manner, that I was really surprised about the goodness of that man. He gave me also a sheep, and another one for my

(WIC 124 cont.)

boys, and plenty of drink for everybody. Here I had to bargain also for a canoe to carry me across the Rio Volta. I got one, paying 10 Angels for all of us. We left at 3 P.M. and arrived by 5 A.M. at the mouth of the rio Volta. At Awouna I let myself be informed by the Negroes about this country. They told me that with the help of canoes they mostly "correspond" (sic. = trade?) with the Negroes of the interior and that one could sail up-stream along the rio Volta for at least a month; that that river has many tributaries along whose banks live Negroes who have plenty slaves and ivory, but as no trade is being carried on, these commodities are taken away by the Aquamboese, and on the other side (sic) by the Quahoese, and thence they are carried to the side of Ardra and Fida. I asked whether the Negroes there would be inclined to trade with the whitemen and whether they were of a good disposition, upon which the Caboecer answered that he believed that none of those Negroes had ever seen a whiteman, but that he did not think that they would do any harm to one if he went to them with his merchandise, as those Negroes are not very warlike or quarrelsome. This is all I could learn from them.

Continuing, we first found a road of about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, regularly planted with cotton-trees, and then stopped at a tributary with very clear and good water. Passed by 5 P.M. through a great gloomy forest in which I saw a multitude of footprints of savage animals, but we got through without any discomfort. After a two hours' journey along the beach we reached a little village of fishermen, on a wide river: this was the rio Volta. There is no surf in its mouth, whose width I estimate to be about 300 feet. I wanted to measure the depth of the river at its mouth, but the rowers objected to this: they were only three in a canoe, and afraid that they would not be able to row back against the current. Moreover, the canoe was made in a manner quite different from that of the Gold Coast canoes, and it would probably not have been able to withstand the turmoil in and beyond the mouth of the river. But I think that the mouth of the rio Volta is wide and deep enough to allow small Dutch vessels to enter it, and there are good appearances that there would be a profitable trade if one sailed up-stream. One could take such an experiment with a sloop or boat, but to try it with a Gold Coast canoe is probably not feasible, as the Negroes of this coast consider this river their idol: they always pour some brandy in the water in order to get a safe journey, and nobody would dare to throw in it as much as a piece of dog (-meat). Their superstition goes so far, that they took from their necks and arms their golden fetishes, which they wound into a piece of cloth, and they insisted strongly that I would do the same with the ring I had on my finger, and that I took off the red cap I was wearing on my head, as one is not allowed to wear such a thing here on the river. But the negroes who brought us across, and who live there, did not know anything of this superstition.

(WIC 124 cont.)

My servant, who had sailed by canoe from Awouna, told me that he had been in at least ten different villages all along the river, and that he had been very well received, but that they had had to make a great detour before they could reach the mouth of the river. By 10 A.M. we reached the other side on the corner of a piece of land which constitutes the southern side of the mouth of the river. After having given small presents to the Negroes who had brought us here from Awouna, we marched along the beach, slept in the open field, and reached in the morning of the 26th Lay, where we stopped to eat. The Negroes were hardly aware of our presence. We continued our journey, and arrived the same day at a village called Negotsantsie, which is situated on top of a hill. The people here engage themselves in the making of salt. We spent the night there, and after a journey of 3 miles we arrived at Ponnie, where I was necessitated as a result of ^{the insistence of} the Caboceer Apim to eat. I visited him and inspected the Comp.'s former lodge there; it is totally ruined, and only its foundations could still be seen. Left by 1 P.M., and arrived by 5 P.M. at Siabbra, situated, like Ponnie, on a considerable height. I was well entertained by the Caboceer here, and we took here some night-rest till 3 A.M. By 5 A.M. we passed Pampona, by 7 Tysje and by 8 Labadde. We paid our respect in the Danish fort Christiansburg, and arrived shortly afterwards safely in Crèvecoeur, having made the journey over land from Fida to Crèvecoeur, long 66 miles, in 11 days. It was resolved to write to the Ass. of Ten about the Volta, asking whether further inquiries should be made about the possibilities of trade there. It was also resolved to appoint Ph. Eytzen as Merchant at Fida.

4th March 1718. ... Resolved to put in all the ships departing from here as much pepper as is possible, and to encourage the cultivation of it. Reports from our servants on the Grain Coast inform us there is little pepper to be had on the Grain Coast these days, and that there is a little more of that commodity in Rio Sierra Liones, but D.-G. proposed to write to the Directors that it will probably be very difficult to convince the Negroes here to undertake the planting of pepper, as long experience has shown ...

25th March 1718. ... Resolved to let the barque "Utregt" make a voyage to the Rio Volta, in a few days from now, and to let it enter its mouth, in order to do some trade, if possible, sailing up-river. Also resolved to give Capt. Eytzen an assistant to help him in taking exact informations about the Trade and the various commercial centres ...

26th March 1718. Ondercommies d'Altuna, who has served the Comp. for over 22 years, mostly at Fida and Jacquyn, is willing to continue in the service, although the Comp. is prepared to re-patriate him ... Resolved to let him continue ...

(WIC 124 cont.)

25th April 1718. D.-G. demonstrated that the Ass. of Ten had resolved to send Jac. Van Munnikhuysen from this Coast to Isequebo. Mentioned Van Munnikhuysen was appointed on Curaçao, where he had agreed with Director J. Van Collen to promote the cultivation of indigo on this Coast (in margin: 6 years' contract, made 10/3/1712), and that contract having expired, he, Van Munnikhuysen declared to feel inclined to return to Curaçao rather than to go to Isequebo, or otherwise to stay here. T.Hs. therefore agreed to let Van Munnikhuysen stay here on the Coast. But his salary of f 40.- per month is considered too high, and is hereby reduced to f 24.-. His work in the indigo-plantation has been stopped, on the orders of the Ten. He shall therefore be employed as Ondercommies at Axim and cultivate only cotton at that place ...

(summary Jan Connie): 30/5/1718: resolution to ask Capt. J. Van der Hoeven who arrived 29/5 to lead expedition against Jan Connie in order to acquire "the fortress Great Fredericksburg, illegally taken in possession by J.C." ... 13/6/1718: "Story of what has happened during the expedition against Great Fredericksburg ..." by Butler; found at arrival at Axim 3 ships waiting for expedition. Axim people declare too afraid of J. Connie to help Dutch. Decided to let the 3 Dutch ships anchor as close to Pokesu as possible, and let them **shell** the town in case peaceful negotiations failed, causing confusion among inhabitants by the explosion of quantities of gunpowder which doubtlessly were stored in the village. But the shelling of the town with "fire-balls and grenades" did not have the desired effect: the village did not catch fire. A few shots were fired from the fort, without causing harm. Capt. Van der Hoeven decided nonetheless to make a landing with 120 well armed men and ladders etc. to scale the fort, but as soon as these men set foot on shore they met with heavy fire, and in a few minutes most of them were dead. Van der Hoeven himself was also wounded, but managed with a few other survivors to swim back to the boats.

16/8/1718: D.-G. gave into consideration which other means could be employed to "put the Comp. in full and rightful possession" of Gr. Fredericksburg and to prevent that "foreign Nations, in particular the French or the English" took possession of it. But "reflecting that the forces of the Natives cannot be brought together at the moment because they need their men badly to protect their countries against the Assjantynse", a second attack should be postponed. For the time being it would be better to try to convince the Ahanta to join forces with the Comp., to cause as many difficulties as is possible for those of Pokesu, and to try to cause discord among them ...

WIC 104; Letters & papers from the Guinea Coast.

Diary kept by Ph. Eytzen on board of the barque "Utregt" and in the Lodge at Fida, April-May 1718.

9th & 10th April: three attempts were made to make a reconnaissance of the rio Volta. On one occasion a rowing-boat managed to pass through

(WIC 104 cont.)

the surf, but considered it irresponsible to risk the barque itself into this adventure: it was loaded 10 ft. deep. A raft or a galliot with a maximum draught of 7 or 8 ft. should be employed. The shoals in the mouth of the river cause it to be at most 12 ft. deep.

12th April: landed at Quita and went to see the Chief, to ask him how were the conditions of trade. He replied that there was good trade in ivory, but asked me to have 5 days patience. Asked ondercommies Loenius to send a good assortment of goods ashore, and then decided with them what should be paid for a man, and what for a woman. Decided on 68 Angels for a man and 51 for a woman. Purchased to-day 2 men and 109 lbs ivory.

15th April: Loenius came ashore. He and the ship's officers found great difficulties in conveying the goods ashore. The cargo is badly prepared: there are for instance 17 empty barrels in it. We are also ill prepared for the purchase of slaves: there are no shackles, and on board there is neither room, nor food for slaves. We will have to leave them on land and find a guardian for them.

16th April: The Danish Governor Knoed Roest arrived to-day. He showed some surprise finding me trading here, as he paid the Caboceer here 3 Angels per month. I remonstrated that the King imagines to be master in his own land, and that it was on his own request, and on the orders of the General, that I was trading there, and that I thought that there was no need for me to give any further answer to his expression of surprise, assuring him that all coming and going ships could trade here without any dispute. In the evening the Governor invited me for dinner; at table he told me that a French ship had arrived.

18th April: the Governor having offered to the Negroes 5 oz. for a slave and made many other great promises, I went to the King to say good-bye, as I could not get any trade. The King showed strong dislike of the Danish Governor, threatening to drive him away, imagining that this was the reason for my departure. He urgently requested me to stay, but I replied that I had to go to Fida, as there was no more ivory, either at Quita or at Abjotta (sic), the trade in this commodity having been the principal reason for my visit. The King still insisted that I should stay, asking me to tell the General that if he wanted to build a lodge at Quita, that he would make the Danes move out.

I took further informations on the rio Volta, and was told that there are no villages along its banks, as they are flooded during the rains, which create a lake of a length of at least 15 miles, beginning east of the rio Volta and ending at Abbotja. The lake is too muddy for navigation (sic) during the rains, and dry afterwards. Loenius reported to have seen many canoes on the shores, but none sailing on the lake. It would be difficult to sail on the ~~river~~ with a ship: the current is too strong during the rains, and there are too many shoals during the dry season. The Negroes assure us, that no canoes sail on the river far beyond its mouth. One should make special vessels on which there

(WIC 104 cont.)

would be accomodation for men and goods and which could be rowed. If such a vessel were to be commanded by an experienced person, it could sail on this river and its tributaries during the good season and inquiries could be made about trade over a distance of 2 weeks' rowing. I found here at Quita a large number of children and men constantly busy spinning cotton on little sticks of about a foot length. I wanted to buy some, as they said that they collected this cotton in order to maintain their children. They were prepared to sell, but they asked not less than three strings of cowries for one ball of cotton, which does not weigh more than about half a pound, which would mean paying about as much as at home. When I proposed to buy a big quantity of about hundred pounds for 20 Angels, they just laughed at me ... I am sure that if the Negroes did their best to make cotton-plantations, that they could gain a lot from it; but these people think only in a day-to-day manner, and never think of tomorrow. Saw also people making indigo in a hut. They first soak the leaves and then make balls of them of the size of a fist, which they put then away. They seem to keep them in a good condition for more than a month in this way. I bought some of these balls, but I doubt whether the Comp. could draw much profit from them. Arrived at Fida on 21st April, and found there 1 French, 2 English and 2 Portuguese ships anchored. The surf was high but I got safely ashore. An English canoe came to see who we were. I was carried in a Portuguese hammock to the English fort, where I was not expected, but welcomed by Messrs Billie and Boon. The latter was just giving his leave-dinner. Shortly afterwards the French Director, Mons. Bouchel, came to see me. The same evening I went to the Lodge, and had a conversation with the King. I assured him of the friendship of the General and sent him his greetings. He said that he was very satisfied about my return, and that he was pleased to have learnt that the Fidase hammock-carriers had been so well received at Elmina. I informed him also that the Hon.General had sent his envoy to Aquamboe, and that H.H. would cause that King to have such feelings as would be in agreement with his interests; for this too, the King was very grateful. 22nd April: went to visit Capt. Carter, to present myself as the new Resident Merchant, and to inform him that the Comp. had decided to buy this year a great number of slaves at Fida, requesting him for his assitance. He answered that he would be very pleased to help and to continue in the same way as he had done so many years. As this captain is at present busy building himself a new house about half a mile from here, he will not come here as often as he used to do. I requested him to come back tomorrow, in order to go with me to the King, because without him the King does not engage in any serious business with the whites. 24th April: had the French Director Bouchel and the English Merchants Billie and Boon for dinner. 25th April: went with Loenius and Capt. Carter to see the King. I gave him a mas red coral on behalf of the D.-G., and asked him permission to start the trade

(WIC 104 cont.)

for the ship "Gunthersteyn". He answered that he would give me such permission as from tomorrow. 26th April: the interpreter came to tell me that the King was only waiting for the customary slaves to be bought before opening the market, but I waited till the evening, when the King's chief servant came only to tell that the King had not been able to get good slaves. 27th April: went to see the King's customary slaves and they were, as usual, blind, cross-eyed, lame, limps or mutilated, and whatever I tried, they would not show me any others. I did not hide my displeasure to the Captain and I left the tronk. But in the afternoon they summoned the master, and earmarked for him a female slave of the King, one from Capt. Carter and one from Capt. Agou. 29th April: counted the goods in the storehouse and found only 1,400 basins and 39 iron bars. These iron bars and basins are much in demand just before and during the bush-clearing season, but now they are not in demand before they next sowing season. ... 2nd May: Loenius is to leave tomorrow. Sent on board of his ship 90 fine iron rifles most of which are rusty and of which 15 are damaged, recommending him to have them cleaned on board during the voyage. He will probably be able to sell them in Assini or Bassam on the Upper Coast. Our rifles are not much in demand here at present, as English rifles are here on the market for 3 Angels; from this one can easily calculate how much that Nation is prepared to pay for a slave, as they pay at least 24 or 25 of them for a male slave, and I would have to pay at least 100 guilders ... or 30 to 32 rifles. The people here will not bring out their slaves till ships arrive with cowries. They don't even want plathiljos: I had to offer at least 30 of them for one male slave. 3rd May: went to the market and found there ginger, pepper, cotton and cotton-yarn, indigo, cardemom (=?) and gum. I bought the whole quantity of ginger hardly a pound, for $\frac{1}{2}$ Angels; I asked were it was growing, and what would be the price if I bought greater quantities of it. they said that the price was one string of cowries for a ball, and that it comes from a place called Fou or Foin, about 20 miles from here. It is being brought here on every market day, that is twice every nine days, in small bits. The Foin Negroes bring it as a kind of medicine. The pepper grows in the country of Capt. Apunga, 3 miles from here. Cotton is found everywhere, and a large quantity could be got if the Negroes did not use it themselves for the weaving of cloth of various qualities. Some of these cost not less than 24 ryksdaalders, others are sold for 16, 10, 8, 4, or 2 ryksdaalders, but rarely for less. Some of the cotton was packed in little bales by the Negroes, which weigh 12 to 15 lbs; they demand 6 ryksdaalders for them, but the seeds are not taken out. I saw more than 200 lbs of it on the market, all of which was sold on the same day. It is for lamps and for other purposes. Cotton-yarn is exceptionally expensive. There were no great quantities of indigo, half of it was rotten and nearly black. The gum is like that of Benyn, and comes also from that side, from Rio Lagos and Laconie; it is in use as medicine and sells for more than $\frac{1}{2}$ Ang.p.lb.

NBKG 84; Elmina Journal (extracts Furley Coll.)

29th October 1717: received from Blenke, Axim ... on the 23rd the Aowien Caboceer Cru Adamu came. He said he had been here first in the days of Opppercommies Landman, and had taken oaths with the Caboceers, priests and Asjanny that his people would trade here. That during Butler's time there had been good trade. He asked that the priest, Pinga and Asjanny be summoned to renew the oaths. Arrangements were made that the Aowiense, Bromse or Boonairse should not be molested when entering the Ancober and Axim districts. This morning we should have started the trade, but they wanted iron rifles. I offered them brass muskets, but they did not want these, as they could get them also at Cabo Apollonia, ~~and~~ 8 for one benda.

20th December 1717: received from Blenke, Axim ... that all trade had come to a standstill because of the war between the Assjantynse and the Akimse. The Wassase are constantly trying to rob the Aowiense on the paths, which are at present very unsafe ...

9th March 1718: from Blenke, Axim ... Trade is very bad. We don't even have enough gold for the subsistence of the garrison. This is caused by the fact that the Aowiens are marching up, 8 to 9,000 men strong, to attack the Assjantynse.

NBKG 85; (Elmina Journal) 21st March 1718: from Van Munnikhoven, Axim: It is reported that Aowiense have returned from Assjantyn with a considerable booty ... among it 20,000 women and children ... the Aowiense would have exhumed the dead Ashantynse, and it is said that they have found much gold and conte de terra and that they will come here soon to trade ...

20th April 1718: from Van Munnikhoven, Axim ... it is reported from Cabo Apollonia that a large number of Aowien traders is expected there any day from now. The Cabo Apollonia Caboceers have promised to send them hither ... the few Aowiense who came to trade so far came mainly for salt.

19th September 1718: from Van Maarssen, Axim ... The Aowiense and Wassase think that the Assjantis will come to fight them ... both these peoples are providing themselves with guns and powder. The Wassase say that they will go to Aowien and leave their country.

12th October 1718: from Van Maarssen, Axim: ... the Wassa Headchief, Tia Vanvo, alias Bousje (Bonsje?) has gone to Aowien, probably to consult with Aowien headchief about resisting the Assjantis ... returning Wassase who had been captured assert that the Assjantis are very much at variance among themselves; that the Native Aman Coya has died and that the country is preparing for war ...

11th November 1718: from Van Maarssen, Axim ... The Wassa Caboceer Tieranvo has returned from Aowien. He has made a treaty of friendship with it, and paid 30 bendas as satisfaction for his robberies in that country in the company of the Asjantis ... sent one of his trusted men to me to assure me that he was inclined to purchase in future the goods

(NBKG 85 cont.)

he needs at this factory. To make a beginning, he sent 80 slaves, of whom only about one half was suitable for purchase ... I regret to note that these traders did not bring any gold or ivory...

NBKG 86 (Elmina Journal cont.) 14th January 1719. ... from Van Naarssen, Axim: ... there is a rumour that the Asjantis are on the march, which does damage to the trade; the Aowiens and the others remain in their countries for fear ...

4th February 1719: from Van Munnikhoven, Chama: ... asks for tradegoods, as some Dinkira, Wassa and Owien traders have arrived there ...

WIC 124 (minutes Council Elmina)

13th March 1719. D.-G. gave notice that the Comp.'s slaveship "Amsterdam" had captured on the high seas the ship "Marquis de Prié", Capt. Jan Willemsz, which had sailed out from Ostend under Imperial Commission and flags, and brought it here on 18th January. An inquest was made, from which it appeared that mentioned ship has effectively Ostend as its home-port, that it is satisfactorily provided with Imperial and Royal Commission, and that the Hon. Assembly of Ten has issued repeated instructions to be cautious about the arrest and confiscation of ships provided with proper commissions of foreign sovereigns and potentates. As at this juncture no sufficient reasons can be found to proceed with the confiscation of mentioned ship or its cargo, and also because this is the first time that such a thing happens and His Imperial Majesty has no fixed establishments on this Coast, it was resolved, in order at least to avert the spread of this trade, to let this ship provisionally remain in sequestration, to make a neat and detailed report on its remaining cargo and on the merchandise it has bought, but to leave the final decision to the Hon. Ten. It was furthermore resolved to send mentioned ship straight back with some return-freight on board, and with the request to the Hon. Directors to give us some indication about what to do in similar cases ...

22nd November 1719. D.-G. noted that the "Bonaventura" was ready to sail for Benyn, and asked the Hon. Members whether they agreed to dispatch it as soon as possible in order to take from Assistant Massey at Quita the 3,262 lbs ivory and 518 lbs crevell which he reported to have collected there, when passing that place, because it is learnt that the King of Aquamboe is threatening to attack Quita.

10th October 1720. ... Deliberation about what could best be done with most advantage for the Noble Comp. with the ship "De Hoop", since the storehouses are completely deprived of merchandise and the ship can therefore not make ^{another} voyage to the Upper Coast. It was resolved to let mentioned ship sail to the Lower Coast and let it collect in passing all the gold, ivory and crevell which may have been purchased at Quita, Popo and Fida, and to bring from here iron bars for Fida. If the value of the goods at that time purchased is not excessively high the "De Hoop"

(WIC 124 cont.)

may continue its voyage to Rio de Gabon and Cabo Lopes, for which the captain will be provided with a small cargo to trade wax and ivory. After this he shall cruise 8 to 10 days around the Island S. Tomé in order to capture in that area a Portuguese ship with slaves, because we need them at present badly for the Portuguese ships anchoring here (sic!) ...

8th December 1720. Letters have been received from factors Le Grand and Coster, Capt. Sanders and Assistant Heilman informing us that on 6th December Coster had gone into the village of Axim in the company of Sanders and Heilman in order to inspect a new canoe, but that Coster had been assaulted by the subject Negroes of Axim, had been maltreated by them and been thrown into a canoe in which he had been transported to Boutry. The Captain and the Assistant had then taken refuge in the fortress; Sanders let some men come from board, so that there were not less than 90 men in the fortress. D.-G. demonstrated that this was a matter of great importance, and that he had the intention of going there personally, as the total ruin and loss of mentioned fortress may be feared if the enraged people are not quickly brought to calm. This rage probably resulted from the tyrannical temper of Commies Coster and his poor treatment of the Aximse, against which we would have taken our measures long ago if only we had been provided of sufficient assistance and proper servants. It was agreed to send Oppercommies Karel Van Naarssen, Commies Isaac Muller and Secretary J. Graauwhart thither in order to appease the people, because it is to be feared that if such steps were not taken, our subjects at Axim may entirely abandon their obedience to the Noble Comp. and conspire with the people of Great Fredericksburg. Members did not consider it advisable that the D.-G. should go thither, as those in Fredericksburg could be alarmed by it, and try to stop vessels passing Fredericksburg ...

14th January 1721. ... the deputies having returned from Axim, D.-G. demonstrated the various attestations made against Commies Antonie Coster about his highly improper behaviour, reporting that mentioned Coster had arrived here per canoe on 2nd January, and that H.H. had put him under civil arrest in Coenraadsburg under the supervision of the Commander there, so that the factory at Axim may again be put in quietness ... H.H. appointed Isaac Muller as Commies at Axim .. and proposed to keep Coster in arrest till his writing-desk and case arrive from Axim ...

19th May 1721. D.-G. gave into reflection of the H. Members a paragraph of the letter of the Hon. Ten dd. 1st November 1720 and received on 5th May 1721, viz. "As we are informed that Jan Connie has become much more forthcoming, and would be inclined to come to some agreement with the Comp. concerning the transfer of Great Fredericksburg to the Comp., we recommend to Y.H. to make some attempt hereto, if necessary

(WIC 124 cont.)

making some expenses ... if Y.H. manages to convince Connie to deliver Great Fredericksburg, Y.H. should not only offer him the friendship, but also the protection of the Comp." It was resolved to send the arrested hoeker (small ship) "Juffrou Brigitta" with Chief Merchant Van Naerssen to Fredericksburg. Engineer André Lesloran should also embark on this ship in order to make an ocular inspection of the River Ancober and the Mountain of that name. With him shall be sent 3 or 4 miners and as many soldiers as can be embarked in a proper way ...

25th May 1721. ... received letters from Chama, confirming that the Jufferse, Wassase and Adomse are marching up against the Antase, and that the Jufferse have actually already been involved in a clash with some Antase. D.-G. asked Members to deliberate on what to do, and it was resolved to try to convince the Aguaffoese and Bramboese Negroes -who are our friends- to come to the aid of the Antase to distract the enemy, and , if need be, to persuade some Minase Negroes to march to Chama and the Antase country ... and finally to provide the Upper factories with more men, to avert the danger of their being surprised by Jan Connie and his troops.

WIC 41; Secret papers Assembly of X.

Ass. of X to W. Butler, 20th November 1720. ... We are pleased to note that the search for gold can best be undertaken on the Ancober River, and that such activities are already in progress ... Y.H. should therefore try to come to an agreement with the Chief or Chiefs of the Ancober State for the completion of the half-finished fort on top of the mountain on the eastern bank of that river. We inform you also that we have received informations about a certain kind of red earth mixed with clay which was found in the area of Cape Three Points on a mountain situated about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour from the sea. This mountain is said to have a circumference of about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour and stretches towards the sea. On that side, about 3 or 400 steps from the sea, that earth is being dug by the Negroes, and it is said to contain a reasonable quantity of gold and silver. This merits further investigation. As we have stated earlier, the Noble Comp. is now able to increase its trade on the Coast, and to that end we shall send to Y.H. as many goods as Y.H. may be able to sell, and we have therefore the pleasure to ask Y.H. what quantity and quality of goods Y.H. thinks possible to sell at all the Comp.'s factories on the Coast during one entire year. We wonder if we could send goods to a value of one million guilders for sale at the various factories, if interloping could be limited. Furthermore we would like to learn from Y.H. how many slaveships could be provided with the required number of slaves in Fida and Angola during one year, and also whether Y.H. thinks that it would be to the advantage of the Comp. to erect a lodge in Angola, and, if so, how many servants should be sent there to do apart from the trade in slaves that in ivory, wood and other products. In our last letter to Y.H. we wrote that it would be a good thing if

(WIC 41 cont.)

one could get access to the Sicke Bergh and take it in proper possession. We have noted that that mountain is situated near to the English fort at Commany, and that the English could cause a lot of difficulties in this matter. We therefore recommended Y.H. to act very cautiously in this matter, so that in particular in respect to our designs on the Ancober River no impediments may be put in our way by mentioned Nation. We would be pleased to be informed by Y.H. beforehand if there is indeed any appreciable gold to be found in that mountain, and whether it would really merit to make an attempt... In previous letters we recommended Y.H. several times to promote with force the cultivation of certain crops on the Coast and to send us the fruits of it. We make use of this opportunity, although there is nothing secret about it, that we are informed that the bush on the sides of the Gallows Mountain was burnt, and that during the rainy season some cotton-seeds had fallen on that land which had grown into little cotton-trees. We think therefore that cotton could easily be cultivated on that hill, and as it is covered by the guns of the forts, and the Negroes do not show much attachment to that land, we recommend to Y.H. to plant cotton-seeds in a regular fashion on mentioned mountain, and to continue its cultivation there with force ...

ARA: Rademacher Arch. No.593. Declaration by Oppercommies H. Terwe and Chief Bookkeeper J. De la Planque to former D.-G. W. Butler, on his request, concerning the recognition dues paid by Portuguese in the period 1718-1722. (dd. Elmina, 7th April 1723):

	tobacco (rolls)	gold (Mk)
1718	-	19:4:4
1719	377	- - -
1720	776	4:6:8
1721	1070	41:6:-
1722	511	17:-:-

WIC 124; minutes Elmina Council.

23rd April 1724. D.-G. read out a request of Commies De Swarte, asking urgently to be allowed to repatriate. Swarte said that he is willing to comply with the condition that he pay to the D.-G. the 80 ounces of gold given to him by the King of Fida in the year 1722 in order to be delivered to the King of Aquamboe so that he may help him in his war against Jacquin, but such not having happened now being urgently reclaimed by the King of Fida. Mentioned Swarte also declares to be willing to pay the surplus of cowries which had been sold by Commies Braassen for 170 lbs per benda, but which should have been accounted for ad 60 lbs per benda, as H.H. had been ordered to do by the then President Matthys De Craene, but without the knowledge of the Council. On condition that mentioned Swarte leave as bail to the D.-G., in case that anything might be found to his debit, an obligation of 6 Mk to Commies Braassen, and in same way of 12 male and one female slaves on the person of Hendrick Hertogh, Swarte will be allowed to repatriate ...

(WIC 124 cont.)

31st August 1725. ... It was unanimously resolved to reply on the letter received from Ondercommies Van Munnikhoven at Fida, that he should try as much as possible to sell the assets of the Noble Comp. at that place, à tous prix (sic) and then embark with all his subject whitemen and his furniture, linen, tableware etc. on board of the "Groot Bentvelt" in order to be transported to Jaquin, and ship all the basins still in stock off on board of the galiot "Juffrou Rebecca Jacoba", which is on its way to Benyn ... leaving some simple furniture, boxes and cases and some other unimportant goods up to a value of at most 3 or 4 marks as booty for the looting Negroes, thus causing less suspicion about their departure ... and also to write to Capt Ras, that as soon as the provisional ondercommies Van Munnikhoven and all his whitemen have embarked, he should attack all un-free Portuguese (ships) and bring them to Elmina after having captured them and having taken out of them all the slaves and goods on behalf of Van Munnikhoven and his Lieutenant, and then to sail to the Upper Coast, cruising in such a manner as is most in the interest of the Noble Comp. ...

12th December 1725. ... resolved to write to the English General John Tinker the following protest: ... Several difficulties and disputes have been caused by Y.H.'s subjects against our subject Negroes, to such an extent, that Y.H.'s subject Negro Ahinnequa, living under the English fortress at Commany assaulted on 8th December the Crom of the Noble Comp.'s makelaar Abbacon in an unheard inimical manner, decapitating two of his own Negroes and carrying off two others as captives. This is causing great harm to the understanding between our two Nations, and after perusal of Y.H.'s letters, we find that we got by no means satisfaction from Y.H., on the contrary, we understand that Y.H., in stead of appeasing the quarrel between our subjects, has caused that quarrel to explode into an open rupture, having caused various Negroes of Cabo Cors to march out in full arms in order to attack the Natives under this Castle, providing them with lead and powder. We must protest against this in the strongest terms, demanding immediate and proper satisfaction ...

28th December 1725. ... resolved to write another protest note to the English General Tinker: ... as all our proposals for mediation in the issue between our makelaar Abbacan and the Negro Ahinnequa have been rejected by Y.H., the friendship between our two Nations, which we have always held for sacred, is being put in danger; ... Y.H. tries in all possible manners to cause us harm, like in the trade which we have in this Castle with the Portuguese Nation and by robbing our **Illustrious Company** of its properties on this Coast, of which we may show a clear proof in the negotiations Y.H. had with the Negro Jan Conny, having proposed to that person a sum of 100 bendas of gold if mentioned Conny were prepared to leave to Y.H. the fortresses at Accoda and Tackrama, or otherwise if he were to allow Y.H. to build a stronghold near the water-hole at Pocquesoc, for which negotiations

(WIC 124 cont)

Y.H. has sent his servant with some pieces of cloth, some brandy and a sword, inlaid with silver. That Y.H. tries in all sorts of ways to do damage to our trade, can also be seen from the fact that Y.H. goes to the extent to write to Portuguese Captains who come to this Castle to trade, insisting that **they cut their anchor-ropes** and come to do their trade at Cabo Cors, and even to send passports to Brazil, according to which Portuguese ships would be free to come to trade here, assuring the bearers that Y.H. will protect them against any accident in case our cruisers happen to encounter them. This is entirely contrary to Art. 8 of the Treaty of 1708, according to which no ship of either Nation may trade on the other's roads or under the other's forts, that recovered goods may be confiscated ... on the contrary, Y.H. allows his ships to trade with the rebel Jan Conny under our lodge at Ancober, and dares to protest when we happen to stop this kind of irregularity. Furthermore, Y.H. continues to protect a man who has killed in cold blood one of our Comp's servants. ... has ordered your Cabo Cors Natives to attack ours, your Merchant to let his slaves burn our Crom at Commany, and Ahinnequa's people to fire on our canoe with 6 whitemen and burn the Crom of makelaar Abbaca as well as kill and panyar his people ...

NBKG 33; correspondence Ass. of X.

Ass. of Ten to Valckenier, 18th September 1726. ... Concerning what has occurred at Fida, we are of the opinion that we may leave it to Y.H.'s judgement whether we should establish a new lodge there or not. We think that the reasons which were given for abandoning the lodge which the Comp. had there earlier are sufficient. We hope that the Company may draw much advantage from the continuing wars on the Coast, and that the slave trade may continue to flourish as much as it seems to do at present. We have also taken into consideration Y.H.'s proposal to build a fortress at Bassan, but your reasons have not yet convinced us. Y.H. should first of all try to make the Natives agree on profitable conditions for the Noble Comp. ... and if Y.H. considers that a mere lodge would not offer sufficient defence at mentioned place Y.H. may try to build a little fort there with the lowest possible expenditure, and in that case Y.H. may use for the execution of that work Capt. Armond Steenhard, commanding the ship "Brandenburg", as he seems to be experienced in that kind of work and also liked among the Natives of that area ...

WIC 122; Contracts, Treaties and Agreements.

Provisional Agreement, for approbation, made in the King's lodgings at Sabee by Comnies H.Hertogh on behalf of D.-G. P.Valckenier with the King and Grandees of Fida on 12th November 1726.

(agreed ...) 1. to maintain all the friendship and privileges which the Comp. enjoyed from the late King. 2. to maintain the former customs concerning slave ships. 3. that the King and his Grandees are to repair as soon as possible the lodge here. For this the commander will give

(WIC 122 cont)

proper payment. 4. the King is to punish all those who may attempt to harm servants of the Comp.. 5. the King is to supply a sufficient number of carriers ... 7. if a Merchant, Commies or Captain of the Comp. is to be buried at Fida, the King will receive the value of one slave. 8. the King promises that the Portuguese will no longer be allowed to have a fortress, and that their present fortress will be demolished and be changed into a simple house or hut without any war-ammunition (sic), whilst the Noble Comp. will have the right to build a proper lodge, with fire-proof storehouses, in that area where the other Nations have their forts. 10. the King will treat the Dutch and the Portuguese on equal terms, in such a manner, that the one whose canoe arrives first from the arriving ships will be served first. 11. the King promises to maintain the old custom by which he gives at every market-day a present to the Merchant in the form of a goat, a pot of palm-oil, some patattes (yams?), salt and as much wood as he needs for fire. 12. every ship which comes to trade will give the King one cow for his people (or: the King will give to the crew of every ship coming to trade one cow: not clear) 13. the King promises not to make any claim for damages in connection with hostilities committed earlier against Ships from Lisbon by our Nations; and also that his roads are from now onwards free and neutral; it will remain un-molested by our cruisers, but all un-free ships may be chased by ours, 24 hours after their departure, and, if captured beyond the sight of the roads, be brought to Fida. 14. if the King gets involved in an un-hoped for heavy war, he may send envoys to Elmina to be assisted in the manner the General may deem fit.

sigd. the mark *JJ* of the King of Fida (Houffon?)

- X Capt. Carter
- X Capt. Ago
- X Capt. Jantie
- X Capt. Pieter
- X Capt. Danjou
- X Capt. Pattoe

Hertogh



NBKG 94; Elmina Journal. (D.-G.-R- Norré)

1st May 1727 Received a letter from Lambert Duyf, dd Quita, 22nd April. ... Yesterday 5 whitemen arrived here: 3 Assistants and 2 soldiers, who were put on shore by a Portuguese warship, having sailed out on the "s-Gravelandt", mother-naked and badly wounded, the Fida-negroes having kept them prisoner for 6 days and nights, bound with ropes; their hands and feet are full of wounds. Please send a boat to fetch them for treatment at Elmina. They also reported that the Portuguese have shot a small boat to pieces after Capt. Blom had set the "Sen Galey" on the beach at Jaquin. All the goods seem however to have been saved.

8th May 1727. from Hertogh, Jaquin, 2 letters, dd. 18th March and 23rd March : ... on 13th Febr. I sent with Capt. Steenhard 60 Mk gold to Y.E., with a note that war at Fida was imminent. On 2nd March this became reality: the Dahommes came down to besiege Fida, and on 9th March they took it. As the cause of this unexpected victory can be seen the activit

(NBKG 94 cont.)

of Ahou and the son of Capt. Abbrega, the first assisted by the Captains of the Dutch lodge, and the other by Assoe, Captain of the French lodge, taking in this way revenge on the King for his unjustly keeping to himself the inheritance of these two men. The King has fled, and is at the moment on an island between Fida and Popôo. 38 whites were captured, robbed of their possessions and carried to Ardra; the French and English Directors, ondercommies Vrolijck and some English, French and Portuguese servants are among them. The Portuguese fort was demolished to the ground and its guns were carried to the interior. The other forts are still being besieged. The French and English Directors were released in order that they may surrender their forts, but they seem unwilling to do so unless they get recompensation for lost property. Of the above mentioned 38 persons the Portuguese have come back to Jaquin, on the condition that they make the ships now anchored on the Fida roads come here. Anybody who had not yet paid his costumes shall have to do that from now onwards here, and the remaining French and English will only be released once the French and English ships have arrived here. Consequently trade will be done exclusively here at Jaquin. ... Business looks so favourable that I would like to suggest to build a lodge at Eppe, an island between Jaquin and Appa. This is a place which is well situated for trade, and quite appropriate to retire to in times of emergency. Trade has been a bit bad here because of the war and because the Portuguese have brought here a large quantity of English plathiljos.

(the letter of 23rd March contains little of interest, was written mainly to congratulate Norré with his appointment as D.-G.)

21st May 1727 ... wrote to Hertogh: ... read about the imprisonment of the whitemen by the Dahommes, including Ondercommies Vrolyk. We hope that this change will not cause too much damage to the Comp., as we are sure that you did not leave any merchandise of great value with Vrolyk before the devolution (sic) of Fida. We also hope that the Comp's slaves have come back. We take your proposal concerning the lodge at Eppe into consideration, but fear that it will be rather costly; but as we are sure of your vigilance, we are willing to agree in principle. Learnt from Duyff that the "'s-Gravelandt" was chased onto the beach by the Portuguese; we therefore have to urge you to pay back the L Mk worth of cowries which were paid for the release of the gentlemen.

16th June 1727. received from Van Leeuwen, Commanly, a letter dd. 15th June, that Intuffer has panyarred 19 slaves of an Assiantynse Caboecer, and that the English Merchant came the day before to demand the delivery of those panyarred slaves.

From Van Bosch, Chama, a letter dd. 14th June ... I have made an alliance with the Adoemse, on condition that they build a cron on this side of the river, in order to give safety to the mercadoors against all robbers. My makelaer Pieter shall receive 2 oz of gold per month for this ...

Answered Van Bosch ... (PS:) We are informed that some Wassase and Adoemse murdered (sic) 19 mercadoors coming from Assiantyn. You really

(NBKG 94 cont.)

should not trust the Natives too much ...

22nd June 1727. wrote to Van Leeuwen (Commany) ... Don't get involved with the English on account of these panyarrings by Intuffer, but if Intuffer comes to your fort for protection, you may afford him such, on the condition that he gives his sister Adbadjewaa as a pawn. If it comes to a fight, load your guns with ball ...

Received a letter from Commany, that the English Merchant has panyarred 8 Caboceers of Intuffer and the standard-bearer of Dodo Tibo. Intuffer threatens to take up a fight with the English ...

24th July 1727. On 29th May we received a letter from Jaquin, dd. 26th April (n.b. not clear why this letter was entered nearly 2 months after it was received: dates must be wrong)

... the factory at Fida is totally ruined, but the exiled King claims that he is preparing to re-establish himself in his State, which I doubt very much. Vrolyk, who was for 20 days prisoner, with the others, of the Dahommes arrived here on 3rd May (see n.b. above). He wants to go to Elmina. I also got the Comp.'s Fantyn slaves released from Fida. Here we live constantly in fear. I tried to send the gold-chest, containing 55 Mk with the "'s-Gravelandt", but it was sent back to me. Now it contains 65 Mk, and although I badly want to ship it off, I see no means to it. Capt. Blom was summoned several times by the King of Dahomme, and finally went there with the Fidalgo's brother. He was received politely. I sent also ondercommies Kemner there with a big present, considering it very important to stay on good terms with this King in these difficult times. I hope you do appreciate that.

Concerning the situation at Fida: some of the Fida Negroes come daily to their country, as the Dahommes have retired from it and have now gone to Ardera, but apparently for no other reason than to attack them again and to capture their King. Without them having done so, the war will not come to an end. Here the trade is flourishing; the paths all around are open; the only thing we miss, are some Brazilians to make the gold trade flourish.

Received a letter from Bosch, Commany, dd. 8th July, that the Assiantynse mercadoor Cansam (?) had come from Sacconde to speak with Intuffer, and that he had told him not to pass the river without D.-G.'s expressed consent. He was prepared to return to Sacconde, but as this mercadoor was earlier with the English mercadoor of Sacconde at Commany, and all his people had crossed the river by canoe, he let the Assiantyn Caboceer also pass. Answered Bosch that this is entirely contrary to my orders, and that such a thing should not happen again ...

15th December 1727. Received a letter from Jaquin, that Fida is still in the same condition, the King still fugitive. There is little chance that he will settle soon again in Fida. The gold trade is very weak, because the Dahomme King is very eager to acquire this metal. It is however hoped that this will change one of these days ...

NBKG 33; correspondence Ass. of Ten

Ass. of Ten to R.Norré, 28th October 1727. ... Concerning the Portuguese Y.H. should follow the instructions issued by the Chamber Amsterdam, and we wish to add, that since the Comp. has no longer a lodge at Fida, and has now completely abandoned trade there and there is no longer any need to have anything to do with the King of that country, Y.H should do every thing possible to attack and capture Portuguese ships on the roads there or at least make them stay away from it ...

ARA Rademacher Archive No. 591; Short Remonstrance ... (printed, 1727)

... why the Portuguese have no right to navigate to the Upper or Lower Coasts of Guinea ... and that the charter issued in 1724 by the King of Portugal to one Jan Dansaïnt should not be allowed to impede the WIC ...

1. The WIC has exclusive rights on the Coast of Guinea since the year 1624.
2. That right has been recognised by the Portuguese in the Truce of 1641, ... that the jurisdiction of the WIC does not only cover its forts, but also the country, peoples and nations which are subject to it.
3. In mentioned treaty the Dutch Republic demanded for its WIC freedom of trade in the Portuguese possessions in Africa, including the Islands, paying the same tolls and duties which are being paid there by the Natives, the Portuguese and other free people, which freedom was recognised, but no such freedom to trade was given to the Portuguese in Dutch Guinea ...
4. The Portuguese had reason enough to favour the WIC in every thing, as they were at that time at war with Spain, and it was only through the WIC that they could acquire slaves for Brazil.
5. In 1648, whilst Portugal was still at war with Spain, new negotiations took place in order to render the truce permanent. The States-General then sustained that the Portuguese should not be allowed to navigate to any other place in Africa than S.Paulo Loango, and leave the navigation to the rest of Africa to the WIC alone, that if the Portuguese need slaves, that they could buy them from the WIC on the same footing as other Colonies of the State ...
6. The States-General have maintained these claims till July 1661, when a first peace-treaty was signed by the Portuguese and the States-General. In Art. 4 of that treaty the WIC stipulated -and achieved- free trade in the Portuguese places of Africa, incl. S.Tomé, whilst neither by that article, nor by any other, the Portuguese got similar freedoms in Dutch Guinea.
7. In 1669 an agreement was reached with the Portuguese about the satisfaction and compliance with the treaty of 1661, but these matters were in no way changed.
8. Before and after that date the WIC has continued to act in conformity concerning private trade in Guinea, and to prohibit de facto the slave trade on Portuguese ships.
9. The Portuguese have always submitted themselves to that rule, but with the consent of the WIC they have come to take slaves from Dutch Guinea.
10. This acquiescence is the more remarkable, as the WIC agreed in 1703 under the terms of the Great Alliance not to insist any further on the payment of over one million (florins) worth of salt which the Portuguese were still due to pay in accordance with the 1669

treaty, and again without making any further complaints about infringements of the rules in Africa.

... mentioned Jan Dansaint has received from the King of Portugal the right to do private trade between Cabo Lopes Gonsalves and Rio Cameron, including the Corisco Islands, which is quite contrary to the letter of Artt. 41 of the 1641 treaty and Art. 4 of the 1661 treaty. Equally contrary to those artt. is the extension of his so-called charter to various places North of the Equator. Goods sent to the so-called "new establishment" on the Upper Coast, where the WIC has the habit to sell its own goods, will be treated as contraband. The building of forts in areas where the WIC normally navigates is quite contrary to earlier agreements and a total novelty, which is the more unreasonable as it would destroy the limits which have so far existed between WIC and Portuguese (zones of influence) That free navigation is permitted to the English and French along the Upper Coast, and not to the Portuguese, is because there are with the former no treaties like the aforesaid, and therefore nobody should be surprised that the English and French are treated by the WIC in a manner different from that of the Portuguese ...

(enclosure): Extract of the contract issued by the King of Portugal to Jean Desaint... for the conservation of my Empires and Conquests ... a great number of slaves need to be imported for the cultivation of sugar and tobacco and the work in my goldmines. For this J. Desaint is presently offering his services together with his companions, inhabitants of this City of Lisbon, declaring that they are prepared to erect a fortress ... on the Island of Corisco in the mouth of the River Angres ... (1772 in Eq. Guinea)

WIC 124; 9th February 1728. D.-G. demonstrated that although we have not given the least provocation, the English continue to endanger the peace and friendship between our Nations with their villainies ... bribing our subject Natives, as we are being informed by those of Fantyn and Foutou, and by taking away the Comp.'s canoes and their cargoes, its gold, merchandise and servants, keeping the latter in prison. On the 7th of this month they attacked in a very inimical manner the Noble Comp.'s landsboot (supply-boat?) sailing to Crèvecoeur with men, victuals, building-materials and war-ammunition, killing some of the servants on board and shackling others, without making any distinction between black and white ... so far we have not yet had any opportunity to take our revenge, as there are no ships of their Company on the Coast. But since it is learnt that their one ship "Clarendon" is at the moment at Accra, ready to repatriate, it was resolved to order the Capt. of the newly arrived Comp. ship "Phoenix" to chase aforesaid ship ... in order to get our justified and legal revenge ... (follows: "protest to P. Francklin, J. Reed and B. Peake, Agents of the RAC") ... our landsboot with men, victuals, materials and ammunitions which your people attacked was destined to Accra for its defence against the Aquamboe invasion which is presently expected there ... your arbitrary action may well lead to the loss of our Accra fortress ...

(WIC 124 cont.)

6th March 1728. D.-G. reported that the "Phoenix" had failed to intercept the "Clarendon". It was therefore agreed to order the Captain of the "Phoenix" to continue to cruise along the Upper Coast and see that he intercept another RAC ship. D.-G. stressed the importance of ransome ing such a ship, which would be the only means of forcing the English to give up the Noble Comp.'s vessels, men and effects ...

21st April 1728 ... resolved to send the "Groot Bentvelt" ... to intercept a ship of the RAC expected to sail from Cabo Cors to the Lower Coast to supply some forts there

29th April 1728 ... resolved to attempt to intercept more Portuguese ships, either with the "Groot Bentvelt" or the "Phoenix", considered that Portuguese ships form a legal prey ...

2nd June 1728 ... Having waited in vain for satisfaction from the Agents of the RAC for the damages and affronteries we have suffered from them ... and in view of the fact that a longer stay of the ship "Bonetta" would cause considerable damage to its masters, it was proposed for deliberation if it would be advisable to take from the "Bonetta" as many goods as would equal our pretences and legal claims on the RAC ... it was decided to appoint 2 commissioners to that effect to make such estimates in the presence of all officers of aforesaid ship ...

11th August 1728. As a result of the continuing troubles on this Coast, mainly caused by the tumultuous Fantynse, trade remains poor, which has prevented us so far to supply the ship "Steenhuysen" with its armasoen. As even its predecessor, the "Phoenix" has not yet acquired its required number, it was resolved to send the "Steenhuysen" to the Upper Coast and then to the Bight in order to buy as many slaves an as much ivory as possible for the "Phoenix"

4th October 1728. Trade continues to be poor: four ships are now trying to acquire the armasoen of only two ships. On proposal of the D.-G. it was resolved to send the "Beekenstein" to Jaquin to buy slaves, ... Commies Hertogh having written that he thinks that he may supply it quickly with its required number of slaves ...

3rd January 1729. D.-G. reported that ... having been compelled to send the "Beekenstein" to Jaquin in order to see if ships could be dispatched more quickly from there with their armasoen, that ship had taken in (with God's blessing) 507 slaves within 7 weeks, and that the remaining slaves were expected to be acquired very soon, whilst, on the other hand, the "Steenhuysen" which has been here for over two months has not acquired more than 103 heads ...

NBKG 94; Elmina Journal.

15th January 1728. Received a letter from De la Planque, dd. Accra, 9th January ... please find enclosed an attestation about a slave who -I don't know how- has managed to get a knife whilst in prison, with which he has cut his own throat last night after having mortally wounded a Negro who

(NBKG 94 cont.)

is being kept in prison here. This has really not happened as a result of any inattention of mine ...

20th January 1728 ... from De la Planque, dd. Accra, 16th January, with further information about the above ... the Negro who was mortally wounded by the previously mentioned slave has indeed died. He was a cousin of the King of Aquamboe. He had been locked up in this fortress on the request of that King, because of his wantonness.

5th February 1728 ... from Accra, dd. 2nd February. Five days ago the King of Aquamboe sent one of his servants to me to tell me (sic) about the death of his cousin; I sent him back with a small present of brandy, thinking to have settled the matter with him. But quite contrary to my expectations, the present was brought back, yesterday evening, with the message that they would not at all accept any of my presents, and that they would come down here to demand satisfaction for the death of the King's cousin, and that if they did not get such, that they would come down to sack the fortress and to kill all the whitemen as soon as they would have finished with the usual funeral customs. I think I have to take this as a formal declaration of war. I decided to inform the King of Aquamboe that none of the Comp.'s servants, nor of the subject Natives had given occasion to the murder, but that we are ready to withstand his attack. I think however that I should inform you, that we are not all ~~that~~ well prepared for such an attack ...

9th February 1728 ... informed De la Planque that the boat with victuals and military stores destined to Accra was attacked by Cabo Corsers ...

17th February 1728 ... from De la Planque, Accra, 12th February: ... I see that the English are playing their old tricks again. I must say that they are behaving carefully here with regards to the King of Aquamboe ... Although I can't tell you a thing for sure, I don't think they are really preparing for war. I understand that in reality he is afraid that we will rather make war on him, and send Fantynse or others on his back. I believe this, because ~~one~~^{day} I let it be said to him, that before he undertakes anything, he should keep in mind what happened to the King of Fida, who, after the Dutch had moved out from his state, had been so miserably chased out of his own Kingdom. Concerning the makelaer Amoe: in case of rupture with the Aquamboese, I shall be as prudent as possible with him and prevent him from doing any harm to our fortress or our subject Natives.

19th February. Letter from Hertogh, dd. Jaquin 9th January 1728 ... that trade is languishing. There is little supply of gold-slaves, but the country is full of common and beard slaves (sic, =?) who could serve us and the French. With this letter go the Mk 32:1:11 acquired over the period 1st July to 31st December of last year. There is a strong rumour that the Ujose are ready for war on the Dahommese, and that the King of Fida, at present still in Popo, will soon return to his country; but there is much discord among the Fidase themselves. Mr. Frans Boij, the Danish

Governor who had come to Fida with his stepson to trade, has died.

23rd March 1728. from Hertogh, dd. Jaquin, 16th February. There is nothing but wars of one King against the other in this country. The King of Ujo - a people which always fights on horse-back- is reported to be marching down to fight the King of Dahomme, who, having fought the King of Fida, has made deep ditches around his entire country, as well as walls and batteries, mounted with cannons which he has captured at Fida. All this in order to defend it against his enemies, of whom there are many, as he is always making wars with his ruses, never leaving anybody alone, and treating the peoples he has conquered with great barbarity. The King of Fida can't move yet, because some of his own Caboccers oppose him as a result of his previous bad government. All the other Fida Negroes live now on the beach, near the forts of the (European) Nations. On 29th January a new French Governor arrived at Fida, but whilst he was celebrating his birthday on 2nd February, the whole French fort burnt to ashes.

ARA Rademacher Arch. No. 574; "Distribution of the various journeys made by WIC ships; memoir made for the Hon. Director Daniel Rademacher" (Middelburg, 1729)

Chamber	destination	ship	value or cargo	departure	return
Amsterdam	Ardra/St.Eustatius	Leusden	30 Mk	20/12/1721	6/3/'23
Zeeland	Angola/ "	Duynbeek		3/3/1721	wrecked
Amsterdam	" / "	Bekestein		8/1/1723	26/5/'24
Maaze	" / "	Guntersteyn		3/6/1722	24/9/'23
North.Q.	Ardra/Surinam	Akerdam		8/1/1723	2/3/'24
Groningen	" / "	Eemenes		8/1/1723	6/6/'24
Amsterdam	Angola/St. Eust.	Vryheyd		13/5/1723	27/8/'25
Zeeland	" / "	Phoenix	97 Mk	22/10/'22	20/8/'24
Amsterdam	Ardra/Berbices	Leusden	73 Mk	20/8/1723	2/10/'24
Amsterdam	Angola/St.Eust.	Steenhuys		20/8/1723	11/5/'25
Zeeland	" / "	Rusthoff	32 Mk	10/3/1724	8/11/'25
Amsterdam	Ardra/ "	Sonnesteyn		10/2/1724	29/4/'25
Maaze	" / Surinam	Akerdam		(looted by Portuguese of Corisco) 14/8/1724	18/11/'25
Amsterdam	Angola/ St. Eust.	's-Gravelandt		31/10/1724	7/6/'26
North.Q.	" / Surinam	Bekestein		17/3 /1725	7/ 4/'27
Zeeland	" / St.Eust.	Goude Put	33 Mk	3/11/1724	22/2/'26
Groningen	Elmina/ Surinam	Eemenes	66 Mk	19/ 1/1725	13/5/'26
Amsterdam	Angola/ St. Eust.	Phoenix		19/ 1/1725	24/9/'26
Amsterdam	Ardra/ "	Bentvelt	76 Mk	17/ 5/1725	11/7/'27
Zeeland	Angola / "	Rusthoff		20/ 4/1726	?
Amsterdam	" / "	Leusden		5/ 8/1725	7/6/'26
Maaze	Ardra/Surinam	Steenhuys		25/11/1725	2/6/'27
Amsterdam	Angola / St. Eust.	Sonnesteyn		23/11/1725	17/5/'27
North. Q.	Ardra/ Surinam	Vryheyd		10/ 6/1726	17/1/'28
Zeeland	G.Coast-Angola/ St.Eust.-Surinam	Goude Put		13/ 8/1726	5/9/'27
Groningen	Elmina/Surinam	Stadt & Lande	43 Mk	2/ 9/1726	?/10/'27
Amsterdam	" / "	's-Gravelandt		30/1/1727	capt. by Portuguese on Coast. of G.
Amsterdam	" /St. Eust.	Leusden		30/1/1727	22/5/'28
Zeeland	" / "	Phoenix		18/11/1727
Amsterdam	" /Curaçao	Groot Bentvelt		22/ 1/1728
Maaze	Rio Congo or Angola/ St. Eustatius	Steenhuys		13/ 1/1726	26/8/'27
Groningen	Elmina/Surinam	Akredam		10/12/1727
<u>Yachts of up to 100 ft:</u>					
Amsterdam	Arguim	Vlissingen	13 Mk	1/5/1723	5/6/'24
Amsterdam	Arguim	Geertruy Galley	21 Mk	8/7/1723	5/6/'24
Zeeland	Elmina/St.Eust.	Duynvliet		26/8/1722	20/9/'23

<u>Chamber</u>	<u>destination</u>	<u>ship</u>	<u>value</u> <u>cargo</u>	<u>departure</u>	<u>return</u>
Amsterdam	Africa	Waartwyck		28/ 3/'23	24/ 7/'25
Maaze	Elmina	Delft	45 Mk	29/ 4/'23	28/ 7/'24
Amsterdam	Elmina/Curaçao	Amsterdam	16 Mk	2/11/'23	25/ 5/'25
North. Q.	Elmina	Geertruy Galey		18/10/'24	?
Zeeland	Guinea/St.Eust.	Nieuwenhove		27/ 9/'23	10/12/'25
Groningen	Elmina	Sem Galey		19/ 1/'25	1/ 7/'26
Amsterdam	"	Vlissinge	30 Mk	11/ 9/'24	?
Amsterdam	"	Amsterdam	63 Mk	14/ 1/'26	19/12/'26
Zeeland	Elmina/Isequebo & St.Eustatius	Duynvliet	29 Mk	10/ 3/'24	6/ 5/'26
Amsterdam	Elmina	Guinee Galey		20/ 5/'26	11/ 7/'27
Maaze	"	Piershil		30/ 8/'26	?
Amsterdam	"	Amsterdam		27/ 8/'27	?
North. Q.	"	Waartwyck		13/ 1/'26	11/ 7/'27
Zeeland	Elmina/Isequebo & St.Eustatius	Duynvliet		2/11/'25	5/ 7/'27
Groningen	Elmina	Sem Galey		run aground by the Port.	
<u>Cruising duties:</u>					
Amsterdam	Africa	Jacoba Galey		18/ 1/'14	17/ 7/'15
Zeeland (exchanged with Ch. Amsterdam for "Adri-chem")		De Faam		10/ 1/'15	16/ 9/'16
Amsterdam	Africa	Jacoba Galey		14/ 5/'16	28/11/'17
Maaze (exch. w. Ch. Amst. for Guntersteyn)		De Faam (later exploded in Angola)		14/ 1/'18	27/12/'18
Amsterdam	Africa	De Nieuwe Faam		25/ 9/'20	2/ 3/'22
North. Q. (exch. w. Ch. Amst. for Vryheyd)		" "		23/ 7/'22	6/10/'23
Zeeland (exch. w. Ch. Amst. for its slaving duty)		" "		10/ 2/'24 apparently wrecked on Guinea Coast	
Groningen (exch. with Ch. Amst. for its slaving duty)		Beschutter		14/ 6/'27
<u>Small ships on irregular duty:</u>					
Zeeland	Majomba in Angola	hoeker "Poelwyck	5 Mk	22/10/'22	30/ 8/'23
Zeeland	Elmina	galiot "Juffr. Maria"		3/ 3/'22	sold at Elmina
Amsterdam	Arguim	" St. Laurens		8/ 7/'23	?
Amsterdam	"	" 't Fortuyn		6/ 5/'23	29/ 9/'23
Amsterdam	Elmina	Guineese Galey	11 Mk	8/ 1/'23	4/ 9/'23
Amsterdam	"	" "		10/ 9/'24	31/10/'25
Zeeland	Majomba	Poelwyck		20/11/'23	26/ 9/'24
Zeeland	Isequebo	galiot den Jongen Daniël		10/2/'24	2/10/'24
Maaze	Elmina	galiot Piershil		20/ 8/'23	25/ 7/'25
Maaze	"	" "den Jongen Alexander"		3/ 4/'23	27/ 6/'24
North. Q.	"	yacht "Jan Andries"		20/ 8/'21	29/ 7/'24
" "	"	"Africa"		20/ 8/'21	?
Groningen	"	Sem Galey		25/ 8/'22	3/ 7/'24
Maaze	"	De Jonge Adrianus		29/11/'23	?
Zeeland	Isequebo	De Jonge Daniël		17/ 3/'25	21/11/'25
Zeeland	"	" " "		5 / 1/'26	14/10/'26
Maaze	Elmina	Den Jongen Alexander		22/ 9/'25	25/ 5/'27
Amsterdam	Elmina & for whaling	Akerdam		23/ 4/'26
Maaze	Elmina	Piershil		30/ 8/'26
Zeeland	Isequebo	De Jonge Daniël		4/ 4/'27	28/ 11/'27
Maaze	Elmina	Den Jongen Alexander		22/ 3/'27
Amsterdam	"	St. Laurens		10/12/'27

ARA Rademacher Arch. No.596.

Extract from the Minutes of the meeting of the Directors of the Chamber Zeeland, held 7th February 1730.

Director Rademacher: From the profit on trade not a penny has been returned of the more than 70 tons (i.e. 70 X 100,000 florins) of gold which was lost over the last 53 years, an amount we may well despair of ever recovering.

That the English and French have increased their trade so much over the past 25 years, and are still increasing, to the growing disadvantage of the Company, is because the Comp. was not able to withstand their private traders, and the best answer to this is, to employ private Dutchmen -who have many natural advantages- who should pay recognition to the Comp.

President Van Perel: In the first place I must stress that as advisor I do not foster the Amsterdam thoughts, yet I must add that free navigation would be ruinous for the Comp. if the following three matters are not kept in mind: 1: that rigid penalties must be applied against those who navigate without the Comp.'s permission, as is done in the East (Indian Comp.), 2: that the exception made for the Graincoast is annulled, 3: that only the Comp. would have the right to bring slaves to Surinam, about 2,000 p.a.

Director Piele: The Gentlemen should not forget, that although the Comp. has suffered many losses, on several slaving journeys to Surinam profits of 80,000 to 90,000 florins had been made, and that if one could count on a regular profit of 300,000 florins, the matter would become quite different ... (Encl. in same file No.596:)

"Argument of the W.I.C. why no Recognition Trade should be allowed on the Coast of Africa, and Refutation of the conditions which the Provincial Estates of Zeeland have resolved to put forward before consenting to the prolongation of the Company's Charter" (printed, 1730, with hand-written notes by Rademacher in margin)

The Province of Zeeland has always insisted that the navigation to the Coast of Africa should be opened up, but in 1710 the Chambers resolved unanimously to reject all projects of such nature. If we are now considering whether the Coast of Africa should be visited by the Company alone⁺ (note R. in margin: "alone"! nowadays at least 200 English and 100 French ships navigate every year on that Coast, and not more than about 5 or 6 ships of the Comp.!) or by private traders paying recognition dues, it should be remembered^m that our aim is to pay higher dividends⁺ (note by R. in margin: The Comp. hasn't paid any dividend from profits in 55 years!) The cost of maintenance of the Coast of Guinea amounts to 150,000 florins, and if the Company were to order two more cruisers, which would be needed if free trade were to be introduced, it would need another 200,000 florins. The Company would have to leave most of its trade to others, whilst it is well known that very little or no trade at all would be done at its forts and lodges; the Natives will come to the beach to do their trade with these private merchants, who can sell at lower prices than the Comp., and the Comp.'s merchandise will become unsaleable⁺ (note by R. in margin: even the English, French and so-called Danes equip their ships and buy the goods for their cargoes in Holland.) If the Comp., (as

Zeeland proposes) is to receive 1,500 florins per ship, 50 ships would provide us with a revenue of only fl. 75,000, which is far less than we need. The trade on the islands of Curaçao and St. Eustatius is languishing, in particular since the King of France has issued strict orders in 1727 forbidding French purchases of slaves on Curaçao.† (note R.: yet, the Spanish and others are buying enough slaves there)

The English and the French have the advantage that they can put cargoes consisting of products from their own countries on board of their ships, and that their markets for slaves are easier, because of the great size of their colonies; moreover, the French have the considerable advantage of the Asiento Contract* (note R.: ships can be equipped as economically by private traders in Holland as by those in England and France; arms and ammunitions, powder, cowries, Guinea bedsheets, Liège flint-locks, basins etc., German brass and iron ware, are they cheaper or better in England or France? Why then would those Nations come here to buy them in order to sell them in Africa?)

(encl.) "Matters to be taken into consideration for the Well-being of the Noble Comp." ...

... Private traders could supply the WIC with slaves for the following

prices:	a good male slave from the Gold Coast	fl. 70.-
	" " female " " " " "	" 56.-
	" " male " " Fida or Jaquyn	" 80.-
	" " female " " " " "	" 60.-
	" " male " " Angola	" 60.-
	" " female " " "	" 55.- (sic)

(encl.) Short Memoir to demonstrate that the slave trade is inseparable of the free trade under payment of Recognition (n.d., 1729 or '30)

... In the first place it should be observed that that part of Africa which as of old is known as the "Gold Coast" because of the great quantity of gold which was at one time purchased there by the Comp. as well as by Dutch private ships, has now virtually changed into a pure Slave Coast; the great quantity of guns and powder which the Europeans have brought there from time to time, has given cause to terrible wars among the Kings, Princes and Caboccers of those lands, who made their prisoners of war slaves; these slaves were immediately bought up by the Europeans at steadily increasing prices, which in its turn animated again and again those people to renew their hostilities, and their hope for big and easy profits made them forget all labour, using all sorts of pretexts to attack each other, or reviving old disputes. Consequently there is now very little trade among the coast Negroes, except in slaves, and those coast Negroes constantly keep the passages closed, preventing Nations situated more in the interior from bringing their gold, ivory &c. to the Coast, thus also making even greater profits when they sell European goods to those of the interior. The English send every year hundreds of ships, and the French, Danes and Portuguese send many too. Through the Assiento the English can sell their slaves again for a very good price, and therefore pay fairly high prices at purchase, and it should be added that the English have the considerable advantage of having mighty colonies in the West Indies. The English pay nothing for their freedom of trade, the French pay very little for it to

their company, and the Portuguese pay 10% to the Dutch WIC at the forts, but nothing at Fida and other places. It would be very misleading to imagine that the Dutch WIC were as much master of Africa as the East Indian Company is of the Moluccas; the English have apart from their trading places already ten forts and castles, the Danes too have important trade-posts, but in reality the Portuguese have more power in Africa than all the other European Nations put together, because through their missionaries they have brought the Natives to greater subordination, and therefore they are in a better position to supply their colonies with slaves ... If we had not natural privileges over and above the English, it would not be possible to pay such large sums of recognition to the Comp. and yet make profit. But our gunpowder is considerably cheaper, as well as the copper basins, in spite of their being sold with 2 stuyvers import-duty per pound. Fire-arms and East Indian goods are in large supply and sold as cheap as elsewhere. Moreover, the Natives clearly prefer Dutch goods to those of other Nations. Of the 7,000 Marks or 3,500 lbs of gold which are annually being bought here in peace-time, as has been calculated by very experienced officers and merchants there, the WIC buys 1,500 Mk, the RAC 1,200, Dutch interlopers 1,500, English interlopers 1,000 and the Portuguese and French together 800. It is well known that since about 1719 hardly any gold has been brought here from Africa by private Dutchmen. If it could be said with certainty that the WIC had since that time brought 3,000 Mk to the Netherlands every year, we would indeed support the counter-arguments.

Some remarks on the "Memoir": ... Gold-purchases have been very irregular: if the indigenous people are at peace with one another, the supply of gold increases, but war impedes the trade. For many years the Brandenburgers did not buy any gold. The Portuguese bring more gold to the Coast than that they buy there, and seem to be only interested in slaves. ... If there were another 1,000 whites in Surinam, 10,000 slaves could be sold there. The idea that Surinam would not have progressed in the last 70 or 80 years is entirely wrong: about 50 years ago there were not more than 20 or 30 plantations, and hardly more than 6 ships would sail from that colony in a year; now there are at least 200 plantations, without even counting the coast-plantations, and every year at least 25 to 28 ships arrive from there. When that colony owed the WIC 1 million florins, its debt has been badly paid, and the Comp. has lost at least 4 to 500,000 on it.

(annex: List of ships from Zealand intercepted by those of the WIC and confiscated by it since 1714: (up to 1718?)

Vlissingen (Flushing):	13 ships	(11 of them between 1714 and '16:	fl 136,188
Middelburg:	7 "	(between 1714 and '18 , worth	109,066
Voere	2	(1714)	" 15,933
Ziericksee	4	(between 1715 and '18)	" 22,267
Total	26		fl 293,454

ARA Rademacher Arch. No. 685: "Poor dividends as a result of Losses"

From 1675 to 1719 59 ships were lost, from 1720 to 1730: 13. These ships cost on the average fl 5,000: 72 ships can be counted as worth 3,600,000 florins. Add:

600,000	losses on Asiento
800,000	" in Surinam
200,000	" " St. Eustatius
400,000	attacks on Surinam
300,000	" " " Curaçao
50,000	" " " Isequebo
200,000	for making 5 plantations
1,000,000	cost of building 20 ships
200,000	paid for Fort Fredericksburg
50,000	lost in the war with Jan Conny
300,000	" on loans
8,250,000	55 years of maintenance of possessions in Guinea ad 150,000 p.a.
5,500,000	" " " " " " Isequebo & St. Eustatius
1,175,000	maintenance of Surinam from 1683 to 1730
11,700,000	dividends: once of 2%, 3 times of 3%, 11 times of 4%, 8 times
<u>11,700,000</u>	of 5%, 2 times of 6% and once of 10%
34,325,000	florins total.

VIC 126; Minutes of Elmina Council.

4th April 1730. D.-G. J. Pranger demonstrated that on 15th January 1730 Capt. C. Bolder had found on board of a Portuguese snow arriving from Brazil on the roads of fort Hollandia several slaves who had been bought on the Upper Coast. But whilst our people were already on board of that snow, the English Capt. Wm. Snelgrave, who happened also to be on those roads, sent a sloop with men to the Portuguese, and the chief mate of that Captain instigated the Portuguese not to anchor, warning them that otherwise their ship would be confiscated; and although the Portuguese, after Capt. Bolder's second warning-shot had already let go amain, they decided, as a result of the incitements of the said mate, to chase from their board with muskets and swords our men, which Capt. Bolder could not prevent, as the wind had driven them beyond the reach of his guns. Mentioned snow then sailed under an English flag, and with English servants on board to Cabo Cors, where it stayed up to the 2nd of this month, without the former D.-G. R. Norré ever having protested about this to the English. D.-G. gave into deliberation whether this or such-like ship could not be confiscated if a captain of a Company ship met it on the high seas or at Ilhio de S. Tomé or Principe, even if there are English servants on its board or if it is provided with a passport issued by the English Agents, or even if the slaves being transported in it actually belong to the RAC, but are only carried on board of a Portuguese ship as a result of an earlier made contract. Considered, that the English have no right to offer protection to a Portuguese ship on the roads of a Dutch possession or to send their servants up and down between here and Brazil on board of Portuguese ships just to protect them, it should be remarked that the Noble Comp. would entirely lose the advantages which it has in levying its legal duties of 10%. Considered also that according to the agreement with Dalby Thomas (Art. 7) the English have agreed not to issue passports to Portuguese or Brazilians, and that the English can't show us any contract which they would ever have made with the Brazilians for

the supply of slaves, and even supposed that they had made such a contract, we would still be at liberty to search them, once they arrive on this Coast. It was therefore resolved indeed to continue to **arrest such Portuguese** ships and to bring them down to Elmina

29th April 1730. Points and considerations concerning the government of Mr. R. Norré ... In stead of living in good relations with the Natives, he has done every thing he could to make the Negroes depart from under this Castle. Things went even so far, that most of the young men have left the Elmina from and taken their refuge to Cabo Cors. The main cause of this was his sending away to the West Indies a free young Negro on board of the "Steenhuysen", demanding on top of that 50 bendas of gold from the Elminase. Without any doubt Mr. Norré will say that he was obliged to send that Negro away as he had warned the Negroes that if any of them were caught in the act of private trade, that he would be sold as a slave. But this boy was not the only one who was caught: somebody else was caught in the same manner, so why not send that one away too? It is clear that H.H. had a strong dislike (for what reason we do not know) of the Negro who was sent away. . The one who was allowed to stay paid a fine of one slave and 27 Angels of gold, whilst the one who was shipped off to the West Indies had offered him not less than 4 slaves. The Negroes rightly rioted about this, and for that reason he fined them 50 bendas ...

(Pranger further accused N. of having kept in chains a trader from Abremu who owed him a certain sum, although he had no right to proceed against "a foreign Negro" in such a manner, and when on his threat to send him too as a slave to the W.I. the people of Abremu had threatened with an invasion, he had blackmailed him to pay a fine of 4 slaves and 2 cows, worth 4 oz. of gold, and of a number of other extortions. He also accused him of causing serious losses by not listening to the advice of the Council. e.g. in the appointment of certain commanders, like that of A.M.Vrolyk, a drunkard who made the Comp. lose more than 11 Mk of gold at Komenda and on whom several negative reports existed already on his conduct at Whydah and Jaquin.)

30th April 1730. D.-G. read out a letter from ondercommies Gawron, temporarily charged with the command at Accra in the absence of Chief Merchant J.De la Planque, concerning, among other things, Aquamboe matters: ...

"To-day the King of Aquamboe sent me a boy with some yams and **two ankens** of palm-wine, one for me and one for Eykoma. His Majesty requests me to forget the old palaver, and to restore the old friendship, begging me, as well as Eykoma, to send a boy to Aquamboe to finish the palaver; he also claims that he has no wish to be our enemy or to make war on us, but that he had been incited by others who had "turned his cabses to it". H.H. gave into consideration if it would indeed not be better to settle the differends with that Nation (although the King of Aquamboe is in the wrong), in particular as he had shown himself so submissive, and was the first to beg for peace. It was resolved to commission two Members of the Council, Messrs De la Planque and Blittersdorp, authorising them to arrange such peace, but under restriction that no expenses whatsoever should be allowed to be made on mentioned Nation to the cost of the Noble Company ...

(WIC 126 cont.)

12th May 1730. D.-G. announced that he had received from commies Hertogh at Jaquyn a request to be provided with all the sarvetten, graetjes and caffaes (linen and woollen cloths) brought from Holland by the ship Waartwyk ... and as it appears from the monthly accounts which he sent that we may expect 41 Mk of gold as a result of his dispatch of the ship "Brandenburg" and his sales to the Portuguese Capt. Joh. Pasqual de Soyse, H.E. suggested to send the petitioned goods to him, and, as there are at the moment no ships of the Comp. on these roads and the Portuguese Capt. Manocvl Viero Soute had offered his services, to ship them by means of his ship. D.-G. demonstrated furthermore that ondercommies Aemilius had reported to Assistant Commies J.Elet, at Cormantyn, that on 11th May a Portuguese ship had arrived at Anemaboe in order to trade there. As according to their passports Portuguese nationals have no permission to do so, but may trade on this Coast only at Popo, Fida, Jaquyn and Appa, it was resolved to send with immediate effect Equipagiemeester De Graaff, together with a corporal and 10 soldiers to the Anemaboe roads to inform that Portuguese Capt. about this (but finding him still there on the roads to leave him in peace) and to attack him -with all possible pre-caution- as soon as he makes sail refusing to be searched. If as a result of such a search any slaves, platthiljos, cowries etc. are found on board, they should be confiscated and brought here.

1st June 1730. D.-G. proposed to send the small ship "Juffr.Margaretha" to Jaquyn, now that it has been unloaded of its salt, with cowries and platthiljos, which according to Commies Hertogh are required there. H.E. showed a paragraph of Hertogh's letter of 29th May in which he wrote that the English sell their cowries at Jaquyn as well as along the rest of the Coast for 100 lbs per benda, and in which he begged to be allowed some favour in that respect too, for the well-being of his trade, requesting permission to sell the cowries for 80 lbs per benda ... Members were however of the opinion that one should not allow him to sell the cowries more than 72lbs per benda in view of their high price in Holland.

5th June 1730. Reply of Mr. Norré to accusations by D.-G.J.Pranger. (explaining that the man he had shipped to the W.I. was in fact a recidivist, who had already stolen many goods from him, whilst the other one, who had not been sent away, had only been the first's "mercenary". That the 30-40 Elminese who had come to the aid of the first and "treated us in such an ininical manner" were always around "the house of the Tapoeyer (mulatto) Andries, near the bridge. On several occasions riots have started from that house, and I therefore decided to raze it to the ground and to use it as two store-houses (sic). The rest of the space which it had occupied I filled with a strong wall, which runs up to about half the length of the Castle, and in this way the Negroes are therefore prevented from undertaking any more of such enormities ... (Norré gave further explanations on the other accusations, most of which were found acceptable. He was however compelled to pay to the Comp. the deficit caused at Komenda as a result of the negligence of Vrolyk, and 5 Mk for not having levied the recognition dues of an estimated 80 rolls of tobacco from the Portuguese snow -cf. 4/4/'30).

(WIC 126 cont.)

14th June 1730. ... deliberation on a request by Jac. Elet, who has now for more than 5 years had the command and the direction of the trade at Fort Amsterdam at Cormantyn, where he was appointed Commies in 1726 by Mr. Valckenier, which the Hon. Directors have never been willing to take into consideration, although he has seen a great number of persons who had served under him being favoured with ^davancements. Mr. Elet complains that his service of more than 8½ years seems to be counted as nothing, and wishes therefore to request T.Hs. to allow him to resign ... The council took into consideration that petitioner is a man of great ability and experience, and really one of the best servants of the Comp. on the Coast, and decided therefore to propose him in provisional selection as Opppercommies Supernumerair, in the hope of changing his mind in this way.

4th August 1730. D.-G. communicated to the Members that one Joseph Torres, at present Governor of a certain stronghold which the Portuguese had started to erect at Fida in 1721, arrived on 30th July at this Castle. H.E. had asked him, when he paid his recognition-dues, what was the reason that his ship seemed so heavily loaded, on which T. had replied that this was caused by the building-materials which he had in his cargo for the construction of a new stronghold at mentioned place. He elucidated that he had been commissioned by his Masters to obtain, by means of presents, from the Fida King that they could transfer the stronghold which they have now at about an hour's distance from the sea to the beach itself, something which up to now has not been permitted to any of the Europeans, and also, that if this reconstructed fortification proved to be successful, His Portugues Majesty would send two war-ships with all that would be needed for the extension and reinforcement of that building. When the question was put to him on whose authority he was to start his building activities, and whether His Portugues Majesty had agreed to it and given his consent, he answered that the Governor of Pernambuco had ordered to take the mentioned materials into his ship, and to use them for above mentioned purpose, that the Kings of Portugal did not have the habit to inform only their First Ministers of their orders, and that mentioned Governor could not undertake anything without the permission and knowledge of His Majesty ... D.-G. noted that many harmful consequences are to be expected for the wellbeing of the Noble Company from this Portuguese endeavour, and suggested that the Council should provisionally call the attention of T.Hs the Directors to it, and petition them for clear and positive orders, in the same way as D.-G. Butler used to do ...

27th December 1730. ... A small Portuguese two-mast ship is being sequestered by the Commander of the "Guineese Galey" on account of his having found aboard of mentioned ship 1 male and 2 female slaves, as well as a baby, some Moçambique cowries and 10 barrels of gunpowder ... Three slaves and a small quantity of cowries and powder not being worth the trouble, Council decided to release the little ship immediately in order not to frighten unnecessarily the Portuguese away from the trade on this Coast

and furthermore to request H.E. the Viceroy of Brazil and also the Governor of Pernambuco to warn their subject Merchants who go to trade to this Coast, issuing strict orders not to do the least trade along the Upper Coast on their way to the Slave Coast, as they would expose themselves to total (sic) confiscation.

NBKG 33; Letters received from Ass. of X.

Ass. of X to D.-G. J. Pranger, 18th October 1730. ... We have seen with regret that trade on the Coast is so unfavourable, but we see that on the other hand the trade at Jaquyn is more successful and we think that it should be continued to the advantage of the Comp. We therefore advice Y.H. to send the ships, as soon as they have unloaded their Coast cargoes at Elmina, to Jaquyn for the slavetrade, having provided them with the merchandise which may be required by Commies Hertogh. As we are very satisfied about the behaviour and direction of said Commies, we decided to show this by promoting him to the position of Oppercommies Supernumerair, with a salary of an Oppercommies, but on the condition that he stay at Jaquyn and that he does not go to Elmina or any other fort of the Company on account of his higher position. We promoted him in order to make him continue the slave trade with greater force, and to give him more credit among foreign Nations and the Natives; and as we are informed that servants of other Nations resident there carry the title of "Governor", we leave it to Y.H. to allow him too the use of such title, on the condition that (for the Comp.) he retains the rank of Oppercommies.

WIC 138; Hertogh Correspondence.

Pranger to Hertogh, 8th April 1730. ... As we understand from Y.H.'s reports that Y.H. has the habit to treat the Portuguese Nation always in a friendly manner -which agrees entirely with our opinion- the present letter is to introduce to you the Portuguese Capt. Joseph de Almeida Calado, whom we expect you to favour as much as appositely could be done.

Hertogh to Pranger, 19th March 1730. ... the Portuguese Capt. Johan Pasquar de Soyse has left with 400 slaves on board, and the English ship of Mr. Monner, commanded by Capt. Blinco, with 350 slaves. Another ship of Mr. Monner, commanded by Capt. Snelgraaf, has arrived. An English war ship has sunk off Fida with 6 men ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 22nd June 1730. ... The present letter is to introduce to you Capt. Manoel da Fonce Cafrar ... whom Y.H. may supply with 10 male slaves (but to no lower price than 5 ϕ a piece) as we have received tobacco for them ... and whom we recommend Y.H. to do as much favour and pleasure as possible ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 28th August 1730. ... To our regret we are, as a result of the poor trade on this Coast, not able to supply the ship "Waartwyk" with its required arnasoen of slaves, and have therefore the intention to send that ship to Costy (= Slave Coast, Costa da Mina) in order

(WIC 138 cont)

to let it take there the 200 heads of slaves of whom it still is short. We thought it good to inform Y.H. of this in time, so that Y.H. may have sufficient time to buy the surplus.

(8th August 1730 Pränger wrote to Hertogh on Torres' plan to build a new Portuguese fort at Whydah (cf. p.162), with one more detail: that Torres "on his way to Fida" would visit "the former King of that place at Popo, where he resides at present")

Hertogh to Pranger, 12th June 1730. For a long time now trade has been pretty poor, and as a result of the great multitude of French and English ships here goods have to be sold at a very low price, because they sell the cowries at 100 lbs for 2 oz., 10 to 13 platthilios for one ounce and an anker of brandy for 6 to 8. They pay to the Natives 220 to 230 lbs of cowries for an ordinary slave, ... the Portuguese pay 16 to 18 rolls of tobacco for their slaves, 80 platthilios or 40 great cabes of cowries which they buy from the English or the French with gold. Muskets and gunpowder are of no value here. There are here at present 5 Portuguese, one Frenchman and one Englishman trading; there are at Fida 5 Frenchmen and 2 Portuguese, who ~~sand~~ nowadays often their vessels there, "mits een verlening aan den Koning te voldoen" (=?) and who trade on the beach. at Popo there are also 3 French ships.

So there are many ships everywhere, but few slaves, because the paths in the interior have been closed now for some time now. But that will not last very long, because various parties have now started to make palaver about it, and the wars have stopped some time ago. Yet, it is to be feared that they may start soon again, because the King of Dahomme is expected from the woods at Ardra, and he is not used to sitting still for a long time. Departed from Jaquin:... the Portuguese ships of Capt.L. Noenes on 20/5 with 500 slaves and of Antony Noenes on 24/5 with 450. The ship of Johan Berboose and the Pernambuco ship of Capt. Zibene were blown from their anchors in a travado and compelled to make sail straight away with resp. 250 and 300 slaves on board, leaving their captains and some members of their crows in the tents ...

Hertogh to Pranger, 8th August 1730. ... The French Director Galle has rled with his goods to the island of Popo, leaving the fort in the safeguard of some of his Messieurs, out of fear of the Dahommese and hoping to escape the kind of tyranny they have subjected the English Governor Teste Fort to ...

Hertogh to Pranger, 29th September 1730. ... In the night of 26th to 27th September, about 1 o'clock, a heavy fire broke out near the Noble Comp.'s lodge. As a result of the strong wind it came dangerously close to it, and I did my utmost to save the Comp's goods and to extinguish the fire as far as I could; but when the fire reached a powder-house in the crom, it exploded immediately and it was as if the fire rained from the sky. Within a few moments the lodge and the entire crom caught fire on all sides, and I just managed to save myself with the Captain, the Assistants and the Master. I had already bought 145 slaves for the

(WIC 138 cont.)

ship "Waartwyk", of whom I had embarked 90 on the day before the fire. As yet I cannot give Y.H. any precise information about what has happened to the others, but I know that many of them were miserably burnt alive, and others, who managed to escape, may have hidden anywhere. Most of the Comp.'s goods are how^ever safe, except the cowries from the "Waartwyk", which at the time of the fire were lying on the square because they had not yet been weighed, ~~as~~ they were burnt to dust.

Hertogh to Pranger, 31st October 1730. ... Concerning the Portuguese Capt. Joseph de Torres Y.E. need not worry: he will certainly not be successful in his intentions at Fida. I do not doubt a moment that that gentleman is making his expenses and wasting his efforts in vain, because I have already succeeded at Fida so far, that the Noble Comp. could easily build a lodge there again, or even a fortress; but about that I can at present not yet give Y.E. any precise information, because we are at present expecting to be set upon by the King of Dahomme at any day, as he is quartered with a numerous army only one day's distance from here. But I have good hopes that he may be defeated in the woods by some other King ... The "Waartwyk" left 20th Sept. with 158 slaves; we should, according to the letters of trade, have supplied it with a greater number, but the Capt. refused to accept any more male slaves, and as he wanted to have nothing but women, girls and boys, I could not supply him with those as I could have supplied him with ~~men~~slaves ...

Some dispute has arisen between some Frenchmen and Portuguese, which went so far as to lead to an exchange of musket-fire, in which accidentally 2 members of the crew of Capt. te Velde were wounded. In revenge Capt. te Velde took 2 Ps. slaves from the Portuguese ship of A. Pinhero, and sailed off with them. During this month 3 Portuguese ships have left, taking together 1,050 slaves. Trade remains poor; there are here still 5 Portuguese and 2 French ships, and at Fida 3 Portuguese and 2 French.

Pranger to Hertogh, 2nd December 1730. ... We congratulate Y.H. and are very happy with Y.H.'s proposal to rebuild the lodge, or even a fort, at Fida, and we trust that Y.H. will be honest and cautious concerning the King of Dahomme. It would indeed be good to strike the iron when it is hot. ... We shall make a proper report about Capt. te Velde's behaviour to the Hon. Directors ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 29th December 1730. ... We are informed that 4,469 cabes cowries have been shipped to Y.H., but we are afraid that Y.H. will not be able to sell such a great quantity à Costy, and we hope that Y.H. will give us as soon as possible detailed informations about the prospects, also because we have the intention to permit again as before the cowrie-trade at Accra which was suspended for some time.

Hertogh to Pranger, 6th January 1731. ... I confirm receipt of the wood and iron-work for the reconstruction of the lodge, but we still need a

(WIC 138 cont.)

white carpenter for it. We also received 3,069 small cabes cowries from Accra. Concerning Capt. Joseph de Torres I can inform Y.E. that this gentleman has now taken upon himself to erect a fortress here at Jaquin and by means of great expenses he has obtained much from the King; the foundations of that fort are ready, and now all available hands are engaged in the construction of a redoubt; he intends to reinforce said fort with four redoubts on the corners, and he seems not to mind to make the greatest expenses in order to finish it as soon as possible. But I, on the other hand let nothing be undone to prevent him from achieving such, and the presents which this gentleman is continuously offering are as much as possible neutralised by me with counter presents, and I shall apply all my vigilance in order to thwart his intentions ... Concerning the establishment of a stronghold at Fida, I must report that for the time being nothing can be undertaken on account of the heavy wars which are still daily going on in that area, and I may add that I have enough work here at Jaquin just in maintaining my position by issuing daily great presents and other gifts. I hereby request Y.E. to be kind enough to send me two Assistants, whom I would put in such positions as where they would be most effective for the conservation of the Noble Comp.'s effects. Concerning Capt. te Velde, who took 2 slaves from a Portuguese ship, for whom (as we learn from Y.E.'s letter) 8 oz gold for each slave have been paid, because our Noble Comp. would not want to have the name of being narrow-minded about two slaves, in the eyes of that Nation, I find myself compelled to tell Y.E. another story about his misbehaviour: the Portuguese Capt. de Torres complained to me about him, saying that when H.H. had left Elmina and anchored at Annemaboe in order to see if he could buy some butter from the ships lying there on the roads, he, te Velde anchored there too, and having rendered himself at once on his, de Torres' ship, he told him that he came to search his ship. When de Torres answered that his ship had been properly searched at Elmina, te Velde refused to go from his board, and compelled him eventually to pay 14 oz aangemaakt (=?) gold ...

Jac. de la Planque, in the absence of D.-G. Pranger, to Hertogh, 30th January 1730. ... We flatter ourselves with the idea that the usual vigilance with which Y.H. cares for the Interest of the Gentlemen our Masters will also be able to cause to the evil enterprises of the Portuguese at Jaquin the same kind of impediments as compelled them to abandon their intentions in Fida; if Y.H. sees indeed an opportunity to bring the progress of this work to a complete stop, or to slow it off to such an extent that it will never be finished, we do give Y.H. permission to make some small expenditure to that end, but as economically as possible, as the sad condition of the Trade at this moment does not allow any liberal expenditure ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 18th March 1731. ... We have provided the "Steenhuysen" with a small cargasoen to buy between Accra and Popo as many slaves as

(WIC 138 cont.)

possible, as we have good reasons to believe that Y.H. would not be able to dispatch this vessel at the same time as the "Leusden", and that it would therefore only lie fruitlessly on the roads à Costy. We may also warn you that we are informed that there is at the moment a Pirate-ship with 36 guns and 200 men in the neighbourhood of the Upper Coast, and that it is expected to come down any moment from now. Y.H. should therefore immediately inform the Capt. of the "Leusden" and other ships of the Comp. which may arrive à Costy about this, so that they may timely prepare themselves for defence (In a note dd. 19/4/'31 Pranger informed Hertogh that the whole story about the giant pirate-ship was entirely untrue and "some invented lie of some sailor")

Hertogh to Pranger, 27th March 1731. ... Having understood Y.E.'s displeasure about the construction of a fort which was being undertaken here by the Portuguese Capt. de Torres, and Y.E.'s desire to be regularly informed about the developments, I have the pleasure to inform Y.E. that on 19th January mentioned de Torres has left this place under the most shameful conditions of the world, without having done anything further **to his fortress** than building a simple bastion made of a few beams and mud, which will soon collapse. Y.E. may be assured that mentioned Gentleman will never again in his life be able to build a fortress here, and that all his efforts and expenditure have been in vain, and that I will apply all my diligence and vigilance to prevent the recurrence of such attempts. Concerning the intended stronghold at Fida I must tell Y.E. that for the time being the occasion does not yet present itself, although I do everything I can ... (H. thanks P. for his new title of "Governor", reports death of one of his assistants as a result of constipation (? - "persing") and requests two new assistants, reports to have supplied the "Leusden" with 81 slaves at arrival and to have bought "within the time" 113 more, but complains of stiff competition from 2 English and 1 French ship. The English pay up to 7 oz for a slave, whilst H. is not allowed to pay more than the value of 5 oz.)

Moreover, the entire country is so much involved in heavy warfare, that no Negro is able to bring any slaves from the battlefield, so that everything in this country has come to a standstill ... I have restored the lodge to its former state and ameliorated three of the lodging-houses ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 10th May 1731. ... I have the pleasure to congratulate Y.H. warmly with the misfortune of Capt. de Torres. Concerning the intended erection of a lodge at Fida, we must inform Y.H. that reconsidering the matter we have some fears that this plan will cause too many expenses for the account of the Hon. Directors, and that, on the other hand, once we have established ourselves there again, we would no longer be able, as we are at present, to attack from time to time some un-free ships on those roads without endangering the position of our servants on shore ... concerning Y.H.'s request for 2 more assistants, we are afraid we cannot comply with it, as we are here too short of personnel. Taking notice of the present poor supply of slaves at Jaquin, we have decided to dispatch the "Jonge Daniel" from this Castle with its slaves.

(WIC 138, cont.)

(note: n.d.) "Received Monday 21st May a letter from Opppercommies Hendrik Hertogh, dd. Jaquin 10th April, informing us that a Caboceer who has lived for many years at Little Popo, and who has always let himself be used in the service of the Noble Comp., has requested to be allowed to spend his olden days under the protection of the Honourable Gentlemen at Elmina ..."

Pranger to Hertogh, 3rd August 1731 ... As according to Art. 19 of the Regulations concerning the Free Navigation the Hon. Gentlemen Directors have engaged themselves -as appears from enclosed copy- to supply the colonists in Suriname every year with a number of 2,500 slaves, and as since 8th August last year we have up to now dispatched from Jaquin only 1,180 Ps. slaves to that Colony, we must most strongly recommend to Y.H. to apply Y.H.'s usual promptitude and vigilance in supplying as rapidly as possible the "Steenhuysen" with its required armasoen, so that it may disembark its slaves within half a year in Surinamen.

Hertogh to Pranger, 22nd May 1731 (?) Concerning the stronghold at Fida: if Y.E. is still intending to have such stronghold, it is also just and more honest that I try to maintain (the peace with) the country, and that can only be done if the Roads remain free and un-attacked ...

I am expecting the "Steenhuysen" any day from now from Popo, and have some slaves for it in stock. But if Y.E. does not send more merchandise I shall be compelled to dispatch it with only 400 Ps. slaves on board, which would make a bad voyage for the Noble Comp. I therefore hope that Y.E. will send as soon as possible to remaining Jaquin goods still in stock at Elmina. ... I would also like to request Y.E. for permission to buy here 20 or 30 craft-slaves, because the lodge is very poorly provided with them, and pray that the building-materials which I requested earlier may be sent to me at earliest convenience ...

Hertogh to Pranger, 26th June 1731. ... I had the honour of sending to Y.E. my monthly papers, but they were returned to me 4 days later, because the Fidase and Popose are at war with each other, with the result that the paths have been closed there. Not knowing how long this war is going to last, I have given these papers to Capt. J. De Rhee...Departed from this place last month: 3 Portuguese with resp. 300,500 and 300 slaves, an English ship with 400 and a French with 350, whilst there are still anchored here 6 Portuguese, 1 English and 1 French ship, and at Fida 3 Portuguese, 3 French and 1 English ship, from which Y.E. may see that there are a lot of ships at this small place, and understand that consequently the price of the slaves is very high.

Pranger to Hertogh, 14th August 1731. ... Concerning the establishment of a stronghold at Fida, we may inform you that we have abandoned the idea, as the freedom of the Roads there is by no means in agreement with the Noble Comp.'s Interest, and Y.H. has therefore no longer to make any arrangements to that end

(WIC 138 cont.)

Hertogh to Pranger, 2nd August 1731. ... It looks as if the already poor trade is going to be even worse, because it may be expected that all the ships now at Fida will come here; the Fidase have made a nocturnal raid on the tents there and murdered 6 whitemen. Of some of these the heads were cut off, others' bodies were cut open and their hearts taken out, which were eaten. According to the King of Fida the reason for this was that the whites there did nothing to help him to return to his country, and that this had made him resolve to annihilate everything at Fida, as it was clear that he would never be able to return. All this has caused great fright among the whites at Fida, and none of them has any desire to stay there. Those who were murdered were 4 Frenchmen and 2 Portuguese.

(13/8/'31 Hertogh complains that he could put 750 to 800 slaves in a ship destined to Surinam, but that he is constantly short of merchandise, as ships coming from Elmina never bring more goods than are needed for the purchase of 400 slaves. "My vigilance is of no use in this way: if I had been provided with more goods, I could have dispatched the "Leusden" with at least 150 more slaves" (he dispatched it with 450 slaves to Surinam).

Hertogh to Pranger, 20th September 1731. ... I have taken note of Y.E.'s opinion that the plan to establish a stronghold at Fida should be abandoned because it would not be to the advantage of the Noble Comp. that the Roads remain free, but I do believe that Fida and Jaquin together would be more profitable than the entire Upper and Lower Coast. I shall however observe Y.E.'s instructions. ... For more than 4 years I have now been asking for building materials which I have never received; I shall now write to the Hon. Directors to ask for them ...

Hertogh to Pranger, 17th December 1731. ... Concerning the amount voted for the reconstruction of the lodge, I must say that Y.E.'s estimate is not very high ... Trade is still difficult because the trade at Fida is still impossible, which makes the price of the slaves very high ... I sent Assistant Hoeth to Little Popo in order to stay there till the palaver at Quita is resolved ...

WIC 126; Minutes of Elmina Council.

D.-G. demonstrated that for several years now those of Cabo Appolonia and of Eguira have been involved in a series of differends, which have a pernicious effect on the trade which used to flourish at Fort St. Anthony at Axim. That he had recommended on several occasions to Oppercommies Ockers there to do his best to bring this discord to an end, but that up to the present this had remained without the least effect, because (as H.H. has good reasons to believe) the Noble Comp.'s makelaer at that place, popularly known as "the Pope", is the only causa movens of all this. H.E. informed Members that he had therefore ordered said Oppercommies to send mentioned makelaer without any pretext or reflection (sic) hither, but on 17th December 1730 a letter had arrived with the information that the subject Negroes had opposed themselves in a rebellious manner against the execution of this order. H.E. considered it therefore necessary that he

(WIC 126, cont.)

go there personally in order to finish these harmful quarrels. ...

16th February 1731. D.-G. informed the Council that he had gone to Axim, and that during his journey he had found at all the factories between Chama and Axim very many Assiantynse, who strongly insisted that all the refugees from Wassa (which was defeated by them, but of which many people had taken refuge under our forts) be handed over to them, nay, insisted with such passion and rashness, that no rest or time was left to H.E. to carry out his design to travel to the factories along the Upper Coast for inspection. In this way he was compelled to limit that inspection to that of Chama and Saccondee, and to travel straight to Axim, because everywhere he was interrupted by these cumbersome petitioners, some of them personal envoys of Poku himself. Arriving finally on the 14th at Axim, H.E. found there an army of about 10,000 Assiantyns encamped within the range of the guns of the fort. In the previous night they had, under cover of darkness, invaded the crom and taken from it more than 300 persons (inhabitants as well as Comp. slaves), and committed many other outrages, on the pretext that there were many Wassase among the coast-negroes. The reason why they had retired under our fort therewas that the Negro Adjeba Manfoe (who for many years has lived in the greatest enmity with them, thus causing great harm to our trade) had managed to convince the Assiantynse through bribes to make an armed attack on the said Negroes ... Inquiring into the matter on his arrival, H.E. discovered that the Assiantynse demanded from the coast-negroes that they deliver up the Wassase. As the well-being of the Comp.'s trade would by no means allow the defence of these (Wassas) against the Assiantyns, as the latter are the only ones from whom one may henceforward expect some trade, and moreover this nation has always been misled and betrayed by the now fugitive King of Wassa, H.E. resolved to satisfy that Nation, and to deliver to them their enemies, as indeed was done. H.E. could at first not resolve what to do about the coast-negroes, as they submitted themselves as subjects of the Noble Comp., promising to live henceforward in an obedient manner if he were willing to ransom them to the Assiantyns and to protect them in future. After endless difficulties H.E. eventually agreed with the claimants on the amount of the ransom.

This matter now having been settled and the Assiantyns having departed, H.E. was mainly concerned with the problem of how to remove the obstacle which had for so many years impeded the trade at Axim, and summoned therefore the Abocroe Negro Adjeba Manfoe. After some difficulties it appeared that he could defend his case so well, that it seemed indeed that he was right in claiming 32 bendas. H.E., aware that if that Negro were not satisfied no progress whatsoever could be made, and also that if mentioned Adjeba were left dissatisfied he would leave nothing undone to make trouble for the passing merchants -as before-, resolved to condemn the coast-negroes to pay that sum, on the condition however, that the two parties would take a solemn oath, in accordance with the manner of the land, that they would

(WIC 126 cont.)

live in peace and concord with each other and also contribute ~~everything~~ they can to promote, support and aid the Comp.'s trade. D.-G. furthermore had read out to the Council the 20th Article of the latest Charter of the WIC, in which it is stated that all interlopers who are provided with a proper passport will henceforward be allowed to come freely into all bays, ports, roads &c. within the District of the WIC in Africa, without having to pay anything to the servants of the Honourable Comp.

3rd March 1731 ... From extracts of letters from Jaquyn it appears that Oppercommies/^{Hertogh} is selling the cowries there for 80 lbs. per benda, although he is not allowed to sell them ~~more~~ than 72 lbs per benda. As information are however received from Hertogh himself and also publicly, that the English, French and other Nations ~~sell~~ them up to 110 lbs per benda, ... it was resolved to allow H. to sell them ~~ad~~ 80 lbs. per benda.

26th March 1731. D.-G. demonstrated that the ship "De Jonge Daniël" is destined by the Chamber Zeeland to sell its entire cargo for slaves at Jaquyn, but that in the interest of the Noble Comp. this order should be disobeyed, because firstly the "Leusden" is still at Jaquyn waiting for its slaves, and for this reason the "Steenhuysen" was also by a recent resolution provided with a cargo for the Coast between Accra and Pope in order to buy there as many slaves as possible till Oppercommies Hertogh will have dispatched the "Leusden", and secondly because the storehouses at this Castle as well as those at the outerforts are at present without any current tradegoods, especially those which the "Jonge Daniël" has in its holds, and which are much in demand among the Assiantynse traders, who have just arrived in great multitude, and who would, in the absence of those goods, bring their ivory and slaves to the English, thus depriving the Company of great advantages. Moreover, because of the great number of traders who have come down, it is to be expected that the "Jonge Daniël" will quickly get its required number of 325 Ps. slaves, and be dispatched from here much earlier than it could be dispatched from Jaquyn. In order that the Assjantynse may not completely lose their habit of trading with us and bring their goods to other Nations, it was resolved to unload the "Jonge Daniël" here at the Castle, and to use its cargo to buy slaves from the Assjantynse.

18th July 1731. D.-G. J. Pranger offered for consideration to the Council a Protest and a Counterprotest by the English Agents John Brathwaite and Benjamin Peake and himself, the first having divulged in 12th May an infamous paper under the name of a Protest ... that we would have done everything we could, with the help of our black makelaers, servants and agents to oppress the servants, subjects and dependents of the RAC, and to damage that company by offering presents to Tomawishee, their first black makelaer ... On this we answered that we never have had the intention of oppressing any of that company's subjects without reason, and that even less we would risk our honour by bribing a negro, in particular one

(WIC 126 cont.)

who is everywhere known as a double-dyed villain (no matter whether his masters call him a most faithful servant of their company). This person would on our orders have been attacked by our black makelaers, agents and servants at Accra with the purpose of murdering him, which is a libellous lie. Moreover, it is impossible that we could have given such order, because what is alleged to have happened, happened at Accra, whilst we were in Person at Elmina. The subject of the differend, according to the letter of the Agents would be nothing but a matter of the people of our makelaers having dared to take water -by night- from a strange village. We can't understand either how the Agents dare to say that the Dutch would have hired an army of blacks in order to destroy in Accra the allies of the RAC, as they are totally unable to show that any damage has been done to them by the Natives. They are indeed careful enough not to name the Nation which would have been bribed by us. ... they also claim that we impute the savage character of the Natives against those who are their friends, and have them panyarred. To support their accusation they say that recently 5 slaves of our first makelaer were panyarred and carried away by the Fantynse because he would have hired and incited the Assjantynse who came down upon them, and that after that immediately 5 slaves and servants of the English makelaer would have been stolen and panyarred by our makelaer, whom he would have kept up to the present, which is also dirty libel which the Agents will never be able to prove, because the Assiantynse were never incited by us or our makelaer, and they still have to indicate what discomfort has ever been caused to the Fantynse by the Assjantynse. They say all this only in order to disguise the dirty tricks of their mentioned makelaer, because it is perfectly clear that mentioned 5 slaves were not panyarred by the Fantynse, but by Tom or his servants. And we have a perfect proof of this, because on the 30th of last month a canoe arrived here from Jaquyn, and its rowers reported to us that they had found there on the roads an English ship on board of which were three of the Negroes stolen by mentioned Tom (being the children of an old woman called Esuon who told us under hot tears about the loss of her children, begging us to arrange with our Governor, Mr. Hertogh, for their release, offering us money to buy them free). Mr. Hertogh did try to buy them free with Mk.1:6:-, but when he came on board with this gold, he was told by the captain of that ship that the English makelaer Tom Awishee had urgently requested him never to set those slaves free, and that Tom had also told him that he hoped to ruin the Elminase completely within 3 years. The other slaves have also been seen on several occasions by our people in his house at Annemaboe ... They further accuse us of having given permission on 29th April (old style) or 9th April (new style) to our makelaer to sell slaves at Annemaboe, and that we only sent his canoe in order to provoke the English. It is true that we allowed our makelaer to sell two slaves at Annemaboe, as they were of no use to us, but that canoe certainly did not go on its own account to Cabo Cors: it was attacked and arrested by an English ship far beyond the

(WIC 126 cont.)

the reach of the Cabo Cors roads, and quite irregularly brought down to Cabo Cors. How clever the English are at making noise about unimportant matters is also shown in their insistence on calling the Annemaboe roads "English", whilst according to the admission of their Agents in a letter dd. 21st August 1730, they have no jurisdiction on land, writing: "we have the honour to let Y.E. know that the Currantie of Annemaboe is not subject to our jurisdiction, and we can therefore not compell him to resitute the slave he has panyarred from Y.E...." Everyone knows that all sorts of Nations come and go on those sea-roads, and as they are free to trade there, these roads may ergo be called free roads. They further accuse us of having panyarred a cnaoe with 13 rowers and a messenger with a letter for the Chief Agents. That messenger they describe as a Christian and a freeman, what we should have seen because of his European attire. This panyarring was certainly not done with our consent, and concerning that Christian freeman, we know very well that the Negroes have very little esteem for such Christians, because generally they have such a life-style, that Blacks as well as Whites despise them, and even though they are provided with European clothes and a cane, they are, it seems, not a hair's breadth higher in esteem in their own Nation. When they say that we broke their canoe, they are entirely wrong, because it was not only restituted to them, but the best proof is that it is at present still in use. ... When they impute that the Dutch haven't had any trade at Commany for more than two years, this may be a rumour with which they want to seduce their Principals in Europe not to make any further **enquiries** into their dealings. But we may refute this libel on our Nation with the information that their trade with the Assjantynse has stopped as a result of their involving themselves in the Cabal of Intuffer and other arch-enemies of aforesaid Nation. In answer to the Agents' accusation that we would have allowed their messenger to be robbed of his **gold-fetishes** right under the walls of our Castle, we may say that this is just a lie for which that letter-carrier could do nothing but stammer his excuse. On the other hand, it is true, that after having delivered the Agents' letter, that man met a Negro in the crom, **whom** he asked if he was one of Abocan's servants. When he answered; no, the Agents' servant said that that was better too, for if he met any of Abocan's sons or servants, he would kill him like a pig; when he was saying that, he drew his knife, upon which a number of people gathered. So, if he has had a proper beating, it is only a proper punishment for such misbehaviour ...

... Concerning the matter of Tom Awishee and the people of Accra, a letter of J. De la Planque, dd. Accra, 8th November 1730 was read out; ... the cause of the dispute between our subject Natives here and so-called Christian Negro Tom Awishee is not yet quite clear: the Dutch and the English (by mouth of Mr. Cruikshank) maintain their old positions. I would have made much more progress, if the Akimse had not made their enormous and unprecedented claims; but I stopped, because I did not want to give the English and Tom Awishee the occasion to incite the Akimse against me

(WIC 126, cont.)

and the Negroes residing under this fort. I therefore thought it better to temporize a little with this matter, the more as people here make me believe that if the Akimse and the Accrase come to an agreement about the before mentioned claim, that then the former will shortly return to their country. Moreover, there is here also a large number of Fantynse at the moment, who doubtlessly on the first outbreak of any trouble would chose for Tom's side. I therefore think it indeed better to wait till the Akimse and the Fantynse have left, and Tom will no longer be able to play tricks with the help of the Akimse and Doddo Tibo ...

At the time that Mr. Cruickshank was here at Accra (in order, as the Agents maliciously pretend, to protect their fortress against the Negroes we would have hired against them) we had the greatest fears for our own fort and subject negroes in case of attacks of roaming Akimse, and would certainly not ask them to attack the English. The Akimse have become so haughty after their defeat of the Aquamboese, that they even dared to threaten the Crom-negroes of Accra that if they refused to contribute something for the ruin of Aquamboe, that they would come to take it by force; so we had trouble enough to satisfy these robbers, who ~~are~~ persuaded that the Accrase are greatly obliged to them for having taken this trouble ... D.-G. demonstrated with another letter from Mr. de la Planque, dd. Accra, 29th October 1730 that indeed we were preparing ourselves for defence: ... Since ~~the~~ arrival of Amoe with the envoy of the Akimse we have not yet learnt what this envoy is bringing us, but I just heard that he would have come here in order to demand from the fortresses here a certain gratuity for their defeat of the Aquamboese, which would easily amount to several bendas, and that in case of refusal they would try to get it by means of force; it is said that the Caboceer Doddo Tibo is the inventor of this plan, and that he has proposed it to the Akimse ...

Another letter, also from Accra, and written by Mr. Van Blittersdorp on 30th October 1730, was read out: ... To-day the makelaer Amoe came with some Accra Caboceers in the fort, reporting that the Akimse had demanded several hundred bendas from them, and that they had been compelled to agree to pay them: 350 bendas for ~~the~~ three Croms as well as 6 strings of conte de terra. Of these 200 would have to be paid by this Crom, and the remaining 150 by the two others. They requested us therefore to lend to them the necessary tradegoods for that purpose ...

(follows a long story about a deserter Jan Dirkse, alias John Richardson, who denied being a deserter and claimed to be a British subject, and therefore to have the right of protection of the English at Sekondi. According to Pranger he is however born on Curaçao as son of one Truytje Pisang, and therefore Dutch. Peake claimed however that he could not be Dutch because of his perfect English. Pranger countered however that "it is well known that Mr. Peake speaks the Negroes' language in perfection, and if he has managed to learn such a difficult language to such perfection in a few years' time, it can't have been so difficult for Jan Dirkse, who has lived for a considerable time among English speaking people, to learn English, which after all is one of the easiest languages of the world"!)

BKG 33; Letters from the Assembly of X.

ss. of X to Pranger, 30th May 1731. ... We consider it necessary to recommend to Y.E. seriously to pay more attention than has hitherto been done by Y.E.'s predecessors to the promotion of the discovery of minerals, because the condition of the land and its products demonstrate undeniably that it is very rich in gold, and we are therefore convinced that with more industry (=diligence) it could be made into a second Brazil. In order to expedite matters in this connection, we would like to recommend to Y.E. to take up contact with Brazil in order to arrange for the appointment of 2 or 3 persons working there in the goldmines, as Assistants in the service of our Company, on the promise that they would, in case of a favourable outcome, enjoy 25% of the profits.

WIC 138; Hertogh Correspondence.

Pranger to Hertogh, 9th February 1732. ... Concerning the establishment at Fida, we repeat that we would not like to expose the Noble Comp.'s effects and servants to the unsteadiness of the Natives ... Concerning the reconstruction of Y.H.'s lodge at Jaquin, Y.H. should really try to spend less, and for instance make use of local carpenters, in the same way as we do here on the Gold Coast. Y.H. should never forget that there is nothing on this world more important than our care for the general well-being of our Masters, the Hon. Directors ...

(follows: "Invoice Merchandise Jaquyn"):

5000 Ps. plathiljos	20 Ps. silk atlassen
480 white 1/2 guinesen	500 short iron bars
250 servetten	2 mas red coral ad 3 Mk.
100 caffaaas	126 yds. red linen
100 graetjes	11,994 lbs. cowries
150 lemeniassen	5,000 " gunpowder
100 native chintz	180 kelders French Brandy
50 handkerchiefs	of 15 bottles each

Building materials:

1 white mason (sic!)	1 corners (=?)	1 bending-pliers
1 " blacksmith	1 bow-file	1 cutting iron
1 pair of bellows	1 soldering-bolt	1 square
1 anvil	16 chisels	1 three-bow (=?)
1 spear-hook	12 files	6 hinges
4 hammers	5,000 yellow bricks	1 pair of pincers
3 pliers	1 pick-axe	2 eye-irons
2 crowbars	1 bench-vice	
3 door-bars	1 sovereign pliers (=?)	
3 window-setters (?)	2 bench-hammers	

Hertogh to Pranger, 21st March 1732. ... It is with the greatest regret that I have to report that I don't see any chance to dispatch the "Stad en Lande", at present anchored here, within a month, because the roads in the land here are quite unsafe as a result of the continuing war, and sometimes not more than one slave is brought here in 8 or 9 days, with the result that the prices continue to rise. Consequently we were compelled to pay for the slaves of mentioned ship 6 oz for the males and 4 for the females. I do hope that I am doing this with Y.E.'s permission, as I understand that Y.E. gives that permission to the Captains of the slave ships ...

(WIC 138 cont.)

Hertogh to Pranger, 16th April 1732, "on the Island of Appa".

This is to inform Y.E. about the sad situation at Jaquin, where I was on 2nd April suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the Dahommeese enemies, in a manner which hardly gave me the chance to save my own life, and in my flight I had to leave behind my Ondercommies and both of my Assistants and other whitemen serving under me, with the exception of the foreman who managed to escape with me and who joined me going to the island of Lebee. But of those I left behind, my own people as well as the French and the English, I cannot tell the least news ... On the 9th of this month I left the island of Lebee and went to Appa, so that I am now on a safe island where no enemy can ever come, because there is no safer place where the Company could ever establish a lodge, and it is also quite appropriate for Trade. I have therefore asked Capts. Moy Lievens and Jan Vlught to come here to take in their slaves. Capt. Vlught still has all his goods on board, and I shall dispatch Capt. Moylivens (sic) as soon as he has his drinking-water on board with a number of 394 Ps. slaves ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 9th August 1732. ... We were informed by Capt. From of the "Guineese Galee" that Y.H. is of the opinion that the Portuguese have incited the King of Dahomme to attack the Noble Comp.'s lodge at Jaquin. ... If Y.H. is seriously convinced that the Portuguese are involved in this way, Y.H. should inform us officially of it, because we can't take any measures on a vague supposition. We would also have liked if Y.H. had informed us with a little more detail and accent of everything concerning the affairs à Costy, or at least noted what specific reasons may have instigated Dahomme to chase Y.H. in such an inimical manner out of his lodge ... We were surprised to see that the "Stad en Lande" has been dispatched with only 394 slaves on board, and the "Amsterdam" shortly afterwards with only 400, whilst these vessels were supposed to sail with fairly large armasoenen, considering the large quantity of tradegoods we had shipped with them, and we are the more surprised about this as Y.V. wrote that trade at Appa is so favourable. Concerning Y.H.'s request for permission to build a lodge on the Island of Appa, we wish to make clear that we can by no means give our consent to that, because we do not want to charge the Noble Company with unnecessary expenses without a promise of considerable commercial advantages, and we consequently expect from Y.H. precise informations concerning (general) expenses, customary duties to be paid for slaveships à Costy, the exact buying-prices of slaves per head &c., because not only has Y.H. made a considerable declaration of costs for the mere repairs of Y.H.'s lodge at Jaquin, Y.H. has also bought for a long time now the slaves for a very high price, on his own authority, whilst the slaves on the Gold Coast are being bought at least $\frac{1}{2}$ cheaper than à Costy. It is also because of these lower prices on the Gold Coast that we have decided not to send the ship "Brandenburg" to the leeward, but kept it here, and we

(WIC 138 cont.)

shall never again resolve to send any slave-vessel (to you) unless we get clear evidence that the Noble Comp. is to profit from it. It seems to us also quite strange, that only Y.H. and his foreman have been able to escape, and that there was no such opportunity for Y.H.'s Messieurs and other whitemen, whilst one would say that their way to retire should have been open ... and also that Y.H. has charged Capt. From with so many oral requests, without making the effort of writing a letter. For the time being we only want to remark that the Proposition to bribe Assiantyn to come down to fight Dahomme appears to us extravagant, in the first place because of the great distance between those countries, and secondly because it would probably cost more than 500 Mk of gold to make such an enterprise ...

In case Y.H. sees no opportunity to dispatch the slaves Y.H. may in the meantime have bought or may be buying, we permit Y.H. to sell them to the Portuguese for liquid gold, which Y.H. may send to us if there is a safe occasion, because here it is at present impossible to obtain any gold of importance, and consequently our return-freights to the Netherlands are hardly worth mentioning ...

Hertogh to Pranger, 26th September 1732 ... As for the reasons why the King of Dahomme has made war on us, I still can't say anything with certainty, or even which Nation is most guilty in this respect; because some say that it is the English who are behind it, and others the Portuguese. Personally, I can't believe that, because in the time that I was at Jaquin, I alone have given to the Dahomme robber more presents than all other Nations together. I believe that nothing but sheer poverty has driven him to it, thus maintaining his rapacious habits; because hardly half an hour beforehand we didn't know of anything, and all of us saw how the entire krom was occupied by the Dahommeese enemies within a quarter of an hour. They beat to death or shot anybody they met, and because of the suddenness of the assault nobody was able to put up any resistance to the enemy, and each just tried to save his life, leaving all his property, and it is only in that way, and with the greatest difficulty that I managed to save my own life.

Concerning the small number of slaves dispatched per "Stad en Lande", Y.E. must be aware, that most of its goods were already on shore, as the ship was at the time lying in trade. As for the "Amsterdam", I should say that considering its cargo it got quite a good armasoen, and this mainly because costs are here not as high as at Jaquin. When I was still trading there the slaves were indeed quite expensive as a result of the competition of so many foreign ships, their Nations being prepared to pay up to 7 or 8 oz. worth of goods, whilst their goods are accounted for to a lower price than by our Company; it is also for that reason that the Negroes here used to bring their slaves to Jaquin and Fida, which are only a short distance from here. The Negroes of the Interior did not yet know that I had established myself here, but now I am able to

(WIC 138 cont.)

supply to the Noble Comp. better slaves for 5 oz. ~~than~~ in those days for 6 oz., because this place is much better situated for trade than Jaquin. If Y.E. really has the intention not to send any further ships hither, I must request Y.E. permission for my resignation from the Comp.'s service ...

Concerning the imprisonment of my Messieurs by the Dahommeese Robbers, that has of course not been done on my orders; I only had ordered them to stay in the Noble Comp.'s lodge, so that the robbers could not say later-on that they had not found anybody there for their conservation, taking that as an excuse to take them for themselves. Y.E. may read everything about my flight in the letters which I have received from my Messieurs from Ardera and Jaquin, and I can assure Y.E. that I shall not leave anything undone to get them released ~~from~~ the enemies. But presently I must request Y.E. for assistance by some Messieurs, among them an able person with some experience on this Coast who knows how to treat the Natives here and who could be sent to the Dahommeese Robber in order to ask him about the reasons for his behaviour.

Concerning what I told to Capt. From, requesting him to report it to you, viz. the proposal to bribe the Assiantynse Negroes in order to make war on the Robber, I must explain that I received daily requests to that extent from the exiled Kings of Fida and Ardera, and also from the Chief of Jaquin and a multitude of other exiled Kings, who all hope that the Noble Comp. may arrange for a sufficient war in which the Robber may be completely chased away and defeated so that they may return to their countries; they have promised to pay all the expenses on such a war in slaves for the Noble Comp. in the form of a contribution. But as Y.E. objects to such proposal, I shall decline from further discussions on this matter ... As Y.E. gave me permission to sell slaves to the Portuguese for gold, I shall endeavour to do so, and send the gold to Elmina. I have at present over 500 Ps. slaves here, who were supplied to me by the Negroes on credit, hoping that Y.E. would ^{soon} send a slave-ship to me, but as I have now perceived the contrary, I have had to return them, at a considerable loss, to the Negroes rather than selling them to the Portuguese, as the latter are not yet coming this way.

Hertogh to Pranger, 18th October 1732 ... On 17th of this month the landsboot (service-boat) arrived here, with on its board Assistant Carel Hoffmeester, who had gone from Fida to Popo in order to wait there for the first opportunity which might offer itself to go to Appa. With a canoe of the King of Popo he managed to catch up with the landsboot, which he boarded on the high seas, asking the Capt. to be allowed to return with him to Appa ... I shall send the Assistant on another occasion back to Elmina ... I repeat my request to Y.E. to send me one or two ships, as prospects for Trade seem to be good. Two Portuguese ships arrived here to trade ...

(WIC 138 cont.)

Pranger to Hertogh, 25th December 1732. ... We very much doubt that Y.H. really did not know anything about the intentions of Dahomme up to half an hour before the actual attack ... because perusing the account on that matter by Assiastant C.Hoffmeester, we find that already by 11 A.M. there were rumours about the impending war, upon which he mounted, on Y.H.'s orders, a horse, riding out on recognition. Having ridden for about half an hour in the enemy's direction, and not being satisfied as he had not seen anything, he sent a certain Negro who had gone with him back. He then continued for another half hour in full gallop, after which he still could not distinguish all ^{properly} /, and then decided to return. So that, in our opinion, at least three hours must have passed since Y.H. had received the first informations, and ergo before the Dahommeese army had covered that distance on foot at least some of the Comp.'s effects could have been brought into safety. There are also rumours that Y.H. has kept a large number of the servants ignorant about these developments, whilst they should have been informed beforehand. But let us leave it at that for the moment and comment on the paragraph in which Y.H. states to be able to buy male slaves for 5 oz., with which we are very pleased. We promise to send the "Leusden" to Appa, to be followed three weeks later by the "Rusthoff" -with a cargascen for 750 Ps. slaves- to Appa, and we trust that they will be dispatched rapidly, as the Trade à Costy seems to be flourishing. ... Y.H.'s request for the assistance of some other Messieurs embarrasses us not a little, because not only are they at the moment very scarce, there are since some time also unanimous rumours that Y.H. treats his servants not well at all, a rumour which seems to be proved to be true by the latest events, when Y.H. saved himself with a foreman and all the black boys, leaving however the Messieurs in the lodge to be disposed of by Dahomme. Consequently everybody has got a great aversion of Y.H., nay, this has gone so far, that some of them, whom we had intended to send to Y.H. for service, preferred to resign and return to the fatherland rather than to have to serve under Y.H.'s orders ... Yet, we have found an Ondercommies and an Assistant prepared to go, Messrs De Haan and Bonniol, but we think that it would be rather too dangerous to send these two persons alone to Dahomme, and we therefore expect that Y.H. will also hasard somebody ...

WIC 126; Minutes Elmina Council.

returned

10th January 1732 ... To-day the big landsboot/which H.E. had sent on 26th November 1731 to Quita to assist the Commander there, A.C.Hoeth, who as a result of the the wars which were growing in extent in that area, had felt compelled to retire with the Comp.'s effects. Oppercommies Elet reported that it was true that Hoeth had abandoned Quita on 4th November, and that he had gone with all the Comp.'s effects to Little Popo. It was given into deliberation whether it would not be better to summon mentioned Hoeth hither with all the Comp.'s effects, as there are good reasons to assume that that war will soon be extended to Little Popo and because

(WIC 126 cont)

on land there is as little security at Little Popo as there is at Quita, and it would ergo be unjustifiable to risk a sum of 37 Mk, being the value of the goods remaining with this Assistant; considered also that it would, after the end of the present wars, always be possible to re-establish ourselves there, the more as the Noble Comp. is not in the least involved in these quarrels, it was resolved to summon Hoeth immediately to Elmina ... with order to embark on the "Guineese Galey", expected soon from Benyn ...

15th May 1732: D.-G., returned from his voyage to the Lower Coast, reported on his activities at Accra: that firstly he had settled the disputes between our Negroes and the Danish servants, and as they were entirely in the wrong, they would be compelled to retribute completely all that they had taken away from the Danish Merchant Sparre and his subjects. Secondly, that the Ackimse/^{traders} had appeared at Accra with a claim of 36 bendas which they pretended the right to receive after their defeat of the Aquamboese, as monthly kostgeld (subsistence money), which the Noble Comp. had always paid to that Nation. That mentioned claim had finally been reduced to an amount of 20 bendas, after a long series of conferences, and that this amount has indeed to be paid, as well as, for the future, one benda per month (just as we used to pay to the Aquamboese), on condition that they bring the trade to us, which they were willing to accept. H.E. was the more constrained to agree to this convention, as mentioned Ackimse had in reality already received their outstanding debts from the English and the Danes, and if we had not agreed, it would^{be} to be feared that then those Ackimse would only go to the English and the Danes to trade ...

21st May 1732: Reading of the Journal kept by Ondermeester Bertram From during his voyage to Little Popo (see Journal), and it was with great regret that the assembled members learnt that a certain French Capt. had told him at Quita, on 29th of last month, that the Noble Comp.'s lodge at Jaquin was totally ruined, -which was confirmed by another French Capt, La Pierre- with the addition that all the Comp.'s effects had been captured, as well as the whites, with the exception of Opppercommies H. who had taken refuge, with another whiteman, on the island Appa. D.-G. Proposed for consideration whether it would not be better to send an able person hither for further information, and if possible, to achieve some kind of redress, and it was resolved to use mentioned Ondermeester thereto, and to send him with the great landsboot hither, ordering him at the same time to take, on his return, the remaining Comp.'s effects, left by Assistant Hoeth at Little Popo.

5th September 1732. D.-G. showed a certain attestation from the inhabitants of Quita made against Assiatant Hoeth, and although it is not properly worded, it is clear that something has to be changed (there) and that

some enquiries are made about the manner in which that trade should be re-established, because so far we have every year got a good quantity of elephants' teeth, which we would miss if we were to abolish that lodge altogether. According to Mr. From the Natives are very eager to have another merchant in stead of Mr. Hoeth, and it was therefore resolved to appoint mentioned From as Ondercommies there ...

NBKG 98; Elmina Journal.

8th January 1732. To-day the great landsboot, sent on 26th November a.p. to Quita, returned with 4 letters from Hoeth, one dated 26th August a.p., reading i.a.: ...Y.E. will doubtlessly receive more letters from me once the Lampi roads are again safe. I enclose some letters from Jaquin, the first of which has been with me for a considerable time; although I had dispatched it several times, it came every time back, because the letter-carriers could not proceed as a result of the inundations caused by the rising waters of the Rio Volta ... Around my lodge too, the water was "half a man's height"

Furthermore one written at Little Popo, 14th December 1731 ... The Tapoeyer (mulatto) Van Laaster handed over to me Y.E.'s honoured letter of 27th Sept. ... I may report the arrival of makelaer Amoe and Affoery on 4th November, with the regrettable result that all my subjects fled, and that everything was set afire by mentioned makelaer's people, so that I was compelled to abandon the lodge, after having brought everything into safety. With the help of the carpenter of a passing Dutch ship and the canoe of Mr. Hall, the former merchant of the English fort at Accra, I managed to get with the effects on board of the "Stad en Lande", and sailed to Jaquin. There Mr. Hertogh told me not to disembark, but rather to go to Little Popo, and to take care of the trade there till the "Goude Put" had its required number of slaves, which would take at least 2 months. So I settled at Little Popo, where I shall stay in the lodge till the palavers at Quita are settled. All these troubles would not have occurred if the interlopers Rhee and Kruysen had not made palaver with the Natives about their bringing their boats and canoes on the river, and on top of that acted as pirates, panyarring three of my subjects, of whom one was shot dead in the canoe by Capt. Kruysen himself. If it had not been for them, I would not have abandoned the lodge. I have had to suffer the greatest wantonness of those two interlopers, who brought their brandy without asking me anything into the lodge, daring to say that it was their masters' trading post and not that of the Noble Comp. The mate even went to the extent of threatening me to cleave my head. They chased the King from the krom and molested the huts, from which they tore the wood-work, which they brought to their ships. They stole the Natives' goats, and the King let me know, through his son, that he had had to pass the night on the river-side ... I have already sent a boy in order to invite my makelaer and the King to come to visit me and to finish then the palaver with Amoe and Affoery. Some Quitase have already come to look me up here, and they told me that they would make everything ready in order to have

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me there again. Caboceer Fiterre here also does his best to bring the ivory trade of Lampi and Quahoe here. At my arrival he immediately vacated his hut for me, saying that he hoped that Y.E. might be willing to let me stay here. We have already started to cut wood for the construction of my new lodge here ... Assistant Hoffmeester is very ill, and the others are already dead ...

And finally another letter, written at Little Popo, 15th December 1731: ... To-day we learnt from the Negro Tinkoran, a son of Pieter Pasop, that makelaer Amoe would have resolved to go to Fida, in order to make war on the Daghome, but that Caboceer Affoery did not want to decide on such an enterprise before all differends with Agonna, Quita and Akudja have been settled. I let him know that Y.E. is very displeased with his ruining Quita and departing from it without even settling the matter, something the Quitase are very eager to do, as well as the Accrase who used to live there. And if, as was the case somewhat earlier, more Accrase had been here, one could have tried to reduce the power of the Krippeeze a little, and leave the trade to the Accrase, because this is a good place for trade. I would therefore like to request Y.E. to send some of Y.E.'s servants, who should order Amoe to settle his differends with the aforesaid croms. I also learnt that the lodge was set afire by the robbers, and that nothing is left but the wall. If it had not been for their robbery, I would not have been necessitated to bring the Comp's effects into safety and to abandon the place. Two days before Amoe's arrival 300 armed men from Agonna stayed at Quita, but they did not molest me in the least, although I let the Capt. in the crom several times know that he should come to see me, as on earlier occasions he used to do, but he dared not to come, and as soon as he learnt about the arrival of Amoe and Affoery, he fled with all his men, and for a considerable time no Quitase could be found anymore in the crom.

A letter from Capt. Moilives, written at Little Popo, 16th December 1731: ... Arrived 8th November at Quitta, where I found Capts. De Rhee and Kruyssen. Assistant^{Hoeth}/was on board of Capt. Hop's ship. I took at once the Comp.'s goods on board, and continued my voyage to Jaquin, where I arrived on 12th November. We found there 15 ships, Dutch, English, French and Portuguese. I got there orders to bring Assistant Hoeth to Popo, where I arrived on 30th November ...

and a letter from Capts. Jac. De Rhee and Van der Cruyssen, written on board of the frigate "Wilhelmina", off Little Popo, 15th December 1731: ... We arrived on the Quita roads on 19th November in order to trade there, but it happened that the Negroes Amoe and Affoery arrived with all their men in the crom of Quita, and all the Krippeese Negroes fled to the other side of the river on some islands. The aforesaid Negroes as well as Assistant Hoeth requestd us to give them our canoe and our dinghy, because otherwise they would not be able to resist the enemy. So we gave our vessels to aforesaid Negroes, but after 4 days, when they

saw that they could not defeat their enemies, mentioned Negroes told Assistant Hoeth that they had run out of victuals, that they would burn the crom, and that Hoeth would have to leave, with the Comp's goods, on board of the ships, that they were not able to protect him against the other Negroes ... het therefore requested us the use of the canoes for bringing the goods from shore, which we allowed him to do, in order to help him. At that time the hoeker-ship "Hooglander" of Capt. Hop arrived, and to him Hoeth trusted his goods; two days afterwards the "Stad & Lande" arrived, which took him to Jaquin, where he had the impudence to say that we had been the cause of his evacuation of the lodge, against which we must protest in the strongest terms ...

11th January 1732. To-day we wrote to Hoeth: ... It is with the greatest surprise and regret that we learnt from Y.H.'s letter that the crom subject to Y.H. was invaded by an Akim army, and that Y.H. was compelled to evacuate the place. ... Y.H. has however endangered unnecessarily the Noble Comp.'s goods and effects, and if they had been stolen nobody but you would have been held responsible for that, because Y.H. has not well observed Y.H.'s duty to inform us continuously in detail about the progress of war in that area, and about the dangers to which the Comp.'s effects would be exposed in case of approaching war-activities, which would have enabled us to take in time the appropriate measures ...

And as we learn furthermore from Y.H.'s letter of 15th December that Amoe and the Akimmers have the intention of marching on to the Leeward in order to make war on Dahomme, it may be assumed that war in that region is not going to be brought to an end quickly, and that trade for the time being will remain poor. We therefore think it better not to risk the Comp.'s goods any further, and to have them brought back hither.

23rd January 1732: received a letter from Oppercommies Elet, Adcra, informing us of the death of Assistant Stockhuys at Temma, and furthermore about some palavers between the Akimse and a certain mountain-negro called Quasje concerning "het landtbouwen van Logiën" (litt. the land-building (or agriculture) of lodges); also that he had gone with the English merchant to Temma in order to see the lodge which he had built there ... there was not yet any gun mounted on it, and that was also the reason why the English merchant had been sent on that mission by his Agents, because they had learnt that he, Oppercommies, was building a fort there. Finally he says that he has brought about some impediments in the construction of the Danish lodge at Great Nungo ...

2nd April 1732: Wrote the following circular letter to the Leeward factories: "In view of the fact that as a result of the coming through of the Assiantynse Traders there has been such great demand for flintlocks "with fol. st." (sic, =?), that all the remaining ones have already been sold at Elmina, this is to request Y.H. to send all those which may still be available à Costy as soon as possible to Elmina, as they are there greatly needed for the furthering and continuation of the Slave Trade ..."

18th April 1732: Received a letter from Assistant Hoeth, dd. Little Popo, 5th April: "... On 20th of last month the King of Quita asked me to come there in order to settle the palaver; I sent back to him the Noble Comp.'s slave (sic), in order to let him know that I would not come before they would have roofed my lodge again and they have restituted the sant which was stolen by them, and that if they did not do that, that I would close the camienje (Port.: Caminho = path, road) to him, so that he would not be able to get a single basket of milhiô (= millet, corn), upon which he let me know that he was willing to settle the matter, if Amoe were satisfied with it ... I think that I can make a good lodge here at Popo, with the help of Caboecer Quam (? , not quite legible), a Minase who helps me very much in everything.

28th April 1732: Wrote the following instructions for Bertram From, surgeon: ... Once arrived at Little Popo Y.H. is to transmit our letter to Assistant Hoeth, and ask him if he is going to obey our orders or not. Even if Assistant Hoeth resists, Y.H. should compell him to accompany Y.H. as soon as possible, even, if necessary, by force and the help of the natives. On the way back Y.H. should call at Quita, and find out from the Natives why the Comp.'s lodge there was robbed and burnt, and whether Assistant Hoeth in one way or the other has been the cause of it. Declarations which the Natives may make on Assistant Hoeth should be accepted under the usual oaths of the land ...

21st August 1732: received a letter from Oppercommies Elet, Accra: ... Received Y.E.'s letter of 11th August concerning Mr. Hertogh's request transmitted to Y.E. by Mr. From ... We readily believe that mentioned gentleman would very well know what to do with the persons he requested for: it is crystal clear that H.H. has no good intentions with them at all, because he intends to use them as his deputies to the King of Dahomme, something for which he considers his slaves or blacks too good, whilst that King seems to be a barbaric man, carrying on a war against Mr. Hertogh alone, and not against Jaquin or any other Nations, and also not setting any of the Comp.'s servants free after his attack on the lodge and their subsequent capture. It is clear that there exists an irreconcilable hatred between them (and we are fully aware that there are on this Coast quite a number of unreasonable people), but never has one been found so murderous as not to be willing to save any souls. Even if H.H.'s request was based on a certain Christian duty, H.H. should have put that on paper ... Y.E. has really treated H.H. too generously, expecting positive truths which now, to the contrary, appear to be bagatellen (=?, French "bagatelle" = small, unimportant matter). H.H. says also that Y.E. has never provided him with proper and good servants, apart from only two, viz. Hoffmeester and Chevalier. Unfortunately these are just the two, if we may say so, and if Y.E. may not know everything about them, who are the two greatest rascals ever sent by Y.E. or his predecessors thither. It is also clear/^{to all of us,} from reports, that H.H. has never used any of the Messieurs for the trade of the Noble Comp. ... and we find it

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difficult to advise Y.E. to send thither an honest servant; but as it seems to be necessary to do that in case of death or desertion, we humbly advise Y.E. to send as many servants as may be required, but to insist that they should not let themselves be abused. If Mr. Hertogh's pride had not come before his fall, and if he had not said that he did not want to have anything to do with Y.E. and would send his petitions straight to the Netherlands, Y.E. could have tried to find out if he really needed two black masons and two black carpenters ... next time he may ask for a tailor ...

22nd August 1732: wrote to Oppercommies Overbeeke at Axim: ... as we see that Y.H. is of the opinion that the Company should effectively establish a lodge at Appa, we would be ready to agree with Y.H., if the following reasons were not preventing us from such agreement: firstly, Oppercommies Hertogh has now for a considerable time been buying male slaves for prices up to 6 oz, and female slaves up to 4 oz., without having received the least permission thereto, a matter about which we have written to the Hon. Directors. Secondly, from a letter from the Chamber Amsterdam, of 23rd March, it appears that on the average the slaves are sold in America for not more than fl 230.-, ergo fl 10.- (coastal value) less than Mr. Hertogh spends on them, without even declaring the extra costs. Thirdly, Mr. Hertogh sells nothing but very expensive merchandise; Fourthly, slaves can be bought here on the Gold Coast for prices more than $\frac{1}{4}$ lower, and fifthly, the repairs on his lodge at Jaquin alone have cost not less than 21 Mk 5 oz., and we would like to know what would be the cost of building a new lodge. Concerning the servants Mr. Hertogh asks for, Y.H. thinks that they should be sent; upon this it should be remarked, that it is somewhat surprising that according to reports he, Oppercommies, his overseer and a large number of his black servants have managed to escape, whilst the whitemen who were under him did not have that opportunity, and that apparently he seems not to be concerned about the latter in the least, on the contrary he requests immediately for new ones. Moreover, sending such servants to the King of Dahomme seems to us somewhat dangerous ...

13th November 1732: received a letter from the Hon Agents at Cape Coast, which had been sent to them by one of their servants at Fida, one Edward Deane. (original transcript in English) "... I was a while ago at Ardrah, where I had the mortification of seeing severall of Your People in confinement. The Dahomme's Treatment off them is such that has obliged them to use all manner of means for recovering their Liberty. They applyd to me to help them in these necessitys, but when I had done my Utmost, I was ~~pre~~emptorily refused their being Released. The truth is, the King has done what he is sorry for & hopes to hitt (=?, sic) you to settle people in Jacquin again by keeping those he has with him.

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Pinto, the Portuguese at Jackin, has by promising the King to prevail on You too do it gott the King to promise him their enlargement in little time. But to be sure, this is not before the King sees some hopes off the performance off this promise. Mr. Hartogh does all he possibly can & they shall not want any relief that's in my power to give them, but in case Your Honours should not care to settle at Jackin as the King has desired, there is but one Way ... if Y.Hs. would send one of Your Ships to slave and pay Customes here or at Jackin, I dare say iff propper applications were made, the King would much rather sett Your People att Libertey than disoblige You at this Juncture ..."

17th November 1732: Received from Elet a letter, dd. Accra 12th October: "... I humbly report to Y.E. that at the arrival of the Akimse makelaer here the Commanders of all three fortresses, I as well as the Danish and the English, have given a considerable present, trying in this way to attract them to trade. The one who spends most can expect the best trade, and I therefore request Y.E. to provide me with some presents for that purpose, and also to give me permission to buy each box of salt for 4 Angels, as this could be done with great profit to the Noble Comp., because although its quality is poor, it is sold at very high prices, and if the Comp. were not to buy more salt, its stocks might easily finish ...

24th November 1732: from Ondercommies Amelius, Boutry: ... that the English Merchants at Dixcove had told the Negroes of Boeswa that they should stop hoisting the Dutch flag in their village, and that if they continued to do so, that they would come themselves to lower it ... English captains passing mentioned Crom have in fact several times hoisted their flag there, but it has always been pulled down again by the Negroes ...

5th December 1732: received a bundle of letters from Oppercommies Hertogh, among them one written by Ondercommies Wm. Carstares, dd. Ardrah, 7th August 1732, addressed to him, Hertogh; ... Doubtlessly Y.H. must have learnt from Mr. Hoffmeister that the King has released him and allowed him to go (with) de Pinto to Jaquin, on the request of the same de Pinto, and I could also have been released if I had followed the same method, that is, begging de Pinto for it. But I preferred to remain a prisoner rather than to address myself to the one who is Y.H.'s sworn enemy, because Y.H. must very well understand, that if one wants to please de Pinto, onehas to damn Y.H. to his downfall, which has never been my intention, although others, who are as much obliged to Y.H., have done that. From the enclosed attestation Y.H. can see my sincerity. I hope to achieve my release through the intervention of the English Governor, who does indeed his utter best thereto, not only for me, but also for Y.H.'s other people here. The Portuguese and the French are here in order to make a palaver with the English Governor, but it will

be of no avail to them; they say that he is following Y.H.'s footsteps, and that he has the intention of ruining the country.

and another one, from C.T.Hoffmeister, dd. Jaquin 1st August 1732, also addressed to Mr. Hertogh; ... Fortune has been good to me, because Director de Pinto has requested the King of Dahomme, or rather the Robber and Murderer, to release me, which indeed he has allowed, but one the condition that I would go to Jaquin and write from there to Y.H. that I or any other Dutchman may establish the trade there, and that in that case he would be willing (if an express request were to be sent to him, Dahomme (sic), by H.E. the D.-G.) to release our three remaining friends, viz. Ondercommies Carstares and the Assistants Chevallier and Kleyne Jan (Little John), whom I had to leave in Ardra in a desolate condition. The blacksmith and the mason died there miserably; but as I presented to Anthonio de Pinto that I could not do such a thing without Y.H.'s permission or write about it to H.E., but that on the other hand the D.-G. always agrees with all that Y.H. may find good to do, he (de Pinto) has agreed to let me send this letter to you in secret, and I therefore request Y.H. humbly to commission him to sollicit also the release of the other three from him, and to let him this time really show that he has all sorts of respect and friendship for Y.H. (who has always proved his friendship to him), nay, offering that he will do anything Y.H. may request from him, even though Y.H. may be persuaded that he is a different kind of person. As for the war, he took God as his witness that it had not been his fault, that he may perhaps have the name (of having caused it) but that others had really done it, and he promised that one day he would tell Y.H. which whiteman is really guilty of this war; that Y.H. should consider that his lodge too was ruined and that consequently he was owing a great number of slaves to the King Dahomme, and that he, and other Portuguese captains who were at that time on shore, had lost enough, ... and that he wished that Y.H. may be in good health.

... I shall now try to give an account of what I know; on the day that there were rumours of the war, I left, on Y.H. orders, the lodge at about 11 AM on horse-back, in order to make a recognition of the position of the enemy. I rode for about half an hour in the direction of the enemy, but not being able to perceive anything but a big cloud of dust and the sound of Negroes' drums -which compelled me to let go the Negro Lussa, who was with me, because he was afraid- I went on for another half hour, in full gallop, and could then see a few standards, but because of the great dust-cloud I could not see whether it was a big army or not. I therefore decided to advance yet a little more with my horse, but at that moment a party of Negroes armed with muskets came towards me. I turned therefore, and gave the spurs to my horse; they sent some shot after me, but they did not shoot with ball. When I was near the Crom, I saw Accra with some Negroes, and I asked them where Y.H. was, and they told me that I better go to the beach to look for you. But as my horse was completely worn out, I went to the

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Lodge in order to take another horse; but arriving there I did not find any, not even any Negro, but only Carstaris, Chevallier and two tradesmen, as well as Little John. I therefore told them to lock the front and back doors, because the enemy was close-by, and then I went out with the horse in order to look for Y.H., but when I had reached the Great Tree, I was suddenly surrounded by the enemy. I was made a captive and I had to spend the night, with my horse, under the naked sky, sleeping on the ground, and without getting anything to eat or to drink. The following morning I went through the camp, and I found that there were, apart from the wives and children, not even 4,000 men. I saw that Panny and his Bomba, the carpenter and Locke, the Midget, had also been panyarist and proceeding my recognition tour of the camp, I discovered de Pinto with seven Portuguese, the English Merchant Moor with his overseer and a seaman, as well as La Pierre with three men of his Nation, and finally Carstaris, Chevallier, Jan and the two tradesmen, who were with General Agau, who was at that time engaged in a long conversation with de Pinto; afterwards de Pinto went to his lodge. But the other seven Portuguese, the English, the French and the Dutch were compelled the same day to march without food and drink, and in the greatest heat through all sorts of obstacles, like rivers, to Ardra, and once arrived there appear before the King. He treated us to some Bittau (pito) and Liquor, and asked for Y.H., assuring us that Y.H. alone was the cause of the war, for having sent presents to Caboceer Amoe in order to convince him to make war on him, King. After this we were brought to the English Second man of Fida who had stayed for more than three months with the King of Dahomme, and who had traded with muskets, powder and cowries. The three Frenchmen were lodged separately, but we Dutchmen and the seven Portuguese were put in the hut of Caboceer Tammingan. Three days later the English Governor came, upon which his Second left immediately, as well as de Pinto, the French Second of Fida, as well as a special envoy of Director Bazil. We asked the English Governor to speak for us, requesting our release, but although all the others were released, we had to stay, in spite of his and de Pinto's requests. ... It was with the greatest joy that we received Y.H.'s letter, and I gave to the English Governor an account, written in German, on the war, signed by me and Carstaris, but the English Governor says that it got lost. We asked him to let for God's sake a letter written by us be transmitted to Y.H., but he did not want to do that, and he has also kept three letters which we wrote to the General. Please, ask de Pinto to let me go to Appa, or persuade him at least that they let me go to Appa and return, so that I may have the occasion to discuss matters with Y.H., and act in accordance with Y.H.'s desires and views, because I know that the King feels embarrassed with our palaver, and I am convinced that he will admit a Dutchman at Fida, in order to trade there, although it will certainly not be the desire of the English Governor. I have seen our lodge here, and found that it could still be recognised as such

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and within two months it could be brought into its former state. The merchandise have all fallen into the King's hands, including even the flag, and I could them see being carried off by the Dahommese every day. At present I am poor and miserable, but I would spend my last drop of blood in Y.H.'s service in order to take revenge for this war. "Thin John is now the master of the kitchen" (Dutch proverb) and there are neither cowries, nor brandy, but I must say that Mr. de Pinto is not in any way better off. I do not doubt that Y.H. will show his in-born nobility and famous humanity to my poor and miserable friends, and remain my esteemed patron ...

15th December 1732: Received from Commies Gawron, Apam, a letter dd. 12th December: ... To-day arrived from Accra some slaves, among them a Fantynse Negro who used for a long time to come to trade at this fort, and who actually still owes me a benda, but who, as he says, was panyarred by the AccraseNegroes without any valuable reason, and sold to Opperrcommies Elet. But as this Negro has many friends in Fantyn, in particular at Adja, and also is a boy of the Caboccer Kusie Adoc, it is to be feared that if this Negro were to be sent away from this Coast as a slave, this may have very serious consequences. I therefore have taken the liberty, on the urgent request of some of Adoc's (?) Negroes, as he is not here himself, to take some of these Negroes here in safe-guard in the fort ... Two days ago the Akimse have put into effect their intentions concerning the Aquamboese, and made again war on them, clearing this state of Aquamboese and Fantynse, burning en passant the beach-croms near Bercoe which are subject to Caboccer Kussi Adoc, dragging out the Negroes who were there, and taking them with them, which, we hope, may be to the great benefit of the Trade at Accra (sic!) I also received a report from Accra, that some (or even a great number of) Aquamboese and Fetoe Bercoeese have had to retire before the Akimse, and that they were there received by our Commander, with the help of the Natives, and taken into custody in our fortress

16th December 1732: Wrote to Gawron: ... I am surprised that Y.H. took on Y.H.'s own authority such actions concerning somebody else's slaves, the more as the one about Y.H. wrote in particular as a great crook and good-for-nothing. I therefore order you to send that man, as well as the others, without delay hither, and assure you that any trouble which may develop out of this will be imputed to you ...

25th December 1732: Received a letter from Elet, Accra, dd 22nd Dec.: ... On my arrival here I found matters in such confusion, that the Comp.'s authority can no longer be maintained by me, being only inferior in rank. Time does not allow me just to correspond with Y.E. about these matters, and the more as the neighbouring forts are now occupied by Directors, as the Hon. English Agent has come here, and -as usual- the Danish Governorstays in his Castle, and these gentlemen can act according to their own views, the presence of Y.E.'s person is urgently

required here, in order to settle the now long-lasting differends among the surrounding Natives and to negotiate with the Akimse for a treaty. Some extraordinary presents will be required, such as beautifully braided cloths and dito hats, big chairs encrusted with silver &c., with which the Danish Governor has already advanced us, and which has had the effect that the hatred which the Akimse fostered against them has virtually disappeared ...

PS: Kindly excuse me for not sending an invoice with the 50 boxes of salt which go hereby, because most of my servants are sick, and to-day there is an infinite number of Akimse in the Crom. The carpenter who was captured at Tomma arrived, thank God, safely in this fortress. Tomorrow the brother of the King of Akim will come here. His name is Oers Akim.

WIC 126; Minutes of Elmina Council;

15th October 1732; From the correspondence between D.-G. and Ondercommies Van Essen, who is at present in command of the Noble Comp.'s lodge in the Benyn, it appears that the King there is no longer acting in the least in accordance with the articles of the Treaty the Comp. made with him on 26th August 1715 ... and now trades with whom ever he likes, Portuguese, English and others, no longer wanting to have any goods to speak of from the Noble Comp. Nay, apart from the frequent complaints we receive about him from various merchants, we are also informed that his subjects steal from the Comp.'s lodge, and that our servants have to suffer all sorts of injustice, without being able to find redress of their grievances, such as about the protection they offer to the Comp.'s run-away slaves ...

Returns from the Benyn are small: last year not more than about 10,000 lbs of ivory and crevöll were bought there, and in view of the multiple interlopers who frequent that area, it is not likely that the situation will become any better. For these reasons D.-G. suggested that mentioned lodge could be abandoned, and to bring the King to reason in some other way, without risking the safety of the servants, and on the other hand to station one of the Comp.'s servants in the mouth of the river, in order to prevent Portuguese ships coming from Ilha de Principe and St. Thomé from trading there. After deliberation it was resolved to send more merchandise to the Benyn, considering that ivory is at the moment traded nowhere else but in the Benyn ... and that satisfaction should be demanded from the King about the injuries his subjects have done to the servants of our Comp., ... and furthermore that according to the Contract of 1715 the Noble Comp. was never obliged to buy there any gum or red-wood, and also that the Comp. would not send more than one ship per year thither. If Ondercommies were not able to convince the King to agree with this, he will be allowed to abandon the lodge.

19th December 1732; D.-G. showed an attestation by the Quitase Natives on Assistant Hoeth and the original of a contract made by Ondercommiesen From and Camper with mentioned Natives ... it was offered for deliberation whether mentioned Assistant should be prosecuted in connection with the

(WIC 126 cont.)

accusation of malversation made in mentioned attestation ... and whether another lodge should be built at Quita. It was resolved not yet to prosecute mentioned Assistant, and also to wait with the construction of a new lodge at Quita in view of the daily rumours about continuous wars in the entire area of the Lower Coast. It is even said that Aquamboese poachers have entirely spoilt the Dutch lodge of Oppercornies Elet at Temma, and chased the whites away from it, and also that some Akimse Negroes have robbed and killed quite recently all the inhabitants of a village called Injan, situated between our fort at Bercoe and Accra (i.e. Nyinyanu). It was therefore not considered advisable to build mentioned lodge, and to expose the Comp.'s goods to such dangers ...

31st January 1733; D.-G. read out two letters written from Jaquin and Ardra on 1st and 9th September 1732 by Ondercornies Carstaris and Assistants Hoffmeester and Chevallier, in which they complained about their 5 months' captivity, asking if they could not be released from it by a special envoy to be sent to the King of Dahomme ... Oppercornies Elet offered his services thereto ...

WIC 128; Minutes of Elmina Council

30th June 1733: D.-G. showed the original journal of Jaquin and Appa affairs written by Oppercornies Elet and a letter by Assistant Jan de Heere written to said Oppercornies from Jaquin on 9th May ... from which H.H. concluded that said Oppercornies has been able to arrange matters with the Dahomme King in such a manner that the latter promised that there would be again trade at Jaquin as before the retirement of the former Governor Hertogh, and that for that purpose a roomy lodge would also be built for the Noble Comp.'s servants on said King's own cost, and that a start had also been made with it, as said King desires nothing so much as the promotion of Trade ... For that purpose the King had forced Oppercornies Elet to leave a servant at Jaquin, adding the following emphatic words: "If I let all of you leave my country together, none of you may come back, and in that way the lodge which I have built on my own cost would be for nothing". He had added to that certain expressions making clear that he, King of Dahomme, would become raging mad if no ships came there to trade ... which should be seen as an exhortation to send as soon as possible some vessels thither. The counter-argument was however proposed that not only Oppercornies Hertogh had openly declared to Oppercornies Elet that if the General were to re-open a lodge at Jaquin, he would in that case certainly leave the service of the Company, but also had written clear and nearly menacing letters to the Hon. General, confirming e.g. on 13th April 1733 "that he would rather be dismissed from the Noble Comp.'s service than have to treat such a Barbarian as his Friend", a matter which was doubly considered by the Hon. Members of the Council, in connection with a letter from the Assembly of X received on the same issue; firstly it was taken into consideration if indeed it would not be better to break the contract with the King of Dahomme concerning Jaquin.

(WIC 128 cont.)

in order to satisfy a servant such as Oppercommies Hertogh who clearly had so fully satisfied the Hon. Directors, and only rely on Appa, and thus not deprive the Noble Comp. of the services of this gentleman, who, as mentioned, would request his resignation. Another matter for discussion was what should be done about the despatching of slave ships to the Lower Coast, if the Comp. were to maintain its position at Jaquin, as there was at the moment only one ships available, although two other ships are being expectdd back soon, but then Members were uncertain about to whom to give priority: to the King of Dahomme or Oppercommies Hertogh, at the arrival of the next expected ship, the "Duynvliet", because the one seems to long for it as much as the other.

These various points having been taken into consideration, T.Hs. judged that it would be by no means beneficial to the Comp. to reject such an advantageous offer as made by the King of Dahomme just because of one single servant, the more as firstly it is clear from all the circumstances that mentioned Oppercommies is the main cause of all the troubles which have arisen, and that he therefore speaks with passion against the Dahommese without however being able to prove anything, and without also suggesting any means by which the Noble Comp. could get satisfaction for such apparent injustices; secondly the Dahommese had sworn great oaths never to leave Hertogh un-prosecuted and un-molested after the great offences he had committed against them, whenever he may be within their reach, and this is also confirmed by the fact that on 9th May 3,000 Dahommese had quartered on the beach, in order to attack Hertogh as soon as the main-body of the army would arrive, as was written by Assistant de Heere, so that one may only expect that sooner or later Appa will be ruined and Hertogh chased away; and thirdly, even if Hertogh managed to maintain himself at Appa (as he sustains he will) nothing could afterall be better for the Comp. than to have two tradeposts in stead of one for the continuation of the slave trade, this the more as it seems that the trade at Appa would not in the least be harmed by maintaining a post at Jaquin.

It was therefore resolved not to give any reasons for complaints to either the King of Dahomme or to Oppercommies Hertogh, and to despatch the "Duynvliet" to the latter with the following cargasoen (follows list: mainly cloth of various kinds, 25,500 lbs cowries, some brandy, 5,000 lbs gunpowder, but no firearms of any kind), and the "Beschutter" for the pleasure of the King of Dahomme, in order to bring a slave-cargasoen for the new lodge at Jaquin. Members were of the opinion that for the purchase of slaves at Jaquin and for further arrangements there a person of a certain rank and experience should be sent thither ... and it was unanimously decided to select Oppercommies Elet for this, who should embark as soon as possible on the "Beschutter", with Carstaris and Chevallier. It was also agreed to order the captain of the "Duynvliet" to inform Oppercommies Elet immediately if he found that Appa was blockaded (as reports claim) or Oppercommies Hertogh has been chased away and the trade at Appa is rendered impossible. It was also agreed to send Assistant F.J.Hendriksz to Appa on board of that vessel. D.-G. furthermore demonstrated that

there was a serious shortage of craftsman-slaves on the Gold Coast, and proposed to buy 200 Ps., ad 3 oz for the men and 2 for the women ... and showed a specified list of expenses to the amount of 24 Mk 14 Angels made by Oppercommies Jac. Elet in connection with his recent voyage to Jaquin and the re-establishment of trade there ...

10th July 1733; ... In accordance with earlier Resolution that an inquest should be made into the reasons why the slaves recently transferred from the "Rusthoff" into the "Beekesteyn" were so miserably thin and emaciated, three chief-surgeons were ordered to go on board of mentioned ships in order to inquire about the treatment meted out by the Chief-surgeon to his patients. From their declaration it appears that mentioned Chief-surgeon executed his task in an irresponsible manner, and that he maltreated his patients in a perfidious (sic) manner ... that the slaves' poor condition was not the result of the non-distribution of victuals, but that it could be entirely ascribed to the igrance and negligence of said surgeon. It was therefore resolved to dismiss the Chief-surgeon of the "Rusthoff" from his office and to repatriate him immediately without pay ...

Oppercommies Elet demonstrated furthermore that there are at the moment growing disputes at Accra between the Aquamboese, the Toebrecoese and the Akkimse, which would cause the greatest harm to Comp'.s trade if they were not settled soon; that in fact there had been no trade at our fort for a long time, and that the English, giving continuously presents were drawing advantages from these troubles ... that he was waiting for the "Beschutter" to bring him to Jaquin ...

15th September 1733; ... D.-G. reported on his recent activities at Accra in connection with the disputes between the Aquamboese, Toebrecoese and Akimse, which were terminated in such a manner by H.E. that the Aquamboese, Acrase and Toebrecoese had taken a solemn oath of frienship with the WIC, so that it may be expected that Trade will soon revive and flourish there again ...

WIC 138; Hertogh Correspondence;

Franger to Hertogh, 17th February 1733. ... This letter goes with Oppercommies Elet and Capt. Lindenberg of the "Beschutter", whom we have commissioned and authorised firstly to rescue the captive Whites from the Dahommese King, secondly to restore the interrupted trade at Jaquin, if possible, and thirdly to demand from Y.H. a neat and clear account on the causes of Y.H.'s retirement to Appa and indications on how to bring Trade as soon as possible into a condition of prosperity ...

Hertogh (Appa) to Pranger, 24th March 1733; ... I spoke in the presence of Capt. Lindenberg with the Great Cabocier about the erection of a fortress on the beach on behalf of the Noble Comp., for which I received premission from the King a long time ago. I had not been able to tell Y.E. about this, as I did not have the occasion to do so, but I did mention

(WIC 138 cont.)

it to the Hon. Directors of Chamber Amsterdam in a letter which I sent with the ship "Leusden". All that is now needed is their approval to order such to Y.E. I am now expecting Mr. Elet in order to chose a suitable place on the beach. I may further request Y.E. to send me some rock-stones ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 20th May 1733. We can provide you with some rock-stones, but with nothing else, because we ourselves don't have any wood, chalk, bricks, cement &c. and aren't even able to repair properly the forts here. At any rate, Y.H. will have to wait for the approval of the Hon. Directors. We received from Mr. Viceroy of Brazil (sic) a letter in which he complains bitterly -and also demands immediate satisfaction- about 474 rolls of tobacco which Capt. Vlugt took, on Y.H.'s order, with violence from a Bahia ship. As it is not unlikely that H.M. of Portugal will not allow such violence to pass without comment, we shall be compelled to inform the Hon. Directors about this.

Pranger to Hertogh, 11th July 1733. ... Messrs Carstares, Hoffmeester and Chevallier, who have now been released, have demanded us for compensation of the losses they suffered as a result of the ruining of the Lodge at Jaquin by the Dahommese. As they were exposed to that misfortune on Y.H.'s expressed order (as also clearly appears from Y.H.'s letter of 26th Sept.) ... we did not think it reasonable to pay this indemnity out of the Comp.'s account, but rather to present the bill directly to Y.H. or the Directors. In view of the fact also that for nearly a year now Y.H.'s balance of trade shows a deficit we have reflected on the displeasure Y.H. shows with our intention of establishing friendship with the King of Dahomme and to re-establish a tradepost at Jaquin, Y.H. maintaining that Y.H. would rather be dismissed from the service with the Noble Comp. than having to treat such a "Barbarian" as a friend, without having received proper satisfaction, and we can't really see from what may sprout Y.H.'s displeasure about our negotiations with Dahomme, as the trade à Costy can by no means be harmed by it, and the Comp. could only profit from having two rather than one tradepost in that area. It is also better in the sense that if somebody happens to die, the trade does not come to a standstill. Or is Y.H. perhaps afraid that the King of Dahomme, by trading with us is becoming so rich that he may be better prepared to make war on Y.H.? We do advise Y.H. to take into proper consideration that even if we were to cut off our entire trade and all connections with him, King, he will still be provided with anything he may desire by the Portuguese, English and French who trade a lot with him, in particular in offensive weapons. On the other hand, from Y.H.'s last letter to Mr. Elet it seems that the King of D. has not the least intention of attacking Y.H. in Appa. Furthermore we may add that we find it somewhat arrogant of Y.H. that Y.H. presumes that we can't do without him. Y.H. wants "satisfaction" from the King of Dahomme, but Y.H. has not yet been able to explain in what form. ... We would have sent the rock-stones for which Y.E. asked, if we had not received a letter

(WIC 138 cont.)

(originally written) by Assistant Jan de Heere from Jaquin on 9th May to Mr. Elett, by which we are informed that at the time of writing 3,000 Dahommese were already waiting on the beach à Costy for the rest of the army, ready to attack Y.H. during the next new moon. On the other hand, from Y.H.'s boy Amousje we understand that Y.H. would be prepared to live in peace with Dahomme, and we ordered Mr. Elet (who will return to Jaquin a few days from now) to give all help towards such appeasement.

Concerning the 474 rolls of tobacco, the Portuguese Director at Jaquin, Antonio Pinto Carneyo sent the following communication: "This is to inform Y.E. that Mr. Hertogh has ordered the robbery of a Portuguese ship, breaking the hatches and stealing 474 rolls of tobacco, when its captain was engaged in the purchase of Good Portuguese Slaves for 2 rolls of tobacco each, saying that I would have caused the war and the capture of Jaquin. Having heard later that the King of Dahomme had told to all Nations which were represented there that his army had gone to Jaquin because mentioned Hertogh had united with the King of Jaquin and had summoned not less than 4 times an army in order to kill him, he started to spread the rumour that I and the Director of (sic) Fida were his (=?) debtors, which is untrue, and which mentioned gentleman could by no means prove. In the 6 months that he has now been at Appa three Negroes have been caught -on three different occasions- in the middle of the night, who admitted to have been sent by Mr. Hertogh in order to throw fire into this factory of the King my Master. If Y.E. does not punish this evil doing Gentleman, we cannot but believe that the Dutch Company has given orders to destroy on this Coast -may God save us- the subjects of H.M., both on land and on the seas, and we protest strongly to the Dutch Company about all the disasters which may befall this Factory ..."

We have also ordered the Captain (of the Duynvliet) that if he does not see an opportunity to disembark the goods destined to Y.H. because of a blockade by the Dahommese or for other reasons, that he should leave them in the care of Mr. Elet at Jaquin. ... Oppercommies Elet has had to spend 24 Mk 14 Ang. for the re-establishment of affairs at Jaquin which got dis-organised as a result of Y.H.'s actions, and this amount will have to be paid by Y.H., not by the Comp.

Hertogh to Pranger, 15th August 1733. ... Concerning the release of Messrs Hoffmeister, Carstaris and Chevallier, Y.E. must remember that I wrote earlier to Y.E. a request for some Messieurs in order to get those gentlemen released, but (to the contrary) Y.E. sent Mr. Elet. I may say that I could have arranged the same at much less expense ... Concerning the Accounts, Y.E. must understand that nobody could possibly give exact details from papers which have either been stolen or burnt; but Carstaris must have made copies, which must have been sent ad patriam per "Stad & Lande". Concerning the decision to negotiate with Dahomme

(WIC 138 cont.)

about the re-establishment of the tradepost at Jaquin, Y.E. will in due time discover ^{that} that/will not be to the benefit, but to the harm of the Hon. Directors. Y.E. may truly be assured that in comparison with this Appa, to which trade from deep in the interior is being directed, Jaquin is absolutely nothing. Look at the Dutch interloper Pieter Govertzen: is **it** not clear that Assistant de Heere bought from him at Jaquin a quantity of gunpowder in order to pay for slaves with it and that he was not able to supply them after having delayed him there for over 45 days, so that he had to return the powder? And what would be the advantage of maintaining two tradeposts (on the Slave Coast)? Is n't it true that Y.E. **was** even never able to send me sufficient goods to continue my trade at Jaquin? And really, if "some misfortune" were to befall me, I really do not need the assistance of any successor at Jaquin or elsewhere to protect the Noble Comp.'s merchandise, because Y.E. has always been careful enough not to trust me with any goods of the Company, and consequently I have nothing but my own goods here, and I am by no means indebted to the Noble Comp. From the passage in which Y.E. states that Dahomme is strengthened against me it appears clearly what maltreatment Mr. Elet is meting out to me. This gentleman falsely reported to Y.E. that I would ask for my resignation in order to threaten Y.E., whilst in reality I would do such a thing because it would be to the disadvantage of the Hon. Directors to maintain a factor who is consistently deprived of merchandise. It should be quite clear what satisfaction Dahomme is to give: because there is no doubt that it has robbed me, and also the Noble Comp. of our effects in a very evil manner and without the least reason, something Y.E. can't be unaware of. I am surprised and indignant that Y.E. does not want to send me the required rock-stones on account of the fact that de Heere has dared to tell such completely unfounded lies: I would not know of any unrest, even less war in this area, and I know fully well that Dahomme has not least chance to come close to this place; this was also seen by Mr. Elet personally. I did not know that Y.E. had learnt from my boy Amousie that I would be inclined to make peace with Dahomme. In fact that boy was not sent to Elmina by me, but only on board of the ship which brought a letter from Mr. Elet. But this gentleman has had the politeness to compell said Negro to stay on board, in order to have him at Jaquin. But that clever plan failed, because Amousie decided to return to me, via Elmina ... I need by no means Mr. Elet's help for an "appeasement", and I can carry on with a quite profitable trade without that. Concerning the Portuguese accusations, I shall be quite willing to answer for them when the time is ripe for it, but I must add that it is rather easy to speak evil about somebody behind his back, and I wish he would have the courage to say such things in my face; I know for instance nothing about his reasons for saying that I would intend to set his factory afire. I do not see what reasons Y.E. may have not to send any maintenance allowance to me or my Messieurs for over a year, whilst I understand that Mr.

(WIC 138 cont.)

Elet, once he had arrived at Jaquin, was liberally supplied with everything he might need, such as canoes, rowers &c. I wish one day an official letter were sent to me stating that factors are to maintain canoes and rowers for their own account, as I have always done, or not, and also whether this Lodge, and its maintenance, will be for the account of the Hon. Directors ad patriam (sic) or of myself. The "Duynvliet" arrived here on 27th July, bringing also Assistant F.J.Hendriksz, and it has so far got on board 197 heads of slaves. It could have its slaves sooner on board, and its merchandise could be sooner ashore, if its boats had not been so small. Myself I don't have more than just one canoe here, and if I don't have more than that, the dispatch of ships will always be delayed. I therefore request some more small boats, but as big as possible. From the above Y.E. may understand, that it will be completely unnecessary to tell captains that they may address themselves to Mr. Elet on account of that false lie according to which I would be under blockade here, and I hope that the unbridled tongue of Mr. Elet is getting tired of its continuous slandering. I do not understand what reasons may have moved Y.E. to demand from me the payment of 24 Mk 14 Ang. of gold, which Mr. Elet has spent for his own benefit. Mr. Elet should not think that he may treat me as a child or as one of his subjects. ... Finally, I would like to request Y.E. to send me 7-9-rowers' canoes and 3 reems of paper, because otherwise I shall be compelled to continue the correspondence with Y.E. and the Hon. Directors on cartridge paper, which, for reasons of due respect, I would not like to do ...

Hertogh to Pranger, 9th October 1733. ... I hope that Y.E. may soon send another vessel, I hope this time a bigger one than the "Duynvliet", as I find myself in a position to supply in a very short time an arnasoen of 7-800 slaves, slaves being by no means scarce here. The "Duynvliet" was dispatched on 21st September with 360 heads. I took Third Guardsman Schutler of the "Duynvliet" here into my service as assistant, and also the cook of Capt. Lindeberg. The female slaves are invariably bought for 3½ oz. here, but this is because no other women than young ones with firm breasts are sold here, and these are naturally more expensive than the old ones. Rowers of Mr. Elet come from time to time to bring several ankers of brandy for my Big Boys (sic) with which he tries to attract them so that they may leave me, but this will never happen. But I am really getting sick of all those subversive activities of that gentleman, such as the many little letters he continues to write to my Messieurs asking them to come as soon as possible to Jaquin, which letters are pushed under their doors by night ...

NBKG 99; Elmina Journal;

12th February 1733. Wrote a circular letter to the Leeward Factories, that to our great displeasure we experience daily that some Elminase and other Negroes do not scruple to go in their canoes to Accra to take salt

(NBKG 99 cont.)

in order to sell it here and elsewhere, to the great prejudice of the Noble Comp., and we therefore issued a warning that the greatest vigilance should be applied and that such canoes if they are found in various bays or under various forts should be immediately arrested.

29th April 1733. Received from Elet, just arrived on the landsboot from Jaquin, a letter as follows: This is to inform Y.B. briefly that I went (in spite of a letter from Mr. Hertogh urging me not to go ashore at Jaquin) in the company of Assistant Jan de Heere and Ondercommies Hoffmester ashore at Jaquin, where I was received very politely by the Dahommees and having stayed for two days in the Portuguese lodge we went overland to the King of Dahomme, and I managed to get the other two Messieurs released by him. As they did not have any clothes, they urgently requested me to be allowed to go to Accra first and return with the boat ...

Diary Elet (reprinted in an article by A. Telting: Een Bezoek bij den Koning van Dahomé in: "De Indische Gids, Batavia, 1893")

... On Monday 23rd (March 1733) we left that evil place called Gaga by about 7 AM and by 8 we reached the residence of the King of Dahomme, called Bossibounu; we had to wait outside the Crom, but we saw the Dutch Prince's Flag fluttering on top of the palace. After about an hour we saw the King's bodyguard, 12 men strong, marching out. Across their shoulders they had strings of teeth, being those of Negroes who had been killed in war, and each Negro had at least 6,000 of those teeth (and one must know that of each Negro killed in war one such tooth is being used in that manner). After these, two of the greatest Caboceers came with a band of 300 armed Negroes, marching under the Portuguese and the Dutch Prince's flags. But our flag was carried ahead of the Portuguese, and when it had come near to us, I ordered the two trumpeters who were with me to blow a march, and when the Kings Guard and these troops had marched three times in a circle around us, saluting the standards and presenting their guns, each of the Negroes came to shake hands with us, and the two Caboceers came to compliment me in the name of the King. They presented to me and my company a glass of brandy each and to each of us a bottle from a kelder (crate?). After the performance of this ceremony they accompanied me to the King's palace under a lot of musket-fire. After half an hour's wait there, the Duke or First and Supreme Caboceer, called Taminga, as well as the King's First and Supreme Councillor, came to receive me very politely in the King's name, and brought me up to the gate of the King's palace. We saw that these, as well as other Caboceers, went to the King's Chamber creeping, and after having kissed the earth three times they announced us. Then they came back and they really demanded that we give up our swords, before they brought us with the same ceremony into the King's Chamber. There the King of Dahomme received us politely; He was clad in a European red velvet dress-coat embroidered with golden galloons, was wearing the most beautiful shoes and a white cap on his head. He is a rather fat but well-bearing person of average height, but

terrible in nature and appearance. He was standing when we came in, and shook hands with each of us; he then asked me if the Dutch Admiral and his Grandees were still healthy and if the whitemen's country was well, upon which I answered him that everything in our country was well and that the Admiral and his Grandees sent their greetings. Then the King requested me and my company to be seated on the chairs which were arranged for that purpose. I saw a Negress keeping a silken umbrella above the King's chair, behind which two others were standing with muskets; in front of the chair a number of them was sitting, well clad, with fans, spittoons and other suchlike things to the service of the King. Soon some Bitauw was offered to us, which had a good taste and resembles our Dutch beer. When I had drunk to the health of His Black Majesty a salute of 21 guns was fired, and through his interpreter H.M. let me know that this was being done to the honour of me and our Nation, and also that he was very pleased that the Admiral had sent one of his Grandees. Asking me if I had seen his army marching to the war **on my way to him**, I replied no, as indeed I had not seen anything of the sort. The King then asked me if I had some canoes for sale, because, he said, he would like to have new canoes and new Dutchmen in his country. I answered H.M. that it would not be very difficult to supply him with canoes. After we had been sitting like that for about an hour, a table covered with a native cloth was brought in, and placed upon it were silver plates and about 20 dishes with food, as well as Dutch bread and some bottles of red wine. When we sat down for dinner, I asked the King for permission to let my two trumpeters make music with the violins. They were called in, but the King left us, after making a polite curtsy, and went to another room, from which he re-appeared in a black dress-coat, also richly embroidered with gold; after having listened for some time to our violins, he asked me to allow him to dance in his manner, and upon this His Black Majesty began to jump around in the strange manner of this land, and was soon joined by all his Grandees. After this royal opera the King absented himself again, and re-appeared this time in a long frock-coat of red velvet embroidered with silver galloons. When we had finished dinner, I asked the King if he had ever seen whitemen dancing, and as he replied no, I asked H.M. for permission, and danced with Jan de Heere a French menuet, and afterwards with Hoffmeester a Polish one, which seemed to please the King a lot. After this dancing new dishes with food were brought in, and the King insisted that we should eat again, as our stomachs must have become empty as a result of the dancing. The King gave a bottle of brandy to the trumpeters, as well as 3 cabes cowries. Then the King disappeared again, and returned clad like a Negro in a great silver-embroidered cloth; the King then let his Ladies at Court dance for me in the manner of the land, and although it was raining at that time, they had to continue dancing. The funniest thing of this opera was that there was an ugly hunchbacked Negro who had to continue to chase flies away with a fly-wisk, in the middle of this heavy rain, from the dancing Negresses. When I wanted to take leave, the

King gave me some bales of flour and salt, some pots of palm-oil, two cows, two sheep and a number of fowls, saying that by the time they had been consumed I should just let him know and that he would then let us have more. Thereupon we left and we were brought into lodgings elsewhere. In the evening I sent the King a present consisting of 8 kelders French brandy, 100 lbs coffee, 2 Ps. of damask and 2 dito/^{red}armozyne, and for the Caboceers, the King's body-guard and the interpreters 8 kelders of French brandy, 20 Ps. Coast-chintz and 30 great cabes cowries ...

The following day I had a conversation with the King, in which I assured him that the Admiral and his Grandees would carefully study the matter (between him and Hertogh), and would ask Hertogh, after their conclusions, to answer for himself, and furthermore that everything would be exactly briefed to the Noble Comp. in Holland, as we Dutchmen had not come to his country in order to make war through other black Powers in order to drive him, King, away as sovereign, but only in order to make the trade in his country flourish. This seemed to please H.M. greatly, of which he gave expression by clapping in his hands. The King then said that he promised to build a new lodge, as he did not want to miss the Dutch trade...

MBKG 99 (cont.)

10th July 1733. To-day the boat returned from Benyn with a letter from Assistant Van Essen, dd. Aggathon 3rd March 1733. ... I went, on Y.E.'s orders, immediately to Benyn in order to demand from the King satisfaction about the injuries we suffered from him. He replied that he would do his duty to satisfy the Comp. concerning the slaves of the Comp. who had fled as well as the repairs on T.Hs.' Lodge, so that we may in future be safe against all sorts of accidents resulting from war of theft; indeed, his people have already started repairing the store-houses, and the entire lodge is to be surrounded by palissades. I hope that within a month all the slaves of the Comp. who had fled will be brought back, as has been assured to me by the King and his Captain of War, as that Captain has got up in order to make war on that country where those slaves have fled to. Concerning gum and red-wood: that has not been offered for sale for more than 4 years now, but I hope that as a result of the force of the basins which have just arrived I shall soon be able to send a good return-freight of teeth and crevel. With this boat go:

233 elephants' teeth, weighing 6,886 lbs
 726 crevellen 4,289
 11,175 lbs ivory, 2,000 single cloths, and
 8 loose cloths ... (follows: required merchandise: mainly cloth, some beads, 4,000 lbs cowries, but no arms or ammunition)

6th December 1733. Received a letter from Oppercornies J.Elet, dd. "Logie Zelandia", Jaquin, 8th November 1733. ... Conditions here are rather difficult: there is too much rain, I have a blacksmith, but he is without coal, a carpenter without wood and a mason without chalk. I learnt also that Mr. Pinto has, during my absence, managed to please the King of Dahome with a present of great value, thus safeguarding the trade solely for

(NBKG 99 cont.)

himself on the River of the Island Zou (sic). As he admitted that I did not demand anything unreasonable from him, I went on my own account to that place, and sent to H.H. several presents, such as portraits, brandy, the beautiful Moorsish carpet and a hat. I also let him know that I had ready for him a standing clock, but that I had not been able to take it with me. He asked me why I had not send (them, it?) at my arrival in Dahome ... but he showed himself very pleased. I made this journey in 8 days, and I then sent Mr. Bronsema to the Island Zou in order to trade. No French ship dares any longer to go to Appa, but the Portuguesem who cannot trade here and at Fida to their full satisfaction, have sent there 2 ships which seem to do a reasonable good trade there. But I received bad reports on that place, and those who are here and at Fida are very discontent about it; they do nothing but incite the Dahomese against Appa, which, to my opinion is not necessary, as the King only seeks to get Hertogh himself in his hands. Pinto has become ill and Bazilio has come from Fida. The King of Dahome has honoured me more -according to the country's custom- than anybody else when I went to visit him again. He told me, among other things, that he had sent his people to Popo in order to pursue further the remaining people of Capt. Azoe. I said that I could only dissuade him from such enterprise, but that it was in fact none of my business, and that for the time being I was only interested in one thing, and that was plenty of slaves. He said that he would not leave me with a single piece of tradegoods, and that I should make a fortress, so that more of my people could come to help me in the trade, and that his enemies would not be enticed to invade the area. When he spoke of a fort, I asked him if he would allow me to put guns on it, and he answered: as many as I would like, and anywhere else in his country, such as at Appa, Fida and Popo. Laughing, I asked him if Appa was already within his power, but then he asked me seriously if "Isaw any work in it" (sic,=?). He told me that I could be assured that he would stay in Arda, and not go away from it, before Appa had fallen into his hands. On the 18th the King summoned all the principal whitemen, inviting them for dinner as well as the English servant Grien, who had come with the King from Dahome, where he had been several months for trade (negotiations?). When I saw him there, I asked him every day to come to eat with me, and I did some good words for him with Mr. Baziél, who was also trading there, and who showed himself quite friendly. On the day that Mr. Baziél and I left, he asked me to do a good word for him with Mr. Baziél, that he would not tell to Mr. Whitaker at Fida about his frequent drunkenness. As a result of a wrongly mailed letter, the rumour seems to have spread at Fida that I and Mr. Baziél are trying to drive all the other Nations away from there. I knew who had spread that rumour, and indeed, later Mr. Whitaker admitted to have said such a thing to the King. People from Jaquin have come here on several occasions, declaring that their King has always been innocent, but that it had all been the work of his disobedient brother and his subjects, whilst the King of Dahome would be happy to have Jaquin back in his

(NBKG 99 cont.)

country, and I was also commissioned by him to bring the King of Jaquin again freely here, something for which the last mentioned King had indeed requested me urgently (and as Y.E. may also see from Hertogh's letters). But it seems that that gentleman is doing what he can in order to prevent this and to frighten the Jaquinse. Now the Jaquinse come to thank me, but say that they dare not trust the King of Dahome, that they were fighting for their country, but that they did not know why Mr. Hertogh was "burrowing" so much; but the most barbaric rumours can be heard about him here ... Whilst I was the last time away in Ardra, the Jaquinse made their last attack, thinking that nobody would be here but the Portuguese and his makelaer or captain, whilst the supreme warrior of this place, Sockene, was also in Popo ... but as soon as Sockene had marched out a second commander, called Possoepo had come in his stead, and this the Jaquinse had not expected, and so they were killed or captured to the last man. At first the King, learning about this (battle), offered to me all the captives, but as soon as he discovered what cruel intentions they had had, and that there were so many of Mr. Hertogh's boys among them, he did not save one of them, and massacred all of them in our presence. The Portuguese, who watched all this, were quite sad about it, but I asked for 100 muskets from the King, which he lent at once to me, and of those I gave 39 to the rowers in order to watch over our goods on the beach, 40 to my boys and those of the Messieurs, and the remaining ones to the other whites and the slaves, because there were rumours that Hertogh has put a price on the heads of the whites, which was corroborated by the Portuguese at Fida and the scribe of Capt. Hoegel who had just been at Appa. That Y.E. has not called Hertogh in order to answer for his behaviour towards the Portuguese, and, on the contrary, goes to the extent of trusting him with more ships, makes me believe that Y.E. has no longer any say over him, or that Y.E. is being corrupted by him. Everybody is afraid about this being subjected to being a prize, and the Portuguese Director, de Pinto has fled with everything to Fida. But at the last moment I managed to stop him, telling him that he should not be so frightened, as there were people enough here, as since that time at least three times as many Dahomese have come to live here ...

Both my ondercommiesen are ill at the moment; I don't have any stones or coal, which are needed for the building of a proper lodge. When I came back, on 25th of last month, the canoe had returned from Appa, but without any other answer than that Hertogh demanded the heads of my canoe-Negroes, because they were serving here, and would only have come in order to spy; that they had been brought before the King there, but they had answered on his questions that they were in the service of the Comp., and that they had come for nothing else but for bringing a letter. Having then taken an oath according to the customs of the land, they had been released. I just learnt from five qualified officials, such as Possoepo, Aplugga and three councillors and ambassadors of the King, that I should write

to Hertogh that all his talk about war is false and without any grounds, because Jaquin, Ojome and Appa would not dare to show up before his might, and that now the time had come to make known to him (Hertogh) that the Dahommese were marching out against him.

On 28th of last month it was reported to me that Popo was defeated and that a King had been installed at Fida. At the same time I heard that de Pinto had died, and that all the Directors were in Ardra, and that I should also go there; but I excused myself, saying that I had too much writing to do, and that I would send Mr. de Heere.

P.S. After writing this, I am told that Mr. Hertogh had Capt. Blanque decapitated whilst he was drinking coffee with him at table ...

For the Lodge at Jaquin the following is required:

20 ps. cannon, 100 muskets and ball, coal for the blacksmith, chalk in order to make strong floors for the living-quarters, 100 Ps. camlet planks or otherwise Boutry wood in order to make doors and windows, bricks and tiles, as many as are available, 20 ps. 20 ft. rafters for the gate and for the staircase for the upper livingquarters, 24 ps. forest-axes, 1 caudron for the slaves, 1,000 lbs nails of various kinds (sic!) 6 ps. flagpoles, both for here and for the King of Dahomey, 24 flags, 1 chest with medicines for the whitemen and 1 pooras (=?) for the slaves &c.&c. ...

WIC 41; Secret Minutes of Ass. of X.;

Letters of D.-G. Jan Pranger and his Councillors, dd. 8th June 1733 and of Hendrick Hertog, dd. Appa, 21st March 1733 were examined.

It appears that on 21st May a Portuguese ship arrived at Elmina, and that its Captain transmitted to the D.G. a letter from the Viceroy of Brazil, containing complaints about mentioned Hertog, that he would have allowed Capt. Jan Vlugt to arrest ~~two~~ Portuguese ships in the port of Jaquin, although they were provided with proper Dutch passports, and that having released one of them, he had taken the other one to Appa, where, again on the orders of Mr. Hertog, 474 rolls of tobacco would have been taken from it ... that mentioned Viceroy demanded satisfaction for this. Upon this, D.-G. had written to the Viceroy that if the matter was indeed like that, mentioned Oppercommies would be compelled to give satisfaction about this matter, and return whatever losses were suffered. Secondly, as a result of this, mentioned D.-G. felt no longer justified in sending slave ships to Appa, fearing that the Portuguese warship which at that time was trading at Fida would intercept vessels of the Company, in order to take in that manner satisfaction. Furthermore, according to oral report from Oppercommies Elet, mentioned Hertog would be in a dangerous situation at Appa, as the Dahommese King would do all he could in order to ruin him, which he would not find difficult indeed. That therefore mentioned D.-G. had not thought it advisable to send the building materials required for the construction of a fortress, the more as he thought that trade there was not very advantageous to the Comp., and rather would be for the safeguard of the person of Hertog than for the benefit of the Comp.

(WIC 41 cont.)

Concerning the first point, the assembled Members could indeed not approve of Hertog's conduct, viz. his intercepting a Portuguese ship and his taking away of the rolls of tobacco, but they expressed their opinion that the D.-G. should also be told that this Assembly does not approve of his conduct, and that he, D.-G., before writing to the Viceroy should have properly examined the matter and written to Hertog about it, asking him how exactly this matter had occurred, something he could easily have done, because the distance between Elmina and Appa can't be all that great. At any rate, the D.-G. should never have put Opppercommies Hertog in the wrong, as he has done in his letter to the Viceroy, before having taken proper informations ... Secondly, his reasons for not sending any ships to Appa seem to the Hon. Members insufficient, especially the one expressing fear for a Portuguese war-ship ... These ships should have been sent to Hertog as quickly as possible, as he D.-G. knew well that the slave trade at Appa was profitable, and that a sufficient number of slaves could be supplied there, as clearly appears from the good armasoenen which were speedily dispatched from Appa on board of the "Amsterdam" and the "Leusden".

The Assembly could not either agree with the reasons for which Opppercommies H. was not supplied with the required materials and cargasoenen, although he, D.-G., had received clear instructions to supply him with all that would be needed for a successful trade, and to assist him where possible. The Assembly furthermore disapproves of the decision of D.-G. and Council to let the "Beekesteyn" depart with a number of not less than 866 slaves on board, whilst there were still other ships available to be provided with an armasoen. As a result of this, the deathrate among these slaves was extremely high, further increased by diseases which developed among them, and the Assembly hereby issues strict orders that never again such a huge number of slaves should be dispatched on board of a single ship.

Lastly, the Assembly is surprised that Mr. Hertog did report that he had been dislodged from Jaquin, and that he carried on a profitable slave-trade at Appa, but that he did not make any mention of his taking away 474 rolls of tobacco from a Portuguese ship to either the D.-G. or this Assembly, and resolved to write him about their surprise ...

WIC 138; Hertogh Correspondence;

Hertogh to Pranger, Appa, 17th August 1733. On 10th of this month the small Portuguese ship "Nostra Senhora de Rosario d'Antonio é Almas", Capt. Manoel Dies Assedo of Bahia, arrived on these roads, straight from S.Domai (=S.Toné?). It was dispatched from Bahia by its owner Villes de Lenne Cuhinber, and had on board 1,000 rolls of tobacco. The Capt. humbly requests Y.E. for his passport, paying here the required 10%. The Capt. gives as reasons for not going to d'Elmina, that for certain reasons the King in Brazil has imposed fines of 161k of gold and more as well as banishment on those Captains who go to d'Elmina, and this has

(WIC 138 cont.)

compelled this Capt., in order to avoid such penalty, to sail straight from Bahia to S.Domai, and from S.Domai hither, and therefore he offered voluntarily to pay here those 10%, requesting his passport, which I humbly request Y.H. to send as soon as possible ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 15th January 1734; In a letter dd. 26th September 1732 Y.H. asked for assistance of some Messieurs in order to send them to "the Dahommese Robber in order to ask him about the reasons for his actions", but by no means in order to get the captive servants of the Noble Comp. released. Moreover, those Messieurs openly wrote to us, that they could not hope to be released unless somebody were sent by us, as indeed we sent Oppercommies Elet. Furthermore, Ondercommies Hoffmeester, although Dahomme released him on his own account in order to arrange the above with us, was not only held back by Y.H., but not even employed for that purpose; Y.H. has even stolen ~~some~~ papers about Portuguese affairs which he should have delivered to us ... (follows a rejection of most of H.'s attacks on P. as "stale", "not worth an answer", "confused and complicated" &c.) ... We would be quite happy, for the Comp.'s sake, if Y.H. were indeed safe from Dahommese attacks at Appa, but things might very well develop in a manner which is quite contrary to Y.H.'s imagination. The accusations Y.H. addresses to the King of Dahome are denied by him with equal force ... Concerning the rock-stones: we leave it to Y.H. to explain how we could send such stones: the slave ships are so heavily loaded with water-casks, firewood and cargasoenen when they leave here, that it would be quite impossible to add such a heavy load. It is not possible either to use the boats for that purpose, because we need them badly here on the Gold Coast ... It would take at least 6 years before they could have brought the required quantity. Moreover, Y.H. would need much more than mere stones: what about chalk, planks, rafters, nails &c.? ... Concerning the 474 rolls of tobacco Y.H. has panyarred, we demand that Y.H. answer for this act as soon as possible, in proper form, because this matter is quickly developing into a Public and National Affair ... Y.H.'s request for a year's maintenance allowance for Y.H.'s self and his Messieurs and Comp.'s slaves is ridiculous; if Y.H. can advance as many as 104 slaves, Y.H. must be able to furnish that allowance too. We may elucidate Y.H., that Mr. Elet is not being paid either for such "necessities" as canoes, rowers &c. As for Y.H.'s present Lodge at Appa, we doubt not that Y.H. will maintain it for his own account, because it was erected without our knowledge and on Y.H.'s own Fantasy, and, being made of just clay and bamboo, it can't have been very costly. Moreover, the Jaquin lodge was also made without Comp.'s money ... This letter goes with the present ship "Vryheyd", with cargasoen as below, which, we doubt not, Y.H. will be able to dispatch as soon as Y.H. has promised ...

- 1,000 Ps short iron bars
- 36,080 lbs cowries
- 8,024 Ps Platthiljos
- 80 Native Chintzes
- 310 Caffaer
- 310 Graetjes

- 150 yds red lincn
- 880 Ps servetten
- 200 Ps Leneniassen
- 100 Ps Blue Half Guinesen
- 60 white Mouritsen
- 6,000 lbs great nepten
- 3 reens writing paper.

(WIC 138 cont.)

Pranger to Hertogh, 23rd January 1734. ... It is by no means news to us that the King of Portugal has put certain penalties on the sailing of Brazilians who come to this Coast: it is something which for several years now has been going on, but those Brazilians have by no means avoided Elmina for that reason. After all that has passed, and also because it would for various other reasons be contrary to the Comp.'s interest to agree with the Portuguese's request to Y.H., Y.H. should tell him in categorical terms on our behalf, that the first ship of their Nation which may be found to the Leeward of Elmina without our passport will be made a prize and confiscated ...

Pranger to Hertogh, 28th February 1734. From informations by Cpts. Lindenberg and Leek we understand that Y.H. has let the Bahia ship go, although it was with evrything in it a prefect prize for the Noble Comp., and it is with great sadness that we see that Y.H. has in such a cowardly and harmful manner neglected the interest of the Hon. Directors our Masters. We expect Y.H. to send at the first coming occasion further informations about this, and for what reason Y.H. claims again the 7 Mk 6ø 8 E. which we received from Capt. Lindenberg. Furthermore are sent to Y.H. with this ship the building materials and labourers as indicated in enclosed invoice, but no chalk. Y. H. may use these in the way Y.H. may think good, but to provide Y.H. with everything needed for the building of a real fort is totally impossible for us: as a result of the sending of these, we find ourselves even in a very difficult situation concerning the maintenance of the buildings here ...

(the invoice, of 2 pages (!) shows a large amount of all sorts of building materials, such as stones, nails, Boutry planks, hammers, saws, pliers &c. 2 blacksmiths, 1 carpenter, 2 masons and 1 cooper)

NBKG 33; Letters of the Ass. of X.

Ass. of X to D.-G. Van Overbeeke, 29th October 1734. ... We would be happy if Y.E. lived on good terms with Oppercommies Hertogh. ... Y.H. should provide him with passports to be delivered to Brazilians coming from S.Toné to Appa. According to the further regulations issued by Their Highnightinesses of the States-General on free trade, it should be noted that trade is now only reserved to the Comp. within 60 miles from the forts and other establishments. The slave trade is now expected to remain the most important activity of the Comp., and a new contract has been made with the Sociëteit van Surinamen, to which as much as possible remainders should be sold. Henceforward the traders will be allowed to sell their slaves to Y.E. as well as to the commanders of other forts and lodges ...

WIC 129, Minutes of Elmina Council.

12th February 1734; ... D.-G. informed Council that the Directors at their meeting in the Presidial Chamber Amsterdam on 11th December a.p. had decided to send orders that Oppercommies Hertogh should be provided with the necessary materials for the building of a lodge. As such materials

are very rarely sent by T.H. and that not even 10% of what is needed for the various establishments here on the Gold Coast could be sent, D.-G. gave into deliberation what should be done. As during the deliberation it was stressed that the Hon. Directors seem to give a certain preference to Mr. Hertogh, it was resolved to send Mr. Hertogh as many materials and labourers as the stores could supply ...

D.-G. reported also that Capt. Lindenberg had received during his last visit to Appa an amount of 7 Mk 6 ø 8 E. from Mr. Hertogh, being the 10% duty which a certain Portuguese ship had paid to him, coming from S.Thomé without first calling on Elmina, but which ship he, Capt., had later considered confiscatable, and from which later he had taken all the tobacco, which he had consequently sent up to Elmina. Upon this mentioned Oppercommies had demanded the return of those 7 Mk 6 ø 8 E., which was however refused by mentioned Capt., as he had learnt that with the help of Hertogh secretly a considerable number of slaves and a good quantity of tobacco had been taken from that ship and brought on shore. Therefore the Capt. had handed over the sum of mentioned sequestration to the

D.-G. (On 30:3:'34 Council was informed of "the value of the Portuguese ship which was confiscated at Appa by the Cruiser "Beschutter":

341 rolls of Bahia tobacco	ad 16 ø	:	42 Mk 5 ø
62 " " " " " "	" 12 ø	:	5 Mk 6 ø 8 ø
104 " " " " " "	" 4 ø	:	3 Mk 2 ø
59 Ps. slaves	" 8 ø	:	36 Mk 7 ø
liquid gold			7 ø 6 ø

96 Mk 3 ø -- = fl 30,840.-)

NBKG 99; Elmina Journal.

28th February 1734. Wrote to Mr. Elet at Jaquin: We are surprised about Y.H.'s silence, not informing us at all about the situation à Costy, whilst we understand that the English Agents get very frequently letters from Costy. In our letter of 15th January we told Y.H. that Oppercommies Hertogh complains about the way in which Y.H. tries not only to draw away his servants but even his Messieurs, in particular, as it seems, Jan Bronsena, and we therefore thought it necessary to demand from mentioned B. that he explains on paper in detail the reasons he had to abandon in silence his former patron ...

11th March 1734. Received a letter from Oppercommies Elet, dd. Accra, 8th March; ... This is to inform Y.E. that after a voyage of 28 days I arrived yesterday here at Accra, bringing with me an envoy of the King of Dahomme, who is to speak about certain matters with Y.E. I shall therefore come as soon as I have recovered a little of the fatigue which I had to suffer ...

NBKG 33; Letters from Chamber Amsterdam.

Chamber Amsterdam to D.-G. Overbeeke, 20th April 1734. ... We do insist that Y.E. should do everything possible to help Oppercommies Hertogh to construct his fort at Appa. He needs in particular wood, but we shall admonish him to have as much as possible sawn at Appa itself, which he should be able to do now that he has slaves, carpenters and masons ...

(NBKG 33 cont.)

We shall send, provisionally, 12 cannon (6 8-pounders and 6 12-pounders) by the "Leusden", and we send enclosed also a plan showing the size and the form of the fort. We received complaints by Oppercommies Hertogh about Y.E.'s predecessor who left him often without tradegoods, and we have demonstrated to Mr. Pranger our displeasure about this. From Mr. Hertogh's letter of 9th September we read the evil and pernicious conduct of Mr. Elet aiming not only at the ruin of Mr. Hertogh but also at that of the entire Trade of the Noble Comp., going even to such extents that he seems to have incited the Natives to chase Mr. Hertogh from his place. We have decided that we cannot any longer allow such scandalous behaviour, and resolved, after hearing all other Chambers and getting their authorisation, to dismiss mentioned Elet from the service of the Comp., and to let him answer for himself at Elmina. We leave it to Y.E.'s wise judgement whether it would be to the benefit of the Comp. to maintain the factory at Jaquin. If so, we recommend Y.E. to send there an able person who will be able to live peacefully with Mr. Hertogh; because we are definitely of the opinion that the factory at Appa is most profitable to the Comp., the more so, as we are informed from Zurinamen that the slaves from Appa are considered the very best, which can also be seen from the prices which are being paid for them. If Oppercommies Hertogh is indeed driven from Appa as a result of Mr. Elet's activities, the latter should be duly punished, and in that case also, Y.E. should try by all means to put him again in the possession of that factory at Appa. From Mr. Hertogh's letter we furthermore understood that the former D.-G. Pranger demanded from him 23 Mk 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in connection with ships he dispatched to America. We can't understand this, and we recommend Y.E. to examine this matter. We recommend Y.E. to send the present ships, "Steenhuysen" (Maaze), "Stad & Lande" (Northern Quarter) and "Leusden" (Groningen), whose cargoes are entirely destined for Appa, as soon as possible to that place, which would allow the Comp. to double its trade on the Coast of Africa. We have appointed Jan Nickels as surgeon who should stay with Mr. Hertogh. We received from Zurinamen news about the poor condition in which the slaves sent per "Rusthof" have arrived there: of the 716 slaves put on board of that ship by Mr. Elet at Jaquin, only 374 arrived alive, and those were, moreover, sold for very poor prices. Mr. Elet bought a very bad assortment of slaves for that ship, and we are informed that there were more than 100 infants among them; as the mothers could not feed these children with the ordinary ship's food, there was a lot of misery and also a lot of stench and filth, and consequently high mortality ...

(Encl.: "Extract of a letter by Oppercommies Hertogh, dd. Appa, 9th Sept. 1733, to Ass. of X. ... I humbly ask permission to build a fort here at Appa, for which I have already staked out a nice well-situated place. Even Mr. Elet, before he became my enemy, agreed fully that this is an excellent place. From letters from America I understand also that my slaves are well received there. But I need building materials and 40 Ps. of cannon from Holland. If Y.Es and the D.-G. were to agree to this, I

(NBKG 33 cont.)

would not only accept to supply Y.E.s with the required arnasoön of 2,500 slaves Y.E.s are bound by Contract to supply to America every year, but as many beyond that number as Y.E.s may find good, and apart from these with a nice quantity of elephants' teeth and liquid gold. I must however insist that Y.Es. send me at earliest convenience the above mentioned materials and cannon, because the jealousy of the Hon. D.-G. and Mr. Elet is going so far that they are trying to stage a war against me in order to make me depart from here, and even, if possible, to betray me to Dahomme, thus delivering me up for massacre ... The D.-G. seems to be so full of hatred towards my person, that I am even no longer allowed to receive the required tradegoods, or, **whon some arrive, they are so** rotten that they fall into pieces as soon as they are unloaded. If this continues in this way, I shall feel compelled to ask Y.Es.' permission for resignation. When the Almighty God had saved me from the Dahommese Murderer, and seeing that I am robbed of all for which I have been working hard for long years in Y.Es.' service at Jaquin I try to get satisfaction for the Noble Comp., the D.-G. has consistently refused me all assistance. (follows: summary of events concerning Elet and the release of the Dutchmen from Allada, and Pranger's refusal to follow H.'s advice) ...

If the Comp.'s servants begin to make war on each other, what excellent opportunity is then given to the Negroes to take from the Noble Comp. its land and prosperity! May God save us! ... I have now several times requested the D.-G. for the materials needed for the construction of a fort, but never having been allowed to receive anything, I have finally taken the liberty of writing to two gentlemen on S.Domai, asking them if they may be able to help me with some rafters and planks.

Chamber Amsterdam to Overbeeke, 29th October 1734. ... Y.E.'s letter of 21st May contained such indecent terminology and was so disrespectful, that we must say that we have never before received suchlike, and we would have had reasons enough to dismiss Y.E. and all those who have signed it, but we decided to use softer means. Y.E. complains about the lack of current tradegoods in the outer-forts. but we find that there are in fact more goods stored in these forts than the total quantity sold during a whole year. We are however pleased to see that Y.E. seeks to maintain a good harmony with Oppercommies Hertogh. Having taken into consideration if it would not be in the advantage of the Noble Comp. to allow mentioned Hertogh to issue passports to Brazilians, we have decided to acquiesce to that, and to let him have blank passports and to allow him to collect the 10% duties, but only from ships coming from S.Thomé. If Y.E. can't get all the required slaves from Appa, let the ships take them from Elmina and other places. We no longer pay attention (sic) to the factory at Jaquin, because from a copy of a letter written by Oppercommies Elet to Capt. Jan Gewalt we understand that it is in a very dangerous position. We concluded from it that it must already have been abandoned, and we order Y.E. hereby to give us exact informations about that matter. We may remind Y.E. that

Y.E. has been written to dismiss Oppercommies Elet from the Comp.'s service and to let him answer for himself at Elmina. Oppercommies Desbordes is to command the fort at Accra. Furthermore, we must inform Y.E., that we have learnt that in 1730 former General Pranger, Chief Merchant Laplanque and Oppercommies Blittersdorp have divided among themselves 177 slaves acquired in the Quita war, but that they have put them in the books as having been bought; furthermore, that he, Pranger, would have captured 30 slaves of the Caboceer Ayebamavoe, and sent them to Surinamen... As in consequence of the freedom of trade on the Coast of Africa the Comp.'s trade is bound to diminish, we have decided to reduce the number of factors for the trade to 6, Ondercommiesen to 12, and Assistants to 18. From a letter sent from Paramaribo on 12th March 1734, we understand that the Negro Tekki, who had been accused by Abocan of wanting to bewitch him by burying a deer's skull under his house in order to make him die, and who had been sent to Surinamen by Mr. Pranger, has behaved very well during the riot on board of the ship "Vryheyd", and by his actions towards the slaves has saved the ship as well as any whiteman could have done. It was therefore decided to let him return to Elmina ...

NEKG 8; Minutes Elmina Council.

25th October 1734; Former D.-G. J. Pranger explained why he had sent the Negro Tekki, sub-makelaer of the Comp., as slave to Surinamen: In 1730 sub-makelaer Cobbena Pantyn had died, and as in case of sickness or absence of Chief Makelaer Abbocan there should be a sub-makelaer, Tekki was elected, on the special request of Abbocan. But mentioned Tekki had only as his aim to harm his benefactor, being jealous for his being only a sub-makelaer. He found a certain free Negro called Schipper San who was prepared to kill Abbocan, but San rather told Abbocan about the plot. Although Abbocan would at first not believe him, eventually he told the Elmina Caboceers about it, who took the trouble of questioning the one who had reported the case ... then they found it no longer difficult to understand the words of mentioned Tekki "that one day they would all come creeping towards him like dogs" (just as the notorious makelaer Akim had done in the days of Mr. Van Sevenhuysen). Then they asked me to grant them as a group an audience. They told me that he, Tekki, had committed serious crimes under the previous D.-G., such as falsifying gold, and briefing to the Fantynse all that we had been discussing here when we were at war with Fantyn. He would also have murdered several Negroes, such as Jas, Aplacoe and others. They said that there could not be peace and harmony among the people as long as he lived among them, insisting urgently that he should be sent to America. When I later faced Tekki with these accusations, he said that he wanted the advice of his friends. He could not really deny anything, but offered 12¹/₂ Mk in order to be freed of further prosecution. But the Elmina Caboceers insisted that I should send him away. On the question why Tekki had for so long escaped his punishment, Mr. Pranger said that he could not be punished for things of which he had once been found innocent. As he, Tekki, had close

(NBKG 8 cont.)

connections and relations in Fantyn, the Elmina Caboceers were afraid of revenge. Mr. Pranger denied that he had sent Tekki to America because he owed him an amount of 20 mk, saying that this was a rumour for which not the least proof could be found, and that moreover no Negro in this Crom was able to lend such an important sum. When asked why he had taken from this Negro all his slaves, up to a number of 400, as well as 100 Mk of gold, Mr. Pranger answered that that too would be difficult to prove, as even he together with all his friends would not have one half of all that, and that the Gentlemen knew very well that there are these days very few Coast Negroes who own so many slaves and **that** much gold ...

that most of his youngmen had escaped in the afternoon after his arrest and fled to Fantyn, and that his gold, furniture and slaves -most of them old macron men and women, pawns and children- were taken by the Mina Caboceers, who solemnly agreed to pay his debts with them. Mr. Pranger denied to have received even a stuyver or a single slave of all that, but that it is true that the Mina Caboceers presented him with 25 **bendas**.

Mr. Pranger was then entertained about the affairs of Accra, and told that the inhabitants should be satisfied about a certain claim of 100 bendas they demand from the Danish fortress there. Mr. Pranger explained that the origin of this claim could be found in the following: in 1732 the Danes started to build a fort at Great Ningo, but then our Accra subjects, together with those of the English went thither, and demolished that factory completely, bringing with violence the Danish Chief Merchant, together with two other Europeans, back to Accra. These Europeans, now fully under their control, had to suffer all sorts of hardships, and the Danish Chief Merchant was even threatened with death. As these gentlemen were being treated in a miserable manner in the negro-town right under the fort, he could not but give in to their **démands**, no matter how unreasonable they were, and promise them 100 bendas of gold. Later they claimed this money again from Mr. Elet, whom they held responsible. In order that this matter might not have a serious aftermath, Mr. Pranger decided, with the Council's consent, to go himself to Accra in order to make inquiries. He was told that they had acted on nobody's persuasion, and that they had not informed him, P., about it, but that the many injuries which they had suffered from the Danish Nation during the Aquamboe war had made them decide on revenge, and that they ordered the Danes to pay those 100 bendas to the full. It should be remarked that they, Accra, have strongly insisted with the Akim people that they help them to collect from the Danes what they consider their justified claim ...

(Encl.) "Claim by Darcon, son of Amoe, at present makelaer at Accra, lodged with Ph. Augier, Member of Council and Bookkeeper-General, dd. 15th October 1734".

Darcon complains that recently D.-G. Pranger had extorted from him four female slaves and four bendas of gold, in order to pay in part for a claim worth 40 bendas, which he however denies to owe, as mentioned 40 bendas had been given as a present by the former Oppercommiss Jac. de la Planque

(NBKG 8 cont.)

to his father Amoe and that he cannot understand how a present, which by no means was equal to the heavy expenses which he (his father) had made in order to defeat the Aquamboese in their war, could be claimed back, the more so as mentioned de la Planque and former Oppercommies Blittersdorp had caused the disappearance of a number of 75 persons, including women and children, among whom were at least 15 of his own brothers and sisters of the flesh, in a very unreasonable and inhuman manner, in spite of their promise of protection. Darcon therefore applies to Y.E. for the return of the 4 slaves, the 75 persons and the 4 bendas of gold, as his father has by no means promoted the Aquamboe war, but only has fulfilled his duties as a faithful subject of the Company in the defence of its forts and the defeat of its enemies ...

2nd March 1735; ...are informed by a letter from Hertogh, dd. 30th Dec. '34, that Commander Willem Hoog at Benyn is imprisoned and in shackles, because when he visited himself Great Benyn in order to claim some debts from the King, he engaged in a quarrel with the latter, and had drawn a pistol with the intention of shooting the King, as was reported to him, Hertogh, by a Caboecer from the Benyn, and that, failing this, he had shot one of the greatest of the Caboceers.

It is necessary to seek immediate redress for this matter, and we therefore resolved to send thither, via Appa, Ondercommies Velthuys on board of the barque "Het Hoppie", together with T.C.Hoffmeester, and to write to Hertogh that he should find out some means to get payment for the remaining debts in the Benyn, and to bring the Comp.'s goods there in safety, leaving it to his judgement if the Comp.'s lodge there should be abandoned ~~or~~ let one of the mentioned Ondercommiesen continue the trade there, keeping an eye on the lodge from Appa, which, as far as we know is only 3 or 4 days away from the Benyn ...

10th March 1735; The former D.-G. J.Pranger appeared before Council to refute three points imputed to him; firstly, it is well known, he said, that the former Chief Merchant De la Planque has given a considerable amount of money on credit to his subjects living under the fort at Accra in order to buy all sorts of things needed for their defence, at the beginning of the Aquamboe war (wrongly called the Quita war), but also that he has given in the same way an equally large sum to those subjects in order that they may pay for the amount which the Akim people happened to demand from him. They had to pay back their debts in instalments, which they have indeed done at regular intervals, and in that way mentioned Chief Merchant (who had gone to Accra on my orders in order to help Oppercommies Blittersdorp under those difficult circumstances and also because the English had for the same reason sent one of their Agents, Mr. Cruikshank thither) has sent some slaves whom he had received as part of the payment of mentioned debt, to Elmina for the Comp. Nobody in the world could prove that any slaves acquired in the so-called Quita or rather Aquamboe

(NEKIG 8 cont.)

war were divided among Messrs De la Planque, Blittersdorp and me ... Secondly, it is a lie that I would have robbed the Negro Ayebamansoe of a number of slaves; it is true that I received such number of slaves from the Beach Negro Boa and others at fort Hollandia, where I had gone on the request of Commies Leuven, in 1732, in connection with the partial payment of a sum I had formerly credited to Assiantyn traders. Thirdly, I also deny that the 4 slaves and 4 bendas of gold were extorted by me from ~~Darcon~~: Darcon himself came to me to pay an old debt of his father's, and the amount of which he claims that it had been a present from De la Planque to his father, had never been intended as such. There aren't any proofs either about my having made disappear 75 slaves, and at any rate, it is highly unlikely that there were 15 of his relatives "in the flesh" among them: how could his father, who was at that time the Noble Comp.'s makelaer and a Negro of great authority and respect, allow the carrying away of such a large number of his own children and not complain about it to me ?

16th August 1735. As there has been no news from Appa for a long time now, it was taken into deliberation what to do with the ships which are expected soon for the slave trade. The last report received from Appa, in June, gives the impression that trade there is no longer very favourable to the Comp. It was resolved to write a letter to Oppercommies Hertogh, through Quita, urging him to report at earliest convenience.

29th September 1735. Complaints have been received from virtually all the commanders of the outerforts about their lack of tradegoods, and about the large numbers of slaves they have bought but who are not being collected; also that Natives repeatedly request goods which they need, but which are not being sold to them. The traditional merchants, among whom should be reckoned Pockoe, the King of the Assiantynen himself, have threatened, seeing that there is a ship with merchandise lying on the roads off Elmina freshly arrived from Holland, that they will be compelled to address themselves to other Nations, although they have always carried on most of their trade with the Noble Comp., if we continue in our refusal to trade with them. Considering, on the other hand, that the Comp. would probably have to spend a lot to win them back to our side after having refused to sell to them, and, moreover, that they promise to supply the "Beschutter" with its required armasoen within one month if we were to keep it here and not to send it down to Appa, and also (considering that) it appears from the last letter received from Appa (dd. 2nd September) that Oppercommies still has some work with the dispatch of the "Beekesteyn", it was resolved to unload from the "Beschutter" all those goods which are saleable here, and to barter them for the required number of slaves, the more so as there is no doubt that such slaves can be furnished soon, as an appreciable number of slaves are already in store, and to send all those goods which are specifically destined to the Lower Coast to Appa on the first possible occasion ...

(NBKG 8 cont.)

4th November 1735. ... The "Beschutter" is ready to sail to-morrow with its required armasoen ... and as it is a strong ship and it is possible that no other such occasion will present itself for a long time to come, it was resolved to put among its return-freight the available gold in cash, worth 200 Mk.

WIC 110; Letters from the Coast of Guinea; Quita Correspondence.

From to Pranger, Quita, 10th December 1734. ... I arrived here on 4th December, and assured myself of the co-operation of the King. There is a rumour that Jaquin was attacked by the King of Dahome, and that all the Comp.'s effects and the whitemen have been taken, but also that Dahome himself (sic) has fled, as he is being pursued by the King of Aijo and his people ...

From to Pranger, 4th February 1735. ... I sent one of my boys to Little Popo in order to learn about the situation at Jaquin ... and the Caboceers of Little Popo assured him that Dahomee was chased by the Etjose people, and that the Dutch Comp.'s effects were still at Jaquin, but that the whitemen were being kept inside (the lodge) by the Etjose, but that the latter did not do any harm to the Europeans ...

D.-G. Overbeeke to From, 17th February 1735. Y.H. may keep the canoe which was brought by the "Stad & Lande", principally in order to get more frequent contact with Appa, as correspondence with that place is difficult over land. Mr. Hertogh at Appa and Mr. Desbordes at Accra have already been informed of this arrangement ...

From to Overbeeke, 17th February 1735. ... Concerning the trade here, I may inform Y.E. that it is much disturbed as a result of the war of the Akim Caboceer Uzer, but I am confident that trade will soon resume as he can no longer stay here below (to the leeward of) the Rio Volta ...

W.Carstares & W.Lincklaers, Quita, to Overbeeke, 17th February 1735.

When he, Ondercommies Carstares had gone to Deedo, in order to speak with the King of Dahomme, he, Carstares had to stay there for 8 days before he was granted an audience by the King, and when this finally happened, it was in the presence of the English, French and Portuguese Governors and some Captains. Carstares asked why the King of Dahomme had driven the Noble Comp.'s servants out of the lodge, and taken its goods, and upon this the King let Carstares be told that he too had lost a lot of goods at Jaquin. Ondercommies could not get a proper answer to his question, and the King only added that it was not his fault. On his question what the King intended to do with the white Company-servants, he, King, replied that he did not want to keep any whiteman against his will, and that they could go wherever they might please, except Appa. ... A few days later all the (representatives of) Nations were again summoned by the King, and this time everybody got a private audience. Carstares was then told by the King that within a few days

(WIC 110 cont.)

all the Flemings (sic) would be allowed to leave, but that he wanted that one of them stayed in his country, in order to be sure that he, Carstares as well as the big whiteman -by which he meant Ondercommies Lincklaer- would go to the whitemen's country, and that nobody would go to the great whiteman, his enemy at Appa. Carstares then demonstrated that the King would do great harm to his fame if he kept a whiteman with him against his will, that such a thing would make other Nations afraid of coming to the King's country. The King at last agreed that all the Flemings could leave, but not their rowers, because he wanted per force (sic) that they stay ...

When we were all on the beach, ready to leave on board of a French ship to Quita, and the soldier Izak and foreman Holjeres with his two children had already embarked, 5 of the Comp.'s servants decided to stay there, although their goods were already in the canoe. We have never been able to understand why they decided to stay, apart from the reasons given by Assistant Chevallier in his letter. In view of the threats by the King of Dahome we could not fulfill our order to go to Appa, the more so, as there was the risk that the King would take revenge on the Comp.'s servants who were still with him ...

From to Overbecke, 26th February 1735. Ondercommies Lincklaers is too ill to be transported from here. He will probably die /: he did, on 6/3:/ I humbly request Y.E. to **agree that this factory** may be called "Singelomburg" ...

From to Overbecke, 18th March 1735. ... The ivory trade has come to a complete standstill, because all the Crepeese have retired to the forest out of fear of the Akimse. There is however a fairly large offer of slaves, and I hereby wish to request Y.E.'s permission to sell them for gold to the Portuguese ...

The bringer of this letter is a Negro or servant (sic) of Caboccer Adwoma of Little Popo, who has asked me to promote the release of a certain Negro-boy called Sekje Amma, a servant of Mr. Pranger, who is kept prisoner at Elmina in connection with an alleged gold-theft. I would be grateful if Y.E. could comply with Adwoma's request, because this caboccer could be of great service to me here in connection with the promotion of the Comp.'s trade...

Overbecke to From, 12th April 1735. ... As we have convincing proofs of the guilt of the Negro Sekje Amma, we do not think that we could just release him like that. But he has many relatives here at Elmina, and he could save his head by paying back ...

D.-G. Des Bordes to Assembly of X, 31st May 1736. ... Concerning the lodge at Quita we may tell Y.Hs. good news, because trade seems to progress reasonably well there. In connection with the continuous wars in that area and the safety of the Comp.'s goods, it is however suggested to combine it soon with the factory at Accra ... The place where Oppercornies Hertogh now stays is called "the Island Patakkerie" by him, but the news coming from there is quite uncertain ...

NBKG 8; Minutes Elmina Council.

19th May 1736. President (Des Bordes) demonstrated that a Portuguese Brazil ship, under command of Capt. Domingo Pirez Ribeiro, after a stay of 4 days here and the payment of its duties, was ready to sail to Fida, Jaquin &c. in order to barter its tobacco for slaves, which gave him occasion to demonstrate also that for a long time now English and free Dutch captains had thought out a practice by which they sell their slaves to the Portuguese for their (Bahia) tobacco, using that tobacco again to sell it on the Gold Coast, tacking to the windward, and undermining the trade of the Noble Comp. with very low prices. President said that it was necessary to thwart such ruinous practices as much as possible, and suggested that the best way to do that would be to allow mentioned Portuguese to barter as much of his tobacco for slaves at Annemaboe and Cormantyn as he likes, so that the mentioned interlopers will not find the usual ready market when they arrive there. It was resolved to give the Portuguese the permit as suggested by President ...

23rd September 1736. President announced that peace had returned to Elmina town after the quarrels between Makelaer Abbocon and Cabocçer Amba and that from inquiries made by Members of Council it appears that in the riot of 3rd and 4th April our Makelaer Abbocon's people clearly were the aggressors against Amba and his people, with the result that several people died. Members agreed that Abocan should be compelled to pay recompensation ...

23rd November 1736. President demonstrated that there was a great shortage of the most popular kinds of merchandise such as Cowries, Spanish Nepten and Gunpowder, with the result that the slave trade, although it seems quite flourishing at the moment, cannot properly be continued by the Noble Comp. He suggested therefore, and it was resolved, to buy 6,000 lbs. cowries and 1,000 lbs gunpowder from the French Capt. Jean Durant who arrived on these roads on 20th November ...

5th January 1737. Commies Campert, from Accra, demonstrated that he had had good reasons to suggest that the lodge at Quita should be combined with his factory for its security, as he had no doubt that with the help of his Accra subjects he could protect it against the attack of anybody and promote its trade. But since then he had experienced that in fact this was impossible as the result of the sinister artifices of mentioned subjects, and also that because of the great distance and the unsafety of the paths his servants could not get quickly enough answer in case of emergency, and he therefore suggested that somebody should go there as an independent commander, somebody who has sufficient credit with the Aquamboese to convince them to pose as protectors of that lodge ... It was then resolved to appoint as Commander there Assistant From, who is here at the moment, and who has been there for a long time, and who has through his own diligence brought that lodge to a certain prosperity, enjoying at the same time the devotion of mentioned Aquamboese ...

(NBKG 8 cont.)

A letter from Assistant From was then read out, in which he stated that by a resolution of D.-G. and Council he had in 1734 been appointed to administer the Comp.'s lodge at Quita, but that he had been compelled to make considerable expenses for the defence of the lodge and the safe-guard of the Comp.'s effects, and that it would be of the greatest necessity to make some further expenses for the construction of a building in the form of a sort of stronghold, with two bastions mounted with 17 guns, but that he could not possibly carry such expenses alone, and that he therefore humbly requested for assistance ... It was resolved to grant Assistant From a subsidy of 4 Mk. ... Lastly, President demonstrated that the Danish Nation had some time ago completed a certain lodge or stronghold at Ningo, armed with cannon, and that they were active in luring all traders coming from the leeward to that place, which is greatly detrimental to our trade ...

27th May 1737. D.-G. Des Bordes read out a letter from Accra, from which it appears that a certain Negro there has dared to spread the rumour that the General would have negotiated with the Assiantynen in order to convince them, through promises and gifts, to attack the Akimse, and to make such a long war on them that they would be totally ruined. This rumour would have caused such great consternation among the Akimse, that they were moved to make an alliance with the Danish Governor against our people. D.-G. demonstrated what ruinous consequences the spread of this obnoxious rumour about the war against Akim could have for our Nation, if that Nation were not convinced of the un-truth of it. If we failed to convince the Akimse they would certainly carry on their trade (which is the most important of the whole Lower Coast) exclusively with the Danes. D.-G. suggested that a Commission of Enquiry should be sent thither. As none of the Members had however any knowledge of Accra, never having stayed there, apart from D.-G., H.E. Mr. Des Bordes decided to go there himself.

NBKG 190; Diary of D.-G. Des Bordes of his Journey to Accra

2nd June 1737: Departed on board of the "Leusden" in the company of Opperoommies H. Raams of Chama, Commies P. Worst from Cormantyn and Jacob Jordan, standardbearer of the Elmina garrison.

4th June: Arrived at Accra, and received a salute of 21 guns. H.E. was received with great joy by the Natives, who had been longing much for H.E.'s arrival. The English and Danish forts too fired guns of salute. H.E. found at arrival in our fortress everything in great disarray, the commandere although he was well aware of the impending arrival of H.E., having left for Tessie, without leaving any orders /: this entry clearly was not written by Des Bordes, like most of the rest of the diary:/

5th June: wrote a letter to Quita. Received in the afternoon the First and Second Merchants of the English Fort. 6th June: made a counter-visit to the English fort. 7th June: Commies vna Kuyl arrived from Bercoe. Received answer from Quita.

(NBKG 190 cont.)

3th June 1737. News arrived that Caboceer Oers of Akim is preparing war against us and our subjects at Accra; for days there have been rumours that the Danish Governor would have instigated him towards this.

9th June. Sent some servants with some presents to the Grandees of the Great State of Akim, such as Frámpong, Baquentyn and Oers, in order to inform them of our arrival and to find out what reasons they may have to intend to take up arms against the Noble Company and to trade now with foreign Nations in stead of trading with our Company, as they used to do.

10th & 11th June: H.E. called all the Chiefs of Accra into the fort, in order to get at least provisional informations about all the pending disputes. Everything seemed confused, but most accused the Negro Patram of spreading the false rumour about Akim. But due to the negligence of Commies Camper, he (Patram) had been released, and now that crook is being protected by the Danish Governor.

15th June. Received report from Christiaan Protten, one of the people who recently arrived with the "Leusden" in order to spread among the Natives the Soul-saving Word of God, that his Brother Christiaan Stockhof has departed from this life after a few days' illness. Ordered the deceased's body to be brought in, and we followed it whilst it was carried three times around the grave ...

20th June. Decided to make an excursion to Labadde. Accompanied by the Comp.'s makelaer, Caboceers and a large crowd, which made a lot of noise firing their muskets.

22nd June. Some Aquamboe Caboceers arrived from where they had settled with their people behind Accra, in order to assure H.E. of their loyalty and inclination, asking for the Comp.'s protection, saying that not only they would always be ready to give proof of their subjection, but that they were ready to take an oath on that in their manner. Whilst the discussion on that topic lasted for some time, H.E. had these people who were living between hope and fear, and who did not know what to do, refreshed with a considerable quantity of brandy, after which they left quite happily.

30th June. Sent with the Portuguese ship which left to-day a letter for Oppercommies Hertzog at Pattackerye, as an introduction for Ondercommies Schadé and assistant Berck.

6th July. Went to inspect the lodge at Tessi. Found that all is well.

14th July. We are still looking out every day for the return of the envoy to Akim, and H.E. had intended to return to-day. But the Natives begged him to stay for 8 more days for the common good, as otherwise his long stay here would bear no fruit at all, explaining that the long delay must be caused by the fact that the entire country of Akim had come together in order to hear properly his envoy and to send him back with proper instructions. H.E. agreed to stay a little.

17th July. Received a letter from Assistant Jan Gobert at Tessi, with the information that he had heard that Ondercommies From at Quita had been besieged for nine days by the Daghomeese, and that as a result of

(NBKG 190 cont.)

heavy shooting one of the batteries had collapsed, after which those inhuman barbarians had stormed the fort and taken it in possession, with the result that From finds himself now in their hands without seeing a chance of escape. It is also said that he has blown up the fort whilst the victors, eager for loot, were still inside, hoping to escape in this manner the surely fearfully unreasonable treatment of these evil people. It is to be hoped that by this deed this rabble may lose the taste for any other suchlike decisions. In order to get more detailed information about all this we decided to send a slave of the Comp. thither ...

20th July. This afternoon the long awaited envoy to Akim returned with the two Chief Caboceers Frimpon and Baquantyn, whom we received well and to whom we allocated lodgings.

21st July. An English barque arrived to-day with the before mentioned sad news about what has happened at Quita, adding that Ondercommies From has been taken away as a captive by the Daghomeese, and that the robbers have the intention of coming this way. H.E. decided to change his mind about leaving, not only because of the arrival of the Negroes from Akim, but also because of these informations.

22nd July. Granted an audience to the Akim envoys who gave the following report: that they brought the greetings of their Principals, who had nothing against our Nation; but who had heard the rumours about our bribing the Assiantynen, and who had therefore decided to take up arms, which was corroborated by the General's envoy who had seen himself that the people of Oers were at the time of his arrival already prepared for war with arms and ammunition. But now they saw clearly that it was all false, and also that the Danish Governor stood in correspondence with their ally Oers alone, without them ... On the question who had spread the rumour, they answered that it was Caboceer Oukyntja of Accra, and with him the base of all these troubles should be found, that he had sent the Negro Patram to Oers with this frivolous report, with the request to give to Oers a large sum of money in order to come to Accra in order to eradicate completely the Company's makelaer Darcon and his people in a war; that he, Oukyntja would take care that Commander Camper would not shoot with ball, and that they would prove this in the presence of Oukyntja.

23rd July. The Accra chiefs came into the fort. Oukyntja maintains that he is innocent, and says that it is all the fault of Patram, whom, according to him, the Dutch have released too early from prison.

24th July. This afternoon the Negro Oukyntja came into the fort, full of passion, addressing to the Hon. General these words: "I had always been sure that all this is just roguery. Just now, two negroes of Frimpon and Baquantyn came to greet me, telling me that this whole deputation has not been sent here to do what they seem to do now, that it is all a big lie, and that they are really only sent to buy gunpowder and muskets." The Hon. General did not wait, but sent at once for those negroes, who arrived indeed immediately, and asking them whether this report was true, these poor people said that they did not know of anything of the sort, and

(NBKG 190 cont.)

they had only gone to Oukyntja in order to ask him for some drink. They wondered how such a thing could be said, as they, deputies were just sent as the ordinary palaver-makers of their principals. Oukyntja, faced with this, said: "It is hard to understand", but then he turned to these simple people, and said, in the negro-language: "just say **yes** it was not a lie". But the Hon. General, who understands the negro-language a little, hearing this let Oukyntja immediately be put in shackles because of this.

25th July. Assembled again in the Hall. The deputies say that they are convinced that they have heard him, Oukyntja, say to the Cra or Sante of Coboceer Baquantyn, who was at Accra as this matter was going on: "What? Are you still here, and don't you know that the Dutch General and Darcon, who is at Elmina, are bribing the Assiantynen to make war on your country?" Hearing these words, this Oera had then quickly gone back to his country. Oukyntja would also have sent two of his boys to Oers saying: "We have chased Darcon away, and he has fled to Elmina together with the Merchant Camper. We expect you now to come soon to ruin what remains. Upon this Oers would have addressed himself to these two witnesses with the following words: "Listen well: you are a white boy and a Dane, and the other a boy from Darcon. Therefore I shall kill you. Upon this the latter was immediately fettered, but to the former Oers said: "I shall save you, because you are a white boy, but if the General comes to ruin our country, and I shall have to march on Accra, I shall put you in the vanguard, so that you may be among the first to be killed". They, witnesses, remained for a long time in the same state, till Oers learnt that it was a lie that Darcon had been chased away. He then released them, saying: "Go to Accra, I have learnt that it is all lies that Darcon has been defeated, but I shall wait for the war of Assiantyn, and I shall come myself to greet Darcon. After this, Oukyntja fell to his knees, asking forgiveness and grace. Then a Mulatto, a former servant of the late Danish Governor Schilderup asked Oukyntja, to everybody's great surprise: "Don't you admit being a traitor? have you not come to see the Danish General, in the middle of the night, at the time that the Hon. General was still Merchant here, and demanded from the mentioned Dane a certain Negro called Fat Tette, who had sinned against the Noble Comp. by the forbidden trade with the Danish, and the goods he had bought being intercepted, had tried to murder with the help of his friends the white soldiers and the slaves of the Company? And have you not sworn to the Danish Governor to be faithful to him, and that you were no longer on the side of the Dutch, pretending however that you wanted to stay in the Dutch Crom in order to be there more useful for the Danes, saying that you would help the Danes in case of an attack? And have you not put your hand, with your friends, on the Whiteman's Book, as you call the Bible, in the presence of the Governor and Merchant Borris, and taken an oath in my presence? Did you not take the refugee Negro Tette evil, when he, having panyarred a slave of the Company, cut only his beard in a scornful manner, and when you asked why he did not cut off his head, did he not say: go to the Dutch Merchant and

(NBKG 190 cont.)

ruin him, because he hasn't got a penny to start anything ...".

Oukyntja then confessed completely. All agreed with D.-G. that one should put the head of such a rogue before his feet, als as an example to his accomplices. But the following day a delegation of Accra chiefs arrived, begging not to execute Oukyntja and rather make him pay a fine. Many of his relatives being subjects of the Noble Comp., they would doubtlessly join the Danes, they said. But D.-G. did not consider their last remark of any importance; he sent them away, and gave orders that all should be made ready for the execution.

27th July. All the Accra Grandees, together with the entire family of Oukyntja, came again begging and praying that he, Oukyntja, may be saved. After deliberation with Members of Council here present, D.-G. resolved eventually to accept their offer of 70 bendas of gold; but as they were not able to pay those 70 bendas straight away, it was decided to keep Oukyntja prisoner.

28th July. The slave who had been sent to Quita arrived, in the company of some Negroes who had lived there. They reported that Ondercommies From had been lured out of his fort with sweet-sounding words by those barbarians, who had sent a present to him, pretending that they wanted to make palaver with him. Trusting them, From had come out, but they had immediately put him in chains; when the other whitemen in the fort perceived of this misdeed, they decided to join their commander in his fate, and they surrendered voluntarily to the Daghomeese, with the exception of a soldier, a mulatto and 3 or 4 Negroes who closed the gate after the departure of the former. When after that this thievish robber Nation attacked the lodge, the attackers were three times repulsed; but the enemy, aware of the weak condition of the little fort did not give (the occupants) a chance to make the guns a fourth time ready for fire, and started to scale the walls of the fort. Mentioned soldier and his company then blew the fort up, with the remaining gunpowder.

1st August. In the evening report arrived that the Daghomeese had gone across the river of Popo in canoes, but that they were totally routed by the Accrase, who had first headed them off by destroying their canoes, so that they could not escape. The captive whitemen were released, except Ondercommies From, whose brains had been bashed out by a sergeant of the mentioned robbers with a cudgel when he saw that he did no longer have a chance to escape. It is estimated that at least 1,300 Daghomeese were captured.

3rd September. H.E. left for Bercoe after having sent the "Elmina Galey" to Quita in order to pick up the whitemen and whatever may be left of the Comp.'s goods ...

VIC 111, Letters from the Guinea Coast.

Hertogh to Ass. of X, Patakrie, 2nd October 1737. ... I have the sad duty to report to Y.Es. about the death of Ondercommies From after his expulsion from Quita by the Daghomeese. These robbers and murderers had been

pursued by the Minas and Upper Coast Negroes, who have, thank God, defeated them completely and pursued the remainder of their army, destroying all on their way. This is a Godsent, and I hope to be able to return soon to my former place, and write my next letter to V.Es. from there ...

D.-G. Des Bordes & Council to Ass. of X, 14th April 1738. ... Concerning the pretentious complaints of the Middelburgh Commercie Compagnie, we may refer to a note we wrote on 15th November 1737 to Chamber Zeeland, but we may add that we think the behaviour of the reporters of that Company rather impertinent, blaming the Servants of the Noble Comp. Is it not utterly saddening for those who occupy themselves day and night trying to find means to s^rve their Masters, trying to reconstruct the financial position of the Noble Comp., to see the Comp.'s subject Natives -who enjoy our protection- openly bring their gold and ivory to the free Dutch ships, returning from them with more than the double quantity of current trade-goods than the Noble Comp. is able to pay? To see also that the traders from the interior know that already so well that they don't even anymore bother to come to the Comp.'s forts, whilst the various Commanders of the forts don't even have the money to attract them with gifts? With the present lack of fresh arrivals of Comp. ships the Natives will surely get more and more used to this practice and forget about us altogether ... The Gentlemen of the Commercie Compagnie, on the other hand, are careful not to mention with what civility they are always being received by us. From Oppercommies Hertogh at Patackerye we received no other news than a letter of 10th June 1737, which took over 4 months to reach us. But we learn from Assistant Danckaerts that H.H. has involved himself in a formal war with the King of Appa, and that he has lost not less than about 100 men in a battle. Mr. Danckaerts is of the opinion that this war may have quite a long aftermath. Mr. Danckaerts arrived here on 6th February from Appa, where Mr. Hertogh had sent him in order to continue the trade. We sent him back to that place on 3rd April on board of an English ship. We had wished to repatriate former Oppercommies Elet, but by resolution of 19th December Ao.Po. he was allowed to go to Accra in connection with his debts there, which was however prevented by the troubles with the Akimse ...

(Encl.) Declaration of the Soldier Johan Joost Steirmark, made at Elmina, 4th December 1737. (summary) ... At the time that D.-G. summoned From to Accra and From had answered that he could not come because of the threatening approach of the Dahommeese army, the Accrase Negroes under the fort had solemnly promised to assist against them. But a Negro from Aflahoe, called Antony, came to warn that it would be better to take flight, as the approaching army was very strong and could not be resisted. On the day before the arrival of the Dahommeese the Accrase together with From's big boy Cooy, some slaves and another of From's boys, Otto, a brother of Darcon, fled in the dark of the night. When the Dahommeese came near to the fort, From sent a Comp. slave out to ask if they came as friends, and they answered that indeed they came as friends ...

(WIC 111 cont.)

messengers should be kept in the fort as hostages. But Capt. Birchall and the sergeant told that that was not necessary; shortly afterwards they sent a message that all was well, and that the others should come to join them. So he and some others went outside and joined the Dahommese at dinner, but when they wanted to go back they were stopped and put in shackles. From had left at 9 a.m., and when by 3 p.m. they hadn't yet received any news, he, attestant sent some brandy through the hole in the wall (which had been blocked as well as possible with crates and cupboards) and asked through the Comp. slaves Sodou, who speaks the Dahomme language, what had happened to the whites. He reported that they had been made captives, but that they should be careful not to shoot, because then they would certainly cut their heads off. Attestant then brought everything into preparation for blowing up the fort, and sent a message to that extent to From, but the latter said that he should wait, that he thought that an agreement could be reached. Half an hour later H.H. sent for 18 Ps. slaves worth of goods as his ransom. But 1½ hours later he sent again a note asking for 18 Ps. slaves worth of goods, adding that the Negroes had taken off his shackles. Finally, he sent a third note asking for 18 Ps. slaves for the release of the Boys, and he asked the sergeant to bury the notes. Finally, the Dahommese demanded that all the arms and ammunition in the fort should be delivered up, and on From's order this was done, with the exception of 50 muskets and 50 barrels of gunpowder, which were put in From's bedroom and covered with blankets and clothes. At last a note was received from From, urging all to come outside. This was done, and only 5 rowers were left in the fort, with orders that if the Dahommese were to try to take the fort, that they should light the gunpowder. At their arrival the whitemen were received politely by the caboceers, but shortly afterwards they were bound, hands and feet. Attestant and another soldier were brought to the bush, and bound to a pole in a hut. But the following day they were released from that pole, and could see that whilst a number of Dahommese stood on guard, others went inside the fort. But not long after that the whole fort was blown up, with the Dahommese and the rowers in it. The whitemen had to stay there, hands and feet bound and without food and only a little bad water for 5 days, whilst the Dahommese were ransacking the ruin, from which they managed to dig up, among other things, a number of elephants' teeth. Attestant managed to speak to From, who told him that the robbers intended to bring him to the Lower Coast in order to give him there an other fort. Then they were all brought to Aflahoe, and from there, after 2 days, to Little Popo ... Attestant got hold of a little knife with which he managed to free himself from his ropes, and fled to the Crom Ocoy of a certain Accra Negro Affory, who asked him at once about the Dahomme army and its whereabouts. Affory at once sent attestant's informations to his cousin Asjenbo, who marched up with the Crepeese Negroes and surrounded the Dahommese. Six days after attestant's flight they completely routed the Dahommese, of whose 13,000 men not a single one escaped. After the

(VIC 111 cont.)

battle Asjenbo found the Englishman and **five** of the other whites alive. He **let** the Englishman go to Affory's crom, where he, attestant, was, to whom he said that he had orders from From to be shown where his papers were buried at Quita. ^{the Englishman said} Attestant answered that he did not know anything about that, **but**/that From had said himself that he had made the hole in which those papers were kept with his own hands, on which he, attestant had replied: maybe, but I have no duty to tell you without **specific** orders. the Englishman then produced a paper with such order, but attestant could not recognise the handwriting. Shortly afterwards the Englishman fell ill, and **attessant** went to Quita to dig up the papers and some gold. But whilst he was digging, some Negro saw him, who reported to Abbi, the Caboceer of Quita, who sent for him and asked if he had found some gold. Attestant denied this, and Abbi said that it did not matter and that he had no intention of taking it away from him. Attestant then asked for a brandy-box, in which he put the papers, which were a little damaged by water. The same day the Comp. boat arrived, but Quartermaster Abraham was much in haste to go to Affory, and did not give attestant a chance to put the box on board, so that he had to leave it in a hut. In the meantime the Englishman wrote a letter to the Danish servant stationed at Atta, which attestant saw with his own eyes; and soon the Dane came, with some brandy, which he gave to Abby, and he had a long conversation with the Englishman. Then Abby assaulted him, attestant, and demanded the restitution of the gold which he was said to have found. Although attestant denied having found any, he was miserably bound, hands and feet. Finally, under duress, he told that he thought that a gold-watch might be buried under the hut of the sergeant, and he still had to pay 1 Ps. (=cubes?) cowries which King Affory had given to him, before he was finally released. Arriving at (the ruin of) the fort, he found the Englishman and the Dane supervising Tette and Coffy, two slaves, digging all around the place. The Englishman abused him, saying: You Dutchmen, you are all pigs. Attestant protested that they had no right to dig in the former Dutch fort, but the Englishman said that the Dutch General could lick his arse and suchlike filth. They found the goldwatch, as well as some fetishes, conte de terra and red coral, which had belonged to the Sergeant's Negress. Attestant managed to take them out of their hands and ran away with them as well as his swollen legs could carry him, but he was caught again. The Englishman and the Danes then divided the loot with him, giving him the fetishes, which he later returned to the Sergeant's Negress ... The Englishman, suspecting that Assjenbo had the intention of coming to capture him, fled with his boat to an English war-ship. The Dane said that the Englishman had torn up the papers. Attestant then sailed to Atta, where the Danes have a lodge, and went from there to Accra. He declares furthermore that among the documents was an IOU of the Dane to From, worth 80 ankers French brandy, and 29 oz. of gold ...

NBKG 8; Minutes of Elmina Council.

19th December 1737. ... D.-G. reported about the present situation at Quita ... since we were driven out from that place by an inimical invasion of Dahommes. That without our consent our position there was now being usurped by the Danes, contrary to all national laws and to the harmony which so far has been cultivated between our Nation and theirs. D.-G. suggested that a certain offer of the Negro Caboceer Asjembo of Little Popo should be taken into consideration, to protect one or two servants of the Comp. whom he hoped to receive with some merchandise in order to trade there, which he promises to be very profitable to the Comp., as it had been many years in the past. He furthermore promises not to allow any other Nation ever to settle there next to us, and that he is quite powerful enough to bring the Danes to reason in case we were not to get proper satisfaction from them. ... It was resolved to send a protest note to the Danes, and also that such a favourable invitation to take possession at Little Popo under such powerful protection should certainly not be reject~~ed~~, and that at once Stanislaus Kohlis and Hendrik Brummer should be sent thither with the new landsboot, with 20 to 22 Mk worth of tradegoods, 300 lbs gunpowder and 30 muskets, the latter as a gift to Caboceer Asjembo ...

20th January 1738. ... D.-G. announced that a French ship had arrived, and that the Capt. had proposed to buy 200 choice/^{male}slaves ad 6 oz. 8 Ang. per head. As there are here over 300 slaves ready for shipment, and their maintenance is expensive, whilst on the other hand there are very few tradegoods available, and it is also very uncertain when the next slaveship of the Comp. will arrive, as the market in our American Colonies seems to be rather bad these days, and finally that even if a slaveship of the Comp. were to arrive soon, it would be very easy to buy a proper arnaseen as there is no lack of slaves, but rather of tradegoods, it was resolved to authorise D.-G. to supply mentioned French ship with the slaves required, and also to authorise him to act similarly with other French, English or Dutch free traders' ships ...

6th March 1738. ... D.-G. announced that in accordance with the resolution of 19th December Ao.Po. he had sent such a strong protest note to the Danes, that, according to the the Danish Governor's letter of 30th December, Quita had again been abandoned by the Danes, so that that place is now again assured for the Noble Comp. D.-G. demonstrated that from that place not only a good quantity of elephants' teeth was annually shipped, the murdered Commander, From, had also been so successful with the cultivation of indigo there, that last June a nice sample of it had been sent to the Hon. Directors. He suggested that our settlement there should be renewed, but not before the wars which are being reported to continue there by Messrs. Kohlis and Brummer, have ended...

According to reports from Accra the Danish Governor had mischievously incited Oers when he came down with the Akimse to fight our Accra subjects, but D.-G. said that he had written to Commies Van Starckenborg to act very

(NBKG 8 cont.)

cautiously and to put in writing all his dealings with the Dane, avoiding all that could be offensive to him. But now that we are delivered from the Akimse, as Oers has left, D.-G. suggested that a proper protest should be addressed to the Danish Governor.

D.-G. furthermore demonstrated that Commander Raams and his assistant Van der Putte had abandoned the lodge entrusted to them in the Benyn, leaving behind all the Comp.'s effects, arriving here on board of an English vessel. They gave the following reasons: ... When we arrived there, we promised, in the name of Oppercommies Hertogh, to the late King, the Captain of War and other Grandees, that we would trade with them and that there would be no lack of tradegoods. But when these did lack, we had to listen daily to reproaches from the Negroes, asking us what we had come to do there, saying that we had misled them, that it would have been much better if the lodge in the Benyn had remained straight under the authority of the Hon. D.-G., because in those days there had at least been every year one ship. When the annual customs had to be paid, the fiadors and saladors came to worry us every day in name of their King, and as we were not able to pay them, they proceeded to close the paths, so that we could not get anything to eat. We were a little relieved of our utter misery and hunger by a well-meaning Negro called Jibba, who brought from time a few yams and a little maize, but as soon as the King of Benyn got wind of it, he has completely ruined that Negro, confiscating all his slaves, who in that land constitute the richness of a man. On our question what was the reason of this treatment, not knowing what we could have done wrong, we got reply that since we did not want to trade with them, we better left the kingdom, and that since several English ships had arrived in the meantime, they let us know that they wanted to take the lodge away from us and give it to the English, so that we would have been compelled to live as miserable exiles among the Negroes. We were furthermore informed that as soon as the English ship "Sarah" would have left, the Oslonse Negroes had the intention to plunder the lodges at Agathon and to kill us ... (sigd. Raams & Van der Putte, Elmina, 9th January 1738)

D.-G. reported also to Members the arrival of Assistant Danckaerts, who also used to be under Mr. Hertogh's command, having been stationed by H.H. at Eppé for the continuation of the Noble Comp.'s trade; he made the following report: ... On 26th December a ~~subop~~ of the French Capt. La Place came to Eppé to bring the goods to pay for the slaves I had sold to him on behalf of the King of Jaquin. That Captain transmitted also to me the letter of the Hon. General of 31st June Ao. Po. addressed to Mr. Hertogh, informing him that Ondercommies Schaadé and Assitant Berck would be sent to him. But having learnt that the one was staying in the French fort at Fida, and the other somewhere on his own, I informed Mr. Hertogh about this; he then asked me to go to Fida to find out why those gentlemen were not coming. So I went to Fida, with a number of slaves of the King of Jaquin in order to get cowries and tradegoods for them; as the war of the Appase King and the Gossa (sic, =?) was getting worse every day, I began to lack cowries, whilst

(NBKG 8 cont.)

for several months no French ships had come further to the leeward, and the paths being closed one could not get anything from Mr. Hertogh either. Everything would be panyarred by the King of Appa. At my arrival at Fida I learnt that Assistant Berck was at Ardra, so that it was not possible to get him, and so I returned to Eppé. When I went to the King, he told me that the Merchant and his assistant from the Benyn had deserted on board of an English ship, and that Mr. Hertogh had sent Ondercommies Fredricx and Assistant Bronssema thither to look after the Comp.'s effects there. As H.H. found himself in a very precarious situation because of the war, without any servants or even a vessel to collect the remaining goods from the Benyn, and could be attacked any day -in fact already having undergone an attack in which he had lost several men- mentioned King asked me to go to Elmina in order to inform the Hon D.-G. about all this and to request a few more servants and a boat to collect the goods from the Benyn. He gave me 14 slaves and his boy to accompany me, asking me to go as quickly as possible to Elmina, and to return soon to Eppé. So I went on 9th January with the mentioned slaves to Fida, and sold a few of them to Capt. La Place, after which I went on board of an English war-ship to Accra ... (sigd. Dankaerts, Elmina, 10/2/1738)

As it appears in no way from this account that he, Danckaerts was sent on this journey by Mr. Hertogh, but, as he says himself, on the insistence of some Negro, H.H. gave into consideration that this deputation was on little foundation and that it was not necessary to pay much attention to the request, also because even if Danckaerts had been provided with a proper instruction, one would at present not be able to help him, as firstly because of the long delay of the expected ships we are at present not provided with any current goods for the Lower Coast, secondly the slaves are at the moment being sold in our American Colonies at a hopelessly low price, and thirdly because there are no vessels available for the transport of either goods or men. It was therefore unanimously resolved to send Dankaerts back to Mr. Hertogh per first occasion which may present itself ...

23rd September 1738. D.-G. read out two letters, dd. 15th and 20th of this month, from the Commander at Bercoe: ... That the Akim Caboccers Frimpon and Oers had arrived with their army in the Agonna State; and that the peoples of that state had fled to the safety of the Pantynse country. That mentioned General Oers had sent, shortly after his arrival his sword-bearer with a present of 3 P (=?) gold and 2 slaves to the English merchant at Simpa, with the request to be allowed to come under his fortress (sic), with which the English merchant had agreed, saying even that he, Oers, could stay in the fort, and as a proof of his good intentions he had sent him an English flag and 10 ankers brandy. He added to this message that in order to please him he had compelled the servants of the commanders of our forts at Apam and Bercoe -who were at that time at Simpa- to retire from his crom ...

It is not quite clear what is the aim of mentioned Akimse, but Commies Van der Kuyl -and with him several Negroes- think that the Akimse have again the intention of attacking our factory at Accra. This matter should indeed be considered seriously by Members of the Council, as they may well remember that General Oers shortly ago has already attacked the Comp.'s subjects at Accra with the intention of destroying them completely, but that he had been thwarted in that aim; moreover, that it is hardly a secret that the Danish Governor is inciting him hard to do so. It was resolved to bring the factories at Bercoe and Apam in a proper state of defence.

30th October 1738. D.-G. suggested that it would be good to dispatch as soon as possible the small ship "Vrouw Maria" to the Lower Coast for the following urgent reasons: firstly, for some time now there are rumours that Oppercommies Hertogh would have died, which is more and more being confirmed by English and French nationals, and secondly that one should eventually believe this kind of news, as in spite of several letters sent to him, no reply has been received from him since 20th April last. Finally, if this presumption were to be proved true, which God may forbid, there would be little hope of preserving our position there if no quick and firm action were taken, because it is very well known that **that tittit** has made the mouths of the English water for a long time ...

WIC 111, Letters from the Guinea Coast.

Jan Bronssema, Pattacary, to Ass. of X, 31st July 1738. ... This is to inform Y.Es. most humbly that on 29th April of this year, by 7.30 in the evening, the Hon. Mr. ^{Hendrick} Hertogh was murdered by four Fidase Negroes, with the result that everything was left here in a desolate condition, as said Negroes stole and plundered everything. In the morning of 30th April the Negroes of the deceased divided themselves in several groups in order to attack in that manner the Fida Prince, whom they found well prepared to withstand any attack. But after more than an hour's fighting the Fidase were put to flight. But the situation remained very confused, and the Negroes wished to have a new Ghief (=commander), and so they chose me to take for the time being possession of the Comp.'s lodge. I hope that I may be appointed officially to that position, so that this place may be maintained ...

(added: informal note by Ed. Swaan, Capt. of the "Jonge Daniël", "on the Roads off Cabo Lopes, 3rd November 1738" ... Learnt from a French slaver here that there is no doubt that it is true that Mr. Hertogh was murdered by the son of a black Caffecier (? Caboceer) called Prince, who lived with him, about 4½ months ago. Mentioned Frenchman further stated that he had several of Mr. Hertogh's slaves on board, whom he had bought from the blacks who had taken over the place after his death ...)

Des Bordes to Ass. of X, 17th September 1738 ... As a result of the un-beard impudent behaviour of Commies Raams and his assistant Van der Putte, which is inexcusable, although Chief Merchant Barovius has taken to defending them,

(WIC 111 cont.)

our lodge in the Benyn was provisionally abandoned. It is however not advisable to give up that position, as it is from there that come the best and the heaviest elephants' teeth ...

We shall observe Y.Hs.' recommendation to apply all our diligence and vigilance in the search for and discovery of minerals, and we are pleased to note that Y.Hs. have had the goodness to send such an excellent, able and experienced person as the mine-master Jonas Schnak, who arrived here on 22nd July in the company of two miners, and who are now prospecting in the hills around Elmina. We may also note on this occasion, that the value of kakeraas gold, with which the servants are being paid, is these days quickly declining, so that we have to increase the salaries ... Concerning Y.Hs.' complaints about the high cost of medicines for the slaves, we may note that particularly when slaves get holes in their legs, either as a result of disease or worms or accidents, they **recover** much more quickly by taking the medicines of their own land than by being compelled against their will to take European medicine. ... We took note of Y.Hs.' disapprobation of our buying 50 slaves for gold and Y.Hs.' recommendation, as a result of the poor success of the slave trade (in America), to concentrate more on the gold and ivory trade. We therefore would like to propose to offer tradegoods in exchange for gold to the same low prices as do the free ships ...

A certain Negro from the Fantyn country, a relative of the exiled makelaer Tekki, has tried to make the peoples of Great Commanie and Abremoe devoted to himself, and makes now new claims on the Elmina people. This has caused new discordance which compelled traders coming from the interior to avoid the Great Commanie and Abramoe roads, with the result that we, here at Elmina have to sit back whilst there is a brisk trade in the factories along the Upper Coast ...

(Enclosure:) Copy of Lt. Hertogh to Des Bordes, Pattackerye, 20th April '38

... I received Y.H's letters written to accompany Messrs Jan Schadee and Willem Berck, whom I have however not yet had the pleasure to meet, as I understand that they have thought it better to offer their services to the Dahommese King, but who must have sent them back when he discovered the untruthfulness of their offer, and who should now be at Fida.

By the end of November I received a message from the King of Benin, in which H.M. informed me that the whitemen had abandoned the lodge at Agathon ... So I have despatched Assistant Bronssema and Ondercommies Frederics to that place in a canoe via the river. They found the lodge there in a desolate condition, left as a prey to a black boy called Coffy, who is a slave of mine. The King, the Capt. of War and de Homes Grandes had actually suspected such departure, because they had told that they wanted to go on board of the English ship in order to pringaren (=?) for a few days. The King and Captain had given them the value of 8 slaves in order to barter on board of the English ship, but they never received either

(VIC 111 cont.)

what they bartered, ~~on~~ what they had given to them. All the tradegoods of the lodge were sold, but there was still a lot of ivory in store. There has been a quick succession of various commanders at Agathon, and the death of some of them was not even reported to Elmina. Each of these commanders inherited from his predecessor, and so Coffy inherited at last gold and silver to a value of about 8 Mk when the mentioned Merchant went away, telling Coffy and the slaves that he just went "pringareni", but in fact escaped, taking his housewife with him. This Commies Raams has also murdered one of my slaves, Afferry, whom he accused of having raped two of his negresses behind the lodge, at the place where they used to -excuse me- relieve themselves. This is not the only case of his wantonness reported to me ... the Comp. slave Fockenmast was put on trial in the middle of the night and his sentence was executed by the little wives of the Merchant and mentioned Coffy, who hoisted him with a rope around his neck and stones on his feet from a rafter in the ceiling of the hall of the lodge, so that he lost his life whilst he was kept thus hanging in the air. His crime was that he would have threatened the life of the Commander. Another Comp. slave, Docco, who was goat-herd and who had not properly watched the goats, so that one or more of them were stolen, was lashed by the Domba -in H.H.'s presence, for such a long time that he had to be dragged outside dead. Another Negro of mine, Blaauw, (=blue) was also summoned to the hall in the middle of the night and suspended from a rafter, but he survived. Afterwards H.H. crushed however his brain-pan with a hammer. Another Elmina free Negro, Acquini, nearly lost his life as a result of H.H.'s treatment ... Who has authorised Mr. Raams to be his own judge? All this was asserted by the Minase free Negroes and my boy Coffy, taking the most powerful oaths in accordance with this land's custom. Since Assistant Danckaerts deserted Eppee in January and has gone I don't know where, I am entirely deprived of servants. What kind of people are those two at Fida is clear from their conduct, and I therefore request Y.H. once more urgently to send me soon some proper and able people ...

Des Bordes to Ass. of X, 26th December 1738. ... Having heard several times rumours from English and French Captains about the death of Oppercommies Hertogh, I did at first not want to believe them, as in such cases their informations are often rather apocryphal (sic), but eventually I decided to send the "Vrouw Maria" to Pattackery, which returned on the 20th of this month with Ondercommies Chevallier and a mason, who confirmed that Mr. Hertogh, after having been involved for some time in a war with surrounding Kings, was murdered on 29th April by a Fida Prince. This murderer saw his chance when the late Governor was alone, having requested him, coming with 4 other persons, to speak about certain matters concerning the country; but during this conversation mentioned Prince and his suite bashed in H.H.'s brains with an iron cudgel ...

(WIC 111 cont.)

(Encl.) Bronssema to Des Bordes, Pattackery, 28th May 1738. ... At the time of the murder of Mr. Hertogh I was in Rio Lagos, where I had been sent half a year earlier by Mr. Hertogh, and when I arrived here on 5th May I found everything in a desolate condition. The people and the Caboceers here desired another Commander, and on the arrival of Capt. Blank, who had been sent by the King of Ardra in order to restore peace and quietness here, they took me by the hand, on 11th May, and in the presence of all the Messieurs they brought me before Capt. Blank, with a lot of Negro-ceremony. I doubt not that the Messieurs who bring Y.H. this letter will tell more about that. Enclosed Y.H. may also find a list of what the Negroes have left to us, which was at that same time handed over to us by the Caboceers. The Negroes, who seem to have a strong likening for a scribe, wanted to chose him among the Messieurs, but I let them know that such was decided among the whitemen themselves, and so we elected Mr. Berck as secretary. Concerning the trade, there is doubtlessly good opportunity at the present, because there are plenty slaves, and the surrounding countries are friendly towards us. Male slaves are sold here for 3 oz. 8 Ang., females for 3 oz. We need a blacksmith here. ... PS. The Caboceers have kept Assistant Danckaerts here, claiming that they need him to trust their palavers to him ...

(Encl.) List of effects left at the lodge at Pattackerye after the murder of Oppercommies Hendrick Hertogh:

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 21 slaves | Household effects: |
| 12 river canoes | (i.a.) 3 paintings of quality |
| 1 sea canoe | 2 china plates (i) |
| 1 small yacht | 1 standing clock |
| 2 horses and a foal | 3 wooden statues (badly damaged) |
| 24 Ps. cannon, of which | |
| 4 brass and 7 iron are | |
| at Rio Lagos | |

(Encl.) Declaration by Ondercommies Chevallier and Assistants Berck and Danckaerts, Pattackery, 14th May 1738: ... that on 12th May the Caboceers, having come together, resolved to appoint one of the Comp. servants here present as commander, after which Assistant Bronssema was indeed appointed to fill the vacant post of the late Mr. Hertogh. The Caboceers Jingin, Gyngyn and Accra handed over to him 1,000 nepten and 100 iron bars, as well as some household effects which had not been stolen ...

(Encl.) Danckaerts to Des Bordes, Pattackery, 28th May 1738. ... In accordance with Y.H.'s orders I returned to Mr. Hertogh in Pattackery, but when I arrived he was already dead. The Negroes compelled me to stay here in order to give the other whitemen the opportunity to go to Elmina, but I pray that Y.H. may as soon as possible call me back from here. Surgeon Neese is at present at Eppé, and I don't think that he will soon come to Elmina, because he seems to do his best to act as Commander, although he is doing things which are not economical at all; he has taken from here 14 slaves and some chairs, and it looks as if

(VIC 111 cont.)

he had gone there only for robbery ... I hereby offer my services in case a post were to be given out in the Benyn ...

(Copy) Jack Meese to Des Bordes, Epe, 14th October 1738 ... I was sent by Mr. Hertogh to the King of Jaquin, in order to let him rebuild the Comp.'s lodge, with which the King had already started, but as a result of the accident which happened to Mr. Hertogh, the work was again abandoned. Mr. Hertogh would doubtless^{have} come to Epe in order to re-open the trade here and with the King of Jaquin, because he could not any longer stay with the King of Appa with whom he had every day palavers, and if the Nina army had luck in defeating Daghome, he would certainly have gone with the King of Jaquin to Jaquin, because Jaquin is quite near to this place. Concerning my humble person, I requested the King and also the Captain to let me go to Elmina too, but the King answered me that he would keep me here till further orders arrive from Y.H. The reason is, that Mr. Hertogh sent me here when he was still alive and because the King of Jaquin request Y.H. humbly to allow me to stay here to serve the Comp.'s interest and trade, as I am somewhat experienced in the palavers of this land and the customs of the Negroes. If Y.H. were to dispatch soon a ship hither, we would certainly be able to supply it quickly, as I do not doubt that one could buy the slaves here at a lower price than Mr. Hertogh used to do. sigd. This is X the mark of Ocer,

King of Jaquin

Jack Meese.

(Copy) Bronssema to Des Bordes, Pattaccary, 15th November 1738.

The great negligence of Ondercommies Chevallier and Assistant Frederics, whom I had sent from here to Eppe as soon as peace and order were re-established here, on their urgent request, with attestations concerning what was stolen from here and what was found back in order to be sent to Y.H. with Capt. Moor, who had offered his services thereto, causes me the greatest sadness and regrets, and I do not understand what is the cause of their delay. After the departure of said servants and their delay at Eppe, the King of Appa has again sought to make some palavers with me, but he did not come to the fore with them before July when a certain Portuguese arrived here, whom the Appase King drew towards him with violence, giving for reasons that we had deceived him, having made him believe that the whitemen who had left for Eppe would continue to Elmina, so that all the palavers and further possible evils will be the fault of those Messieurs. The King of Jaquin has presented himself as a friend to us, but it was only a disguise, and we have experienced that it was all fake, because his only aim was to get what still remained, as well as the people here, in his hands, and he let us know that all what belonged to the late Mr. Hertogh belonged also to him. At the time of the palavers that King has made a show of his friendship for us by assisting the Appa king with a sea-canoe which belonged to the deceased. ... Here at Pattaccerye everything is still in heavy palavers, which still increase daily. I have tried all I could to settle them, but I saw no chance, and so the

(VIC lll cont.)

Negroes here have at last taken up arms, on 13th and 14th of this month, and gone to Tohou in order to conquer it. Everything depends on this, and it is likely that if the battle is won, mentioned island (Appa?) will be sovereign and the Comp. will never more have to fear any calamity. Finally, I wish to ask humbly again for my official appointment as Commander; things are now better here than at the time that Mr. Hertogh was here, and the prospects are particularly good if the battle is won. The papers of Mr. Hertogh are very confused, but it seems certain that there are still some fine Portuguese slaves to be paid, and their are good signs that the Noble Comp. will receive proper payment for them in due time ...

Johan Hensing, Pastor at Elmina, to Ass. of X, 18th September 1739.

... I write to Y.Es. in great haste ... I arrived here on the Elmina Roads on 25th July, and when I went the next day on shore, I found, alas! everything in total confusion: in the crom a great number of Negro-huts, according to some over a thousand, were in ashes; the Hon. D.-G. Des Bordes was angry and of a weak physical constitution; the Castle d'Elmina was damaged on all sides as a result of the constant firing of heavy guns since 27th May ... All this is caused by sins which are crying to the high Heavens and the discordance resulting from them, between those of high rank as well as their subalterns on both sides ...

Bookkeeper-General J.Verschueren to Ass. of X, 20th September 1739.

I have been compelled to sit still with my Messieurs since October last year, because in December it pleased H.H. the D.-G. to summon Assistant Mangold from Apam and to keep him here under arrest. There were rumours that he was short of over 60 Hk. But in June this year this young man was personally released by the D.-G., and since that time he has had the daily honour of conversing with the General. On 27th June Mr. Mangold went with Mr. Hobroek to the Leeward, for what purpose one does not know, but there are rumours that it was in order to bribe the Natives there to come to fight their compatriots and allies. Early this month Mr. Mangold came back, but he left again with 9 crates with 12 muskets each for the Lower Coast, as if he had paid his debts in full ... Under-signed, Commies Raams and Chief Merchant Barovius are being accused of all sorts of imaginary misdeeds by the H. General, who refuses to sign any letters or to open the accounts books, although no accounts have been made now for more than 10 months ...

Raams, Chama, to Ass. of X, 3rd November 1739. ... Victuals are being sold at very high prices by the Minase, even here at Chama, which is known for its plentiful supply of foodstuffs. The cause of this is the great number of French ships coming these days to this Coast. Where there were in previous years hardly one or two of them at a time, now there are 10 or 12. On those ships the Negroes can sell for 30 stuyvers what they normally sell for 10. Shortly after the death of Caboceer Abbocan

(WIC 111 cont.)

the Negroes of Elmina got heavy disputes with those of Great Commany, and soon also with those of Annomaboe, a big Fantyn crom. It came to a war, but they were compelled to return to their respective crows after having been beaten off by the Minase. Hereupon H.E. wanted the Minase to go to the interior in order to make war on Great Commany, but they refused, claiming that their ancestors never had had the habit of making war into the interior, and that they had always fought their wars on the coast; that they were ready for the Great Commanise if they came back to make war on them, but that they would not go to them. H.E. the D.-G. resented this so much, that he sent a servant to Great Commany, telling them that he, D.-G. had not the least differend with them, and that they were free to panyar as many Elmina Negroes as they would like, threatening at the same time the Minase that he would bombard the crom, adding the following words literally: that he would see to it that they would be forced to fight Great Commany. Mr. Des Bordes also had several fishermen and maize traders arrested who were put in the Castle's prisons, and from this too Y.Hs. may see that he had since long the intention of ruining the Mina Crom. I regret to say that in this way the outerforts are indeed put into great danger, and I have also written to D.-G. about this, because it is known that the Wassase Negroes have definitely the intention to make war on the Antase, as the Commanders of Hollandia, Accoda, Boutry, Taccorary and Sacconde cannot expect the least support from Elmina. The Wassase are expected here at Chama too ...

Verschueren to Ass. of X, 24th November 1739. ... I regret that I am again forced to write to Y.Hs. about the maltreatment and suppression meted out to Y.Hs.' servants here. I have not seen any attempt, since I last wrote to Y.Hs. on 20th September, towards a redress of the declining affairs of the Noble Comp., the Natives not being able to achieve anything towards the re-establishment of peace and quietness. This Castle has again been repaired here and there with a little stone and clay, but only in order to make it ready for another war. Last night all guns were again pointed towards the crom, and everything has been put in readiness, down to the burning of matches. For some time now, there have been rumours that the Pantynen would have been bribed with large sums, and they are now expected any day to ruin Y.Hs. subjects -who always triumphed over all others in Virtue and Fame- completely, whilst the Hon. D.-G. is expected to give them, Pantynen, a helping hand from the fortresses. Nonetheless, our subjects have made great presents to the Pantynen in order to quiet them down. We are not so much worried that the Elminase will be beaten by the Pantynen, but rather that the Old Men will no longer be able to stop the Young Men from attacking us.... One evening some time ago Mr. Des Bordes' friends came to sing, dance and drink here in the Castle and started to tease poor Mr. Barovius, singing: look at him, there he is sitting in his bird's cage ... Mr. Carstaris is so much hated, that he no longer dares to go outside the Castle: the natives would cut

(WIC 111 cont.)

him into a thousand little pieces. At Company they don't want any longer to recognise as the commander of the fort. The whole Upper Coast is in commotion as the Wassase are marching down from their land and want to make war on the coast Negroes from Axim to Chama. All those Negroes have come to the forts, which have been surrounded with palissades ... The Mine-master Schnak died last month, without having done -as far as is known- anything which could be to Y.H.s' advantage. His miners too have died ...

WIC 122; "contracts with Natives".

This day, 2nd September 1739, undersigned, M.Hoesen and J.Bontan, Commissioners for D.-G. Des Bordes, have gone to the square in front of the Castle, where the following negotiations took place with the Elmina Negroes: On the question why they had committed so much insolence against the Noble Comp. and its servants, taking up arms against them on 27th May, they claimed that they had never refused to do their duties to the Noble Comp, but that they lived in war with the Pantynen, that they had to take victuals from Ahanta, which again and again had been taken away from them, and that they could not live ~~of~~ the sea. That they can't tolerate that the people of the Fiscal's quarters take away from them their victuals and pay $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{5}{8}$ for what is worth 1 Angels. That the Donko slaves, when they go to quarry stones take from the women their bread, cloth and kakeraas in the market. That they don't understand why it is now -as never before- forbidden to go on the Square with a cap on one's head, a cloth over one's shoulder and a pipe in one's mouth. That they had suffered much under D.-G. Overbeeke, and had wished that Mr. Des Bordes would become D.-G., but that they were greatly disappointed, and that they had constantly had troubles with him. That they had always been slaves of the whitemen, that they have been in the Benyn, and also have helped to conquer Cormantyn and Hollandia. That the D.-G. had prohibited their fishing and panyarred food coming over sea. That when D.-G. had closed the gate, they went to take their muskets, and that then they had been fired upon from the forts, and that the guns had been earlier pointed in their direction. That it was always impossible to speak with H.H., but that he had imprisoned many of them without any proof of guilt. That they mourned 414 dead, that 13 had been badly wounded and that their houses were burnt.

On this undersigned Commissioners ~~replied~~, that they should have presented their grievances in a proper manner, and not have started shooting at once. That it had been an old custom to panyar victuals when they refused to sell it. That if they bring bad gold to the Castle that they should also accept it again when they are paid with it, as we cannot live ~~of~~ the sea either. That they should not impute ~~to us~~ the war which was caused by their own quarrels. On Commissioners' question what was their decision, they replied that they would obey the old laws established between their ancestors and the Noble Comp., and that they recognise the D.-G. as the only man in power. They also requested the restoration of the old

custom by which they were allowed to try to sell elsewhere all those slaves who were brought to the forts but who were not accepted by the Noble Comp. Furthermore, they asked to be allowed to collect themselves salt if the Noble Comp. did not do it; that through this trade Achantynse kakeraas came in, so that the worst ones could be taken out; but it would also be necessary that the whitemen let their servants take out the worst ones too, which they declare to be willing to exchange; but they cannot agree with the proposition to use cowries, because all the states in this area use nothing but kakeraas. Finally, they said that they do not want any longer to be held responsible for canoes which may break in heavy seas or travadoes. . . . After these negotiations all parties seemed satisfied, and as a sign that all hostilities had come to an end, they asked that 3 guns be fired, which was indeed done.

WIC 111;

Commiss Schaik to Ass. of X, 29th April 1640 . . . Willem Carstaris, who took over the command from Mr. Des Bordes when he became too ill during the war, was of a very bad temper. He consumed a lot of Liqueur de Canaille alias Genever (schnapps) of which he used to take a bottle any day he felt bored . . . Mr. Barovius had to stay on St. Iago Hill under most miserable circumstances, till it pleased the Almighty to pull the General out of this world, after which it seemed that all that breathed began to revive.

Chief Merchant Barovius to Ass. of X, 30th April 1740 (extract: original manuscript consists of 68 pages)

. . . I may humbly remind Y.Hs. that the Council has requested that the vacant post of D.-G. may be transferred to my slight person. . . . The bringing to Elmina of a big Pantyn army, on the invitation of the late D.-G. in order to ruin Y.Hs' subjects and also in order to enrich himself with the loot, **offered** also an attractive opportunity to the so-called King of Massa, Intiffer, to lay siege to Y.Hs' fortress at Saccondee, bringing it into very narrow straits, but it was saved by the courageous defence of the subjects. Along the Lower Coast too, several factories were alarmed by the machinations of the Pantynen, and the commander at Apam, for instance, was compelled to spend considerable amounts in order to stop their mischief . . .

Y.Hs. do not want to give us permission to sell slaves to foreigners for 6 \emptyset 8 Z , but we may remind Y.Hs. that the male slaves are being bought here for less than 5 \emptyset and the females for prices up to 3 \emptyset 8 Z . Since no slaveships seem to be forthcoming, a net profit of about 1 \emptyset 8 Z seems not so bad, the more as otherwise such slaves might well fall ill or die during their long wait. It is not quite understandable how Y.Hs. can demand that only liquid gold be taken in payment for such slaves, as I suppose that I need not give proofs of the fact that neither Dutch, nor English, nor French ships ever take liquid gold or money as their cargasoenen. . . . We hope, and in principle expect, that now, after the death of Mr. Des Bordes, we shall no longer be without trade, in particular after the promises made by deputies of the Assiantynse King who arrived here on

(WIC 111 cont.)

14th April. If they come through, we should be able to buy this year still at least 2,000 Ps. slaves apart from the occasional quantities of gold and ivory, in case Y.Hs. give permission to make the following alterations in the price-list ... (follows a list of 40 items).

We were touched to see that Y.Hs. gave again new orders concerning the activities of Mine-master Schnak, but we must reply, to our regret, that he, as well as the other mine boys, have in the meantime journeyed into eternity. We say "to our regret" not so much because of the eminence of aforesaid person, but rather because if he were still alive, we would ^{-ly} certainly have demanded some answer from him for his unpardonable behaviour, having deceived Y.Hs. in such a shameful manner, disguising his inability to find minerals under subtle acts of chemistry. He spent more than 3 months after his arrival in gilding hand-watches, poniards, knives, spoons, bowls and watch-chains for the late D.-G., Oppercommies Hobroek and Commies Carstaris, the secretly opening of all sorts of letter-seals and closing them again invisibly ... Finally, as a proof of his mineral abilities, he began to make a mine under the garden-house just West of St.Iago Hill, but so close to the Salt River, and in such low grounds, that at high tide the water would nearly reach the place where the diggings were. Whilst this was going on, the Mine-master suddenly got the idea to make another mine a little less than an hour's distance to the North of Elmina, but with as little success. One of the miners actually told me that he, Schnak, had no idea of mining at all, that at best he could be called a very mediocre chemist. It was only because of a false war-alarm that this useless work was stopped. Then he went to the Upper Coast, but there he committed such follies, that the Commander of Hollandia was eventually compelled to put him in shackles. He treated his mine-boys also in such a scandalous manner, that several people have assured us that they have died rather as a result of misery, hunger and beatings than of the ordinary land-disease.

We noted Y.Hs.' surprise and displeasure about the fact that the affairs of the former Oppercommies Elet remain un-finished, but the late D.-G. is to be blamed for this, and it is very sad that mentioned Elet had to stay for such a long time on the Coast without progressing an inch. In the meantime the effects of Carstaris remain under sequestration, and he is engaged in a daily pen-and-ink war, in which we shall let them continue ... We are at present so ignorant of what is happening along the Lower Coast, that it looks as if there had never been such a thing, on the one hand because we were for such a long time kept outside everything, and on the other because for a long time there has been no correspondence between us and the factories at Apam, Bercoe, Accra and the further Lower Coast, because of the unsafety of the paths and the poaching of the Pantynen. On 21st March Oppercommies Hobroek wanted to return to his fortress at Cormantyn, but he came back on 26th, because the subjects of his fortress would not allow him to land. He went a second time on 30th, but not without having been warned seriously to be careful with a certain Caboecer at

(WIC 111 cont.)

Annemaboe, called Courantier. He went personally to see him, on the oral promise of safe-conduct made by a servant whom mentioned Caboceer sent to him, Hobroek, before he disembarked. But up to now he is being kept under arrest by Courantier. All this may be explained from the fact that the late General and he, Hobroek, had bribed the entire Fantyn country, but since the Fantynse were compelled on 21st March to withdraw, they have thought it good to get provisionally this hostage in their hands in order to compell the Noble Comp. to pay a handsome ransom ...

(Encl.) Journal concerning the most remarkable incidents occurring within this Government between 16th March and 15th April, extracted by J.Elzevier. On 16th March General Des Bordes expired, leaving the country full of war ard in an indescribable confusion, the Elminas seeing themselves surrounded, since 5th January, and besieged by an army of 30,000 Fantynse Negroes, called in by the deceased in order to ruin them, if possible, totally and to make their wives and children their slaves. Messrs Hobroek, Carstaris, Liñe, Van Voorst and Verschueren went to see the arrested Chief Merchant Barovius to ask him for advice, but he refused, saying that since his arrest on 18th November 1739 he had been completely cut off, and that first of all he wanted to know if they knew why at all he had been imprisoned. Aforesaid gentlemen, although all of them were Members of the Council, said that they didn't, as the late D.-G. had never given them the least knowledge about the reasons for his arrest or asked for their consent in the matter, and that it had been impossible to them to make any change in his decisions on account of the unbearable moods of the late D.-G. Mr. Carstares too, denied to have been involved in any way in the arrest of Mr. Barovius. ...

On 21st March President sent messengers, led by Assistant Mangold, into the Fantynse camp, to ask the Fantynse to stop their attacks as D.-G. Des Bordes had now died, but to their surprise the deputies were answered that they, Fantynen, would continue their war, as they had promised to do so to the late D.-G. ... We then decided to protect rigorously the territory and the subjects of the Noble Comp. with such power as we had, and to show this bribed army that the present Government had resolved to take the Noble Comp.'s prosperity at heart, and not its ruin. ... The Fantynen having started their attack between 8 and 10 o'clock, we could see our men defending themselves with virile courage, and pushing back their enemies. It was not necessary to fire more than two or three shots from the cannon on St.Iago to cause eventually the greatest confusion among the enemies, who, after having set fire to their camp, fled, leaving behind at least 70 canoes and various items of baggage. But there was a general fear that the Fantynen after their defeat at Elmina, would immediately go to the Lower Coast in order to take there what the late D.-G. had promised to them ...

On 24th March the Elminase sent a message to Mr. Barovius, asking him to send again the fishtoll-collectors as of old, showing in that way how

(VIC 111 cont.)

eager they were to prove their former fidelity and submission to the Noble Comp. and to offer their obedience and faithful services ... on which President replied that he had taken note of their complaints and that their rights would be protected. ...

(Encl.) Extracts of Minutes of Council.

22nd March 1740. ... Members of the Council agreed unanimously with the installation of Chief Merchant Barovius as President of the Council. President put the question whether any of the present Members could explain why the Assistants Raams and Van der Putte had been kept since May 1738 in rigorous arrest, with the result that they have suffered great damages to their health and forces. It became clear that none of those present had ever quite understood what were the exact accusations made against them, and it was therefore unanimously resolved to release these two persons provisionally, so that they can recover a little, till further inquiries have been made in the exact nature of their offences ...

28th March 1740. President informed Council that the Chiefs of the Crom had sent some deputies with the humble request that the persons who since the beginning of January were being kept in the prisons with a heavy chain around their necks and shackles around their ankles, only, as far as they knew, on account of their being suspected of some treason for which they had, however, not yet been condemned, be at least released of the heavy chain around their necks, thus preventing their total collapse. Mentioned Chiefs added that they would be pleased to note that henceforward, in case any of their people were suspected of certain offences, suspects would no longer be submitted to terrible tortures, that their cases would be inquired into in a more orderly and moderate manner, and that those who are found guilty be punished **without** undue delay ... It was resolved to agree provisionally to the above request ...

(Encl.) D. Hobroek, Annomaboe, to Barovius, 24th April 1740. ... Y.H. may find in the Cormantyn correspondence how much has been given to the Fantynse on the orders of the late General: ... 13 Mk for initial costs, for the coming together of the land (sic), and furthermore, according to agreement, 110 small casks of gunpowder ad 20 lbs each, 12 Mk 2 Ø of liquid gold, and 2,000 lbs lead in exchange for which were given 13 young impias (pawns), who would be returned if the matter had been done to the satisfaction of the late D.-G. ... The Courantier says that two of his rowers are still à Costy ...

NBRG 104; Journal.

2nd May 1740. Sent a circular letter to the commanders of the outer-forts: In order to revive the dying trade, and also in furtherance of orders sent by the Hon. Directors by their letter of 21st November 1739, we send hereby the new price-list, informing at the same time all commanders of the outer-forts that henceforward they will be allowed to buy good and acceptable

(NBKG 104 cont.)

slaves, having at the same time the liberty to sell them again to Dutch, French and English ships and to store tradegoods acquired for them in their store-houses, using those goods again for their trade. But strict orders are also hereby issued, that the sellers should be able to present papers about these sales, and certificates that at least 8 Ang. of liquid gold, or otherwise the same value in ivory has been paid as recognition to the Company for each slave, whether male, female or child.

12th August 1740. "Informations about the troubles between the English Negroes of Sacconde and the Antase". ... Mr, Dunbar would have asked why the Sacconde people had panyarred and maltreated English merchants, on which the Saccondese replied: Our ancestors have built this fort, of which we expect protection, and we wish to know why the English have assisted our enemy Intuffer. On this the Englishman replied: but we did allow your women and children to come inside our fort; but when Messrs Melville and Craig started to count them, you began to fear that they would be sold out to Intuffer. But they replied that this had never been the habit among free negroes ... The Negroes furthermore certified to Mr. Dunbar that when Mr. Cope came, that they had offered him 50 bendas if he would offer them protection, but that Mr. Cope had refused; that Intuffer would have offered to Cope to defeat the Antase, and to give him the Dutch forts, on which the Englishman would have said that he was not interested ... He then sent a servant to Intuffer to tell him that there is an English and a Dutch fort at Sacconde, and that it would be better if he, Intuffer went to the Dutch forts in Upper Anta. But Intuffer replied that he had no intentions against European forts, but against the Antase. As the English also sold tobacco, cloth and gunpowder to Intuffer, the English Saccondese felt betrayed. When Intuffer came behind the English fort at Sacconde, Ondercommies De Schenker sent them a message, urging them not to offer protection to Intuffer, but to keep out of the palaver; but when Intuffer did start to fight, the English fired on the Antase ...

27th August 1740. ... Commies Starckenborg reported on his mission to Fantyn to find out why the Fantynse had appeared with such great might before the Crom under the fort at Cormantyn, had threatened it terribly and had also extorted contributions from the commanders of our forts at Apam and Bercoe, and had blockaded Cormantyn both on land and on sea ... During the palaver which was held at Cormantyn on 23rd July, they told him that Mr. Hobroek had asked them to come to Elmina, that they had been misled etc. etc. ... Finally they asked 3,000 bendas gold as a recompensation, which S. managed first to reduce to 1,000, and eventually to 700, although the Fantynse maintain that the war had cost them much more than that. They also refuse absolutely to accept Mr. Hobroek again as Commander at Cormantyn ...

NBKG 105; Journal. ... 1st February 1741 ...

Received from Pattakery a letter from Assistant Bronssema, dd. 11th August 1740; ... Everything is here in peace and quietness, and there would be good trade, if only Capt. Moor were not on this Coast; he has spoilt the whole trade along the Lower Coast, and sent trade-ships to various places with such goods on board as are most popular among the Negroes. He has chosen Eppe as his main trading-place, and he stops there all the ships of foreign nations. Capt. de Moor also kept for more than 2 months letters which I had asked him to transmit to Y.H. ... I came here 2½ years ago, on the orders of D.-G. Des Bordes, and I would have had to break up long ago if I had not been able to continue the trade with ships of foreign Nations. But Y.H. could only make the trade flourish if Y.H. could get Capt. Moor removed from Epé. Y.H. could do that by excluding Eppé from the passports for the Portuguese, giving them in stead authority to go to Annemaboe or Quita. The Negroes here have a terrible dislike of Moor, and the King of Dahomme, if he could get hold of him, would massacre (sic) him in the most horrible manner, because he has several times sold gunpowder and muskets to Schampa. He has also a tradepost at Popo. If a ship of the Comp. came here, I could barter nearly a whole cargasoen for gold: I could buy here at least 200 Mk per year. The trade at Fida seems to be poor. The Portuguese are said to have thrown half of their tobacco over board, as the Dahommese don't like their tobacco. The old King of Dahomme, **the one** who has destroyed ~~and~~ wasted all the states, has died, and since his death two of his sons are making war on each other for their possession, which is being caused by the Vordersauwene (=?), who profits from this occasion and who is already marching up with an army of 20,000 in order to fight with the Dahommese. But no whiteman will trade with him, because he is a real robber ... Heese helps Moor and sets him and other traders up against me ...

Replied to Bronssema that I will do a good word for him with the Hon. Directors, but that I can't supply him with more ships, as the Comp. does no longer trade in slaves, but that the trade is now not being done by the Comp.'s servants on the Coast entirely for their own account, as they have to pay on every slave 8 Ang. of gold as recognition to the Directors, and that I trust that he will continue to trade with ships of all Nations.

8th March 1741; Circular letter announcing appointment of De Petersen as Director-General

23rd July 1741. Received a letter from Commies Van Kuyt, Accra, that some days ago the Akimse had come for palaver with the Accrase, involving those of Oukyntje as well as Darcon. That the whole Accra country had come for the palaver, and that Oukyntje, having been put in the right, had paid, according to the custom of the land, something to the Akimse and the English Accrase. But later Darcon came to say that he could not agree with the outcome. It is said that the Aquamboese, the Fantynse (that is the Caffoese Negroes) and the Acronse have come to the English Crom in order to make war on each other. They, and Darcon too, would have bought powder and lead from the English ...

(NBKG 105 cont.)

27th July 1741. Received a letter from Van Kuyl, Accra: ... The origin of the palaver here can be found in the pen (agreement) which the Fantynse, Aquamboese, Ackimse and Accrase had made that nobody would panyar any of each other's people. But they say that it was broken by the Accrase. I demonstrated to the Accrase that the Fantynse had also broken it, as I had sent one of my servants to Apam, some time ago, with my cane, but that he had been panyarred and sold by the Fantynse ...

4th December 1741. ... from Van Kuyl, Accra: ... The Assiantynen and the Ackimse are preparing for war. The Ackimse ask me for more powder and guns, so please send me some from Elmina. Schampo is at the moment making war on Awona. With all these wars a lot of people from Accra and also from Temma have come to stay here in the fort. We are getting short of water ...

NBKG 106; Journal.

("Axim Correspondence") 18th April 1742. Mr. M. Van der Noot de Gietere wrote about gold-mining; that it could be quite successful if the Natives were not so aggressive. They once attacked the Portuguese, when they made attempts to open a mine, then us, for instance when they attacked the stronghold on Mount Ancoper, but in that case the garrison managed to take refuge in Axim. It would be very expensive to start any such enterprise with success, as one would have to give a lot of presents beforehand. If you try to make a mine on your own, it is always the same thing: "My friends, you will have to move; our dominee or fetisse paap says that the fetisse has ordered him that no gold should be dug in our country, because our country would get involved in heavy war" ...

("Accra Correspondence") 23rd March 1742. Received from Mr. Van Kuyl a letter dd. 18th March: ... Yesterday the Assiantynen have defeated the Akimse, which caused great confusion here, and people all along the Lower Coast seek protection under the fortresses. Here the Negroes are busily repairing the Cat-place in order to use it for their defence. They are afraid that the Assiantynen will come to make war on them too. According to rumours most of the Akimse have fled to the Lower Coast. They may also come here, but in that case, the Negroes say here, they can't give them any protection. They are seriously short of water. The Danish Governor has sent some people to Akim; these Negroes have come back and declare that the whole of Akim has been defeated, and that very many grandees have been killed. The people of Labbadde and Tessie have already fled to Bercoe. Temma fort would not be able to stand such an overnight ...

28th March. from Van Kuyl, Accra: ... I hereby send a request for more tradegoods, because as a result of the defeat of the Akimse we can buy quite some slaves at Temma. I have however not yet seen any occasion to sell them again ... It is said that our Comp.'s makelaer was killed in battle ...

(NEKG 106, cont.)

1st April 1742. Received from Van Kuyl, Accra a copy of a letter written to him by Commies Gawron at Apam: ... This is to tell you that Makelaer Dacon is dead, and that the Aquamboese have his head, which they want to bring to Pockoe as soon as the war with the Assiantynen has subsided a little. But the Fontynen have suffered great damages from the panyarring -more than 100 of them were taken away- and since the Assiantynen have panyarred so many of them, none of them have anymore heart for a battle. Yet Fontyn wants to defeat Agonna, because it refuses to give back what was panyarred ... PS. The Fontynen spread the rumour that Oppockoe will not come down to Accra, but that he will send from this ... (?) deputies, and that Pockoe will put the Aquamboese again in their country, and also that Baquentyn is alive in Pockoe's hands, and that he has Oers' head

16th April 1742. Wrote to Accra: Gentlemen,/: i.e. Commies Raams and Bookkeeper Gen. Verschueren:/

This is to intruduce to you the Assiantynen who came to bring the news of their victory and who asked for transport to Accra in order to warn the Assiantynen there not to undertake anything against the Natives under the jurisdiction of the Dutch Nation, because makelaer Darcon, about whose conduct they (we?) are very angry, has already died, his head having been cut off by the Aquamboese. The Grandees of this Crom furthermore request me to ask you to send on their account/^{powder to} the value of 2 slaves, if there are Assiantynen who could carry it, to Pockoe, which they promise to pay for to the Chief Merchant. I think that the Dutch Nation should keep itself neutral, but I send hereby also my servant Abram with a present for Pockoe, to whom he should request to make every-thing quiet again.

23rd April 1742. Received a letter from Raams & Verschueren, dd. Accra, 20th April: ... The deputies of Pockoe have arrived here to tell about his victory, bringing a present of three jawbones. There are every day more deputies coming from Assiantyn; by now there are about 50 or 60. They come well armed, and spread along the entire Lower Coast, but they have orders not to commit any acts of enmity before the palaver about ransom has been made. We regretted to note that the Assiantynse Ambassador who came from Elmina demanded, as soon as he put his foot on shore, all that Darcon had possessed here and elsewhere, to the last bit. What should we do, if Pockoe insists indeed on having all that Darcon had? The Dutch Nation normally protects its subjects, and does not leave them a prey to their enemies. It should be added, that Darcon, according to witnesses here in Accra, had been talking about a war between Akim and Assiantyn since long, and that he, Darcon had gone to Akim to finish his own palaver ... We are of the opinion that we should do all we can to protect his family, and lodge them, if need be, in the fort ...

... and one of 21st April: ... We are informed that the Pantynse Negroes have the intention to panyar every single thing they can get from us,

(NBKG 106, cont.)

saying that Pockoe's ambassador and Y.H.'s servant have only come here for the furtherance of Pockoe's war against them, Pantynen ...

27th April 1742. Wrote to Raams and Verschueren: ... Y.Hs. should tell the Assiantynen that Darcon went to Akim without any special intentions against them, but only for his own palaver; that he was kept there because of the oncoming war, against his free will. We repeat that it is our opinion that we should stay as neutral as possible, but that we should not agree to their demands concerning Darcon's family ...

29th April 1742. Received a letter from Raams & Verschueren, dd. Accra, 27th April: ... There are here some new rumours which cause considerable unrest. The Assiantynen have sent here and to other places messengers to take from every coast from a small levy. All these crows, including ours, have paid up, but Mr. Dorpf, the Danish Commander at Mingo, has refused, and offended them, calling them thieves and beggars. A few days later the Assiantynen came down with 4,000 men, and took away all his subjects and servants; the huts were looted and the fort was besieged. The Danes are now very frightened, and fear that they will come here ...

1st May 1742. Received a note from Messrs Melvill, Chalmer and Crichton, dd. Cape Coast Castle, 30th April, ... We received advice from the Leeward that Apocko's intentions on the Accra natives are still doubtful. Mr. Melvill will therefore go thither ... We should act in concert in this affair, and we propose to act jointly on any Treaty which may be contracted with Apocko ...

13th May 1742. Received a letter from Raams & Verschueren, dd. Accra, 8th May: ... The Assiantynen are not at all prepared to accept our explanations concerning Darcon, and they threaten to come down with Pockoe and to ruin the whole country. Therefore we have given -on the insistence of the Accra Grandees and Darcon's relatives themselves- 5 big strings of conte de terra, worked and loose gold, a box with cloth, and anything which could be got from the deceased's household, wives and slaves to the old Assiantyn Ambassador. But he demanded still 6 big bottles filled with gold, which he said to be buried inside this fort, and the first wife of the deceased. For more than 1½ days we have tried to convince him that he could not get these, and finally he demanded not only Darcon's people, but also those of Amoe and Pieter Pasop. When we refused, he walked out of the fort. We manipulated the guns on the fort as if we were serious about shooting ... We have since been negotiating about Darcon's people, about 50 in number, for whom we agreed to pay 58 bendas. He then demanded 50 bendas for his King, but we managed to reduce that amount to 12 ... The hot-headed Assiantynen are now coming down from Mingo, and although our Commander at Tema had already paid 12½ bendas to them, they smashed everything there to little pieces, threw the cannons from the walls and wasted everything. Mr. Vankuyl says that there was about

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(NBKG 106 cont.)

30 mk worth of effects in the fort at Temma ...

15th May 1742. Wrote to Raams & Verschueren: ... It is reported that the Fantynen panyarred about 90 Assiantynen who were returning after having bought salt here ... Make sure that Pockoe gets to know about the misbehaviour of the Assiantynen at Temma, and that if he does not give recompensation there, that we shall issue a general ban on the sale of muskets, gunpowder and lead to all Assiantynen ...

23rd May. Received a letter from Raams & Verschueren, dd. Accra, 21st May ... Mr. Melvill has not yet arrived. He is reported to be still at Simpa. On 11th May all difficulties with the Assiantynen were solved, and that same afternoon they departed altogether from under the fort. Your servant and the Elmina Caboceers have not gone with them. There are rumours that the English have had to pay large sums on the first visit of the Assiantynen. Yesterday an ambassador of the King of Assiantyn came here with some of the Company's goods, a slave and a child, captured by his people at Temma. He said that the King had been very angry, saying that he had always wanted to be on friendly terms with the Dutch Nation, and that he will pay for the remainder of the damages. We expect a bloody war between the Assiantynen and the Fantynen, because it is said that Pockoe has drawn all his forces together and that he is advancing on Agonna ... An English ship arrived here with the news that the King of Ojo has defeated the King of Dahomme with the help of the Great Robber Sjampon, and that for three months now there has been no trade at all at Fida....

25th May 1742. Sent the following circular letter:

... The Grandees of this subject Crom informed us that the Peoples of Vassa, 'tJuffer, Abrimboe, Great Commany, Foetoe, Simbio and Fantyn have put their heads together and spread the rumour that the last arriving ambassadors from the King of Assiantyn have come to this Crom with the jawbones of their defeated enemies and in order to announce that they would attack and ruin all the aforesaid Peoples ... We cannot but insist (with them) that this rumour is false, and V.Hs. are hereby urgently requested to explain this to V.Hs' subject peoples.
